TABLE OF CONTENTS

RESEARCH PAPERS

Mobile-assisted ESP learning in technical education

Ivana Šimonová
University of Hradec Kralove, Czech Republic
ivana.simonova@uhk.cz

Abstract

This paper presents research results from the field of mobile-assisted instruction of English for specific purposes for technical and engineering students. The research was structured in three phases: (1) Questionnaire 1 was applied to detect what sources of information students use in higher education, what types of mobile devices they own, what purposes they use them for, (2) how the process of instruction, particularly students´ autonomous work supported by mobile devices ran, (3) students´ feedback was collected by Questionnaire 2 to evaluate the mobile-assisted learning and provide proposals for future exploitation of mobile devices in higher technical language education. The results show students are sufficiently equipped with mobile technologies and exploit them for various purposes, including education and ESP. At the end, examples of helpful mobile applications are presented.

Keywords

mobile learning, m-learning, mobile application, ESP, technical education

Introduction

Reflecting the latest trends in technical and technological development, mobile devices have become standard didactic means both in foreign language and other subjects' instruction on all levels of education. Mobile devices were defined as very small items to accompany users anytime and anywhere, autonomous from the electrical supply (Roschelle, 2003; Liang et al., 2005). The use of wireless, mobile, portable and handheld devices is gradually increasing and diversifying across every sector of education. Currently, the mobile learning has been exploiting handheld computers, mobile/smart phones and other devices that work on the same set of functionalities. The use of handheld computers is obviously relatively immature in terms of both technologies and its pedagogies, but mobile-assisted learning is developing rapidly (Traxler, in Ally, 2009).

Until now the traditional e-learning (using non-portable devices) has been widely implemented into the education in the Czech Republic reflecting the fact mobile devices were not available to sufficient extent. Within last two-three years the situation changed substantially and mobile learning can be applied on all levels of education, gradually moving from small-scale, short-term trials to larger more sustained and blended deployment.

This study focuses on the use of mobile devices in foreign language instruction (English for Specific Purposes, ESP) at the Faculty of Informatics and Management (FIM), University of Hradec Kralove (UHK), Czech Republic. The main objective was

(1) to monitor the students´ exploitation of mobile devices and mobile learning in ESP, i.e. what sources of information students exploit within higher education, particularly in ESP learning, what types of mobile devices they own, what purposes they use them for,

(2) to describe the process of ESP instruction, particularly students´ autonomous work supported by mobile devices and applications,

(3) to collect students´ feedback and evaluate the mobile-assisted learning and

(4) to provide proposals for future exploitation of mobile devices and applications in higher technical language education.

The process of ICT implementation into higher education started at FIM in 1997 and widely spread after 2000, when the LMS WebCT started to be used. In 2012 WebCT merged with Blackboard, therefore this LMS is mentioned below. Since 2012/13 academic year the "virtual desktops" have been available to students and teachers, mainly for work with software not providing free/open access (e.g. MS SQL Server, Enterprise Architect). Since 2013/14 the Blackboard Mobile Learn™ version 4.0 for Apple and Android devices has been piloted (this version supports iOS6+, i.e. iPhone 3GS, iPad 2+, IPad mini, iPod Touch 4+ and Android OS 2.3+). Currently, approximately 250 online courses (called e-subjects) supporting single subjects are available to students, either to assist the teaching/learning process, or to be used in the distance form of education. Totally in 21 of them the mobile-assisted language learning (MALL) principles are applied, namely in English for Specific Purposes (ESP) for IT students, Business English, ESP for Tourism & Management, History and Culture: UK, History and Culture: Australia, History and Culture: New Zealand). All e-subjects run traditionally within the LMS, and currently are available on mobile devices in the limited extent as well. In other words, the blended learning model is applied which combines the face-to-face instruction, work in online courses and individualized approach to them through mobile devices which satisfies

learners´ time/place preferences (Pieri & Diamantini, in Ally, 2009) and bridges formal and informal learning (Abdullah et al., 2013).

Since the use of mobile devices within the Czech education system has been rather new, the following questions were set to be researched:
1. Are students sufficiently equipped with mobile devices?
2. What purposes do students use the mobile devices?
3. What is the students´ feedback after the MALL?

Theoretical background
The above questions resulted from the background of the FRAME (Framework for the Rational Analysis of Mobile Education) model by Koole (2009). Equipped with a mobile device, the learner can choose to consult a web page, access audio or video tutorials, send a query via text message to peers, or contact an expert/tutor for guidance. But, Koole asks, how can learners take full advantage of the mobile experience, how can practitioners design materials and activities appropriate for mobile access, how can mobile learning be effectively implemented in both formal and informal learning? The FRAME model offers some insights into these issues as it describes a mode of learning in which learners may move within different real *and* virtual locations and thereby participate and interact with other people, information, or systems – anywhere, anytime. The interaction with information is mediated through technology. Within this context, the FRAME model is represented by a Venn diagram (figure 1) in which three aspects (circles) intersect. The three circles represent the device (D), learner (L) and social aspects (S). The intersections where two circles overlap contain attributes that belong to both aspects. The attributes of the device usability (DL) and social technology (DS) intersections describe the affordances (i.e. availability, called the ownership in our research) of mobile technology (Norman, 1999). The intersection labelled interaction learning (LS) contains instructional and learning theories with an emphasis on social constructivism. All three aspects overlap at the primary intersection (DLS) in the center of the Venn diagram. Hypothetically, the primary intersection, a convergence of all three aspects, defines an ideal mobile learning situation. The model can/should be used to design a more effective mobile learning process (Koole, 2009). The FRAME model takes into consideration the technical characteristics of mobile devices as well as social and personal aspects of learning, thus referring to concepts similar to those found in psychological theories, e.g. in the Activity Theory by Kaptelinin and Nardy (2006) and especially pertaining to the work by Vygotsky (1978) on mediation and the zone

of proximal development. In the FRAME model, the mobile device is an active component on equal footing to learning and social processes. This model also places more emphasis on constructivism: the word "rational" refers to the "belief that reason is the primary source of knowledge and that reality is constructed rather than discovered" (Smith & Ragan, 1999, p. 15).
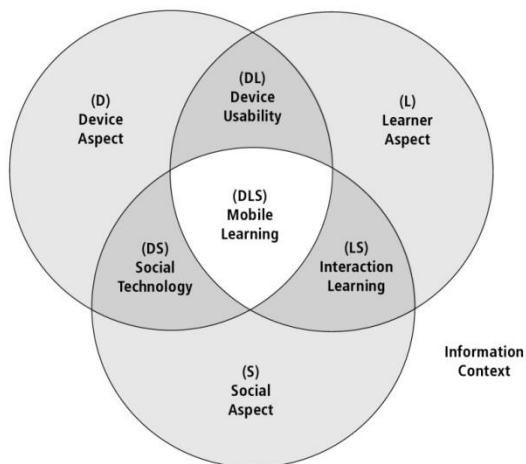
Figure 1. The FRAME Model (Koole, in Ally, 2009, p. 27)

Research design

In 2013/14 academic year the pilot round of MALL started, having been structured in three phases.

In the first phase, students' preferences were detected in three fields:

a) what sources of information they use for university study;
b) what mobile devices they own;
c) what purposes they use them for: communication (private, education-related), education (foreign languages, other subjects), entertainment.

The state was monitored by the questionnaire (Q1) containing twelve multiple-choice items focused on the above listed fields (a, b, c). The number of choices under each item was not limited. The collected data were processed by the NCSS2007 software by the method of frequency analysis.

In the second phase, from February – May 2014, the pilot process of instruction supported by the Blackboard Mobile Learn™ version 4.0 started. It was held in

- face-to-face lessons (90 minutes /week, for 13 weeks),
- online courses in LMS (e-subjects accessed through PCs, notebooks, netbooks) and
- mobile applications running on mobile devices (particularly tablets and smartphones).

Reflecting the tools available in the Blackboard Mobile Learn™ version 4.0, services in three fields were mostly used: (1) learning-related tools (i.e. Learning Content, Mobile Tests, and Tasks); (2) information tools (Announcements, Roster, Push Notifications, Grades), and (3) communication tools (Blogs, Discussions, Student Journals).

The following activities were implemented in the MALL process:

- face-to-face teaching/learning, i.e. learners attended the lessons where communication and immediate feedback-required activities were preferred;
- after-lesson autonomous learning in online courses in LMS Blackboard (i.e. activity running after instruction in learners´ leisure time); the LMS was accessed either from immobile devices, i.e. PC, but also from mobile ones – notebooks, netbooks, tablets and smartphones, which were recommended for Blackboard Mobile LearnTM version 4.0;
- after-lesson autonomous learning exploiting mobile applications.

LMS Blackboard is a high quality environment designed for education purposes, so it provides all tools necessary for efficient simulation of all phases of the process of instruction. From the tools provided in the Blackboard Mobile Learn™ version 4.0, the learning content in the form of study materials containing texts, figures, images, animations was available to students, new vocabulary and grammar structures could have been practised (not all types of tests are available in the mobile version compared to traditional LMS), as well as listening/reading files in the podcasting form and tests on listening/reading comprehension were available, and discussions were held, both in the written form on mobile devices in discussion forums and on Skype, which was linked with the LMS.

Above all, to practice *vocabulary and grammar* simple applications were designed by students for their peers, where words, phrases or short sentences appeared on the screen; after writing the answer (i.e. translating the item) the notice appeared saying whether the reply was correct, or not, and finally the correct solution was displayed. Both Czech/English and English/Czech versions were available, as well as short texts and animations to explain single grammar items. The *listening/reading comprehension* skills were developed through the "English Reader for IT and Management students," which is a set of professional

texts with professional vocabulary translated (using the Insert, Comments tool) and recordings in mp3 format. This is also an output of students´ project work for their peers. Both these activities enable students to show what they have learned from the studied field and to reflect and share their professional experience, which strengthens their motivation to further study.

In the third phase, after the MALL process had been finished, students´ satisfaction, experience and opinions were detected by evaluation questionnaire (Q2). Totally, seven criteria were set to monitor and evaluate the process of MALL as a whole, especially focusing on the role of mobile devices and encouraging students to introduce their own proposals to improvements. By collecting feedback in this pilot phase we surveyed students´ attitudinal responses to the use of mobile technology, whereas perceptive and cognitive fields will be monitored after the massive use later on. Each criterion was defined in the form of statement. Students´ feedback was expressed on the six-level scale from 1 – completely agree to 6 – completely disagree. In other words, this evaluation questionnaire focused on the field how the mobile technology was viewed by individual users within the MALL process (Chang & Hsu, 2011; Cheng et al., 2010). For the future research activities the main objective will be to learn in what ways the use of mobile devices facilitates the acquisition and development of linguistic knowledge and language skills.

Q2 collected students´ feedback on following statements:
1. Compared to learning in online courses, I consider mobile approach anywhere anytime helpful in the process of ESP learning.
2. Compared to learning in online courses, I consider mobile approach anywhere anytime significantly helpful in the process of ESP learning.
3. I worked with recommended operating system and devices. If you did not, list the devices you used.
4. I did not have any technical problems. If you did so, please explain.
5. The Internet access was as displayed in Internet signal maps.
6. Would you appreciate using mobile devices in ESP learning in the future?
7. Would you use mobile devices in learning other subjects in the future? If yes, provide examples, please.

Research sample
The MALL was piloted in the sample group of 203 students of the Faculty of Informatics and Management, University of Hradec Kralove, who enrolled in IT (63%) and Management study programmes (37%); having 60% of male

students; 60% of full-time and 40% of part-time students; 72% of them 19-24 years old, 13% of 25-29-year-old ones, 11% of 30-39-year-old and 4% of 40+.

Research results

Following results were detected in three phases of the research.

Within *the first phase*, students´ preferences were monitored in sources of information relating to the higher education and mobile devices ownership and use were collected by questionnaire Q1. The collected data were considered from the point of ESP and other subjects, from the use of mobile devices for education and private purposes (e.g. entertainment, communication). The following fields were monitored:

Ad a) Sources of information respondents use for education within university study (both in ESP and other subjects)

Following sources of information were taken into consideration: personal attendance of lectures, buying books, borrowing books from libraries, exploiting e-subjects in LMS, study materials on FIM web page, Wikipedia, materials available from the Internet for free, Facebook, discussion groups, LinkedIn, Google+ other sources. As displayed in figure 2, online courses (e-subjects) in LMS are the most frequently used source of information (by 92% of respondents), followed by personal attendance of lectures (85%), materials from the Internet available for free (77%), materials from the FIM web page (there is a special folder where teachers uploaded the materials before online courses, they were widely used, and many teachers still use both this folder and online courses). Above all, half of students borrow textbooks (53%), but only one third of them buys the materials (31%). Following the latest trends in social networking, discussions in the LMS are widely used (72%), as well as Facebook (58%), followed by Wikipedia (42%), Google+ (11%) and LinkedIn (1%).

Sources of information the respondents use for ESP show different distribution. E-subjects are obligatorily used by all students (100%), as well as personal attendance of lectures which is required (96%) and work with textbooks (printed, electronic, scanned, ...). That is why students borrow textbooks from libraries (96%), buy them (35%), download free study materials from the Internet (92%), participate in discussion groups within LMS (81%) and on Facebook (95%), they use Wikipedia (72%), LinkedIn (24%); no materials are available on the FIM web page for ESP.

Summing up, these are "traditional" sources and approaches which have been applied in e-learning for two decades. As mentioned above, what the MALL

approach reflects is the fact that e-subjects have been running on mobile devices for the last few years, including social networks (mainly Facebook) used through mobile devices for sharing experience and study materials, answering questions, etc.
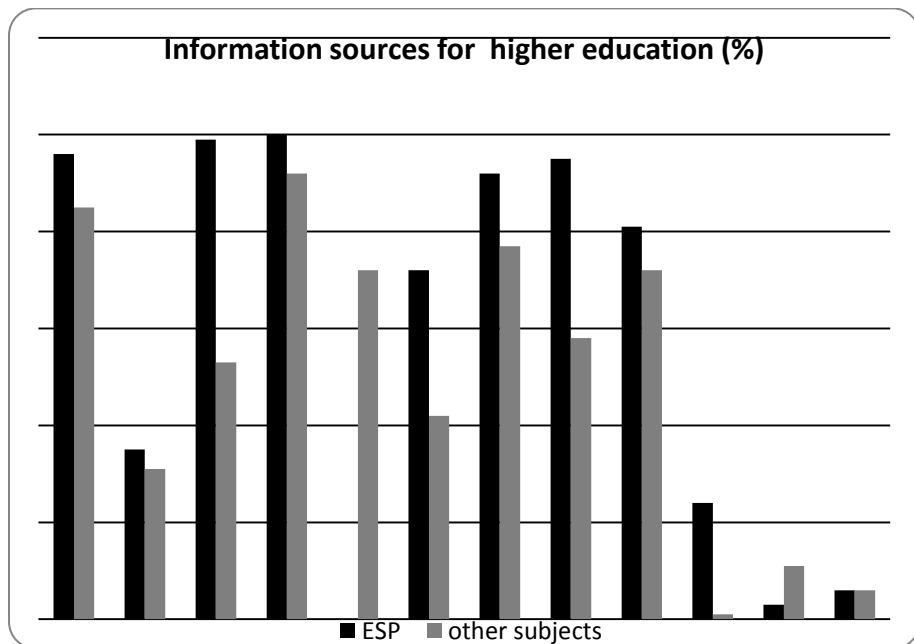
Figure 2. Information sources used for education in ESP and other subjects

Ad b) Mobile devices respondents own

The data show (Figure 3) that notebooks are currently the most frequently owned mobile devices (88% of respondents possess them), followed by smartphones (61%), mobile phones (52%), PCs (52%), mp3 players (49%), DVD players (39%), whereas Hi-fi (27%), tablets (24%), game consoles (13%) and netbooks (10%) were rather rarely owned. As expected, students do not have one type of mobile devices only but simultaneous possession of PCs, notebooks, netbooks, tablets, smartphones was proved. Other types of mobile devices were not used so often but respondents also mentioned the ownership of TV (67%), radio (30%).
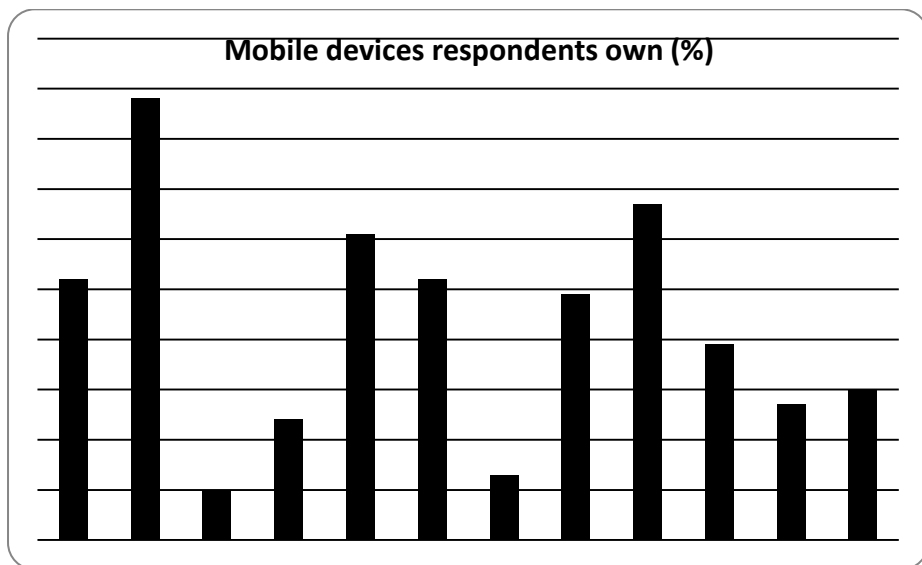
Figure 3. Mobile devices respondents own

Ad c) Purposes students use mobile devices for
Under this criterion following fields were monitored:
- exploitation of mobile devices for *communication*, both private and education related purposes,
- the use of mobile devices for *education*, both in foreign languages and other subjects, and for *entertainment*.

As displayed in Figure 4, from six choices (PC, notebook, netbook, tablet, smartphone, mobile phone) respondents marked in descending order which mobile devices they use for communication, either on private, or education-related matters, and the item of personal contact was added to the list of choices. The results show notebooks were the most frequently used mobile device (79%), followed by smartphones (59%) and mobile phones (55%); less than 45% of respondents declared they used PCs, whereas tablets (13%), netbooks (8%) were less frequently used. Despite the availability of latest devices, personal contact (96%) was strongly preferred.

In education-related communication results were almost identical, detecting the highest frequency in personal contacts (92%), the use of notebooks (79%)

and smartphones (56%). Mobile phones were less frequently used (46%) but the frequency of PCs increased (55%). The use of tablets (12%) and netbook (6%) was on similar level in both areas.
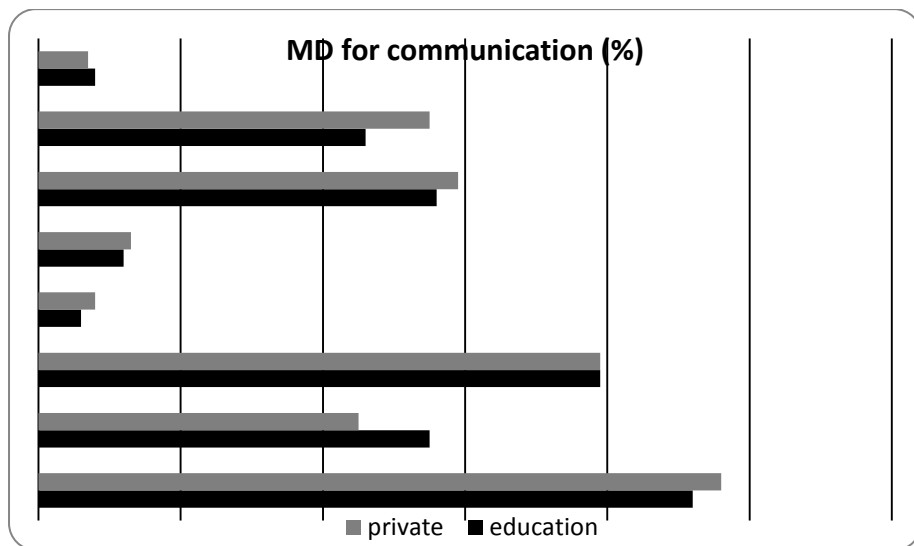
Figure 4. Mobile devices (MD) used for communication

Unlike the previous criterion, data related to mobile devices respondents use for education and entertainment show that different devices are used for entertainment and education. Traditionally, notebooks are on the top position (81%) followed by smartphones (49%), mobile phones (28%), tablets (16%) and netbooks (7%) but higher frequency of the use was detected with TV (54%), mp3 player (29%), radio (18%), DVD player (16%), HI-FI (12%) and game console (10%).

In ESP mostly notebooks (90%) and smartphones (80%), followed by PCs (43%), mobile phones (32%), tablets (18%) and netbooks (6%) are used. What is interesting, not unexpected but logical, is that respondents declared higher frequency of mobile devices used in ESP than in other subjects. The phonetic side of language and quality of sound/recording provided through mobile devices are in correlation.
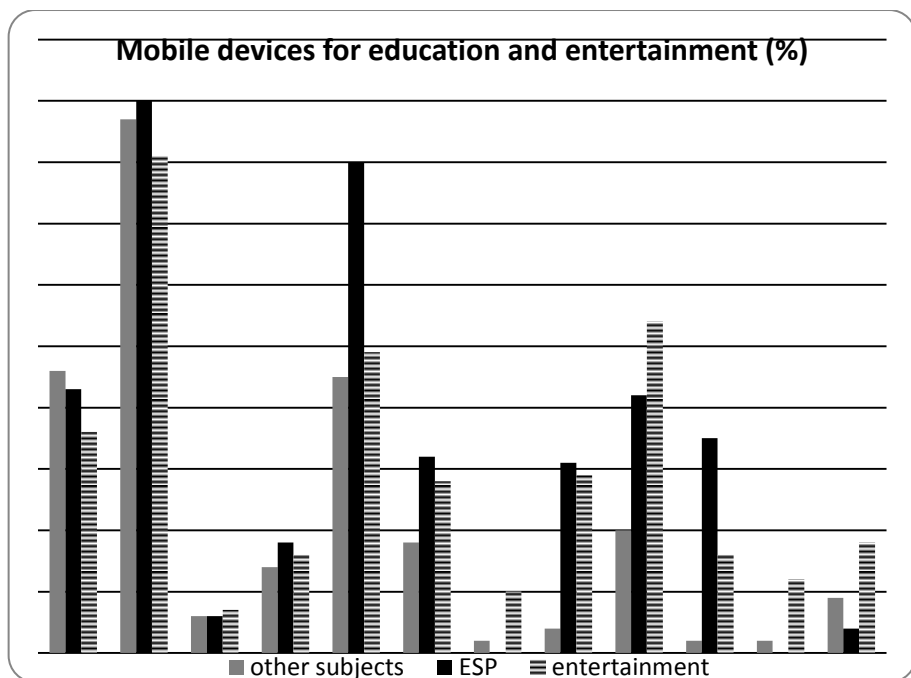
Figure 5. Mobile devices used for education and entertainment

In other subjects within higher education notebooks were detected (87%) as well as smartphones (43%), PC (42%), mobile phones (18%), tablets (18%) and netbooks (7%). Results are displayed in Figure 5.

Based on these results, we felt entitled to start the MALL process, i.e. to use the mobile devices to assist the ESP instruction. The process included after-lesson independent work in practising vocabulary, grammar, listening comprehension, written and oral discussions, as described above. When the MALL process of instruction had been closed in June 2014, respondents provided their experience and opinions with the implementation of mobile devices in MALL via the Evaluation Questionnaire (Q2). Single items drew answers to the question how the use of mobile technology was viewed by individual users (Chang, Hsu, 2011; Cheng et al., 2010) on the 1 (completely agree) – 6 (completely disagree) point scale. Following results were detected by

questionnaire Q2. As displayed in Table 1, most respondents´ feedback was highly positive.

	Statement	Evaluation coefficient
1	Compared to learning in online courses, I consider mobile approach anywhere anytime helpful in the process of ESP learning.	1.8
2	Compared to learning in online courses, I consider mobile approach anywhere anytime significantly helpful in the process of ESP learning.	2.2
3	I worked with recommended operational system and devices (if you did not, list the operating systems and devices you used).	1.3
4	I did not have any technical problems (if you did so, please explain).	1.1
5	The Internet access was as displayed in Internet signal maps	1.3
6	Would you appreciate using mobile device in ESP learning in the future?	1.14
7	Would you use mobile devices in learning other subjects in the future? (if yes, provide examples, please): Calculation applications for Accounting; animations, simulations, modelling for various IT subjects; high quality video-recordings for culture- and history-related subjects (English, German, Russian, Spanish) etc.	2.04

Table 1. The MALL feedback

Discussion

Briefly summarized, the results collected at FIM reflect the MALL implementation throughout the world. In the Czech Republic no significant items either on m-learning or MALL have been published. The reason is that m-learning has not become so common as e-learning and thus long-time data are still not available, as the latest types of mobile devices reached the users here later than in economically-strong and developed countries of the Western Europe, USA, Canada and others. Currently, the world being global, differences are quickly fading in the field of the availability of mobile devices. But the

scientifically-verified methodology (didactics) on how to implement mobile devices, particularly how to start and apply MALL into the process of instruction, is still absent.

Our study brought identical results as e.g. Viberg, Gronlund (2013) who monitored attitudes towards the use of mobile devices in second and foreign language learning in higher education taking cross-cultural view into account. They employed Kearney´s pedagogical framework to mobile learning from socio-cultural perspective (Kearney, Schuck, Burden, & Aubusson, 2012). The findings showed the positive impact on individualization (83%), collaboration (74%) and authenticity (73%), whereas gender was identified to be a predictor of differences in students´ attitudes to MALL and concluded technology was stronger culture-shaping factor than inherited cultural environment or age.

Additionally, Hsu (2013) investigated the end-users´ perception of MALL through cross-cultural analyses in seven countries and regions and discovered that despite the existence of significant differences, all respondents agreed that MALL provides potential for EFL learning. Closely relating to our research topics, in survey by Chen (2013) tablets were detected an ideal tool for interactive, collaborative and ubiquitous environment for independent informal language learning supported by students´ positive attitudes towards their usability, efficiency and satisfaction for the MALL purposes. As far as knowledge is concerned, de la Fuente (2014) focused on the aural input and indicated that learners in the MALL group demonstrated significantly higher levels of reporting noticing, bottom-up comprehension and top-down overall comprehension than learners in instructor manipulated language learning.

On the other hand, Golonka et al. (2014) summarized evidence for the effectiveness of technology use in FL learning and teaching, focusing on studies comparing the use of new technologies (mobile and portable devices, network-based social computing) to traditional methods and material (PC) and claimed a limited efficacy of mobile technologies. The strongest impact was discovered in computer-assisted pronunciation training, particularly automatic speech recognition.

Above all, related to digital library services mention above by Lorenz, open access repositories of language learning resources were also researched, e.g. by Zervas and Sampson (2014). Unfortunately, limited experimental evidence was detected about factors influencing MALL resources. We consider them very useful, as both the designing and financial support to them is demanding. These

results were verified by quantitative analysis of the reuse of MALL resources stored in Mobile2Learn Repository (Zervas & Sampson, 2013).

Other studies have demonstrated mobile technologies are helpful and appropriate for language teaching and learning, e.g. Demouy and Kukulska-Hulme (2010). In still other studies, significant improvements were detected in listening and reading skills, e.g. Kondo et al. (2012), in vocabulary development, e.g. Agca and Ozdemir (2013), in learning idioms, e.g. Kargozari and Tafazoli (2012), in English vocabulary revision, e.g. Ma, Chen, Hwang, Ding (2012), in using task-based approach to design a contextualized MALL, e.g. Tai (2012), in pronunciation, e.g. Saran, Seferoglu, Cagiltai (2009), etc.

Unfortunately, none of these studies provided any complex didactic recommendations applied either within the process of designing single activities/tools, or in the MALL implementation, as it had been done by e.g. Palalas (2012); when exploring the design of a Mobile-Enabled Language Learning (MELL) solution she defined a set of ten corresponding design principles and eight technological components which should be integrated into the system. Her proposal contributed e.g. to solving the problem of inadequate aural skill acquisition of adult ESP students in Canada, similarly to the one designed by Lorenz (2010) within the Czech educational environment.

The only valuable and rather complex result of the implementation of m-learning (but not MALL) in the Czech Republic was published in 2011 by Lorenz. Following the Corbeil and Valdes-Corbeil research design (2007), he ran a quantitative research in the group of 274 students of IT in library services study programme at Masaryk University in Brno. He analysed the concept of mobile education within the changing university environment focusing on the process of learning and the support which libraries can provide, and answered the question whether both students and teachers are ready for this process, i.e. whether

– they have learning/teaching skills to use the potential of m-learning,
– they are sufficiently equipped with mobile devices,
– they are willing/able to cover financial fees for services used,
– and what both teachers´ and students´ attitudes to such an approach are.

He also emphasized the m-learning contribution to the lifelong, mass and democratic access to education and (as a librarian) the role of digital libraries. In the proposal he applied the TPCK framework (Koehler, Mishra, 2008) reflecting the principles of problem, co-operative, active, authentic and situation learning (Lorenz, 2010, p. 6) as well as strategies towards efficient use of mobile devices

in lessons (Lorenz, 2010, 8). Despite their general nature, all of them can be applied in MALL.

We are aware that his results (Lorenz, 2010, p. 10-13) were collected in 2010, but they are comparable to FIM in several criteria, e.g.:

− 92% of students and 85% of teachers own a mobile phone, 10% of students and *27% of teachers have a smartphone (in 2010) – this is the most surprising result*; 65% students and the same number of teachers own notebooks or laptops; 61% students and 46% of teachers have MP3 players; 4% of students and none of the teachers have iPod.
− Despite the possibility to state that both parties were sufficiently equipped with mobile devices, 65% of students and 42% of teachers proclaimed insufficient readiness for m-learning, i.e. not having learning/teaching skills for efficient use. This result contrasts with Corbeil and Valdes-Corbeil results where 94% of students and 60% of teachers expressed the readiness for using mobile devices for education (from the sample group of 107 students and 30 teachers) (Corbeil, Valdes-Corbeil, 2007).
− Moreover, the total of 57% of students and 46% of teachers are willing to pay for services for education purposes and the same amount of both parties would appreciate/are going to implement mobile devices into learning/teaching.
− The most frequently used services include sending short messages 94% of students, 96 % of teachers, e-mail messages (57% of students, 65% of teachers), listening to audio-recordings and saving photos (70% of students and 58% of teachers), 54%/38% make records by themselves, instant messaging service is used by 45% of students and 27% of teachers, podcasts and audio-books are listened to by 18% of students and 12% of teachers, e-readers are used by 23% of teachers and 21% of students, 32% of students and 23% of teachers regularly access social networks, etc.

All users (teachers and learners) consider mobile devices and technologies useful, easy to use, motivating and enjoyable. These criteria provide strong impact on efficient use of mobile devices and the m-learning in general. No restrictions were detected in this field which would limit this process in MALL.

As mentioned above, the Lorenz´s study was carried in 2010, which means data have changed within the five-year-long period. This was one of the reasons why our study was important providing latest results reflecting the state in the field.

Mobile applications for ESP (Son, 2014)

Along with the advancement of mobile devices such as smartphones and tablets, a large number of educational apps have been developed and are widely available in the App Store (iOS), Play Store (Android) and other repositories. The number of language learning apps is also rapidly growing and the increasing accessibility of the apps is generating a need for their appropriate selection.

Language learning apps are defined as the apps dedicated to the learning of languages. Running on mobile platforms such as Android (Google) and iOS (Apple), there are three types:

− native apps, designed specifically for their targeted platforms and making use of all device features;
− web apps, being cross-platform websites providing users with similar looks and feelings to native apps but running on browsers;
− hybrid apps, a mix of native apps and web apps exploiting many of their device features.

They are instructional apps, which are explicitly designed with language learning in mind and can be used in and out of the language classroom. They differ from other general purpose apps (e.g. email apps, messaging apps, photo apps, audio apps and video apps) that could be used in language learning but are not originally developed for language learning. The language learning apps can be structured into two types: apps dedicated to language learning (ADLL), or apps adaptable to language learning (AALL).

Mobile apps are available in the App Store (iOS), Play Store (Android) and other repositories. Their number is continuously increasing. According to Pocketgamer.biz, the total number of active apps in the App Store (available for download) on the 15th of February 2015 was 1,515,650 and, on average, 720 new apps were submitted to the App Store every day (http://www.pocketgamer.biz/metrics/app-store/). In December 2014 the most popular categories of apps were games (21%), followed by education (10%), business (10%), lifestyle (8%) and entertainment (7%). The increasing accessibility of apps, particularly educational apps, is generating a need for the appropriate selection and use of apps for educational purposes. Mobile devices are widely available for language learners and teachers. With the enhancement of hardware and software in recent years, mp3 players have been replaced by smartphones and tablets and MALL is now essentially associated with mobile apps (Burston, 2014).

Each type of these apps has strengths and weaknesses in terms of device features, offline functioning, discoverability, speed, installation, maintenance, platform independence, content restrictions, approval process, fees, development costs, and user interface (Budiu, 2013). Siskin (2009) proposes four types of apps for language learning:

(1) built-in apps – e.g. email, voice recorders, video recorders;

(2) instructional apps – e.g.:

− AccelaStudy (http://renkara.com/applications/accelastudy.html),

− Gengo Flashcards (http://www.innovativelanguage.com/products/Gengo),

− WordPower English - http://www.you2.de/iPhoneSW/progs_wpenglish_e.html

(3) social networking apps – e.g. *Facebook*, *Skype*, *Twitter* etc.;

(4) repurposed apps – e.g.

− audioBoom (http://audioboom.com/),

− Current Postcards (http://mobilefission.blogspot.com.au/2007/06/about-current-postcards.html),

− Google Apps for Work (https://www.google.com/work/apps/business/).
Godwin-Jones (2011), on the other hand, recommends practical language learning apps including Chinese language learning programmes such as

− eStroke (http://www.eon.com.hk/estroke/),

− Pleco (http://www.pleco.com/),

− ChinesePod (http://chinesepod.com/) and flashcard tools such as Quizlet (https://quizlet.com/mobile),
or language learning apps linked to web services or online databases, particularly commercial products such as

− Rosetta Stone (http://www.rosettastone.com/mobile-apps/),

− Byki (http://www.byki.com/mobile/),

− Babbel.com (http://www.babbel.com/mobile/),

− Hello-Hello (http://www.androlib.com/android.developer.hello-hello-iqCj.aspx) etc.

Table 2 presents the list of apps for learning English as a second/foreign language (ESL/EFL) is presented. They are divided into ADLL and AALL types, including target learning activities.

ADLL: Apps Dedicated to Language Learning					
Name	**Category**	**Activity**	**Price**	**Download**	**Note**
Learn English Grammar	Education	Grammar	Free; paid	App Store; Play Store	3 free sample question packs
Learn English Podcasts	Education	Listening, culture	Free	App Store; Play Store	Podcasts
Learn English, Speak English by SpeakingPal	Education	Speaking	Free; paid	App Store; Play Store	Pronunciation feedback
Learn Languages with busuu	Education	Listening, speaking, vocabulary reading, writing	Free; paid	App Store; Play Store	Learning activities and tests
Practice English Grammar	Education	Grammar	Free; paid	App Store; Play Store	Lessons and tests
Sounds: The Pronunciation App Free	Education	Pronunciation	Free	App Store; Play Store	Premium version available
Real Deal English	Language course	Listening, culture	Free	App Store; Play Store	Podcasts
AALL: Apps Adaptable to Language Learning					
English Idioms Illustrated	Education	Vocabulary, reading	Free; paid	App Store	20 free idioms
iTunes U	Education	Listening, reading, writing, speaking, etc.	Free	App Store	Free courses
Pirate treasure hunt: Eight challenges	Education	Listening, reading	Free	App Store	Problem solving
TED	Education	Listening	Free	App Store; Play Store	Videos and audios
Advanced English Dictionary & Thesaurus	Reference	Vocabulary	Free; paid	App Store; Play Store	Lexical database

Dictionary.com	Reference	Vocabulary, pronunciation	Free; paid	App Store; Play Store	Offline access
Toy Story Read-Along	Book	Reading, listening	Free	App Store	Interactive reading
Dilbert Mobile	Entertainment	Reading, culture	Free	App Store; Play Store	Comics
Podcasts	Entertainment	Listening, culture	Free	App Store	Podcasts

Table 2: Mobile Apps for Learning English
(Source: http://www.apacall.org/member/sonjb/projects/apps/)

Conclusion

Information and communication technologies help education overcome the gap between time and space. M-learning, based on learners´/teachers´ ownership of mobile devices and mastering skills on how to use them for educational purposes, including their willingness to cover related financial requirements for services used, is a natural solution for the net generation of "digital natives" (Prensky, 2001), as it puts together favourite learning aims (i.e. mobile devices) and methods of constructivism, connectivism, collaborative active learning and others. All these factors result in strengthening learners´ motivation to learn as well as enabling to run the process of learning in the way which is natural for them. The efficiency of such a learning process has been subject of current and future research activities, focused mainly on its didactic potential. Numerous surveys have been published, but didactic ones related to the Czech education and MALL environment are still missing. Mobile technologies´ affordances in specific learning activities and learning contents (subjects, topics), difficult financial situation in the field of education in last years, ethical problems related to the use of mobile devices – these are the hot topics which should be researched and solved in the near future. The didactic design of the implementation of mobile devices in MALL (as well as in other subjects to some extent) should also consider the problem of unlimited availability of the teacher, which is a strongly positive feature from the learners´ side, but logically very conflicted from the teachers´ view. The ethical feeling of non-/contacting the teacher is connected to a general level of behaviour and good manners. And, current learners, being allowed to feel free, sometimes disrupt this gentle border line.

Despite this and as most results show, vast majority of both students and teachers are ready for efficient incorporation of mobile devices into MALL and other subjects. Didactic recommendations from experienced users in

technologically developed countries can help substantially. MALL still has many challenges (Burston, 2014), but the popularity of apps on smartphones and tablets and the number of language learning apps are likely to increase further. In MALL, learners are encouraged to combine formal and informal learning. Moreover, mobile apps provide learners with a great way to achieve the goal of connecting learning with real life experiences. It is recommended that more app-based research should be conducted to explore different aspects of apps from diverse perspectives and MALL training opportunities should be offered to teachers.

Acknowledgment

References

Abdullah, M.R.T.L. et al. (2013). M-learning scaffolding model for undergraduate English language learning: Bridging formal and informal learning. *TOJET: The Turkish Online Journal of Educational Technology*, 12(2), 217-233.

Agca, R. K. & Ozdemir, S. (2013). Foreign language vocabulary learning with mobile technologies. In *2nd world conference on educational technology research, Vol. 83* (pp. 781-785).

Budiu, R. (2013). Mobile: Native apps, web apps, and hybrid apps. Retrieved from http://www.nngroup.com/articles/mobile-native-apps/

Burston, J. (2014). MALL: The pedagogical challenges. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, 24(4), 344-357.

Chang, C. K. & Hsu, C. K. (2011). A mobile assisted synchronously collaborative translation-annotation system for English as a foreign language (EFL) reading comprehension. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, 24(2), 155-180.

Chen, X. B. (2013). Tablets for informal language learning: student usage and attitudes. *Language Learning & Technology*, 17(1), 20-37.

Cheng, S. C., Hwang, W. Y., Wu, S. Y., Shadiev, R. & Xie, C. H. (2010). A mobile device and online system with contextual familiarity and its effects on English learning on campus. *Educational Technology and Society*, 13(3), 93-109.

Corbeil, J. R. & Valdes-Corbeil, M. E. (2007). Are You Ready for Mobile Learning? *Educause Quarterly*, 30(2), 51-58. Retrieved from http://www.educause.edu/ero/article/are-you-ready-mobile-learning

de la Fuente, M. J. (2014). Learners´ attention to input during focus on form listening tasks: the role of mobile technology in the second language classroom. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, 27(3), 261-276.

Demouy, V. & Kukulska-Hulme, A. (2010). On the spot: Using mobile devices for listening and speaking practice on a French language programme. *Open Learning: The Journal of Open, Distance and e-Learning*, 25(3), 217-232.

Godwin-Jones, R. (2011). Emerging technologies: Mobile apps for language learning. *Language Learning & Technology*, 15(2), 2-11. Retrieved from http://llt.msu.edu/issues/june2011/emerging.pdf

Golonka, E. M., Bowles A. R., Frank, V. M., Richardson, D. L. & Freynik, S. (2014). Technologies for foreign language learning. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, 27(1), 70-105.

Hsu, L. W. (2013). English as a foreign language learners´ perception of mobile assisted language learning: a cross-national study. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, 26 (3), 197-213.

Kaptelinin, V. & Nardi, B. (2006). Acting with technology: Activity theory and interaction design. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Kargozari, H. R. & Tafazoli, D. (2012). Idiom on the move. In *INTED 2012: 6th international conference on technology, education and development, INTED Proceedings* (pp. 3866-3869).

Kearney, M., Schuck, S., Burden, K., & Aubusson, P. (2012). Viewing mobile learning from a pedagogical perspective. *Research in Learning Technology*, 20, 1-17.

Koehler, M. J. & Mishra, P. (2008). Introducing TPCK. In J. A. Colbert, K. E. Boyd, K. A. Clark, S. Guan, J. B. Harris, M. A. Kelly & A. D. Thompson (Eds.), *Handbook of Technological Pedagogical Content Knowledge for Educators* (pp. 1–29). New York, Routledge.

Kondo, M., Ishikawa, Y., Smith, C., Sakamoto, K., Shimomura, H. & Wada, N. (2012). Mobile assisted language learning in university EFL courses in Japan: developing attitudes and skills for self-regulated learning. *Recall*, 24, Part 2, 169-187.

Koole, M. L. (2009). A Model for framing mobile learning. In M. Ally (Ed.), *Mobile Learning. Transforming the Delivery of Education and Training* (pp. 25-48). AU Press, Athabasca University.

Liang, L., Liu, T., Wang, H., Chang, B., Deng, Y., Yang, J., ... Chan, T. (2005). A few design perspectives on one-on-one digital classroom environment. Journal of Computer Assisted Learning, 21 (3), 181-189.

Lorenz, M. (2011). Kde nechala škola díru: m-learning aneb Vzdělání pro záškoláky [Where school let a hole yawn: m-learning or education for truants]. ProInflow, 19 p. Retrieved from http://pro.inflow.cz/kde-nechala-skola-diru-m-learning-aneb-vzdelani-pro-zaskolaky

Ma, Z. H., Chen, S. Y., Hwang, W. Y. & Ding, W. J. (2012). Digital game-based after-school-assisted learning system in English. In *IEEE international symposium on intelligent signal processing and communications systems* (pp. 130-135).

Norman, D. (1999). Affordance, conventions and design. *Interactions,* 6(3), 38-43.

Pieri, M. & Diamantini, D. (2009). From e-learning to mobile learning: New opportunities. In M. Ally (Ed.), *Mobile learning: Transforming the delivery of education and training* (pp. 183-194). AU Press, Athabasca University.

Palalas, A. (2012). *Design guidelines for a Mobile-Enabled Language Learning system supporting the development of ESP listening skills.* Doctoral dissertation, Athabasca University. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10791/17

Prensky, M. (2001). Digital natives, digital immigrants. *On the Horizon*, 9(5).

Roschelle, J. (2003). Unlocking the learning value of wireless mobile devices. *Journal of Computer Assisted Learning*, 19(3), 260-272.

Saran, M., Seferoglu, G. & Cagiltai, K. (2009). Mobile assisted language learning: English pronunciation at learners´ fingertips. *Egitim Arastirmalari - Eurasian Journal of Educational Research*, 8(34), 97-114.

Siskin, C. B. (2009). Language learning applications for smartphones, or small can be beautiful. Retrieved from http://edvista.com/claire/pres/smartphones/

Smith, P. & Ragan, T. (1999). *Instructional design. 2nd ed*. Toronto: John Wiley & Sons.

Son, J. B. (2014). Selecting mobile apps for learning English as a second/foreign language: An evaluation approach. Paper presented at the Globalization and Localization in CALL (GLoCALL) 2014 Conference, Ahmedabad, Gujarat, India.

Tai, Y. M. (2012). Contextualizing a MALL: practice design and evaluation. *Educational Technology & Society*, 15(2), 220-230.

Traxler, J. (2009). Current state of mobile learning. In M. Ally (Ed.), *Mobile Learning. Transforming the Delivery of Education and* Training (pp. 9 – 24). AU Press, Athabasca University.

Viberg, O. & Gronlund, A. (2013). Cross-cultural analysis of users´ attitudes towards the use of mobile devices in second and foreign language learning in higher education: A case study from Sweden and China. *Computer & Education*, 69, 169-180.

Vygotsky, L. (1978). Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes. In M. Cole, V. John-Steiner, S. Scribner & E. Souberman (Eds.). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Zervas, P. & Sampson, D. G. (2014). Facilitating teachers reuse of mobile assisted language learning resources using educational metadata. *IEEE Transaction on Learning Technologies*, 7(1), 6-16.

Zervas, P. & Sampson, D. G. (2013). A quantitative analysis of the reuse of mobile assisted language learning resources: The case of Mobile2Learn Repository. *13th IEEE international conference on advanced learning technologies* ICALT (pp. 36-40).

Contact
Assoc. Prof. PhDr. Ivana Šimonová, PhD.
University of Hradec Kralove
Rokitanskeho 62
50003 Hradec Kralove, Czech Republic
ivana.simonova@uhk.cz

DE GRUYTER
OPEN

Towards a lexicographic account of *GIRL*:
forms, meanings and values

Przemysław Łozowski
Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Poland
prloz@wp.pl

Summary

Lexicography is basically concerned with the meaning and use of words. In recent times, lexicographers have investigated not only the meanings of words in their mutual systemic relations (e.g., synonymy, antonymy, hoponymy etc.), but modern lexicographic research has extended its interest into the area of studying the way words are used and, in particular, how lexical associations are used and how various meanings linked to individual lexical items are reflected in the areas of their word-formation; phraseological and paremiological productivity of lexicography is, therefore, directly connected to phraseology because the target of both disciplines is to investigate sets of fixed expressions (idioms, phrasal verbs, etc.) and other types of multi-word lexical units. This paper makes an attempt to make an in-depth lexicographic account of the lexical item *girl* and its productivity, as evidenced in lexicographic sources**.** Our sample data may provide a starting point for producing an alternative reference work for non-native learners of English.

Keywords

lexicography, historical productivity, bilingual/monolingual dictionaries, lexical units, productivity, evolution

Introduction

It is hardly surprising that the intense contemporary interest in *EFL* teaching has recently fostered the development of a deep concern with language learning tools, and – in particular – lexicographic tools. With little experience in the selection and use of dictionaries, one may be tempted to seize upon voluminous reference works, being under the impression that there exists some correlation between the book size and the language input. Simultaneously, it is apparent that vocabulary-learning tools are immensely varied.

By laying open the recent achievements in *EFL* lexicography and by pointing out the areas where further changes and improvements would be welcome, the present study aims to shed some light on the issue of the way words are used and, in particular, how metaphorical associations build new senses and how various meanings linked to individual lexical items are reflected in word-formation, phraseological and paremiological productivity. Lexicography is, therefore, directly connected with phraseology because the target of both disciplines is to investigate sets of fixed expressions (idioms, phrasal verbs, etc.) and other types of multi-word lexical units. At this point, a few choice remarks would appear pertinent concerning the reason why this particular category plays such an important role. As mentioned by Jackson (1988, p. 176), "[...] language learners, like all users of language, employ language in two functions: decoding [...] and encoding". Compilers of *EFL* dictionaries declare that special emphasis is placed on aiding the user in encoding correct and natural sentences in the target language (cf. Jackson, 1988, p. 176). Although the field of lexicography has been developing at an unprecedented pace, there still remains the problem of the indispensable requirements that any lexicographical description will have to address if it is to be somehow satisfactory (cf. Łozowski, 2014 and 2015).

This paper makes an attempt to illustrate some of the lexicographic problems that the word history of the English lexical item *girl* may pose.

1. Etymology and semantics of *girl*

When viewed from a purely diachronic perspective, one may speak about 3 lexical manifestations of *GIRL*, namely the nominal form *GIRL 1,* the central sense of which today is "girl, young woman", and this will be the main target of our semantic and lexicographic enquiry. Secondly, there is the denominal zero-derived verbal form *GIRL 2* that is currently used in the sense "to equip, provide with girls", and finally one must mention here yet another verbal form *GIRL 3* used in the sense "to thrill, whirl" that has apparently little to do with either female-specific human reference of the nominal form *GIRL 1* or the verbal form *GIRL 2.* To be more precise, in terms of English regional dialects, the usage of the verbal form *GIRL 3* "to thrill, whirl" is largely restricted to northern English, and thus it will be marked with the <REGIONAL LABEL: NORTHERN/SCOTTISH>. The origin of *GIRL 3* goes back to the beginning of the 19th century (1820 Ye hae gart a' my flesh *girrel*, [...] Its no deth it feirs me, but the efter-kum garis my hert *girle*. > 1894 Juist like the threshing mill at Drumsheugh scraiking and *girling* till it's fairly aff). More specifically, it is suggested in the *OED* that the etymology of the verb may have been onomatopoeic, and although there is hardly any direct proof

of this hypothesis, one is justified to posit, on somewhat speculative basis, the etymological marking <ORIGIN LABEL: ONOMATOPOEIC>. However, as evidenced by the lexicographic sources of today, the semantics of *GIRL 3* seems to have been subject to the process of alteration, and although *GIRL 3* has generally disappeared from the lexico-semantic system of English, it is evidenced by Warrack's *CSDD* (2000) that in present-day Scottish English the noun *girl/girle* continues to be used in the sense "to tingle, to shrill".

Let us now pass onto the denominal *GIRL 2* that is obviously etymologically connected with the nominal form *GIRL 1* centrally aimed at in the present account. In present-day English, the verb *to girl* may be used transitively in the sense "to provide with girl/girls," and – employed in this sense – the verb is first documented in the mid-17th century English (*a*1635 Nor hast thou in his nuptiall armes enjoy'd Barren imbraces, but wert *girl'd* and boy'd. > 1959 Gifts ranged from trinkets to Cadillacs, and on to the 'loan of a yacht, liquored, fuelled and *girled*.). The verbal sense discussed here was subject to extensions. One may speak about the development of the specialised sense of the verb that may be defined as "to provide a vessel or another workplace with female staff", as it were a somewhat conscious and humorous alternative to the verbal form *to man.* In this sense the verb appears for the first time at the end of the 19th century, and the use is evidenced through the 20th century (1886 She oft Quite longs to '*girl* the boats'. > 1990 Both vessels were manned, or rather, boyed and *girled*, by the members of the Canadian Children's Opera Chorus.).[1]

GIRL 1 is the nominal form with the central sense "girl, young woman", and this is – historically speaking – the major sense of the lexical item in question, both in terms of history of the English lexicon, as well as synchronic polysemous status in present-day word-stock. Today, the word is of totally obscure origin, much as it was at the time when Johnson's *DEL* (1785) was published,[2] hence one

---

[1] Apart from the senses documented in the *OED,* there is yet another recent usage of the verb *to girl* that is itemized both in Partridge's *DSUE* (1937) and Spears' *SE* (1991). The 18th-20th sense is "to consort with women" or "to make love to women", although in the former dictionary the sense is described as the one restricted to the Oxford University environment, and hence the use of this sense may be marked with the <STYLISTIC LABEL: UNIVERSITY LINGO>. It seems fairly obvious that this use of the verbal form may be somehow related to the earlier 19th century expression *to go girling* which is evidenced in the sense "to go looking for loose women".

[2] The etymological uncertainty of early lexicographers becomes obvious when we consider the number of possible etymological paths given in Johnson's *DEL* (1785).

is justified to postulate the label <ORIGIN LABEL: UNCERTAIN>. Obviously, in lexicographic historical research in particular much etymological attention has been dedicated to tracing back the roots of the word. Liberman's *ADEE* (2008) dedicates much space to tracing the origin of the noun, and the discussion offered there may be summarized by the following quote from the dictionary:

Attempts to trace *girl* to an Old English, Old Germanic, or Proto-Indo-European etymon have not yielded convincing results. *Girl* was probably borrowed into Middle English from Low German approximately when it surfaced in texts. In *GIRL l*, there is a diminutive suffix that occurs in many Germanic words that designated children, (young) animals, and all kinds of creatures considered worthless.

Reid's *DEL* (1857) argues in favour of the Latin origin of the word.[3] Other more recent etymological dictionaries, such as for example Klein's *CEDEL* (1966), favour the Germanic origin of the word. According to the *OED,* the nominal form

_____

3

GIRL. *n. f.* [About the etymology of this word there is much question: *Meric Ca-fanbon*, as is his custom, derives it from *κόρη* of the same signification; *Minshew* from *garrula*, Latin, a prattler, or *girella*, Italian, a weathercock; *Junius* thinks that it comes from *herlodes*, Welsh, from which, says he, *harlot* is very easily deduced. *Skinner* imagines that the Saxons, who used ceorl for a man, might likewise have ceorla for a woman, though no such word is now found. Dr. *Hickes* derives it most probably from the Islandick *karlinna*, a woman.] A young woman, or female child.

In those unfledg'd days was my wife a *girl*. *Shak.*
I will love thee ne'er the less, my *girl*. *Shak.*
The foole Amphimaclius, to field brought gold to be his wracke,
Proude *girle* like, that doth ever beare her dowre upon her backe. *Chapman.*
A weather-beaten lover, but once known,
Is sport for every *girl* to practise on. *Donne.*
'Tragedy should blush as much to stoop
To the low mimick follies of a farce,
As a grave matron would to dance with *girls*. *Roscommon.*
A boy, like thee, would make a kingly line;
But oh! a *girl*, like her, must be divine! *Dryden.*

Girl, *n.* (L. *gerula!*) a female child; a young woman.

girl that surfaced in the history of English in the Late Middle English period may continue Anglo-Saxon unattested form **gyrela* (for which the historical equivalent in LG *gære,* "boy, girl" is found).[4] This theory gets more grounds in view of the fact that indeed – much like in Low German *göre* "a young person" – in some Scottish dialects *girl* means either "a young male" or "a young female." Other lexicographic reference works have little to say on the etymology of the female-specific noun in question. For example, Moser's *WMH* (1986) puts it in a straightforward manner when he says that "Nothing is known of the history of girl before its appearance in English, and no clearly related forms exist in any other language." Weekley's *EDME* (1921) takes no stand as to the roots of the word, at the same time admitting that the etymology of many human-specific nouns, such as *boy, lad, lass* lies in obscurity, and – it may be presumed – the Mod.E. meaning of many of them results from "[…] jocular transferred uses of words that had originally different meaning" (cf. Harper's *OED*, 2001). The only truly etymological remark that is made by the famous etymologist is that the form *girl* is a diminutive form of "[…] some unknown word". Harper's *OED* (2001) proposes another etymological link by positing a connection between Mod.E. *girl* and Anglo-Saxon form *gierela* "garment". Partdridge's *WOSEDME* (1966) proposes yet another line of etymological speculations in saying that the Mid.E. words *girle/gerle/gurle* may ultimately go back to Celtic roots (cf. Ir *caile* Ga-Ir *cailin* 'a girl'), although – as an alternative – the author admits that it is far more probable that *girl* is of Germanic origin. Likewise, in Hendrickson's *FFEWPO* (2008) the track of Celtic ancestry is pursued, as it is suggested that one of the possibilities is to trace the roots of the word in the Anglo-Irish *girlun* and the Irish *cailin/colleen.*

As we have seen there is much controversy as to the origin of the word, yet it is a historical fact that the word is first documented for the Late Middle English period in the sense "a child or young person of either sex", and – as frequently pointed out in the etymological reference works – the noun was most frequently used in plural (see the *OED* and Room's *DCM* 1986).[5] The first attestations of the

---

[4] This theory – though supported by many etymologists – must be taken with a pinch of salt, as the *OED* editors want it because it involves uncertain phonological assumptions, and the late appearance *gürle* in Mid.E. (13th century), while the supposedly corresponding word in Low German is recoded only from the 17th century may make the connection between the two words even more dubious.

[5] Room's *DCM* (1986) quotes the following passage from the *Prologue* to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (1396), where the noun is used in plural and reference is to young men:

word in this early sense come from the end of the 13th century, but the historically original sense of the noun seems to have disappeared from the system of English already at the beginning of the Early Modern English period (c 1290 And suyþe gret prece of *gurles* and Men: comen hire al-a-boute. > c 1450 Ne delf þou neuer nose thyrle With thombe ne fyngur, as ȝong *gyrle*.). Let us point to the fact that originally the gender distinction between the intended meanings of *girl* was made by means of compounding, and so while *knave girl* was used in the sense "a boy", the formation *gay girl* was used in the sense "girl, young woman". Obviously the gender non-specific sense of the noun is not to be heard in present-day English, and hence on is justified in postulating the relevant marking <CURRENCY LABEL: OBSOLETE>.

Interestingly enough, the semantic history of *girl* provides us with an example of what has come to be known as reverse zoosemy which takes place in the case of those lexical items that are originally used with reference to human beings (of whichever gender), and – by the mechanism of metaphor – come later to be associated with animal-specific senses (see, for example, Kleparski 1997, Kiełtyka 2008). By contrast, the phenomenon of regular zoosemy is the process of transfer of those names that are originally associated with variously perceived animals, that – through the process of animal metaphor – come to be secondarily applied with respect to people to encode various qualities of their looks, and/or behaviour and traits of character. And so, while the semantic histories of such lexical items as *mare* and *cow* are typical examples of the mechanism of regular zoosemy, the history of *girl* is a typical case of reverse zoosemy which took place very early at the close of the Early Modern English period when the human-specific *girl* developed the animal-specific sense "a roebuck in its second year" and hence – through the rise of this sense – the noun was associated for a certain period of time with the <FIELD LABEL: ANIMALS>. The evidence of its use in the animal-specific sense is restricted to the period of more or less 250 years (1486 The first yere he [the Roobucke] is a kyde. The secunde yere he is a *gerle.* The thirde yere an hemule. > 1726 *Girle* (among Hunters) a Roe-buck of 2 Years.), and

---

In daunger hadde he at his owne gyse
The yonge girles of the diocyse,
And knew hir counseil, and was al hir reed.
That is: He, [the Summoner, who summoned sinners to court before a church trial] had all the young fellows of the diocese in his power, and not only had all their confidences but advised them what to do.

this animal-specific sense of the word is obsolete today and, therefore, it must be marked as <CURRENCY LABEL: OLD-FASHIONED>, although – as shown by *LED Dictionary* – in present day English the noun may be used with respect to female of an animal, such as dog, cat or horse.[6]

The present-day central sense of the analyzed noun made its first appearance in the first decades of the 16th century when *girl* started to be used in a novel female-specific sense "a female child; a young unmarried woman". Naturally, from the logical point of view one is entitled to speak here of the process of specialization (narrowing) of meaning, whereby a more general sense "a child or young person of either sex" has to do with the passage of time with respect to the parameter of gender, the phenomenon very frequent in the history of many human-specific nouns in various natural languages. The word is first documented in the novel human-and-female specific sense for the first half of the 16th century, and – with time – this very sense thread acquired the status of central sense of *girl* and has remained such till this day (1530 A *gyrle* [F. garce] havyng laughyng eyes. > 1894 No *girl* is ever quite good enough to marry any mother's son.). In present-day English, as evidenced by many representative dictionaries of current usage *girl* is frequently used not only with reference to young women, but also – in a very much generalized sense "a woman (irrespective of age)". Whichever the sense threads we consider as the synchronically central one, subject-wise the

---

[6] Johnson and Walker's *DEL* (1828) published almost 100 years after the date of the last quotation given in the *OED* (1726) provides evidence that the animal-specific sense "a roebuck in its second year" was no longer in common usage at the time of publication of the dictionary. The relevant fragment of this early lexicographic work reads:

GIRL, (gerl) *n. s.* A young woman, or female child.
GIRLHOOD, (gerl'-hud) *n. s.* The state of a girl.
GIRLISH, (gerl'-ish) *a.* Suiting a girl; youthful.
GIRLISHLY, (gerl'-ish-le) *ad.* In a girlish manner.

However, one of the mid-19th century editions of Johnson's *DEL* (1853) still includes the sense "a roebuck in its second year" in the account of the semantics of *girl.*

GIRL. *n. s.* [*karlinna*, Icelandick.] A young woman, or female child. *Shakspeare.* Among sportsmen, a roebuck of two years of age. *Chambers.*

noun is marked with <FIELD LABEL: HUMAN BEING>.[7] As pointed out by Spears' *DASCE* (2000) today many representatives of female kind find this usage objectionable as demeaning to women (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *A bunch of us girls got together for coffee today. // Would you girls care to come over to my house next week?*), and hence one may justifiably speak about postulating here the <USAGE LABEL: DEMEANING/DISAPPROVING> marking.

For the middle of the 17th century one may speak about the rise of two different senses, and – from the logical point of view – one is justified in speaking about the process of further semantic specialization of *girl*. To start with, one has grounds to argue for the rise of socially negatively charged sense of the word which was coupled with the formation of a specialized meaning "a maid servant", particularly evident in the semantics of the complex formation *girl-of-all-work.* (1668 My wife is upon hanging the long chamber, where the *girl* lies, with the sad stuff that was in the best chamber. > 1882, I [a landlady] must look to it myself, for I never yet see a *gurl* I could trust with a hegg. // 1883 A dirty, slipshod *girl-of-all-work* bawled at me from the area.), and hence for this meaning extension one is justified to postulate the value marker <AXIOLOGICAL LABEL: SOCIALLY(NEG.)> that marks the effects of social pejoration of the historical sense along the scale proposed in Kleparski (1990). As pointed out by Mills' *WDWW* (1989) the use of *girl* for a female employed as a domestic labourer continued into the 20th century when the word came to be applied to any female worker, such as secretary or shop assistant.

For the same historical period of time, one may speak about the rise of a semantically positively coloured sense "a sweetheart, lady-love", and this case of

---

[7] The rise of this generalized sense is indirectly evidenced by the semantics of the formation *little girls' room* that may be used either in the sense 'the girls' restroom' or 'the women's restroom' (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *Can you please tell me where the little girls' room is? //Is there an attendant in the little girls' room?* Likewise, one may say that the semantics of the 20th century formation *call-girl* and *working girl* alludes to the generalized sense of *girl* where the noun is evidently age non-specific, and the compound makes reference to any female which is on call as a prostitute (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *The cops dragged in a whole flock of call-girls after the convention*). The semantics of *working girl* is again age non-specific as the compound is used in the sense 'a whore, especially a streetwalker, as distinguished from a higher-class call-girl' (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *They call themselves working girls. [...] Their work is a 'business', or even . . . a 'social service'.' . . . By the prostitute's code, prostitution is moral . . . 'what's immoral is giving it away free, sleeping around with anyone*).

historical sense amelioration that may be marked as <AXIOLOGICAL LABEL: AFFECTIONATE/ENDEARING> is documented from the middle of the 17th century till present-day times (1648 Some ask'd how Pearls did grow, and where? Then spoke I to my *Girle*, To part her lips, and shew'd them there The Quarelets of Pearl. > 1952 He even had a *girl,* although he said he wouldn't marry her until he was cleared of the murder charge.), and today it is still the means of addressing one's girlfriend or fiancée that is marked as <STYLISTIC LABEL: INFORMAL>.[8] Let us point to the fact that, in general, the process of amelioration (the rise of positively loaded sense) is much less frequent than the development of pejoratively loaded senses, and – in particular – it is extremely infrequent in the case of female-specific words. Current historical research provides ample evidence that it is much more frequent for words that are marked as <FEMALE> to undergo the process of degeneration of meaning (on this issue see, for example, Kleparski, 1997; Kochman-Haładyj & Kleparski, 2011).

As pointed out earlier, for the middle of the 17th century one may speak about the rise of socially pejorative sense "maid, female servant", while at the beginning of the 18th century – as shown by the *OED* material – the semantics of the noun underwent the process of further degeneration, that has traditionally been referred to as moral pejoration with the resultant newly derived sense "a prostitute",[9] frequently as a part of such collocations as *a girl about/of the town* and *a girl of ease* (1711 I know not whether you have ever heard of the famous *girl* about Town called Kitty: This Creature was my Mistress. > 2001 Every *girl-about-town* knows that accessories are the best way to funk up any outfit.). This pejoratively charged extension in the polysemic growth of *girl* will be marked here as <AXIOLOGICAL LABEL: MORALLY(NEG.)>.[10] One observes that the

---

[8] As part of the process of amelioration Mills' *WDWW* (1989) points to the fact that in the late 18th century *kind girl* – later abbreviated later to *girl* – was applied with reference to mistresses which, although a step down from the sense "sweetheart" was far less pejoratively loaded than the sense "prostitute". Likewise, since the 19th century *best girl* has been used in the sense "man's fiancée".

[9] Holder's *DE* (1995) believes that the sense "prostitute" developed from the earlier meaning "a sweetheart", the hypothesis that has good grounds because a number of endearing terms in the history of English have – with time – shifted in the direction of moral opprobrium.

[10] The existence of the morally loaded sense 'prostitute' is also testified indirectly, for example, through the rise of such idiomatic expressions as *to have been after the girls* which, starting from the 1860s, was used with reference to men who have contracted syphilis or gonorrhea through sexual contact with prostitutes.

semantics of *girl* is a case of historically relatively dense polysemic structure, with several senses evaluatively charged in many easily conspicuous ways. When we analyse the lexicographic works of current English we come to the conclusion that many of the senses that have been discussed, though by no means all, have survived until present-day stage.[11] In none of the dictionaries of current English that have been used for sense verification do we find the historically documented pejoratively loaded senses "female servant" or the sense "prostitute" which – with regard to the parameter of their frequency – must be marked as bearing <CURRENCY LABEL: OBSOLETE>; however, this does not mean that the senses are not contextually realized in English in day-to-day communication. As we shall see further on many *girl*-based formations are employed in slang register in various sex-related senses. Secondly, we observe that the dictionaries of present-day English that have been used for verification are far from being unanimous with respect to the semantic range of polysemous *girl* in present-day English usage. As the table below shows the dictionaries of current English vary greatly as to the number of senses, less so with respect to the definitions of individual senses. Evidently, the most detailed account of the semantics of the noun is given in LED *Dictionary.*

GIRL 1 in dictionaries of current English	
MACMILLAN *Dictionary*	1) "a female child" 2) 'daughter' 3) "little girl"
COBUILD *Dictionary*	1) "a female child" 2) "a daughter" 3) "a young woman" 4) <STYLISTIC LABEL: INFORMAL> "girlfriend"

---

[11] Apart from the main female-specific historical senses discussed in the foregoing, in the 19th century American colloquial usage there developed the sense "a black woman", the sense that is documented only for the 19th century and deserves a <CURRENCY LABEL: OBSOLETE> in present-day American English (1835 They always address them [sc. the slaves] as "boy" and *"girl"*, to all under forty years of age. > 1879 You must remember that all colored women are *"girls"*. Also, plural *girls* marked as <STYLISTIC LABEL: COLLOQUIAL> may be used in the sense "all girls together" (1931 It would be terrible if she wanted to be *all-girls-together* with me about him. > 1961 I got her softened up. *Girls-together* stuff.).

LED *Dictionary*	1) "a female child" 2) "a daughter" 3) <USAGE LABEL: OFFENSIVE> "a woman, especially a young woman" 4) "a girlfriend" 5) <REGIONAL LABEL: AMERICAN> <STYLISTIC LABEL: INFORMAL> "female friend" 6) <CURRENCY LABEL: OLD-FASHIONED> "a young woman who works in a factory, shop, office etc." 7) <CURRENCY: OLD-FASHIONED> "female of an animal" 8) "female of an animal: dog, cat, horse"
CALD *Dictionary*	1) "a female child" 2) "a young woman"

2. Word formation and phraseological potential of *girl*

When we delve into the layer of the historically attested *girl*-based formations we must acknowledge a substantial variety of *girl*-based compounds, *of*-phrases and other formations both in British English and American English, but their presence is also found in other regional varieties of English, such as Australian English rhyming slang, where – as shown by Franklyn's *DRS* (1975) – such rhyme-based formations as and *girl and boy* that served to encode the sense "saveloy", and *girl abductor* used in the sense "bus conductor" were used extensively in the 19th and 20th centuries respectively, and due to their regional character they deserve to be marked accordingly as <REGIONAL LABEL: AUSTRALIAN>. First of all, however, like in the majority of female-specific nouns analyzed in this work, *girl* has been historically relatively productive in the formation of compounds many of which – as shown by the set of examples itemized below – originated during the course of the 19th century, in most of the cases with the noun *girl* as sex indicator, though not always directly in such derivatives as *girlery* used in the sense "brothel" and *girlometer* and *girl catcher* which were colloquial synonyms for the penis that must be marked as <STYLISTIC LABEL: COLLOQUIAL> (see Mills' *WDWW* 1989). Let us point to the fact that the semantics of the noun *girlery* "brothel" belongs to the same axiological sphere as the historically evidenced sense "prostitute" that was earlier marked as <AXIOLOGICAL LABEL: MORALLY(NEG.)>.

Obviously, it is hardly possible to take into consideration and account for all historically documented formations featuring the noun *girl* as a constitutive

element. In the American West 19th century lingo alone, there were numerous words and expressions used with reference to young women, especially those of doubtful morals such as, for example, *crib girl, dance-hall girl, girl of the night* and *girl of the line* the semantics of which naturally requires <AXIOLOGICAL LABEL: MORALLY(NEG.)>.[12] Many of the complex lexical items with the noun *girl* as a constitutive element surfaced in English during the course of the 20th century, for example the formation *le girls* used collectively in the sense "girls" specifically "chorus girls" (1938 The sceptic rut that places the objects of its curiosity on the level of *Les Girls*.).[13] Significantly, only very few of the documented compounds go back to the earlier stages of the development of English, such as, for example, the compound *girl-boyes* (1589 *Girle-boyes, fauouring Ganimede. // 1598 And in my place vpon this regal throne, To set that *girle-boy* wanton Gaueston.). The following set provides a representative sample of 19th-20th century material documented in the *OED*:

19th-20th century *girl*-based complex formations
girl-bride
> (1847 Young Mrs. Rochester—Fairfax Rochester's *girl-bride*.)

girl widow
> (1837 Inflamed to madness by the coquetry of the *girl-widow.*)

girl-wife
> (1857 The young girl-wife who lives there is very lovely.)

girl-worker
> (1895 The girl-workers taking their wages home.)

girl-friend
> (1859 A demure little widow, much more gay and girlish than any of her

girl-friends
> (when she chose to forsake her rôle.) [14]

---

[12] While the first three formations are self-explanatory the *of-* phrase that reads *girl of the line* is one of the many Western synonyms for *prostitute* who were called so because they did their business in tents lined up in cow towns, mining camps and the like (see Blevins' *DAW,* 1993).

[13] In extended use "women collectively", frequently considered in the context of their sexual activity or availability *les girls* is used in present-day English.

[14] A shown by Spears *DACE* (2000) in recent times *girlfriend* has developed a new usage as the compound may be used as a term of address between females in the sense "one's female friend" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *Look, girlfriend, you can't let him treat you like that! // Hey, girlfriend! What's in the bag?* In American sex slang – as shown by Norris'

girl-soldier

> (1895 To see and listen to the wonderful *girl-soldier* [sc. Joan of Arc].)

girl-graduate

> (1847 Sweet *girl-graduates* in their golden hair.)

girl-like

> (1852 *girl-like* maiden-mother bowed down before the crib.)

girl-mother

> (1861 What art thou whispering lowly to thy babe, O wan *girl-mother*?)

girl-nature

> (1876 Was it no true, he had to admit, that he knew nothing of *girl-nature*?)

girl-warrior

> (1894 Leaders to whom the triumphs of the *girl-warrior* were a reproach.)

girl-clerk

> (1901 No redeeming feature of *girl-clerk* labour.)

girl-scout

> (1909 The *girl-scout* has arrived. This writer saw six of them on Saturday—neat blue serge skirts, straw hats, haversacks, and poles.)

girl-crazy

> (1930 He was *girl crazy*, too, I guess.)

girl-shy

> (1925 He, at once girl-hungry and *girl-shy*, held himself nervously aloof.)

During the course of the 20th century there appeared a few specimens of what one may refer to as quasi-acronymic compounds that result from the combination and joint application of the mechanisms of acronymy and compounding. Chapman's *DAS* (1997) and Rawson's *DED* (1981) provide three examples of such formations, that is *V-girl/Victory girl, B-girl* and *D-girl.* The first one enumerated here appeared in American English during the World War 2 wartime, and it was used in the sense "a woman with a fatal fondness for military uniforms", with – by extension – the rise of the generalized sense "an amateur prostitute". While the etymology of *V-girl* is in no way a bone of contention, the etymological roots of *B-girl* are far from being clear because some historians of

---

S*ASS* (1992) the compound has developed a very much specialized sexually loaded sense loaded sense; one may say that *girlfriend* has specialized much more as it is used in the sense "male prisoner's sexual partner" or "female's gay male friend".

English lexicon resources claim that capital *B* stands for *Bar* while others believe that it stands for *bad.* In current English the formation *B-girls* has become one of the synonyms of *prostitute* as it is used with reference to prostitutes or floozies who congregate in bars, where they often receive commissions on the drinks they manage to persuade customers to buy. (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *I seem to meet nothing but B-girls out here* (1941)). As to the nominal formation *D-girl* it is pointed that it is one of the most recent *girl*-based coinages used in the sense "a low-level female employee in a movie or television studio" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *But every D-girl in Hollywood drove one* (see Dalzell's *RDMAS* (2009)).

By far, however, compound formations preponderate quantitatively in the 20th century. Ammer's *AHDI* (1997) lists a number of latest compounds that have made their appearance during the course of the 20th century the oldest of which (1910) is the complex noun *cover girl* used in the sense "an attractive woman whose photograph is featured on a magazine cover", but also – through the mechanism of metonymy – there developed the sense 'woman attractive enough to be so featured' (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *All models hope to be cover girls some day, or She's gorgeous, a real cover girl. [c. 1910]*). Another 20th century formation is *girl Friday/gal Friday*[15] used in the sense "an efficient and faithful female assistant" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *I'll have my girl Friday get the papers together*)*.* Obviously, formally the expression runs a variation of the theme of the earlier compound *man Friday* which was used in the sense "a name for a devoted male servant or assistant", and – in turn – *man Friday* plays a variation tune on the name *Friday* a name of the character from Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), who became the novel's main character's faithful companion. Ammer's *FFDC* (2006) suggests that some mid-twentieth-century advertising pundit coined *girl Friday/gal Friday* to describe the female clerk-of-all-work, presumably on the assumption that it lent some glamour to a low-level, poorly paid position.[16] Yet another formation is *homegirl* – a term that originated in

---

[15] The variant form *gal* (as in *gal Friday*)*,* appeared in the late 18th century, and its spelling represented a particular pronunciation of the time (see Chantrell's *ODWH,* 2002).

[16] In the middle of the 20th century *Friday* was applied to a male servant and then a woman secretary or clerk who works for a man. In turn, the compound *girl Friday* gained currency through being used as the title of a 1940 motion picture starring Cary Grant and Rosalind Russell, *His Girl Friday.* In the 1970s, when affirmative action came to the American labor market, the term fell into disrepute. Today, it tends to be considered condescending and, applied to a woman, sexist.

Black English as a term of address employed in the age non-specific sense "female friend, buddy" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *She's my homegirl, and I'd do anything for her).* One of the latest coinages is *party girl* that is used in the sense "a woman who is known to enjoy cocktail parties, dances and similar social activities."[17] Yet, one of the most intriguing formations the coinage of which was conditioned by the mechanisms of false etymology is *girlcott* which is a feminist alternative used both facetiously and seriously since the 1980s, obviously patterned on *boycott* (see Thorne's *DCS,* 1990).

What is of special interest is the fact that a great number of recent American slang coinages reflect – in one way or another – the 18th century pejoratively loaded sense "prostitute" in the polysemic structure of *girl* which, as shown by for example Dalzell's *RDMAS* (2009), is used in several sexually pregnant senses in present-day English slang:

girl

1. "a prostitute" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *The street is empty except for the fire and us "girls".*),

2. "a lesbian" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *But you know, she's got that "back off" thing goin' on so I just assumed that she was one of the girls.*),

3. "a homosexual male, especially an effeminate one" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: a queen *US*).

In fact, one may say that – apart from *girl* itself that has been used in the sense "prostitute" from the early 18th century through modern times, during the course of the 20th century in American English slang there appeared several compounds that are – in terms of their specialized semantics – extensions of the concept of prostitution, or – to put it differently – they may be said to encode all possible nooks of the love-for-sale trade. The body of complex expressions includes the following 20th century formations (see Dalzell's *SS* 1989 and Dalzell's *RDMAS* 2009):

---

[17] Ammer *FFDC* (2006) informs us that the use of the formation *party girl* that dates from the first half of the 20th century sometimes, but not always, implies involvement in sexual adventures, either for pay (as a prostitute) or not (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *He had never thought of asking himself what she was, inside of the hard shell of her disguise as the party girl who would go the limit for fun*).

20th century formations: prostitution/sex industry/pornographic industry

1. g*irl-girl* used in the sense "a sexual performance involving only women" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *Girl-girl has always been a thriving subgenre in porno.*),

2. *girl thing/girl stuff* "the various hygiene steps taken by a female pornography performer before a sex scene" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *You do your girl thing and then you go out and they start to shoot you.* (Quoting Jill Kelly)),

3. *bottom girl* "the pimp's favorite of the prostitutes working for him" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *It would just keep me too busy, and I wouldn't have the time to be free. That is, unless I had a top-notch bottom girl to check the traps*),

4. *gallery girl* "a woman who makes herself available sexually to professional golfers" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *Now that the fairways are roped off during a tournament, it's a lot harder for the gallery girls to make contact with a golfer*),

5. *girlie bar* "a drinking place at which 'hostesses' are available" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *At first, only the girlie bars let it all hang out*),

6. *house girl* "a prostitute working in a brothel" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *After the call-girls come the house-girls. Houses today are not the elaborate affairs that they used to be.*),

7. *Jelke girl* "a high-price, out-call prostitute" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *[T]he Jelke girls bitterly resented everyone who had anything to do with their exposure.*),

8. *joint girl* "a prostitute working in one specific disreputable establishment" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *And I've had what I call "joint girls", and I'm one of the kind of pimps)*,

9. *joy girl* "a prostitute" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *I knew it had changed a great deal from the days when they had the gatehouse at the entrance and the private police force, and the gambling casino on the lake, and the fifty-dollar joy girls*),

10. *party girl noun* "a prostitute" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *Whores are now "call girls," "party girls" or "company girls." Instead of visiting them, they come to see you.*),

11. *percentage girl* "a woman who uses her sexuality to induce customers to buy drinks at a bar" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *B-girl (also called a come-on" or "percentage girl" or "drink rustler") often spends six to seven hours in a bar every evening.*),

12. *pleasure girl* "a prostitute" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *The whole state became rough on pleasure girls.*)

13. *pony girl* "an out-call prostitute" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *A call girl or "pony girl" is a prostitute who keeps individual dates with her clients at a place selected by mutual consent.*),
14. *sporting girl* "a prostitute" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *But have you ever known a pimp to take a barmaid and make a sportin' girl outta her?*),
15. *tea girl* "a quasi-prostitute in a Vietnamese bar" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *A good Saigon tea girl could keep a GI, particularly one not familiar*), with their wiles.)
16. *boom-boom girl* "a prostitute" (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *The rest of the day was spent in finding a boom-boom girl*).

When we turn to the phraseology of *girl* we see that – somewhat surprisingly – the noun has in no way been productive in the formation idiomatic expressions, that is to say either fixed collocations or proverbial expressions. To start with, there are very few idioms of comparison and the ones that are most frequently quoted in such authoritative collections of English phraseology as Wilkinson's *TTEM* (2002), Siefring *ODI* (2004) and Ammer *FFDC* (2006) are *bashful as a girl, blush like a schoolgirl* and *like a nigger girl's left tit, neither right nor fair.* Apart from those formations there are a number of idiomatic expressions in which the noun *girl* refers to various types of human beings not necessarily of female species or young age. For example, in the first two idiomatic expressions given below the contextual sense of *girl* is that of gender unspecified "men, people", while in the case of the third idiom the referent is male, and in the last idiomatic expression itemized below the element *dancing girl* is used in the abstract sense "something entertaining" (see Wilkinson's *TTEM,* 2002):
1. *diamonds are a girl's best friend* "diamonds are more reliable than men friends",
2. *a girl with cotton stockings never sees a mouse* "people do not publicize things likely to draw attention to their own shortcomings",
3. *big girl's blouse* "weak, effeminate male",
4. *bring on the dancing girls* **"**let us have something more entertaining than this".

Likewise, when we analyze the contents of those paremiological dictionaries that have been used for reference in this work we see that the noun *girl* has entered a limited number of proverbial expressions one of the earliest of which (1683) is *He that marries a girl, maries woman*. Below, we provide a representative selection of proverbs most of which are currently used in American English (see Mieder's *DAP,* 1992):

1. Kissing a girl for the first time is like getting the first olive from a jar; after the first one, they come rolling out.
2. The more the girl runs, the harder the boy chases.
3. Nothing will ruin an interesting intellectual conversation any quicker than the arrival of a pretty girl.
4. A girl with cotton stockings never sees a mouse.
5. Boys will be boys and girls will be girls.
6. Boys seldom make passes at girls who wear glasses.
7. Don't marry a girl who wants strawberries in January.
8. The girl that thinks no man is good enough for her is right, but she's left.
9. The girl who thinks no man is good enough for her may be right, but is now often left.
10. A girl worth kissing is not easily kissed.

This paper lies on the border line of lexicography, lexicology and semantics, and it clearly continues decade-lasting interest and research in the theory and practice of lexicography, in particular in the multitude of questions related to dictionary macrostructure, dictionary typology, the tools that serve the purpose of marking of stylistic and regional peculiarities [see, among others, Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2011, 2012, 2015 a, 2015 b, 2015 c)]. More specifically, we mean to make an attempt to put to work a variety of lexicographic materials in the field of lexico-semantic analysis, both synchronic and diachronic, with the aim of accounting for semantic history and present-day status of the English lexical item that shares the element (+FEMALE) for its metaphorically transferred human-specific senses, that is, the analytical corpus consists of selected lexical items that at various stages of the history of English became associated with what has been termed thematic field FEMALE HUMAN BEING.

Naturally, various forms of lexicographic products found its way into our analysis because while engaging in the analysis of the body of female-specific words used metaphorically we resorted primarily to printed lexicographic works as well as made use of selected electronic lexicographic materials. Last but not least, frequent reference was made to the dictionaries that are labeled as syntagmatic specialized dictionaries, such as rhyming dictionaries, etymological dictionaries, phraseological dictionaries, dialect dictionaries and dictionaries of slang.[18]

---

[18] Ideally, lexicographic sources should be reinforced and/or complemented with textual evidence as well. As we argue elsewhere [Łozowski and Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2015)],

We believe that the analysis of the female-specific sample data may provide a starting point for producing an alternative reference work for non-native learners of English. To this end, following various suggestions made in the literature, for example Burkhanov (1998) and the earlier system proposed in Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2011, 2012) a set of information labels has been devised that are meant to determine style, register and attitude that characterize various word applications. Also, we have added new labels that are justified by the nature of the material analyzed.

To start with, in our analysis what has come to be known as attitudinal labels have acquired the form of <USAGE LABEL>, such as, for example, <USAGE LABEL: DEMEANING/DISAPPROVING> or <USAGE LABEL: DISPARAGING/ DEROGATORY>. On the other hand, those pieces of pragmatic information that may be termed stylistic have been formalized here as <STYLISTIC LABEL> with such peculiarities of style as <INFORMAL>, <REGIONAL> or <COLLOQUIAL>. In an attempt to account for this shortcoming we have postulated the category termed <FIELD LABEL> that materialized in individual case studies as, for example, <FIELD LABEL: ANIMALS> or <FIELD LABEL: MILITARY LIFE>. While analyzing language data we resorted to a number of lexicographic works that account mainly for the standard variety of English, but – at the same time – attempt was made to handle dialect differences which is by no means a strong point of the majority of the *EFL* dictionaries, though it seems that dialectal peculiarities are essential in any specialized fully-fledged analysis of any segment of the lexical system. In this work dialect peculiarities acquired the form of such labels, as for example, <REGIONAL LABEL: AUSTRALIAN/SCOTTISH> or <REGIONAL LABEL: AMERICAN>.

Finally, guided by the multitude of analytical works targeted at analyzing the axiological load present in the semantics of language material, such as Kiełtyka (2008), Kochman-Haładyj and Kleparski (2011), we have proposed a system of

---

the choice of the object of research affects the range of the data one needs to examine in order to approach the object, and the selection of data determines the object of research. In other words, dictionary-based research and text-based research may produce quite different pictures behind the lexemes in question. In Łozowski and Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2015), we attempt to illustrate this problem in reference to word-histories of *hussy, pheasant,* and *maid*, thus fostering the conviction, if not justify the necessity, of including textual data in purely lexicographically-oriented analysis. For some more criticism of systemic lexical lexicography (and semantics), see Łozowski (2014) and (2015).

labels the aim of which is to formalize the evaluative charge present in the semantic content of the nouns analyzed. To this end we have proposed the construct termed here as <AXIOLOGICAL LABEL> which is most frequently realized as <AXIOLOGICAL LABEL: SOCIALLY (NEG.)> or <AXIOLOGICAL LABEL: MORALLY (NEG.)>. Obviously, the labeling system that has been used in this work may be developed and refined further. However, it is our belief that such a system may successfully be employed both in language analysis and in the lexicographic theory and practice.

Although we have attempted to offer a number of refinements over the solutions proposed in lexicographic literature, we have ignored a number of points that await further attention and scholarly discussion. Among others, we have failed to develop a solid marking system for various phenomena related to idiomatic expressions and paremiological units. In particular, we have not focused on the semantic relation between idioms and proverbs and the female-specific word *girl* that form the constituents of phraseological units. In other words, we have failed to come up with adequate and justifiable notational devices that would help one formalize the relationship between nominal historical senses of lexical items and the individual phraseological units based on them.

Finally, let us observe that we have made use of a great number lexicographic works from which much illustrative material was borrowed, and this number includes a selected number of *EFL* dictionaries, historical dictionaries, such as the *OED,* dictionaries and collections of idioms and proverbs. It has long become obvious that most frequently one can hardly dissociate linguistic from extralinguistic knowledge, and while analyzing the data it has become fairly clear that such aspects as pragmatics, cultural allusion and encyclopedic information that are present in illustrative material can hardly be ignored. Last but not least, let us stress that our account takes into consideration only a very limited number of nouns that in the history of English have been used in the female-specific sense, and one may expect that the picture would become more complete if one attempted to analyze a larger part of data.

References

Ammer, Ch. (1997). *The American heritage dictionary of idioms*. New York: The Christine Ammer 1992 Trust (*AHDI*).

Ammer, Ch. (2006). *The facts on file dictionary of clichés.* New York: Facts on File, Inc. (*FFDC*).

Blevins, W. (1993). *Dictionary of the American west.* New York: Facts on File Publishers (*DAW*).

Burkhanov, I. (1998). *Dictionary of lexicography.* Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego.

Chapman, R. L. (1997). *Dictionary of American slang.* New York: Harper Collins Publishers (*DAS*).

Chantrell, G. (2002). *The Oxford dictionary of word histories.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (*ODWH*).

Dalzell, T. (2009). *The Routledge dictionary of modern American slang.* New York: Routledge (*RDMAS*).

Franklyn, J. (1975). *A dictionary of rhyming slang.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (*DRS*).

Harper, D. (2001). *Online etymology dictionary.*

Hendrickson, R. (2008). *The facts on file. Encyclopedia of word and phrase origins.* New York: Infobase Publishing (*FFEWPO*).

Holder, R. W. (1995). *A dictionary of euphemisms.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (*DE*).

Jackson, H. (1988). *Lexicography: An introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Johnson, S. (1785). *Dictionary of the English language.* London: Longman (*DEL*).

Johnson, S. (1853). *Dictionary of the English language.* London: Longman, Brown and Co. (*DEL*).

Johnson, S. and Walker, J. (1828). *A dictionary of the English language.* London: George Cowie and Co. Poultry (*DEL*).

Kiełtyka, R. (2008). *On Zoosemy: The study of middle English and early modern English DOMESTICATED ANIMALS.* Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego.

Kleparski, G. A. (1990). *Semantic change in English: A study of evaluative developments in the domain of HUMANS.* Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL.

Kleparski, G. A. (1997). *Theory and practice of historical semantics: The case of middle English and early modern English synonyms of GIRL/YOUNG WOMAN.* Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL.

Knudsen, T. & Sommerfelt, A. (1958). Principles of unilingual dictionary definitions. In Sivertsen (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists* (pp.92-115). Oslo: Oslo University Press.

Kochman-Haładyj, B. & Kleparski, G. A. (2011). *On pejoration of women terms in the history of English.* Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego.

Liberman, A. (2008). *An analytic dictionary of English etymology.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press (*ADEE*).

Łozowski, P. (2014). *Boy, girl, man, woman* in *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1978-1995). In Stulajterova (Ed.), *Teoria a prax pripravy buducich*

translatologov a ucitelov angliskeho jazyka II (pp. 123-30). Banska Bystrica: Vydavatelstvo Univerzity Mateja Bela.

Łozowski, P. (2015). Lexical semantics with and without sense relations: pig terms in EFL dictionaries. In Cao & Jin (Eds.), *New Pilgrimage: Selected Papers from the IAUPE Beijing Conference in 2013* (pp. 321-336). Beijing: Tsinghua University Press.

Łozowski, P. & Włodarczyk-Stachurska, A. (2015). The need for textual evidence in reconstructing linguistic pictures of conceptual categories. *Etnolingwistyka*, 27, 87-102.

Mieder, W. (1992). *A dictionary of American proverbs*. New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press (*DAP*).

Mills, J. 1989. *Womanwords: A dictionary of words about women.* New York: The Free Press (*WDWW*).

Moser, B. 1986. *Word mysteries and histories: From quiche to humble pie.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Norris, J. 1992. *Smut: American sex slang.* Los Olivos: The Olive Press Publications (*SASS*).

Partridge, E. (1937). *A concise dictionary of slang and unconventional English.* New York: Macmillan Publishing Company (*DSUE*).

Partridge, E. (1966). *Word origins: A short etymological dictionary of modern English*. London-New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul (*WOSEDME*).

Rawson, H. (1981). *A dictionary of euphemisms and other doubletalk.* New York: Crown Publishers, Inc. (*DED*).

Reid, H. (1857). *A dictionary of the English language.* New York: Appleton and Company (*DEL*).

Room, A. (1986). *A Dictionary of Changes in Meaning.* London-New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul (*DCM*).

Siefring, J. (2004). *The Oxford dictionary of idioms.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (*ODI*).

Spears, R. A. (2000). *NTC's dictionary of American slang and colloquial expressions.* New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies (*DASCE*).

Thorne, T. (1990). *The dictionary of contemporary slang.* London: Bloomsbury Publications (*DCS*).

Warrack, A. 2000. *The concise Scots dialect dictionary* (2000) New Lanark: Waverley Books (*CSDD*).

Weekley, E. (1921). *Etymological dictionary of modern English.* New York: Dutton and Company (*EDME*).

Wilkinson, P. R. (2002). *Thesaurus of traditional English metaphors.* London-New York: Routledge (*TTEM*).

Włodarczyk-Stachurska, A. (2011). *On sociolinguistic variation: The case of English women terms.* Radom: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Radomskiej.

Włodarczyk-Stachurska, A. (2012). Sociolinguistic stratification in EFL lexicography. In Łozowski, P. & Włodarczyk-Stachurska, A. (Eds.), *The word in linguistic and literary studies*. Radom: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Radomskiej.

Włodarczyk-Stachurska, A. (2014). Some remarks on recent trends in lexicography. *Journal of Language and Cultural Education*, 2(3), 120-138.

Włodarczyk-Stachurska, A. (2015a). Some remarks on the state of lexicography research. *Journal of Language and Cultural Education*, 3 (1), 211-222.

Włodarczyk-Stachurska, A. (2015b). On the problems in EFL Lexicography. In Bilovesky, V., Cherkasov, A., Kubelaková, M., Molchanova, V. (Eds.), *European Journal of Social and Human Sciences*, 6(2), Faculty of Arts, Matej Bel University. Retrieved from http://ejshs.net/en/archive.html?number=2015-06-30-19:01:57&journal=6

Włodarczyk-Stachurska, A. (2015c). Dictionaries and ideologies: some remarks of the EFL lexicography. *Journal of Education, Culture and Society*, 1, 26-39.

Contact

dr hab. Przemysław Łozowski, prof. nadzw.
Department of English
Maria Curie-Skłodowska University
Plac Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej 4a, 20-031 Lublin, Poland
prloz@wp.pl

DE GRUYTER
OPEN

English as a lingua franca used at international meetings

Jana Barančicová & Jana Zerzová
Masaryk University, Czech Republic
10438@mail.muni.cz, zerzova@mail.muni.cz

Abstract

The paper deals with the use of English as a lingua franca. It concentrates on the environment of international meetings where English is used as a lingua franca. The aim of the research conducted through a survey of members of a NATO working group is to find out how native and non-native speakers feel about English used as a lingua franca during international meetings and how these two groups of speakers see each other in multinational interaction from the point of view of linguistics. The sections dealing with non-native speakers concentrate on the level of knowledge of English and on how native speakers cope with the English used during the meetings. The sections dealing with the views of English native speakers should establish the approach they take towards mistakes made by non-native speakers, whether native speakers should adjust the way they speak at international meetings and how they generally view the fact that their mother tongue is used all around the world.

Keywords

English, communication, foreign language, international meeting, global language, lingua franca

Introduction

English has a unique position in the world today. It has become a global language, a new lingua franca. It is a new communication tool for a lot of people all around the world which is so well connected today thanks to new technologies such as the Internet and air travel, as was never the case in the past. International communication has become a daily routine for hundreds of thousands if not millions of people. This paper focuses on one particular area of international communication: international business meetings – meetings of a NATO working group, to be more precise. It deals with English used as a lingua franca at these meetings, it attempts to discover how native and non-native members of the group feel about the English used during the meetings that they

attend and how these two groups of speakers see each other in multinational interaction from the point of view of linguistics.

It should be noted here that international communication can be described from a lot of different angles as it has many aspects, but this paper is primarily oriented towards linguistics and does not cover other factors of international communication such as the cultural and social identities of participants, their social or cultural background, gender issues, positions of delegates in the structure of the group or power relations within it. As these factors are inseparable from those of linguistics, it is not possible to avoid mention of them completely, but the main focus of the paper pertains to the linguistics of English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF).

1. English as a lingua franca

No other language has occupied the position English holds today. The number of English speakers is extremely high, as can be seen from the following figures differentiating types of speakers as given by Graddol (2000, p. 10): first-language speakers or native speakers, i.e. those speakers for whom English is the mother tongue (Great Britain, Ireland, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand) - 375 million; second-language speakers, i.e. those speakers who use English as an additional language besides their mother tongue, usually because it has a special position or special status, such as being an official language of the country (as in Nigeria, India or South Africa) - 375 million; speakers who learn English as a foreign language (as in the Czech Republic, Poland, Russia or China) - 750 million.

These figures are only estimates and it is very probable that since 2000, when the book was written, the numbers have risen, but they show that English is used by more people than any other language and they offer quite a useful overview of the "power" of English. Also, the statistics suggest that about a quarter of the world's population is either fluent or competent in English, and the number keeps growing; in the early 2000s it was about 1.5 billion people (Crystal, 2003, p. 6). This also means that English is used for international communication among millions of people of various nationalities every day, and making it a lingua franca. However, English as a lingua franca is not the same as lingua francas used in the past.

Generally speaking, a lingua franca is "a language adopted as a common language between speakers whose native languages are different" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2015, n.pag.). It is a language that people choose when their mother tongues are different but they need to speak to each other for various reasons, for example for business, administrative or diplomatic purposes. Therefore, in the

most general sense, a lingua franca is not a mother tongue. Crystal (2003) calls it a "common language". It was originally a simplified language (a pidgin) and it was created as a combination of the different mother tongues of people who used it or it was a language accepted from outside the community (for example French) for political, economic, religious or other reasons (p. 11). Thus, a lingua franca had no native speakers. As Jenkins (2005) explains: "[...], 'lingua franca' has come to mean a language variety used between people who speak different first languages and for none of whom it is the mother tongue. In other words, according to this interpretation, a lingua franca has no native speakers" (n.pag.).

Obviously, English has native speakers; it has already been mentioned that their number is approximately 375 million. It is not possible to completely exclude them from interaction and communication. Therefore, it is necessary to create a different, more accurate definition of ELF. Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011) cite a definition from the VOICE (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) website, which defines ELF as "an additionally acquired language system which serves as a common means of communication for speakers of different first languages" (p. 283). Seidlhofer's (2011) definition says that ELF is "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (p. 7).

In this respect, of course, the position of speakers using ELF is different from that of speakers of a lingua franca understood in the traditional sense: they have a model they can follow; they have the "ideal" they can attempt to emulate as far as possible. The question is whether they indeed do this or whether they should do it, which will be discussed in the following section.

Still we are presented with a situation for which no comparisons exist. There is a language with quite a high number of native speakers. At the same time there are non-native speakers of this language whose number is much higher than the number of native speakers (see above). The ratio of native to non-native speakers is probably 1:3 (Crystal, 2003, p. 69). Another way to describe this situation is to quote the German author Beneke, who estimates that "80 per cent of all communication involving the use of English as a second or foreign language does not involve any native speakers of English" (as cited in Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 2). What does this mean for the language?

It means that there is an unprecedented linguistic situation because for the first time in history, a language has reached global dimensions and at the same time its native speakers are a minority, which implies that they are less likely to set the linguistic reference norm (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 7). If there is a majority of non-native speakers in the world, inevitably they will be the ones who start

adjusting the language according to their needs and communication purposes, and this is what makes English a real lingua franca because the language "has taken on a life of its own, in principle independent to a considerable degree of the norms established by its native users" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 8).

2. English as a lingua franca versus English as a foreign language

ELF, as any other lingua franca, is mostly used among speakers for whom English is either a second or a foreign language. It is mentioned in the previous section that 80 per cent of these conversations quite probably do not involve any native speakers. Yet native English is still the "target" or "goal" for these non-native speakers and their effort is supported by their teachers. It is, however, questionable whether such an approach is reasonable and whether it makes sense.

When speakers learn a foreign language (in this case, English as a foreign language, henceforth EFL), their "focus is very much on where the language comes from, who its native speakers are, and what cultural associations are bound up with it" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 17). For them, English as a native language (henceforth ENL) is the model to which they try to get as close as they can, mainly because they want to communicate with native speakers of that language or they are interested in the history, literature, films or music of the countries where English is spoken as a native language, and also they might learn the language because they want to work, study or live in one of those countries. In such a case, "[...] it is to be expected that non-native speakers (learners and teachers) will defer to NS [native speakers'] norms of using the language – not only in terms of what is grammatically correct but also of what is situationally appropriate and typical, with all the fine nuances, resonances, and allusions embedded in shared knowledge and experience acting as 'membershipping' devices" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 17).

Speakers who use ELF certainly have different goals. They use English to achieve communication goals when speaking to both native and non-native speakers at business meetings, during conferences, while travelling and so on. When speaking to non-native speakers, it happens quite often that their knowledge of English differs, so they have to "adjust" what they say and mainly how they say it to current partners in conversation. In this respect, they have to be very flexible. As Seidlhofer (2011) notes, ELF is thus "adapted to the needs of intercultural communication" (p. 17). Nor is it necessary for non-native speakers to try to speak English as perfectly as possible in an ELF environment. That is why Seidlhofer (2011) argues that "it would be interactionally counter-

productive, even patently absurd in most cases, for speakers to (strive to) adhere to ENL linguacultural norms when no ENL speakers may even be present" (p. 18).

How much native speakers mind when non-native speakers deviate from linguistic norms of ENL will be discussed in Section 6.1, but certainly a new approach towards English spoken in an international environment should be taken into account. The main goal of ELF is communication, which can definitely be achieved without absolute adherence to all ENL rules.

3. English used at international meetings

International organisations are one of many areas where there is a big need for a common language and one of many areas where English is used as a lingua franca besides areas such as international trade, science, information technology, tourism, and the film and music or aviation industry.

The League of Nations was founded shortly after the First World War, and as Crystal (2003) stresses it was the first international organisation where English was one of the official languages. When it was replaced by the United Nations in 1945, English kept its position. Crystal estimates that English is used as an official language in more than 85% of international organisations in the world (p. 87).

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (henceforth NATO) does not deviate from this. It was founded in 1949 and from the very beginning English has been – together with French – its official language. The Final Communiqué of the first Session of the North Atlantic Council states that "English and French shall be the official languages for the entire North Atlantic Treaty Organization" (para. 'Languages').

This paper presents information gathered from delegates of a NATO working group. Such a group provides a very valuable sample of an international environment where English is used as a lingua franca because meetings are usually held in English and interpretation into French is provided only when meetings take place in the headquarters in Brussels. The reasons are mostly pragmatic: while interpreters are available at the headquarters, it would be more difficult to provide everything necessary for interpreting when a meeting was taking place outside the headquarters. Interpreting requires special equipment (earphones etc.), an extra room for interpreters and it also raises the cost of hiring an interpreter. Quite often a meeting takes place in military barracks of the host country, where interpreting facilities are not available. Also, a civilian interpreter might struggle with specialized vocabulary used at the meetings. Moreover, all delegates are supposed to speak English (even the French ones), as

all non-simultaneous interpreting would be disruptive and double the time necessary for such a meeting.

ELF is of course mainly a spoken language. However, before spoken English is dealt with, written English should be covered as well. Seidlhofer (2004) states that written documents "have, so far at least, conformed to the norms of standard grammar" (p. 223). Writing gives non-native speakers an opportunity to check with dictionaries, it gives them time to re-write their texts, have them corrected or even proof-read, which makes it practicable and easier to follow native speakers' norms.

Written documents of the NATO working group, with the exception of standardisation documents, which are produced both in English and French, are also produced only in English. Here, the rule that ENL should not be the ultimate goal for ELF speakers, which applies for spoken language, is not valid. Native English is considered the model to which written documents (the minutes of meeting, for instance) should approximate, and for this reason it is seen as an advantage if a native speaker becomes a secretary of the group (i.e. the person who writes the minutes and coordinates the administrative steps taken by the group) because then she or he is able to produce well-written and, from a native speakers' point of view, correct documents. It is not, however, possible to put this burden on native speakers only because they are native speakers. In a situation where the secretary is a non-native speaker, native speakers might be asked to proof-read the document before it is distributed.

This paper and its survey, however, concentrate on spoken language. ELF used at international meeting can be described concisely using the features of BELF (Business ELF).

As Jenkins et al. (2011) state, "BELF communication is seen as content-oriented (rather than focusing on form)" and "expertise and correctness in terms of NS [native speakers'] standards, such as native-like grammar or pronunciation, are secondary to accommodation practices" (p. 298). In other words, the most important thing during the meetings is to get the message across no matter whether delegates speak correctly from the point of view of grammar or pronunciation.

The fact that English is used as a communication tool at these meetings gives native speakers a certain advantage because they do not have to learn a foreign language to be able to attend such events. At the same time, native speakers "may be considered to be at a disadvantage or even to be a problem [...] because they are more difficult to understand than speakers of other varieties of English" (Jenkins et al., 2011, p. 298). Obviously, native speakers of English are at an

advantage because it is their mother tongue that is spoken at the meetings but they are not always good at adjusting their English to the manner and level of English that is used there. Jenkins et al. mention that "while they seem to be aware of the challenges of intercultural communication, they seem unable to adopt effective accommodation strategies, [...] [however, they] at least in their self-reports, are aware of the need for such kinds of skills, and claim that they do take steps to accommodate to their NNS [non-native speakers'] counterparts by, for instance, avoiding idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms" (p. 298 - 299). These issues will be dealt with below.

4. Methodology

The respondents of the survey were delegates of a NATO working group, both soldiers and civilian employees who represent their countries in the group. The group has about thirty members from about twenty-five countries; eighteen members filled in the questionnaires. All of the respondents are either experts who are involved in research and development or professionals involved in logistic processes and acquisition of materiel[19].

The information for the survey was collected through a questionnaire. Two questionnaires were prepared, one for native speakers and the other for non-native speakers (see Appendices 1 and 2). The questionnaires were in Word format and sent via e-mail. The e-mail was a personal request to delegates who were believed to be willing to contribute, many of whom had been with the group for some time, and also to some ex-members of the group who had been with the group long enough to be able to make a valid contribution. Meetings of the group take place only twice a year and the schedule of the meetings is usually very tight; therefore it was not possible to talk about the questionnaires with the respondents in person.

As a result, six filled-in questionnaires from native speakers and twelve from non-native speakers were received. There were two responses from Great Britain, two from the United States and two from Canada. No Australians were asked to fill in the questionnaire, although there are Australian members of the group. The reason for the exclusion of Australians is that they attend the meetings only rarely and usually there is no stable representation for Australia; typically one member attends one meeting and another comes for the next, which means neither of them would be able to give valuable feedback on their longer-term work in the group. That is also why non-native speakers in the group do not

---

[19] One of the authors of the paper has been a member of the group for more than ten years.

have enough experience of talking to Australian delegates or listening to them around the table. Australia is of course not a NATO member country but it is one of the countries with which NATO cooperates very closely, and that is why the group has Australian members.

Concerning non-native speakers, one reply was received from each of these countries – Belgium, Greece, Spain, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Austria, Hungary, Norway, and Slovakia. Two replies were from Germany.

The questionnaires contained about twenty questions. The questions for non-native speakers focused on the level of knowledge of English (given both by certificates and real knowledge) and at how native speakers cope with the English used during the meetings: whether they have problems with understanding, get lost in a discussion or decide not to join it for linguistic reasons. The questions for native speakers were to establish what approach native speakers take towards mistakes made by non-native speakers, whether they feel that they should adjust the way they speak at international meetings and how they generally view the fact that their mother tongue is used all around the world.

5. Non-Native Speakers

The questionnaire for non-native speakers starts with some general questions before it proceeds to questions related to international meetings.

5.1 General questions
5.1.1 Mother tongue and foreign languages

First of all, respondents were asked to name their mother tongue. This question had no purpose other than to make sure all the delegates could be considered non-native speakers of English.

In the following question, the respondents were asked whether they spoke any other foreign language besides English. Almost half of them (five) do not speak any other foreign language apart from English. The other languages given reveal something about the area the respondents are from: the Slovak delegate also speaks Russian, the Spanish delegate speaks a little bit of Italian and Portuguese, the delegate from France speaks Spanish, the delegate from Belgium speaks French and the delegates from the Netherlands, Norway and Denmark speak German. This part of the survey appears to show that English is definitely the most important foreign language for all of them and it is not necessary for them to be able to speak another foreign language if they already speak English.

One reason that all of them speak English – besides the fact that the meetings are held in English – may be their working background. Most of them are involved in research and development, which implies that they have to be able to collect up-to-date information from their field of work; they read articles, search for information on the Internet, talk to staff in testing facilities that are often located abroad and so on. They are also in touch with companies from various countries, attend international exhibitions and conferences and, of course, have to be aware of most current products in their field of work. Basically, their reasons for using English fall into the categories of science and international business, which are typical areas in which English is used as a lingua franca.

5.1.2 Requirement to prove one's knowledge

As representing one's country at an international meeting requires a certain level of English, one of the questions was whether it was obligatory in the respondent's country to prove his/her level of English (to pass a language examination) before he/she was allowed to start attending international meetings. The main reason for the inclusion of this question in the survey was STANAG 6001, which is explained below.

Within NATO there are standardisation agreements or STANAGs. Their aim, as with other standards like ČSN (Czech State Norms), EN (European Norms) and ISO standards, is to standardise certain issues, and to offer a model, norm or measure for everybody to follow. One of these standardisation agreements is STANAG 6001 Language Proficiency Levels (currently edition 5 from 2014). The aim of this agreement is to "be used as the common standard (construct) for language curriculum and test development, for recording and reporting Standardised Language Profiles (SLPs)." (STANAG, para. 'Interoperability Requirement'). The text of the standard itself is a document marked AtrainP-5, containing six proficiency levels (0 to 5) that are described in Annex A, which "give[s] detailed definitions of the proficiency levels in the commonly-recognized language proficiency skills: 'listening', 'speaking', 'reading' and 'writing'" (para. 1.1). Based on this standard, each nation that has ratified this agreement uses it for the purpose of communicating language requirements for international staff appointments, recording and reporting, in international correspondence, measures of language proficiency and comparing national standards through a standardised table (para. 1.1.). The final evaluation from the STANAG examinations contains four digits, where, for example, SLP 3321 means Level 3 in listening, Level 3 in speaking, Level 2 in reading and Level 1 in writing (para. 1.5.). Unlike some other internationally recognised examinations there is no test

in grammar. Grammar is tested within the other skills, i.e. it is evaluated in an essay or during the oral part of the examination.

Considering the fact that there is a military language standard, it was logical to ask whether the countries who send their representatives to NATO meetings use this standard in order to make sure their representatives (both soldiers and civilian employees) have a sufficient level of English. However, eight out of 12 respondents said that it was not obligatory to pass a language examination in order to prove their level of English before they could start attending international meetings. Only four of them said it was obligatory for them and they all passed the STANAG examination. Still, five out of eight respondents from countries where a language test is not obligatory, do have a certificate proving their knowledge of English (two of them have passed the STANAG examination as well). These results show that STANAG is probably not widely used by NATO or Partnership for Peace (henceforth PFP) countries for evaluation of their representatives' level of English for the purposes of attending international meetings.

Perhaps there is no requirement to pass an extra language examination in some countries because the working position demands a good knowledge of English (as is the case in the Czech Armed Forces). Then it is of course not necessary to prove one's level of English again. However, a repeated test might be useful to make sure the user's knowledge of English has not declined.

Regardless of whether the examination is obligatory for them or not, six delegates, i.e. half of the respondents, said that they had passed the STANAG examination, five of them at Level 3 and one at Level 2. STANAG 3 compares approximately to the CAE Cambridge (Cambridge Advanced English) examination and STANAG 2 to the FCE (Cambridge First Certificate in English) examination according to the List of Standardised Examinations issued by the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports. Also, the Dutch respondent's level of English, even though he has not sat for the STANAG examination, is C1 (according to the Common European Framework of Reference) and one of the German delegates achieved an evaluation of 3332 in SLP (Standardisiertes Leistungsprofil), which in the German Bundeswehr is an evaluation of language skills similar to STANAG 6001. This shows that at least the results of examinations suggest that the level of English of the respondents is high and should be sufficient for communication during international meetings.

5.1.3 Real knowledge of English

However, a certificate of English does not always correspond to the user's current knowledge of the language and that is why the respondents were asked how they would evaluate their current level of English. Seven of them think that their English is at advanced level, four consider their knowledge to be upper-intermediate and only one ranked his English as intermediate. The only person who thinks his English is only at intermediate level is from Denmark and he might have either underestimated himself or feel that the fact that he retired a couple of years ago has influenced his knowledge of English in a negative way. Most of the respondents rank themselves as upper-intermediate or advanced, both of which, should be sufficient for an international forum, although delegates with a level lower than advanced might face occasional problems understanding others or expressing their thoughts.

As the answers to the two questions show, the level of English of most respondents given either by examination results or by their own evaluation or both should be sufficient for international meetings. Now the right question to ask is: how do the native speakers see it? Do they feel the same about it? Therefore, the native speakers were asked whether they thought that the level of English of the non-native speakers was sufficient for the purposes of international meetings. From the answers given in the questionnaires it seems that the non-native speakers were right about their knowledge of English because five of out six of the native speakers think that most of the non-native speakers have a sufficient level of English and one native speaker even said that of all of them. Taking into account that the survey cannot be considered a good source of statistical information because the number of respondents is not high enough, it is still encouraging that the native speakers expressed such a high opinion of the non-native speakers' knowledge of English.

It is also interesting that the non-native speakers, when asked the same question, expressed the same good opinion as the native speakers. The questionnaires show that nine of out twelve non-native speakers consider the level of English of most of their non-native fellow delegates sufficient. One non-native speaker even thinks that all of them have a sufficient level of English. On the other hand, one of them believes that there are quite a few whose level of English is not sufficient.

Based on the information above, we can draw the conclusion that most of the delegates, whether native or non-native speakers, are satisfied with the level of English of their colleagues from different NATO or PfP countries. It seems that the purpose of these international meetings – to talk to each other, to

communicate, to exchange information – is very probably fulfilled. That is good news because it means that ELF serves its purpose well.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to add that the opinion of the only delegate who thinks that there are quite a few delegates whose English is not good enough for the purpose of the meetings should not be underestimated. He is from the Netherlands and was the chairman of the group for many years, so he has met many delegates from various countries. It is true that some of them do not join the discussion. One of the reasons for this might indeed be language-based: their active knowledge of English is worse than the average knowledge of other delegates around the table, which may prevent them from joining in. Nevertheless, there might be other reasons that have no connection with the language; they may be personal (perhaps some delegates are too shy to speak when they are new in the group), pragmatic (their country has no project in the area under discussion, they are not able to share information with the group as it is classified) or there might be other cultural or social reasons; these, however, are not discussed in this paper.

5.1.4 Differences in English among countries

The end of the previous sub-section leads on to the question of whether it is possible to generalise about whose command of English is better or worse in terms of countries. That is why the native speakers were asked to name the three countries that are the best and three countries that are the worst, irrespective of the order.

Highest in the rankings were Sweden (mentioned four times), the Netherlands (three times) and Norway (twice). Scandinavia was mentioned once. Apparently, Scandinavian countries (with the exception of Finland) and the Netherlands usually have the best speakers of English at the meetings.

Lowest in the rankings were Finland (mentioned four times), Greece (twice), Poland (twice); after that responses varied; the following nations were mentioned at least once: Spain, France, Italy, Turkey, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia.

What conclusions can be drawn from these results (although it is not the aim of this paper to find reasons for why some countries were ranked higher and some lower)?

Countries such as France, Spain, Italy and Greece may be considered worse than others, but the main reason for this does not necessarily have to be relatively lower knowledge of English but the accent taken from their mother tongues. French delegates in particular tend to pronounce words that are similar to their French cognates with a heavy French accent and usually keep this accent

for all the other words they pronounce, which makes it more difficult to understand them. Delegates from southern European countries have the same problem, especially Spanish delegates, who battle with the accent given by the mother tongue.

The "victory" of Finland as the worst is a bit of a mystery considering the excellent knowledge of English prevalent in other Scandinavian countries; it might result from the fact that Finnish is a Uralic language while English, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and Dutch are Germanic languages, making it more difficult for Finns to learn English. The reason why some former socialist countries were mentioned is probably the fact that it took a while for the delegates from the former Eastern Bloc to achieve a sufficient level of English after the events of 1989 and decades spent learning predominantly Russian.

Another argument worth mentioning is that although some of the countries were identified as bad or worse, this does not mean that their level of English is really so much worse than others and that the main purpose of the meetings, i.e. communication, is not achieved in interaction with delegates from these countries. The fact that the group has existed for over fifteen years proves that the communication works satisfactorily and simply requires more patience and tolerance than meetings where only delegates of a common mother tongue are present. For purposes of illustration we might mention that the previous chairman of the group was from Greece and even though his English was not perfect, he managed to chair the group. Of course, patience and greater concentration were needed on both sides but his example shows that it is not necessary to speak English perfectly in order to use it as a lingua franca.

As the respondent from Norway added to the questionnaire, "[a]nother problem is that nations often send their best English speakers, when instead they should send their best expert, because we are a group of experts. I have several times in the past been the interpreter for other colleagues.". This quote expresses the whole idea behind ELF: the reason why delegates attend the meetings is to exchange information, to discuss various expert matters, to create standards and so on. They should be experts, and nobody expects their English to be perfect. They need English principally as a tool to allow them to fulfil all the tasks of the group. This proves that ELF is used in an international environment to communicate, to exchange information and that if this aim is reached, it does not matter so much what the level of English of the participants of the discussion is.

5.2 Questions related to international meetings

As can be seen from the answers to the first question in this section of the questionnaire – "How long have you attended international NATO group meetings?" – most of the respondents have attended the meetings for more than three years (six of them for more than three but less than six and five of them for more than six years). Only one respondent has attended the meetings for less than three years. Thus, all the respondents know the international environment very well and were able to give valid feedback.

Then the delegates were asked three questions that relate to understanding what is being said and to actively joining discussions during the meetings. These questions are of course closely connected to the level of English of the respondents but they focus more on practice than theoretical evaluation of the knowledge of English. As stated above, most respondents believe their English is either upper-intermediate or advanced, so they should be able to understand and interact with others around the table with no major obstacles, although a minor problem may sometimes occur.

Six of the respondents say that they have no problems understanding what is being said during the meetings and five say that they have only minor problems with understanding. Therefore, there is only one respondent (a delegate from Spain) who admits that he has occasional serious problems with understanding. This means that almost all of the respondents face either minor problems or none at all. It is interesting, however, that there is no direct link between their current level of English and the option they chose when answering the question. Only four out of seven respondents who claimed their current knowledge of English was advanced said they had no problems at all with understanding and two out of four who claimed their current knowledge of English was upper-intermediate also said that they had no problems with understanding. It is of course necessary to take into account that their own evaluation of their current level of English does not have to be very precise, as some of them might have underestimated themselves slightly and others might have been too optimistic about their knowledge. It matters less how we evaluate our level of English than how our English works in real life.

On the other hand, it was surprising to see that six out of twelve respondents had no problems with understanding at all. In international communication minor problems with understanding are common, especially because there are on average about twenty countries around the table and non-native speakers speak English with so many different accents; therefore, it would seem

impossible to avoid completely situations where it is necessary to ask for clarification.

Yet, there are examples of delegates who probably have no problems with understanding. The respondent from the Netherlands (the one who replied that he had never experienced any problems) is a former chairman of the group. As chairman he had to answer many questions, comment on many issues, react to discussions, etc., and he never hesitated. Also, delegates who are non-native speakers but have stayed in one of the countries where English is the mother tongue for a certain time usually have no problems with understanding as, for example, one of the German respondents, who has worked in the United States.

A positive feeling about understanding during the meetings is also present in the two questions that cover discussion around the table.

Eight out of twelve respondents say that they rarely get lost in a discussion around the table, three say they never get lost in a discussion and only one admits that he gets lost sometimes (he is the respondent from Spain who admits facing serious problems with understanding during the meetings). Again, the respondents are very confident in their abilities. It is remarkable that the two respondents (one from the Netherlands and one from Germany) mentioned as good examples in the previous paragraph are among those who say they never get lost in a discussion. It demonstrates their very good knowledge of English.

Seven respondents say that it has never happened to them that they would decide not to join a discussion around the table just because they were not confident enough in their English. To two of them, this has happened only rarely and to another two, it happens sometimes. As the six out of seven respondents who consider their current level of English advanced say it never happens to them, obviously their confidence influences directly their contribution to discussions. However, it seems to be very promising that the level of English of those three delegates who say it happens to them only rarely, is said to be either upper-intermediate or intermediate, which means that even though they do not think their English is perfect, it does not influence their willingness to speak in front of all the delegates. Again, the delegate from Spain, who admitted problems in the two previous questions, admits that sometimes he does not join the discussion.

It is, however, surprising that one of the respondents with advanced English also admits that she sometimes does not join discussions. This probably implies that in some cases, a high level of English might not be enough for the delegates to feel confident enough to speak. Some people are generally shyer than others and it is more difficult for them to speak in front of a bigger audience. In this case,

the Hungarian delegate really is a shy lady and the reasons for her occasional silence are quite probably more of a personal nature rather than a linguistic. There may be a connection with other factors that define international communication, such as cultural and social identities, gender aspects and power relations in the group.

Still, it feels necessary to make a comment which is related to aspects of international communication other than linguistic ones. It is understandable if some people are shy and do not feel confident enough to speak, but the international environment is very tolerant and patient if somebody needs more time to express his or her thoughts. Mistakes in grammar and pronunciation are tolerated, as is seen in Section 6.1 below. Also, all non-native respondents of the survey said that it was most important for them to understand what other non-native speakers were saying even though they made occasional mistakes in grammar or syntax, which proves what ELF is for: communication no matter how imperfect the speaker's English is.

Moreover, when knowledge of English fails, non-native speakers apparently know what to do. As Jenkins et al. (2011) suggest, "ELF speakers [...] exhibit a high degree of interactional and pragmatic competence" (p. 293), which means they are aware of problems of international communication and are able to react to them by adapting their language to the situation. In the questionnaire, when non-native speakers were asked whether they adjusted their English due to the fact that the NATO group is an international forum and that the level of English of individual delegates can differ, seven out of twelve said they did and the remaining five said they did not. Evidently, there are non-native speakers who are conscious of features of international communication and act accordingly, while there are some who are not aware of the specifics. Still this does not have to mean that they lack interactional competence; they might use paraphrasing skills quite often even without realizing it, for instance.

6. Native speakers

As mentioned above, six native speakers contributed by filling in the questionnaires: two from Canada, two from the USA and two from Great Britain. Three of them have attended or attended the meetings for more than a year but less than three years, two for more than three but less than six years and one for more than six years. Four speak a foreign language – French; the Canadians of course, one respondent from the UK and one from the USA, although their typical response was "I speak a bit of French", so it is probably not advanced knowledge.

Such replies might be a direct consequence of ELF: if someone's mother tongue is English, he or she does not really need to learn a foreign language.

6.1 Do mistakes matter?

One of the aims of the survey in relation to native speakers was to find out how much they mind when non-native speakers use English incorrectly. Four of them stated that they do not mind non-native speaker's grammar or syntax mistakes unless they prevent them from understanding. Two of them stated that they notice mistakes but that they do not mind. Such a result illustrates the tolerance of native speakers; they do not tend to judge or blame non-native speakers for making mistakes, confirming what the authors suggested in the previous section about the tolerance and patience of the international environment.

When non-native speakers were asked whether they noticed non-native speakers' mistakes, nine of them answered that sometimes they notice mistakes but they do not care about them, two of them said that they do not pay attention to mistakes, they only concentrate on understanding what is being said, and only one would rather that non-native speakers did not make mistakes. It can be seen here again that achieving the communicative aim and content of the speech act is more relevant to the delegates than the format or structure of that speech act.

These answers confirm that "typical errors that most English teachers would consider in urgent need of correction and remediation, [...], appear to be generally unproblematic and no obstacle to communicative success" (Seidlhofer, 2004, p. 220) when English is used as a lingua franca. In ELF, grammar mistakes are not considered mistakes and the message of the speech act is more important.

As one of the respondents from the USA adds to one of his answers: "[s]uccessful communication requires patience and effort. I honestly cannot think of an instance where I could not achieve proper understanding when those principles were employed, and it did not require an extraordinary effort to do so." Another respondent from Canada commented: "I have been part of four different NATO meetings [...]. Having lived in Germany, and having been born in a French province in Canada, I am aware of mistakes I make in their language and that they make in English. I prefer people try and don't mind the mistakes."

The questionnaire also contained two questions asking respondents for examples of grammar/syntax or pronunciation mistakes that they had noticed, but typically the respondents did not remember any examples. As one of them says, "they are usually random occurrences". However, interesting notes were

added by some of the respondents. One of the respondents from the UK suggests: "There are more cultural misunderstandings than any caused by syntax. In this regard US and UK delegates are likely to have the same challenge," which proves again that grammar or syntax mistakes are not so relevant as some teachers of English might believe and that often reasons for unintelligibility are personal, cultural, or sociological rather than linguistic.

Other comments were linked to pronunciation mistakes. The same UK respondent says: "Can't think of any [pronunciation mistakes]! Once you get used to the accent (like Germans and the 'V' instead of 'W', it's no barrier." One of the Canadian respondents notes: "Sometimes there are humorous accents when pronouncing words; it is interesting that English speakers are often least likely to know other languages in NATO meetings, they should not be critical of others." The last comment is from a US respondent and it covers both pronunciation and grammar/syntax mistakes: "Honestly, there are regions in the US where the English spoken is more challenging for me to understand than I encountered in Europe (at NATO meetings) and in other countries. Non-native English speakers, especially, tend to be more meticulous with respect to grammar. Pronunciations and syntax are easily worked through once one has a rudimentary understanding of the language (pronunciation of certain vowels, consonants or syllables) of the non-native English speakers."

6.2 Should native speakers adapt?

This section will attempt to discover whether native speakers are aware of specific features of communication in an international environment. As mentioned above, native speakers "seem to be aware of the challenges of intercultural communication, [but] they seem unable to adopt effective accommodation strategies" (Jenkins et al., 2011, p. 299).

6.2.1 Adapting in general

All six respondents believe that, in general, it is necessary for native speakers of English to adjust their speech when non-native speakers are involved in the interaction. When the question is aimed at them personally, they all agree that they feel that they should adjust and change from their home "mode of speaking" to an international "mode of speaking" because they either speak too fast (mentioned three times) or use some vocabulary that could be unknown to non-native speakers (mentioned four times). One of the US delegates mentioned problems that can be caused by slang terms. None of them mentioned less clear pronunciation or non-standard accent.

When non-native speakers were asked a similar question ("When listening to native speakers, if you do not understand, what is usually the reason?"), they chose the following options: they (native speakers) speak too fast (mentioned eight times), they speak with a regional accent (eight times), they do not pronounce clearly enough (five times), they use technical or general vocabulary I do not know (both mentioned once).

Apparently, non-native speakers are not very satisfied with how native speakers speak and they often complain about a non-standard accent and less clear pronunciation, while native speakers do not mention these two reasons at all. Two of the non-native speakers even expressed it in a less diplomatic way: "They [native speakers] usually don't care about the person who is listening" (French respondent) and "[they are] often very self-centred, [they think that] others should do like us, [they] use short terms" (Norwegian respondent).

Only two out of twelve non-native respondents think that it is not necessary for English native speakers to adjust their speech when non-native speakers are involved in the interaction.

It is evident from the answers discussed above that native speakers are aware that it might be difficult for non-native speakers to understand them, but do they actually adjust their speech (by slowing down, not using idioms, or phrasal verbs, and concentrating on clear pronunciation, for example) during the meetings? Two of them said they do it automatically without thinking about it. Three of them said they do it consciously most of the time. One admitted that he tries but he tends to return to his normal "mode of speaking" rather quickly.

When the non-native speakers were asked what their personal experience was; concerning whether native speakers adjusted their speech during the meetings, half of them (six) said that some of the native speakers did, four respondents thought that most of them did and two respondents said that native speakers did not adjust their speech.

The answers presented indicate that native speakers at least try to adjust their speech, even if they are not always successful. If they were, the reaction to this question would have been much more positive from the non-native speakers. Yet, it is necessary to realise that it is not easy to change one's mode of speaking and it takes some time before it can be done subconsciously.

When the native speakers were asked whether their experience of international meetings had influenced the way they speak in an international environment, two of them said "yes, absolutely" and four of them said the way they speak had changed quite a lot. This means that the native speakers believe they do not speak in the way they do at home when they are in an international

environment. This only confirms what was noted above: native speakers try to adjust their speech and they are able to see the difference between a home and international "mode of speaking", but according to what the non-native speakers say, it is a challenge that native speakers are not always able to cope with successfully.

As there are differences between British, American and Canadian English, the non-native speakers were also asked which countries' delegates they find easier to understand by marking countries on a scale of 1 – 3 where 1 = the easiest to understand, 3 = the most difficult to understand. The winner of this "contest" seems to be American English because it got only one 3 and the highest number of 2's; it also got almost the same number of 1's as Canada (the USA got five and Canada got six), as is shown in the graph below.

It means that five non-native speakers consider American English the easiest to understand, while six of them do not think it is the most difficult to understand and only one of them thinks it is the most difficult to understand. It seems that the respondents prefer American English. One of the reasons may be the influence of the media (American films, TV series, news channels like CNN etc.), which is one of the areas where English is used as a lingua franca and where the USA plays a dominant role.
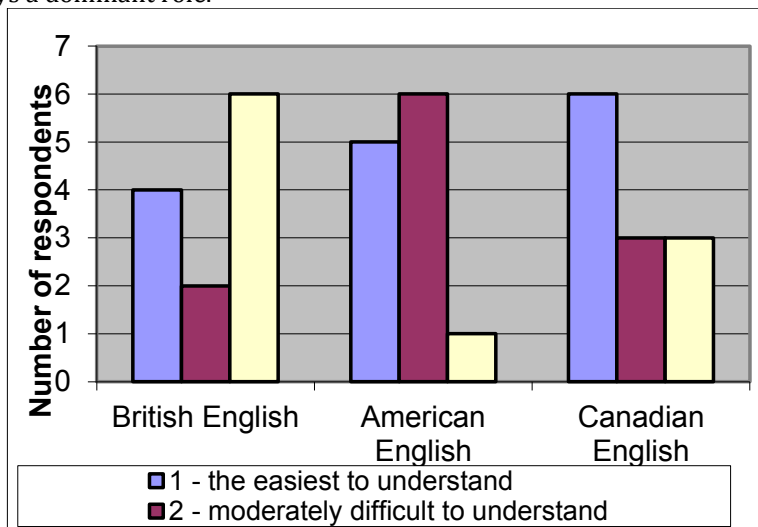
Graph 1: Comparison of British, American and Canadian English by non-native speakers

British English does not seem to be very popular among the respondents; it got the highest number of 3's (six, while Canadian English got three and American English only one). This is somewhat surprising because, at least in the Czech Republic, most textbooks for English classrooms are British (published by Cambridge, Longman, Oxford, etc.) and the English taught at schools is predominantly British.

The graph might also show another issue, though in an oblique way: it might suggest that American and Canadian delegates are somewhat better at adjusting their speech to an international environment than British delegates, which could have influenced how the non-native speakers rated the countries.

From what has just been explained, it is apparent that native speakers usually try to adjust and are aware of the problem but according to non-native speakers they are not always successful. Non-native speakers should perhaps put more pressure on native speakers to make sure that they realise when they are not understood. The questionnaire did not show a convincing result in the frame of pressure because three native speakers said they occasionally felt pressure to adjust their speech or were asked to slow down or speak clearly and another three said they had never felt any pressure.

Applying pressure might not be easy, however. International meetings require a certain level of politeness, so sometimes it might be very difficult to interrupt the speaker, as this does not seem polite or appropriate. This may be one of the reasons why the pressure from non-native speakers is not convincing enough. If once asked to slow down or speak up a native speaker adjusts his/her speech only for a short time and then starts speaking fast or quietly again, non-native speakers might be even more hesitant to apply pressure by repeating the request.

6.2.2 Being "too English"?

Another problem that can be an obstacle in communication lies in the area of vocabulary. As Seidlhofer (2004) points out, "[u]nsurprisingly, not being familiar with certain vocabulary items can give rise to problems, particularly when speakers lack paraphrasing skills" (p. 220). This, however, does not involve only common vocabulary that speakers of ELF need, i.e. general vocabulary and special vocabulary (such as the technical vocabulary used by the NATO group). Idioms, colloquial expressions and phrasal verbs can cause misunderstanding as well.

Seidlhofer (2011) uses the term "unilateral idiomacity", i.e. "the use by one speaker of marked idiomatic expressions attested in ENL that may well be

unknown and unintelligible to the other participants in ELF interactions" (p. 134). This may quite often happen when at least one of the participants is a native speaker who does not realise that his or her partners in the talk may not be familiar with the idiom. She explains that while native speakers use idioms as conventionally preconstructed phrases they are familiar with (p. 130) to make their communication easier and faster, non-native speakers cannot rely on shared knowledge of these expressions, as their meaning usually cannot be guessed from the meaning of the individual words and it is impossible for every non-native speaker to know all idioms. This means that if an idiom is used in an ELF conversation, it can slow down the communication or interrupt it because the conversation can continue again only after the meaning of that fixed phrase is explained or paraphrased. In ELF usage these expressions work against the ease and speed of any conversation.

To shed light upon whether native speakers are aware of this problem, one of the questions in the questionnaire was worded in the following way: "Have you ever thought that you could be considered too English by non-native speakers and that this "Englishness" could prevent smooth communication in the international environment?" Two respondents answered yes and four answered no, which indicates that native speakers are not always aware of this problem.

When the non-native speakers were asked about reasons why they do not understand native speakers, half of them mentioned the fact that native speakers use phrases, phrasal verbs and idioms that they do not know. Moreover, when the non-native speakers were asked to give examples of situations where they did not understand, while they did not come up with really concrete examples, there were some interesting comments.

The French respondent wrote the following: "Private jokes, subjects of conversation which are very 'Anglo-Saxon'". The Hungarian respondent noted: "A speech full of idioms and phrases" and the Greek respondent added: "Usually the Great Britain and American delegates […] use phrases and idioms that are not widely known." These three examples probably represent the view of many other non-native speakers who have talked to native speakers and had to deal with idioms or collocations with which they were not familiar.

A possible way to make native speakers aware of this problem is language-oriented training (see the following section).

6.2.3 Is training necessary?

Jenkins et al. (2011) mention that it might be useful if native speakers were "trained in intercultural communications skills" (p. 299). Such training could of

course cover a lot of aspects of intercultural communication (cultural, sociological, psychological and so on) if necessary, but above all it should direct native speakers' attention to the use of language.

Native speakers were therefore asked whether they thought it would be useful for them to attend lessons or lectures on how to use English in an international environment before they started attending international meetings. Three of them said that it would be useful, while two of them that it would not be useful.

The sixth, who is from Canada, crossed out both options. When asked for clarification, he replied: "With regard to question 15 my thoughts are that it depends on the member. Generally if it contributes to the overall meeting then yes, if they had more confidence in the group then it would be helpful. However, if it was seen to be insulting to the member simply because their accent or pronunciation was not perfect, then I would say no."

This, of course, brings another, hitherto unconsidered aspect into the discussion about native speakers and ELF. It is essential not to forget that native speakers are partners in many conversations that happen all around the world every day and they certainly have an opinion about the use of ELF, which is discussed below (see Section 6.3), but it must not be forgotten that native speakers need support in adjusting to this new situation and becoming good conversation partners. As it has been shown, native speakers are quite tolerant towards mistakes in grammar, syntax and pronunciation, so the same tolerance should be shown by non-native speakers towards the rapid, unclear or idiomatic speech of native speakers.

In any case, the results are not very clear: some respondents believe training would be of value, some do think otherwise. The authors of the paper claim that a short lecture or seminar covering not only cultural and social aspects of international communication but also its language would be useful. A lecture where possibly tricky situations were explained, some simple rules given on, for instance, vocabulary (idioms, collocations) to avoid, and some guidance was offered (in terms of whether and how to adjust the speech) would help prepare some native speakers for contingencies. It would certainly be beneficial for the purposes of international communication.

This opinion is supported by the answers to one of the questions in the questionnaire. Three respondents think that the English used during meetings is only a little different from the English they use in their country; two of them think it is not different at all. Only one believes that it is quite different. If the language used at the meetings is not very different (at least in the eyes of native

speakers), doesn't this mean that non-native speakers face an even bigger challenge?

Without any training, it probably takes a few meetings for native speakers to realise that it is necessary for them to adjust the way they speak. Some of them may never realise that there is a problem. A short language-based seminar would familiarise them with specifics of international communication even before they started attending the meetings, which would make the start in the group easier for the delegate as well as his future non-native-speaker partners in conversation.

6.3 Attitude towards lingua franca

The last questions in the questionnaire were aimed at discovering how native speakers feel about ELF. The term "lingua franca" was not used in the questionnaires, however, as the respondents might not be familiar with it.

Unfortunately, the answers to the question as to whether respondents think that the fact that so many people around the world use English even though they are not English native speakers influences their mother tongue, did not produce an unambiguous result. Two respondents think it does influence it, another two think it influences it to a certain extent and the remaining two think it does not influence it. However, such a result still gives an interesting insight into the thinking of native speakers. Each pair of respondents probably represents a different group of native speakers. The 375 million native speakers is not a homogenous group with just one opinion.

Contrariwise, answers to the last question – "How do you feel about your mother tongue being used by millions of people all around the world?" – were much clearer. It is remarkable that native speakers are quite optimistic about this and view it in a positive way. They are proud of it (mentioned twice), happy about it (mentioned six times), they think it has a positive effect on English (mentioned four times) and they think it is an advantage for them while travelling or doing business (mentioned six times). The only slightly negative aspect chosen was: "I'm afraid English native speakers rely on it and think they don't need to learn foreign languages" (mentioned three times). This is probably the reason why four out of six respondents stated that they speak only "a bit of French" when answering one of the first questions in the questionnaire; they do not need to speak a foreign language well (see the introduction to Section 6). Other (rather negative) options that were offered in the questionnaire, for example "I'm not happy about it", "I'm afraid it'll have a negative effect on English", were not chosen by any of the native-speaker respondents.

The commentary on the questionnaires can thus be concluded in an optimistic way. Although there are probably many native speakers who are not so happy about English being used as a lingua franca and are afraid that it will change their mother tongue in a way that they cannot influence, it is good to know that some native speakers enjoy the fact that their own language has spread all around the world and is used by so many people in so many different countries.

Conclusion

English has become a new language phenomenon, a global lingua franca. It differs significantly from previous lingua francas that never reached global dimensions and it functions in conditions that are also very different from the lingua francas of the past, when there was no Internet, no air travel and the world was not as interlinked as it is today. English is very special in this respect and it has proven its quality as a communication tool since the 1950s, when the story of the "globalisation" of English is said to have started (Crystal, 2003, p. 12). This paper has concentrated on ELF at international meetings, but there are many other areas where English works as a useful communication tool.

A NATO working group is a brilliant example of a community that uses English as a lingua franca. It offers great insight into the way communication functions. This paper has attempted to describe the communication of delegates and their feelings about the language they share. It seems that they are satisfied with English, which is seen not only from the questionnaires but also from the fact that the group has existed for more than 15 years.

Of course, this does not mean that the communication is always flawless. Every delegate needs time to learn the environment, conditions and rules, while occasional problems with understanding are not exceptions but the very reason why international communication needs more flexibility and adaptablity than communication at home. However, where tolerance and patience are applied, there is no obstacle on the way to the communication goals which are the main reasons for any lingua franca in the first place.

References

Bundessprachenamt. (2008). Sprachprüfungen. Bundessprachenamt. Retrieved from http://www.bundessprachenamt.de/deutsch/produkte_und_dienstleistungen/sprachpruefungen/sprachpruefungen.htm

Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a global language*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Definitions of language levels. (n.d.) Retrieved from www.englishschool.org.uk

Graddol, D. (2000). *The future of English? A guide to forecasting the popularity of the English language in the 21st Century*. London: British Council. Retrieved from https://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/article/future-english

Jenkins, J. (2005). ELF at the gate: The position of English as a lingua franca. *Humanising Language Teaching,* 7(2). Retrieved from http://www.hltmag.co.uk/mar05/idea.htm

Jenkins, J., Cogo. A. & Dewey, M. (2011). Review of Developments in Research into English as a Lingua Franca. *Language Teaching*, 44(3), 281-315. doi: 10.1017/S0261444811000115

NATO. (1949). Final Communiqué of the First Session of the North Atlantic Council (Terms of Reference and Organisation). North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Retrieved from http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_17117.htm

NATO. (2014). STANAG 6001 Language Proficiency Levels. *NATO Standardisation Office*. Retrieved from http://nso.nato.int/nso/

NATO. (2014). ATrainP-5. Language Proficiency Levels. *NATO Standardisation Office*. Retrieved from http://nso.nato.int/nso/

MŠMT. (2013). Seznam standardizovaných jazykových zkoušek, č.j. MSMT-24195/2013. *Věstník Ministerstva školství, mládeže a tělovýchovy*, 9/2013. Retrieved from http://www.msmt.cz/dokumenty/2013-09

Lingua franca. (2015) In *Oxford Dictionaries*. Retrieved from http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/lingua-franca?q=lingua+franca

Seidlhofer, B. (2004). Research perspectives on teaching English as a lingua franca. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 24, 209 - 239. doi: 10.1017/S0267190504000145

Seidlhofer, B. (2011). *Understanding English as a lingua franca*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Contact

Jana Barančicová & Jana Zerzová
Katedra anglického jazyka a literatury
Pedagogická fakulta
Masarykova univerzita
Poříčí 7, Brno 603 00
Czech Republic

JoLaCE

Appendix 1

Questionnaire for non-native speakers

1. Which country are you from?

2. What is your mother tongue?

3. Can you speak another foreign language besides English? If yes, which one(s)?
    ☐ Yes, I speak …
    ☐ No

4. Is it obligatory in your country to prove your level of English (to pass a language exam) before you can start attending international (NATO) meetings?
    Yes ☐
    No ☐

5. Have you passed the STANAG 6001 language exam in English? If yes, at what level?
    Yes ☐   Level 1 ☐   Level 2 ☐   Level 3 ☐   Level 4 ☐   Level 5 ☐
    No ☐

6. If you have not passed the STANAG 6001 exam, do you have another certificate proving your knowledge of English?
    Yes ☐   Name of the certificate (and the level)
    No ☐

7. What do you think is your current level of English?

    ☐ **Elementary**
    (You can understand many simple everyday expressions in familiar situations and sometimes grasp what the basic topic of a conversation in English is. You can produce understandable questions and answers involving information above basic.)

☐ **Pre-intermediate**
(You can understand the gist of a common conversation in English, though not in detail and you can produce English well enough to take part if spoken carefully. You can initiate conversation and can perform most everyday social and practical functions to survive comfortably.)

☐ **Intermediate**
(You can understand the gist of a common conversation involving fluent speakers, provided that some allowances are made, or occasional help given. You can produce well enough to make substantial relevant contributions and to get full information from other speakers.)

☐ **Upper Intermediate**
(You can understand well enough to hold continuous conversation with a native speaker, even where the speaker does not, or cannot, adapt their language to a foreigner. You can produce well enough to initiate new topics, change the subject and generally take part in the management of the conversation.)

☐ **Advanced**
(You can understand native speakers of everyday standard English, even when not being directly addressed, and you can therefore take part in a normal interaction on almost the same terms as a native speaker. You can produce speech fluent enough to convey feeling, to argue and maintain point of view.)

☐ **Proficient**
(Your English is of native-speaker standard in every skill.)

8.   How long have you attended international NATO group meetings?
☐   Less than a year.
☐   More than a year but less than three years.
☐   More than three years but less than six years.
☐   More than six years.

9.   Understanding what is being said during the meetings:
☐   I have no problems with understanding.
☐   I have only minor problems with understanding.
☐   I have serious problems with understanding occasionally.
☐   I have serious problems with understanding quite often.

10.   Do you sometimes get a bit lost in a discussion around the table?
☐   Yes, quite frequently.
☐   Yes, sometimes.
☐   Yes, but very rarely.
☐   No, never.

11.   Do you sometimes decide not to join a discussion around the table just because you do not feel confident enough about your English?
☐   Yes, quite frequently.
☐   Yes, sometimes.
☐   Yes, but very rarely.
☐   No, never.

12.   When listening to **non-native speakers** of English**,** if you do not understand what they are saying, the reason usually is (choose more than one option if necessary):
☐   They speak with a heavy accent that comes from their mother tongue.
☐   They don't pronounce clearly enough.
☐   They use vocabulary I do not know.

☐   They make grammar mistakes that prevent me from understanding.

☐   Other:

13.   Do you occasionally notice that non-native speakers make grammar or syntax[20] mistakes?
☐   No, I do not pay attention to mistakes, I only concentrate on understanding what is being said.
☐   Yes, sometimes I notice mistakes but I don't care as long as I can understand.
☐   Yes, sometimes I notice and I would rather they did not make mistakes.

14.   Can you give an example/examples of a situation/situations when you did not understand? Are there any typical mistakes in grammar or pronunciation that prevent you from understanding? You can also give a random example.

---

[20] syntax = the way words are put together to form a sentence

15. What is more important for you during the meetings?

☐ To understand what other non-native speakers are saying even if they make some grammar or syntax[2] mistakes from time to time.

☐ That other non-native speakers have a good level of English, so that they speak without mistakes.

16. Do you think that the level of English of non-native speakers who attend the meetings is sufficient for the purposes of an international meeting?

☐ Yes, all of them have a sufficient level of English.

☐ Yes, most of them have a sufficient level of English.

☐ No, there are quite a few whose level of English is not sufficient.

17. When listening to **<u>native speakers</u>** of English: if you do not understand what they are saying, the reason usually is (choose more than one option if necessary):

☐ They speak too fast.
☐ They speak with a heavy (regional) accent.
☐ They don't pronounce clearly enough.
☐ They use technical vocabulary I don't know.
☐ They use general vocabulary I don't know.
☐ They use phrases, phrasal verbs[21] or idioms[22] I don't know (they are "too English").
☐ Other:

18. Can you give an example/examples of a situation/situations when you did not understand?

---

[21] phrasal verbs = verbs that consist of a verb and a preposition that form a new word when used together and the meaning cannot be guessed based on the knowledge of the meaning of the verb and the preposition when used separately (e.g. to run into, take after, look forward, hang up, break down)

[22] idioms = phrases where the words together have a meaning that is different from the dictionary definitions or the individual words (e.g. It's all Greek to me. It's not my cup of tea. It doesn't ring a bell.)

19. Do you feel that it is necessary for English native speakers to adjust their speech due to the fact that non-native speakers are involved in the interaction?
☐ Yes
☐ No

20. Based on your experience, do English native speakers adjust their speech during the meetings?
☐ Yes, all of them do.
☐ Yes, most of them do.
☐ Yes, some of them do.
☐ No, they don't.

21. Which countries' delegates do you find easier to understand? Please mark the countries on a scale of 1 = the easiest to understand, 3 = the most difficult to understand:
☐ Great Britain
☐ USA
☐ Canada

22. Do you (as a non-native speaker) adjust your English due to the fact that the NATO group is an international forum and that the level of English of individual delegates can differ?
☐ Yes
☐ No

Thank you very much. Your help is greatly appreciated.
If there is anything you want to add or comment on, please use this space:

Appendix 2

Questionnaire for native speakers

1.   Which country are you from?

2.   How long have you attended international NATO group meetings?
☐   Less than a year.
☐   More than a year but less than three years.
☐   More than three years but less than six years.
☐   More than six years.

3.   Can you speak any language other than your mother tongue?
☐   Yes, I speak…
☐   No.

4.   Do you think that the level of English of non-native speakers is sufficient
        for the purposes of international meetings?
☐   Yes, all of them have a sufficient level of English.
☐   Yes, most of them have a sufficient level of English.

☐   No, there are quite a few whose level of English is not sufficient.

5. Speaking about countries where English is not a mother tongue, do you think it is possible to make a general statement about whose command of English is better and whose worse (i.e. when you speak to somebody or listen to him/her talking at the meeting, are there delegates who you like to speak to or prefer because you know their level of English is good and your conversation will be without misunderstandings and sufficiently fluent)?
The best (name three countries):
The worst (name three countries):
Note: The order is not important; there is no first, second or third place.

6.   How much do you mind non-native speakers' grammar or syntax[23]
        mistakes?

---

[23] syntax = the way words are put together to form a sentence

☐ Not at all unless they prevent me from understanding.

☐ I usually notice mistakes but I do not mind.

☐ I usually notice mistakes and I'd rather they didn't make them.

7. Can you give an example/examples of grammar or syntax mistakes that non-native speakers tend to make? These may be mistakes that prevented you from understanding, mistakes that non-native speakers repeat quite often no matter what country they come from, mistakes that you find annoying or any random mistakes that you remember.

8. Can you give an example/examples of pronunciation mistakes that non-native speakers tend to make? These may be mistakes that prevented you from understanding, mistakes that non-native speakers repeat quite often no matter what country they come from, mistakes that you find annoying or any random mistakes that you remember.

9. Generally speaking, do you feel that it is necessary for native speakers of English to adjust their speech due to the fact that non-native speakers are involved in the interaction?
☐ Yes
☐ No

10. Speaking about you personally, do you feel that you should adjust and change from your home "mode of speaking" to an international "mode of speaking"?
☐ Yes
If your answer is yes, can you specify the reason?
☐ I think I speak too fast.
☐ I don't think I pronounce clearly enough.
☐ I don't think I have a standard accent.
☐ Some of the vocabulary I normally use may be unknown to non-native speakers.
☐ Other reasons, please specify:

☐   No, because I don't think my English needs adjustment for an international environment.

☐   No, I have never thought about it.

11.   While speaking, do you consciously adjust your speech (e.g. by slowing down, not using idioms, or phrasal verbs, concentrating on clear pronunciation etc.) due to the fact that non-native speakers are listening?

☐   Yes, I do it automatically without thinking about it.

☐   Yes, I do it consciously most of the time.

☐   Yes, I try to but I tend to return to my normal "mode" of speaking rather quickly.

☐   Usually I have to be reminded or asked.

☐   No, not really.

12.   Have you ever felt pressure to adjust your speech / been asked to slow down or speak clearly?

☐   Yes, quite often.

☐   Yes, occasionally.

☐   No, never.

13.   Have you ever thought that you could be considered "too English" by non-native speakers and that this "Englishness" could prevent smooth communication in an international environment? (Being "too English" means using phrases, phrasal verbs[24] or idioms[25] that non-native speakers might not be familiar with.)

☐   Yes

☐   No

---

[24] phrasal verbs = verbs that consist of a verb and a preposition that form a new word when used together and the meaning cannot be guessed based on the knowledge of the meaning of the verb and the preposition when used separately (e.g. to run into, take after, look forward, hang up, break down)

[25] idioms = phrases where the words together have a meaning that is different from the dictionary definitions or the individual words (e.g. It's all Greek to me. It's not my cup of tea. It doesn't ring a bell.)

14. Do you feel that the English language used during the meetings is different than the English that is used in your country? (The reasons can be various, e.g. limited vocabulary, shorter sentences, less/no idioms or collocations, special phrases used only in an international environment, simplified grammar)

☐ Yes, absolutely.
☐ Yes, quite a lot.
☐ Yes, a little but not greatly.
☐ No, not at all.

15. Do you think it would be useful for native speakers to attend lessons/lectures on how to use English in an international environment before they started attending international meetings?

☐ Yes
☐ No

16. Do you feel that your experience of international meetings with non-native speakers has influenced the way you speak in an international environment (when you compare your first meeting with how you feel about it today)?

☐ Yes, absolutely.
☐ Yes, quite a lot.
☐ Yes, partly.
☐ No, not at all.

17. Do you think that the fact that so many people around the world use English even if they are not English native speakers influences your mother tongue?

☐ Yes, absolutely.
☐ Yes, to a certain extent.
☐ No, I don't think so.

18. How do you feel about your mother tongue being used by millions of people all around the world to communicate with each other even if they are not English native speakers? You can choose more than one option if necessary.

☐ I feel proud of my mother tongue.
☐ I am happy that so many people around the world learn and use English.

☐ I think it has a positive effect on English.
☐ I think it's an advantage for me, e.g. while travelling abroad in my free-time or while doing business with foreign partners.
☐ I don't care.
☐ I'm not happy about it.
☐ I'm afraid English native speakers rely on it and think they don't need to learn foreign languages.
☐ I'm afraid it will have a negative effect on English.
☐ Other:

Thank you very much. Your help is greatly appreciated.
If there is anything you want to add or comment on, please use this space:

JoLaCE

DE GRUYTER
OPEN

"What is the date today?": A dialogist perspective on expert EFL teachers' classroom interaction

František Tůma
Masaryk University, Czech Republic
tuma@ped.muni.cz

Abstract

This article presents a micro-analysis of an EFL classroom episode in which the teacher and the pupils worked on the concepts "date" and "day" (and relatedly saying the date in English), which the learners had not fully internalized yet. Conversation analysis (CA) and concepts from sociocultural theory (SCT) are used in the analysis to reveal how the mutual understanding proceeded. It is argued that the presented dialogist perspective can cast light on the intricacies of the teaching and learning processes.

Keywords

classroom interaction, dialogism, conversation analysis, English as a foreign language, learning, teaching

Introduction

The shared activity and mutual influencing among learners and teachers constitutes a fundamental part of the teaching and learning processes. In this paper I offer a dialogist perspective on one episode from a corpus of video-recordings of expert EFL teachers' classes. The selected episode exemplifies, among other things, the process of reaching mutual understanding between the teacher and the pupils, and within this process, the role of display questions, pauses and non-verbal signals is discussed. This paper is structured as follows. First, I will briefly characterize dialogism as an epistemological and theoretical framework and conversation analysis (henceforth CA) as one of the possible approaches to researching classroom interaction in a dialogist manner. Then I outline the research on teacher questions in classroom interaction. In the following part I present a microanalysis of an episode from an expert English language teaching.

Dialogism and interaction

I use the term dialogism to refer to a theoretical and epistemological framework for researching interaction. A detailed examination of the dialogist presuppositions, and relatedly the contrasting monologist views, is beyond the scope of this paper and can be found elsewhere (e.g. Linell, 1998, 2009; Marková, 1982; for a summary, see Tůma, 2014a, p. 878–883). However, it is necessary to point out that it is the situated interaction (i.e. what emerges among the participants) rather than the activity of individual participants (i.e. the cognitive functioning of a speaker or listener) that is of particular interest if one is to approach interaction in a dialogist way. It follows that each utterance presupposes a "partner" to whom it is addressed and that interaction is a collective process in which the participants mutually influence each other.

The nature of learning in dialogism can be discussed in the light of Sociocultural Theory (henceforth SCT). Building on the works of Vygotsky, SCT can be seen as one of the theoretical accounts of learning within dialogism. According to the general genetic law of cultural development, every function appears on two planes: first on the social plane, and then it is reconstructed onto the intrapsychological plane (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 56–57, 1981). This reconstruction can be called internalization and is possible only if the function lies within one's zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 55–57, 84–91, 1981; Wertsch, 1991, p. 19–28). In second language acquisition research, this view represents a social view of second/foreign language learning/acquisition, conceptualizing language learning in relation to interaction (Firth & Wagner, 2007; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). In this respect there exists a body of research connecting CA and social SLA, often building on SCT (for a review, see Gardner, 2013, pp. 606–610; for more details, see Markee, 2000). In the context of foreign language teaching and learning, it is important to recognize the unity between (verbal) interaction and educational aims. Relatedly, Seedhouse (2004) refers to the reflexive relationship between interaction and pedagogy (see also Tůma, 2014a, p. 896–897). CA, and the dialogist framework in general, makes it possible to capture this relationship.

Researching classroom interaction: Conversation analysis

In general, the phenomenon of classroom interaction has been studied from a number of perspectives (not only dialogist ones), including quantitative observation methods, (micro)ethnographic research, linguistic approaches and conversation analysis (Mercer, 2010; Mitchell, 2009; Rampton, Roberts, Leung, &

Harris, 2002; for reviews of Czech educational research on classroom interaction, see Mareš, 2009; Tůma, 2014a, 2014b).

In the present study I employ ethnomethodological conversation analysis in the context of language classroom (for the differences between "pure" and "applied" CA, see ten Have, 2007; for the specifics of interaction in institutional settings, see Drew & Heritage, 1992). I will use the form of a single case analysis, which focuses on how phenomena are manifested in local contexts. The purpose of such studies is not to discover a new practice, but in this case to develop a richer understanding of an existing phenomenon and to "showcase CA's analytical potency in illuminating the intricacies of a single utterance, speech act, or episode" (Waring, 2009, p. 801; see also Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 120–130). Therefore I do not address here comprehensive data treatment procedures and generalization issues (see, for example, Seedhouse, 2004; Schegloff, 1987; ten Have, 2007).

The microanalytic procedure starts by identifying relevant phenomena and related passages, which is referred to as "unmotivated looking" (ten Have, 2007, p. 120–121; Seedhouse 2004, p. 38). Then the analyst carries out a micro-analysis of the passage in which the phenomenon of interest occurred, using the "toolbox" that CA offers (see ten Have, 2007, for an introduction to CA). If the analysis is driven by research questions aimed at learning and language acquisition, related insights from the learning theories come into play. In this paper, in line with the proponents of "CA for SLA" (e.g. Firth & Wagner, 1997, 2007; Markee, 2000), I will refer to SCT.

Questions in classroom interaction

It is not easy to define what exactly a question is. For example, a corpus analysis by Biber et al. (1999, p. 211–212) showed that nearly a half of the questions in conversation consisted of fragments or tags. Furthermore, "questions" in declarative form (not interrogative form) were also common. Relatedly, Ehrlich and Freed (2009) refer to formal, functional and sequential criteria for defining a question. Although a great deal of Czech research on classroom interaction focuses on teacher questions, attention is paid mainly to formal and functional criteria by adopting a monologist perspective (for more details see Tůma, 2014a, 2014b). In dialogism, the sequential criterion plays an important role, since any utterance "makes response to something and is calculated to be responded to in turn" (Vološinov, 1973, p. 72).

In monologist research, a distinction is often made between referential and display questions. Referential questions are traditionally those which elicit an

answer that the teacher does not know in advance, whereas display questions typically have one correct answer that the teacher knows at the time of asking (for other views on teacher questions, see , for example, Hargreaves & Galton, 2002, p. 106; see also Waring, 2012, p. 453–454, for a review of research on teacher questions). It has been identified that the majority of teacher questions are display questions (e.g. Šeďová, Švaříček, & Šalamounová, 2012, p. 58; see also Ho, 2005, p. 298–299), whose presence in classrooms is criticized for display questions are claimed to be of low cognitive levels. Furthermore, by preventing learners from communicating "naturally" they are believed (along with the presence of IRF exchanges) to inhibit classroom learning (these views are summarized, for example, in Lee, 2006, p. 693; Margutti & Drew, 2014, p. 436–437; Nystrand, Wu, Gamoran, Zeiser, & Long, 2003, p. 138–141; Šeďová et al., 2012, p. 260–271).

In the analysis below I will show, among other things, that the display questions have their role in the classroom, which in turn can be seen as a contribution to the discussion on the role of display questions (see also Ho, 2005; Lee, 2006).

A microanalysis of a classroom episode

The data for this paper come from a larger research project whose main aim was to investigate the nature of expertise in foreign language teachers and teaching (GA ČR P407/11/0234, see, for example, Píšová et al., 2013). The data collected in the project included a set of video-recorded expert teachers' lessons, which were transcribed using a version of the Jefferson system modified by Waring (2009; see Appendix) and which are subject to a conversation analytic investigation. During the process of close examination of the recordings and transcripts, a collection of interesting episodes (tentatively named as "problem episodes") has emerged. Typical of the episodes is the teacher's frontal position in which he or she solves a problem related to the content discussed so far. Using a set of question, clues and pauses the teacher enables the pupils to participate in interaction, by means of which the problem is solved. A prototypical episode is analysed in detail below.

The lesson from which the episode comes was conducted in the fifth grade in a basic school in a district town in the Czech Republic. The teacher had been teaching the pupils from the very beginning of their learning English, i.e. for two years and three months. There were 19 pupils in the classroom.

The lesson started by an exchange of greetings followed by a one-minute warm-up activity in which the teacher along with pupils did physical exercise

accompanied by a rhyme. Then the teacher told the learners to sit down and asked them a series of questions requiring individual learners to answer, which took approximately five minutes and generally could be characterized by rapid turn-taking: the teacher asked a question and in the majority of cases nominated a learner (verbally, by gesture or by eye-gaze), who responded immediately. The questions were related to time, date and seasons as well as the activities, festivals and objects associated with the seasons. Although the teacher did not specify the aim of the activity, from the smooth transitions (the pauses between the individual utterances were very short) and from the way the teacher initiated the corrections of learner utterances it follows that the activity was designed to revise the grammatical and lexical structures from the previous lessons. This conclusion can be confirmed by the subsequent activity, which was a quiz in which the learners individually wrote down answers to ten questions related to the concepts and forms that were revised in the previous activity.

Although on the first sight the question-and-answer activity before the quiz proceeded smoothly, the process of detailed transcribing and analysing revealed that at the very beginning of the activity there was an episode which differed from the rest of the activity in that the teacher used the board, produced longer pauses within her turn constructional units (TCUs, i.e. within her turns) and the pauses at transition-relevance places (TRPs, i.e. the gaps between TCUs in which the speakers may change) were longer than in the rest of the activity. One can wonder why this episode was different from the rest of the activity, since on the surface the whole activity comprised teacher questions and learner answers. As I pointed out above, this episode can be seen as typical of the "problematic episodes" collection. The research question guiding this microanalysis was: What happened in the episode? The transcript of the episode can be found below.

Transcript:
1 T: **What is the (0.3) <u>date</u> (0.4) today?** {What is the (0.2) <u>da</u>te today? Look.-
((T writes "DATE:" on the board))}
2 T: What is the <u>date</u> today? (1.8) Helenko↑
3 Hel: Err the twenty-seventh of No [vember   ]
4 ?L: [Twenty-eighth]
5 T: The:, sorry↑ The=
6 ?L: =The twe eh the twenty-eighth of err November.=
7 T: ={Yes, today is the twenty-eighth of November.-((T writes "28th November"
on the board))}
8 T: Say, everybody ((T points at the date on the board))

9 Class:The twenty-eighth of November.
10 T: Yes, the twe twenty-eighth of November. <u>O</u>r we can say:↑ ((T starts
          writing "N" on the board))
11 LL: {November. ((inconsistently)) Twenty-eighth.-((T continues writing the
          date on the board))}=
12 T: =November { ((T points at the pupils))-[the: twenty-eight]}=
13 LL: [the twenty-eighth] =
14 T: ={Ok.-((T finishes writing the date on the board))}
15 (2.3)
16 T: {<u>**And (0.5) what is (0.3) the day today?**</u>-((T writes "DAY:" on the
          board))} (2.3) Kájo?
17 [(1.1)   ]
18 [((other learners raise their hands))]
19 T: What is the day today? ((T keeps looking at Kája))
20 Káj: Ehm   [(1.0)   ] Wednesday.
21 ?L: [°Wednesday°]
22   [((T shows 1, 2 and 3 fingers))]
23 T: Perfect, it's Wednesday. ((T writes "Wednesday" on the board))

The episode can be divided into two parts. Whereas lines 1–14 relate to the question *What is the date today?*, the central issue in lines 16–23 is the question *What is the day today?* These two parts are divided by a 2.3 second gap (line 15). The relatively long gaps within the teacher's TCUs in lines 1 and 16 (0.3–0.4 s), the teacher's stressing of <u>date</u> (line 1), the content of the teachers' writing on the board (lines 1, 7, 11, 14, 16 and 23) and her final evaluation (line 23) indicate that the focus of this episode was the difference between the concept of "date" and "day" (and related questions), which are marked in lines 1 and 16 and the questions are repeated in lines 2 and 19, respectively.

First, the teacher wrote the word "Date" on the board (line 1), elicited the date (note the correction performed by another pupil in line 4, which was taken up by the teacher in line 5) and wrote the two forms for the date on the board (lines 7, 10 and 11). The false beginning in line 6, the teacher's elicitation of the other form (line 10, note the marked "or") and the subsequent omission of the definite article in the choral elicitation (line 11) followed by teacher-initiated correction (line 12) indicate that the focus of this episode was on accuracy rather than meaning (Seedhouse, 2004) and seems to suggest that the learners had not internalized the way(s) of saying the date in English yet.

The pause in line 16 followed by the marked "<u>a</u>nd" (line 16) along with the teacher's writing of "day" on the board seem to be aimed at turning the learners' attention to the concept of "day", which might be confused with "date". The words "day" and "date" generally cause problems to elementary EFL learners, since the forms of both of them are similar (phonetically it is only the consonant /t/ which makes the difference) and since both the questions (What is the day/date today?) are related to the present day. Therefore the underlying aim of the overall episode, as the transcript suggests, seems to be to help learners realize and internalize the difference, and to practice saying the date in English, which is related to the concept of "date".

In the second part of the episode, in line 16, the teacher asked the question, wrote "day" on the board and after a relatively long pause (2.3 s) nominated Kája. After another gap (1.1 s, line 17) the teacher repeated the question, kept looking at Kája and used fingers to count to three, which was intended to represent the days Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in the Czech culture (line 22). Although it can be observed that other learners were eager to answer (line 18) and although somebody had whispered the answer just before Kája said it (line 21, see also the discussion below), the teacher focused on one learner and helped him produce the answer. The answer was evaluated by the teacher, who also wrote "Wednesday" on the board (line 23). This confirms the orientation of the participants on form (or accuracy).

The above microanalysis shows that in the episode the teacher and the learners worked on the concepts "date" and "day", which the learners had not internalized yet. The false-beginning on the part of a learner (line 6) and the gaps between teacher's questions and learners' answers (lines 17 and 20) show that the learners might not have been able to produce the answers on their own. Therefore, from the perspective of SCT, with the help of the microanalysis we can observe the (assisted) language use and learning in the zone of proximal development. During the activity we could observe one stage of the internalization of the concepts "date" and "day" as well as the way of saying the date in English from the social plane to the intrapersonal plane (Vygotsky, 1978, pp. 55–57, 84–91, 1981; Wertsch, 1991, pp. 19–28). In this episode, the pupils produced responses to the questions with the teacher's assistance, whereas later on in the question-and-answer activity and quiz they responded to these and related questions without assistance. Two other specific points can be made in relation to the episode.

Firstly, although it may seem that the whole-class repetition were mechanistic choral drills, a more in-depth analysis reveals that the learners were consciously

aware of the focus of the activity on accuracy, and more specifically, they seemed aware of both the communicative goal of the exchange (i.e. answering the questions about today's date and day) and the means (i.e. the correct form). I can support this claim, for example, by the learners' relating the gesture performed by the teacher (lines 12 and 13) to the definite article, which had they omitted (line 11), the same applies to the second part of the episode (lines 20–22). In the light of SCT I can refer to imitation (i.e. conscious attempts to internalize, and relatedly externalize, the socioculturally constructed forms of mediation while paying attention to both the purpose and the means), not emulation (i.e. paying attention mainly to the purpose of the operation) or mimicry (i.e. unconscious parroting) (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 166–176).

Secondly, an interesting phenomenon can be observed in line 21, in which another learner whispers the answer. Since it is impossible from the video-recording to see the actual learner uttering "Wednesday", the utterance can be interpreted in two ways. It is possible that it was meant as "help" addressed to Kája, who was hesitating. Another interpretation can be that in fact this is an example of "vicarious answer", i.e. an instance of private speech in which "the learner covertly answers questions directed to another student or the class, completes the utterance of another, or provides an alternative to the utterance of another" (Ohta, 2001, p. 39). These vicarious answers can be characterized by being low in volume and often overlapping the responses of others. Furthermore, they are not produced with the intention to be noticed. The purpose of vicarous answers is rehearsal – the learners can consolidate using a language structure which they do not have under control yet (for a review of research on private speech in L2 learning, see Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 181–206).

If the teachers' questions are examined in the light of the referential vs. display questions distinction, both the central questions (What is the date/day today?) are obviously display questions aimed at eliciting known information. From the teacher's and learners' orientations revealed above I can conclude that the aim of the episode was to help the learners realize the differences between "day" and "date" and to promote their production of answers to respective questions, thus focusing on accuracy, not fluency.

Discussion and conclusions

To summarize the actions observed, the teacher used the board to differentiate the concepts (date vs. day) and to support the learners' production (she directly referred to the board when eliciting learners' answers in lines 8 and 10), she used a gesture to highlight the necessity of the definite article (line 12)

and to represent the days of the week (line 22), repeated her questions (lines 2, 19) and she initiated choral repetition in order for the learners to imitate the correct production of the date (lines 8 and 12). From the CA toolbox we can refer, for example, to the teacher's using pauses and intonation to mark important information (lines 1, 16) and for the transition from one concept to another (lines 15–16), to her initiating a repair sequence (line 12) and to her completing learner-performed correction (line 5, see also McHoul, 1990), and to the aspects of institutional talk regarding the organization of turns in the classroom (cf. Mchoul, 1978). The learners' contribution to the learning event can be seen, for example, in performing correction (line 4) and helping Kája by whispering the answer (line 21). I highlight these and other aspects of the analysis from the perspective of the process of the participants' maintaining and negotiating mutual understanding. Therefore this way CA can help us understand the "the architecture of intersubjectivity" (Seedhouse, 2004, p. 237; see also Markee, 2000, p. 84–96) and can contribute to our understanding of socially shared cognition (Schegloff, 1991).

I also pointed out to the moments in which the interaction was shaped by and at the same time shaped the goals of the teaching and learning process whose one fragment I analysed (for example, after the hesitant production of line 6 the teacher decided to repeat the answer more fluently in line 7 and to initiate the choral drill in line 8), which refers to the reflexive relationship between interaction and pedagogy (Seedhouse, 2004).

I approached the learning in the episode from the perspective of SCT, namely I highlighted the connections between intersubjectivity and the creating and maintaining of the zone of proximal development, in which the participants co-construct meaning and in which the learners imitated, produced vicarious answers in their private speech and learnt. Relatedly, it would be possible to refer to the teacher's (and also some learners') individual actions as scaffolding (Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976; see also Tharp & Gallimore, 1988, p. 44–70), yet I prefer the referring to the mutual construction of the ZPD, since the both the learners and the teachers contributed simultaneously by the presence of their consciousness to the process of meaning making (see also Newman & Holzman, 1993 for the relationship between 'revolutionary activity' and ZPD; see also Píšová et al., 2013 for the teacher's 'being with the learners').

The analysis showed that the two central display questions played a crucial role in the episode. In the analysis I documented that the teacher used display questions to elicit an answer that she had known in line with the aims of the episode and the pupils accepted the focus on accuracy. It can hardly be imagined

that the aim of this episode would be realized by means of referential questions. From this perspective, the calls for lowering the number of display questions seem unjustified. Instead, it can be suggested that the research on teacher questions take the pedagogic and content perspectives into consideration.

To go back to the research question, the above microanalysis showed that in the episode the teacher and the learners worked on the concepts "date" and "day" (and relatedly saying the date in English), which the learners had not internalized yet. In a more abstract sense, the microanalysis revealed that the episode was an exemplification of the construction of ZPD and CA made it possible to identify and describe the intricacy of the processes of reaching mutual understanding. In this respect, the presented dialogist perspective can be seen as productive when it comes to researching classroom interaction.

References
Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S., & Finegan, E. (1999). *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. London: Longman.

Drew, P., & Heritage, J. (1992). Analyzing talk at work: an introduction. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Talk at work. Interaction in institutional settings* (pp. 3–65). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ehrlich, S., & Freed, A. F. (2009). The function of questions in institutional discourse. An introduction. In A. F. Freed & A. Ehrlich (Eds.), *Why do you ask? The function of questions in institutional discourse* (pp. 3–19). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Firth, A., & Wagner, J. (1997). On discourse, communication, and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research. *The Modern Language Journal*, *81*(3), 285–300.

Firth, A., & Wagner, J. (2007). Second/foreign language learning as a social accomplishment: Elaborations on a reconceptualized SLA. *The Modern Language Journal*, *91*, 800–819.

Gardner, R. (2013). Conversation analysis in the classroom. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 593–611). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hargreaves, L., & Galton, M. (2002). *Transfer from the primary classroom: 20 years on*. London: Routledge.

Ho, D. G. E. (2005). Why do teachers ask the questions they ask? *RELC Journal*, *36*(3), 297–310.

Hutchby, I., & Wooffitt, R. (1998). *Conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Polity Press, Blackwell Publishers.

Lantolf, J. P., & Thorne, S. L. (2006). *Sociocultural theory and the genesis of second language development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lee, Y.-A. (2006). Respecifying display questions: Interactional resources for language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly*, *40*(4), 691–713.

Linell, P. (1998). Approaching dialogue. Talk, interaction and contexts in dialogical perspectives. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Linell, P. (2009). Rethinking language, mind and world dialogically. Interactional and contextual theories of human sense-making. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing.

Mareš, J. (2009). Posledních dvacet let výzkumu pedagogické interakce a komunikace v České republice (léta 1990-2009). In *Pedagogická komunikace v didaktických, sociálních a filozofických souvislostech. Sborník příspěvků z konference.* (pp. 9–29). Hradec Králové: Gaudeamus.

Margutti, P., & Drew, P. (2014). Positive evaluation of student answers in classroom instruction. *Language and Education*, *28*(5), 436–458.

Markee, N. (2000). *Conversation analysis*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Marková, I. (1982). *Paradimgs, thought, and language*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

McHoul, A. (1978). The organization of turns at formal talk in the classroom. *Language in Society*, *7*(02), 183–213.

McHoul, A. W. (1990). The organization of repair in classroom talk. *Language in Society*, *19*(03), 349–377.

Mercer, N. (2010). The analysis of classroom talk: Methods and methodologies. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, *80*(1), 1–14.

Mitchell, R. F. (2009). Current trends in classroom research. In M. H. Long & C. J. Doughty (Eds.), *The handbook of language teaching* (pp. 675–705). Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Newman, F., & Holzman, L. (1993). *Lev Vygotsky. Revolutionary scientist.* London: Routledge.

Nystrand, M., Wu, L. L., Gamoran, A., Zeiser, S., & Long, D. A. (2003). Questions in time: Investigating the structure and dynamics of unfolding classroom discourse. *Discourse Processes*, *35*(2), 135–198.

Ohta, A. S. (2001). Second language acquisition processes in the classroom: Learning Japanese. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Píšová, M., Hanušová, S., Kostková, K., Janíková, V., Najvar, P., & Tůma, F. (2013). *Učitel expert: jeho charakteristiky a determinanty profesního rozvoje (na pozadí cizojazyčné výuky)*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

Rampton, B., Roberts, C., Leung, C., & Harris, R. (2002). Methodology in the analysis of classroom discourse. *Applied Linguistics*, *23*(3), 373–392.

Schegloff, E. A. (1987). Between micro and macro: Contexts and other connections. In J. C. Alexander, B. Giesen, R. Münch, & N. J. Smelser (Eds.), *The micro-macro link* (pp. 207–234). Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Schegloff, E. A. (1991). Conversation analysis and socially shared cognition. In L. B. Resnick, J. M. Levine, & S. D. Teasley (Eds.), *Perspectives on socially shared cognition* (pp. 150–171). Washington: American Psychological Association.

Šeďová, K., Švaříček, R., & Šalamounová, Z. (2012). *Komunikace ve školní třídě.* Praha: Portál.

Seedhouse, P. (2004). The interactional architecture of the language classroom: A conversation analysis perspective. University of Michigan: Blackwell Publishing.

Ten Have, P. (2007). *Doing conversation analysis* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE Publications.

Tharp, R. G., & Gallimore, R. (1988). *Rousing minds to life: Teaching, learning, and schooling in social context* (Reprint edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tůma, F. (2014a). Dialogism and classroom interaction in English language teaching: A review of Czech research. *Pedagogická orientace*, *24*(6), 878–902.

Tůma, F. (2014b). Dialogismus a výzkum interakce ve třídě: přehledová studie (1990-2012). *Pedagogika*, *64*(2), 177–199.

Vološinov, V. N. (1973). *Marxism and the philosophy of language.* (L. Matejka & I. R. Titunik, Trans.). New York, London: Seminar Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes.* In M. Cole, V. John-Steiner, S. Scribner, & E. Souberman (Eds.). Harvard University Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1981). The genesis of higher mental functions. In J. V. Wertsch (Ed.), *The concept of activity in Soviet psychology* (pp. 144–188). New York: M. E. Sharpe.

Waring, H. Z. (2009). Moving out of IRF (Initiation-Response-Feedback): A Single Case Analysis. *Language Learning*, *59*(4), 796–824.

Waring, H. Z. (2012). Yes-no questions that convey a critical stance in the language classroom. *Language and Education*, *26*(5), 451–469.

Wertsch, J. V. (1991). Voices of the mind. A sociocultural approach to mediated action. Herfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Wood, D., Bruner, J. S., & Ross, G. (1976). The role of tutoring in problem solving. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, *17*(2), 89–100.

Contact
Mgr. František Tůma, Ph.D.
Masaryk University, Faculty of Education
Institute for Research in School Education
Poříčí 31, 603 00 Brno, Czech Republic
e-mail: tuma@ped.muni.cz

Appendix

Transcript notations

(2.0)	Two-second pause
underline	Stress
↑	High pitch on word
.	Sentence final falling intonation
:	Lengthened vowel sound
=	Latch
[ ]	Overlapped talk
°soft°	Spoken softly/decreased volume
(( ))	Comments on background, skipped talk or nonverbal behaviour
{(( ))–words}	{ } marks the beginning and ending of the simultaneous occurrence of the verbal and nonverbal
T:	Teacher
L:	Learner
?L:	Unidentifiable learner
Class:	Whole class (including teacher)
LL:	Learners

DE GRUYTER
OPEN

Some remarks on lexicographic treatment of idioms

Anna Włodarczyk-Stachurska
University of Technology and Humanities in Radom, Poland
a.stachurska@uthrad.pl

Abstract

Phraseology is a domain of linguistic study which, to a certain extent, demonstrates the correlation between language and culture. At the same time, it is a source of information concerning the speakers' world view. However, different phraseological units are used in different languages. Hence, when it comes to their understanding, it becomes particularly difficult to comprehend their meaning without the reference to their lexicographic description. The aim of this paper is to outline the treatment of selected idioms in several dictionaries in order to:

(i)   identify how idioms are lexicographically presented,
(ii)   find equivalence of some expressions of that kind in English/Polish,
(iii)   investigate how the recorded parallels correspond with the functional view of idioms proposed by Dobrovol'skij (2000).

Keywords

phraseology, idiom, monolingual/bilingual lexicography, functional equivalence

Introduction

The category of phraseology in general, and idioms in particular, may be treated from different perspectives: cognitive, linguistic as well as psychological. There is also a so-called cross-linguistic perspective advocated, among others, by Dobrovol'skij (1992, 2000, 2005). The aim of the present paper is to evaluate the lexicographic treatment of selected idioms in order to outline the basic properties of an ideal reference work proposed to provide the purpose of translation.

Let us open the discussion of this subject with the definition of what actually is meant by the term idiom as various definitions of the term have been proposed. What emerges from the different contributions is a list of characteristics, such as the following:

- An idiom is a complex expression (Weinrich, 1969, p. 26).
- Idioms are a complex of linguistic expressions, in which the essence is inseparably connected with some metaphorical meaning. The reason why they are mostly untranslatable is their metaphorical meaning. Moreover, the significance of the whole phrase does not correspond to the meaning of the components that are the parts of the idiom (Gajda, 1993, p. 5)[26].
- An idiom or idiomatic phrase is a developed expression with a meaning that cannot be readily analysed into the several semantic elements which would ordinarily be expressed by the words making up the phrase (Rayevska 1979, p. 265).
- The term refers to the groups of the words from which the meaning differs from the individual significance of the parts (Bolinger & Sears, 1981, p. 53).
- Idioms of a given language reflect the culture, illustrating the correlation between language and culture (Teliya et al., 2001, p. 55).

All in all, the term idiom is used to denote "a multiple word lexical item, whose meaning is not a compositional function of its constituents" (Burkhanov, 1998, p. 107). The idea that idioms are clearly motivated by a collective memory of a given nation is by far not new. As indicated in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, idioms are "the form of speech peculiar to a people or country, also peculiar to a language". Therefore, a question that arises is whether dictionaries provide the dictionary users with succinct lexicographic data that serve the purpose of enabling the user to understand the idiom in a proper way. At the outset we will investigate the way idioms are presented on the monolingual dictionary canvas.

1. The way idioms are presented on the monolingual dictionary canvas

To bring the problem to the fore, it seems reasonable to stress that the roots of the idea regarding the tendency of writers and speakers to store, retrieve, and process language very largely in chunks are dated back to the times of the work by Palmer and Hornby in the 1930s. According to Cowie (1999, p. 10), their research revealed the prevalence of ready-made sequences in everyday speech and writing, and helped pave the way for the strong upsurge of interest in phraseology of the 1980s and 1990s. According to Rundell (1998, p. 317) the concern for describing and explaining phraseology has been one of the key features of the MLD ever since.

---

[26] Translation mine (A-W-S).

As Stein (2002, p. 77) succinctly puts it, one may speak of three types of lexical units with which *EFL* lexicographers usually have difficulties as to where to place them within the bodies of their dictionaries, and this lot includes verb + particle combinations, idioms and affixes. Note that the practice employed by the editors of the *LDCE* seems to be highly complicated. In the Preface (2003, p. XIV) it is said that: "Idioms and phrases are shown at the first important word of the phrase or idiom. For example, *have egg on your face* is shown at *egg* and *have a nice day* is shown at *nice.* Idioms and phrases are listed together with the other senses of the word in frequency order. Phrasal verbs are listed in alphabetical order after the main verb. If the phrasal verb has an object, this is shown as sb (=someone) or sth (= something). The symbol ⇔ means that the object can come before or after the particle.[27]

Note that the non-native speaker of English is supposed to know whether or not a word is important or not in order to find the fixed meaning of an idiom or a phrase. Unfortunately, non-native dictionary users have no criterion to decide about the importance of the words and – therefore – they are consequently at a loss. A much more satisfactory solution is the practice adopted by the editors of *CALD* (2005, p. IX) where the subentry policy has been adopted[28]: "If a word or meaning of word is always used in a particular grammatical pattern or with particular words, this is shown at the beginning of the definition. Idioms (phrases which have a special meaning that is not clear from the separate words) and other fixed phrases are shown separately with their own definitions. Idioms and fixed phrases are usually listed at the first important word. If you are not sure where to find them, look in the 'Idiom Finder' on page 1515".

Much along similar lines, there is the practice employed in OALD (2005), where we find out that: "Idioms are defined at the entry for the first 'full' word (a noun, a verb, an adjective or an adverb) that they contain. This means ignoring any grammatical words such as articles and prepositions. Idioms follow the main senses of a word, in a section marked IDM". A bit more cryptically is the way of explanation given by the editors of CCAL (2009). In the guide to key features we

---

[27] Underlines mine (A-W-S).
[28] The complicated way of finding a lexical unit can also be found in OALD (where the user is supposed to state which word is more important). As far as CCAD is concerned phrasal verbs are assembled as subentries under the main verb, in case of idioms CCAD does not tell the user under which headword idioms are listed where they consist of several open-class lexical items.

read as follows: "Natural English definitions guide the user to discover words as they appear in everyday English".

2. Idioms in bilingual lexicography

Our key goal in this section is to highlight how idioms are presented in bilingual lexicography. As explained by Burkhanov (2004, p. 22): "a bilingual dictionary should offer not explanatory paraphrases or definitions, but real lexical units of the target language which, when inserted into the context, produce a smooth translation. This is a perfectly natural requirement". In the late 1970s, scholars paid attention to the need of more specific dictionaries as far as idioms were concerned (Nida and Taber mentioned the problem in 1969). Since then, more emphasis has been put on translation and the lack of awareness of some of translators who exclude idioms when translating. Simultaneously, the discussion of the helpful work of reference started. In the words of Baker (1992, p. 65): "The main problems that idiomatic and fixed expressions pose in translation relate to two main areas: the ability to recognize and interpret an idiom correctly; and the difficulties involved in rendering the various aspects of meaning that an idiom or a fixed expression conveys."

As already indicated, particular cultural community have idioms pertaining to different semantic fields. What is more, there is also history of a given nation that plays a crucial role, along with customs and traditions that may be useful for translator looking for an equivalent (cf. Toury, 1980; Heylen, 1993). Piotrowski (1994) is of the opinion that although there are plenty of publications concerning bilingual lexicography, the notion of bilingual equivalence has not been clarified. Simultaneously, there is the commonly held view that the term is pertaining to cross-linguistic correlations between lexemes. Wiegand (2003) made an attempt to outline the lexicographic treatment of L1 and L2 lexical items, where their semantic/pragmatic equivalence is to be settled on at a very beginning of lexicographic description.

The above brief outlook shows that there is a need to review the lexicographic treatment of idioms in order to find a well suited functionally satisfactory idiom equivalent for bilingual works of reference.

3. The notion of equivalence

The lexicographic analysis of bilingual descriptions of idioms needs to shed some light on equivalence of general character. As indicated by Dobrovol'skij (2000a), "some well – known types of phraseological equivalence are discriminated: (i) full equivalents, (ii) partial equivalents, (iii) phraseological

parallels, (iv) non-equivalents".

(i) As far as full equivalence is concerned it takes place when two idioms are identical with regard to their meanings as well as syntactic and lexical structure. As an example we can take English *have nerves of steel* and Polish *mieć stalowe nerwy.*

(ii) Partial equivalents have near identical meaning, but do not match in compositional structure. Let's take for example English *to get out of bed on the wrong side* and Polish *wstać z łóżka lewą nogą.*

(iii) Phraseological parallels are idioms that correspond in their core meaning, but totally different in image component. For example, English *white elephant* and Polish *biały kruk.*

(iv) Non-equivalents are when a given idiom has no idiomatic counterpart in the other language. For instance, English *be over a barrel, be over the hill* (cf. Glaser 1986; Award 1990).

Clearly, cross-linguistic equivalents are divided according to their structural properties. According to Dobrovol'skij (2000b) this approach neglects conceptual foundations and consequently puts forward the so-called "functional oriented typology". In his words: "[...] the new typology is necessary in order to enable the speaker to find real, functionally adequate L2-equivalents to given L1-idioms". The reason advocated is that the established conventions are "[...] of no interest either for linguistic theory or for a practically oriented description of idiomatic expressions" (Dobrovol'skij, 2000b, p. 372). In the long run the key property promoted as far as the cross-linguistic comparison is concerned, it is the semantic semblance. At the stage of lexicographic description of idioms, both their contexts of usage and combinatorial setting need to be taken into account. As to the procedure, Dobrovol'skij (2000a, p. 169) clarifies: "The procedure of finding functionally adequate equivalents, as I see it, breaks down into three stages. At stage one, we have to group the idioms of both L1 and L2 into semantic fields postulated on the same principles, in order to get semantically comparable groups, which can then be analysed in more detail. At stage two, we have to identify near – equivalent idioms in those languages. To be able to do this, we must not stop at the lexical structure (looking for idioms with similar key constituents) but focus on the shared conceptual metaphors and/or culturally relevant symbols. At the stage three we have to investigate the combinatorial properties of the near-equivalent idioms discovered at stage two. Even when we have identified the shared underlying metaphors [...] and/or shared symbols [...], the most we can hope for is small classes of near-equivalents in the L1, none of

which can precisely translate all of a group of near-equivalents in the L2. We have to go a step further and identify the combinatorial possibilities of each item. Only if these are identical may we speak of fully equivalent idioms in the L1 and L2".

4. Polish-English idioms: state of the art

The present paper takes a closer look at some body parts idioms in English and their Polish equivalents. The intention is to evaluate their recorded equivalents with the functional approach. The idioms in question will be: "apple of one's eye"; "to do in the eye"; "to have head in the clouds"; "to bury one's head in the sand"; "make one's mouth water"; "to be light-fingered"; "to have something at one's fingertips"; "to twist somebody round one's little finger". The bilingual dictionary that has been consulted is *Słownik idiomów angielskich* (1999).

Let us investigate the equivalents of the aforementioned:
− "apple of one's eye" in the indicated work of reference is "oczko w głowie". It is also given the following explanation: "osoba lub rzecz bardzo przez kogoś kochana".
− "to do in the eye" – no equivalent given within the body of the dictionary. Although, there is the Polish counterpart: "nabić kogoś w butelkę" (Konieczna, 1998, p. 168).
− "to have head in the cloud" – „chodzić z głową w obłokach"; „marzyć o niebieskich migdałach"; „nie widzieć niczego dookoła". Polish functional equivalent is obviously "chodzić z głową w chmurach".
− to bury one's head in the sand" – "chować głowę w piasek", "uchylać się od czegoś" (no idiomatic); "unikać czegoś" (no idiomatic); "nie chcieć o niczym wiedzieć" (no idiomatic).
− "make one's mouth water" – no equivalent (neither at mouth, not at water), while there is Polish functionally adequate idiom: "ślinka komuś leci".
− "to be light-fingered" – no equivalent recorded (Konieczna, 1998, p. 172, indicates "mieć lepkie ręce").
− "to have something at one's fingertips" – "mieć coś w małym palcu"; „znać coś na wylot"; "być w czymś bardzo dobrze zorientowanym" (the first one seems to be the most adequate).
− "to twist somebody round one's little finger" – "okręcić sobie kogoś wokół małego palca"; "sprawić, że ktoś postępuje tak jak chcemy" (no idiomatic).

The above examples confirm that the bilingual dictionaries under scrutiny tend to provide parallel idioms in the target language. However, there are also

existing gaps in the amount of feedback provided (as there are no counterparts provided in some cases). Moreover, a closer examination shows that except the supposed equivalents, there are also given no idiomatic expressions as their corresponding items (although a more advanced study is needed in order to check if an apparently parallel idiom can be used as more functionally adequate).

As brought up earlier, the problem of equivalence has theoretical as well as practical significance for phraseology. Consequently, the question that arises concerns the reasons for expressing certain ideas by the means of idioms in one language and no idiomatic expressions in the other. The problem seems to be of a prime importance especially when particular differences (here: semantic/pragmatic/collocational) are to be illustrated. Also, it should stand for language – specific expressions. In the words of Zgusta (1989, p. 3): "[...] since language is embedded in culture, cultural data are important to the learner not only for steering his linguistic behavior but frequently for choosing the correct lexical equivalent. Such cultural information can be understood in a broad way, so that it can pertain to political and administrative realities of the country or countries whose language is being learned, and so on. Undoubtedly a good part of this information is of encyclopedic character; be this as it may, it belongs to what the learner has to learn.

In general, however, it appears that functional equivalence advocated by Dobrovol'skij (2000) is the type of equivalence most useful from the bilingual lexicography perspective. Thus, there is a need for a dictionary to provide contemporary English idioms along with carefully selected Polish counterparts, along with explanations showing the appropriate use of them.

5. Conclusion

The analysis of lexicographic description of idioms delivers a number of conclusions. First of all, one may assume that as far as language phraseology poses a rather problematic aspect of dictionaries compilation, the aim here was to cast some light on the question of how lexicographers encode the evidence of phraseological patterning. Yet, before looking at dictionaries, it is important to consider why idiomatic information should be recorded at all. Obviously, idioms and other fixed phraseological expressions must be taken into consideration, as the primary role of a dictionary is to list and account for the lexical items of a given language. There is also a need to show phraseology when senses or items are restricted co-textually (for example, when verbs are followed by exact prepositions or related to particular kinds of objects).

What is more, phraseology has a purpose in clarifying sense differentiation, if

the information appears as part of the definition or contained by illustrative example (it can – at the same time – clarify the definition itself). Another reason for including phraseological information is linguistic, or – to put it differently – the ultimate objective exists to create a record of lexical behaviour as a part of an entire and incorporated description of a language. However, only very large-scale dictionary projects with unlimited funding would be in position to do this for all words. What is more, average users are unlikely to find the information useful enough to be worth the extra work, while interactive corpus/tools provide the information both more economically and effectively.

Additionally, to be classified as monolingual, a lexicographic work of reference must display the feature explained; in the words of Hartmann and James (1998, p. 95): "[…] the words must be explained by means of the same language". No matter whether it is done by means of synonymous equivalents, a definition, antonyms in negation or a combination of these, all are relatively space consuming. That means that the space left for other information categories is scarce. As a consequence, the compiler may be forced to reduce the amount of phraseological information to the bare minimum. Another thing is that monolingual definitions are more difficult to process than native language equivalents. When dictionary consultation repeatedly involves finding the meaning relatively fast, and the students' assignments concern many new vocabulary items, such difficulties may result in the learner switching back to a bilingual dictionary.

The present period of *EFL* dictionaries, that is the corpus era which began with *CCAD* (1987), led to a special focus on corpus evidence and the typological lexico-grammatical patterns revealed.[29] The truth is that within the body of *EFL* dictionaries one may find merely limited reference to phraseological phenomena other than collocation. Yet, from even this narrow focus, there are clearly important points to consider, apart from the quality, range and information provided. It seems that of essential importance is the function of phraseological information in relation to the needs and interests of the target users. The compiler's task here is to estimate what learners might want to know about the

---

[29] Landau (1989) presents the lexicographical methodology, Klotz (1999), Mittmann (1999) the methodical comparisons of the treatment of complementation and collocation in the 1990s editions of *EFL* dictionaries. Siepmann (2006) discusses the presentation of collocational information in dictionaries. Recently, Osuchowska (2007) examines the collocational value of *EFL* dictionaries in a great detail.

phraseology of an individual lemma, form or sense, as well as identifying which patterns to record.

Another aspect here is the challenge of the move from the position where the release of phraseological information is considered from the perspective of linguistic research, to the situation when the needs of the user become the primary objective. It appears that particularly crucial is the function of phraseological information in relation to the needs and interests of the *EFL* students. The lexicographer`s task here is to second-guess what users might want to know about the phraseology of individual lemma, form, or sense, as well as identifying which patterns to record.

Here, the discussion concerning electronic lexicographic products inevitably emerges. Of course, the challenge here has been to move from the position where the retrieval and delivery of phraseological information is designed from the perspective of linguistic research, including the provision of data for lexicography, to one where the users' needs are prioritised. Yet, it seems arguably even more difficult to identify what these are than in the case of traditional printed dictionaries. In the past, dictionaries simply provided raw corpus data, encouraging users to work empirically, observing patterns for themselves. Nevertheless, there are disadvantages, including time factors, and difficulties with interpreting the evidence found. Furthermore, extensive corpora are too large to be used effectively; small corpora are subject to skewing from constituent texts especially relevant where phraseological patterning varies according to genre.

It seems obvious enough that tools should be dynamic and provide filtered data, organized in terms of significance, word class, syntagmatic positioning, genre and meaning, but overly filtered data may be misleading and may become under-informative entries in printed dictionaries at the same time. The major conclusion that seems to be emerging from the above considerations is that lexicography – although the science has been recently developing at an unprecedented pace – still suffers from numerous problematic issues. It sets up a number of indispensable requirements that any lexicographical description is to observe if it is hoped to be somehow satisfactory.

References

Dictionaries:
Collins Cobuild Advanced Dictionary. 6th edition. (2009). Penny Hands (Ed.). New York: Harper Collins.
Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary. 3rd edition. (2008). Elizabeth Walter (Ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. (2005). Evande Adrian-Vallence (Ed.). London: Pearson Education Limited.
Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. (2005). As. Hornby (Ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Słownik idiomów angielskich. (1999). Philip Wilson. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Philip Wilson.

Other sources:
Awward, M. (1990). Equivalence and translatability of English and Arabic idioms. *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics,* 26, 57-67.
Baker, M. (1992). *In other words: A coursebook on translation*. London: Routledge.
Bolinger, D. & Sears, A. D. (1981). *Aspects of language.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Burkhanov, I. (1998). *Lexicography: A dictionary of basic terminology*. Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego.
Burkhanov, I. (2004). Requirements for an 'Ideal' Bilingual L1-L2 Translation-Oriented Dictionary. *Lexicos,* 14, 17-34.
Cowie, A. P. (1999). 'Learners' dictionaries in a historical and theoretical perspective. In Herbst, T. (Ed.), *The Perfect Learners' Dictionary (?)* (pp. 111-138). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
Dobrovol'skij, D. (1992). Phraseological universals: Theoretical and applied aspects. In Kefer, M. & Auwera. J. (Eds.), *Meaning and grammar: Cross-linguistic perspectives* (pp. 279-301). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Dobrovol'skij, D. (2000a). Contrastive idiom analysis: Russian and German idioms in theory and in the bilingual dictionary. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 13 (3), 169-186.
Dobrovol'skij, D. (2000b). Idioms in contrast: A functional view". In G. Corpas (Ed.), *Las leguas de Europa: studios de fraseologia, fraseografia y traducción* (pp. 367-388). Granada: Editorial Comares.
Dobrovol'skij, D. & Purainen, E. (2005). *Figurative language: Cross-cultural and cross-linguistic perspectives*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
Gajda, R. (1993). *Wybór idiomów angielskich*. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna.
Glaser, R. (1986). A plea for phraseo-stylistics. In D. Kastovsky & A. Szwedek (Ed.),

Linguistics across historical and geographical boundaries. Honour to Jacek Fisiak on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday. Vol. 1: *Linguistics theory and historical linguistics* (pp. 41-52). Berlin, New York & Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.

Konieczna, J. (1998). *Prawie wszystko o zwierzętach, jarzynach i kolorach. Słowniczek tematyczny angielsko-polski.* Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna.

Klotz, M. (1999). Word complementation in English learners' dictionaries: A quantitative study of CIDE, COBUILD2, LDOCE3 and OALD5". In T. Herbst & K. Popp (Eds.), *The perfect learners' dictionary (?)* (pp. 33-43). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Laflin, S. V. (2000). *Something to crew about: A concise collection of American English idioms for everyday use*. Washington: United State University.

Landau, S. I. (1989). *Dictionaries: The art and craft of lexicography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mittmann, B. (1999). The treatment of collocations in OALD5, LDOCE3, COBUILD2 and CIDE". In T. Herbst & K. Popp (Eds.), *The perfect learners' dictionary (?)* (pp. 101-111). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Hartmann, R. & James, G. (1998). *Dictionary of lexicography*. London: Routledge.

Heylen, R. (1993). *Translation, poetics and the stage: Six French Hamlets*. London/New York: Routledge.

Nida, E. A. & Taber, C. R. (1969). *The theories and practice of translation*. Leiden: Brill.

Osuchowska, D. (2007). *In search of the collocation value of EFL dictionaries*. Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego.

Piotrowski, T. (1994). *Problems in bilingual lexicography*. Wrocław: University Press.

Rayevska, N. M. (1979). *English lexicology.* Kiev: Head Publishing House.

Rundell, M. (1998) Recent trends in English pedagogical lexicography. *International Journal of Lexicography* 11(4), 315–342.

Siepmann, D. (2006). Collocation, colligation and encoding dictionaries. Part 2: Lexicographical aspects. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 19 (1), 1-39.

Stein, G. (2002). *Better Words: Evaluating EFL Dictionaries*. Exeter: Short Run Press Ltd.

Teliya, V. et al. (2001). Phraseology as a language of culture: Its role in the representation of collective memory. In A. P. Cowie (Ed.), *Phraseology: Theory, analysis, and applications* (pp. 55-75). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Toury, G. (1980). *In search of a theory of translation*. Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics.

Weinrich, U. (1969). Problems in the analysis of idioms. In J. Puhvel (Ed.), *Substance and structure of language* (pp. 23-81). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wiegand, H. E. (2003). On the Lexicographic Description of Equivalent Open Class Expressions. *Lexicos,* 13, 38-64.

Włodarczyk-Stachurska, A. (2010). *On sociolinguistic variation: the case of English women terms*. Radom: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Radomskiej.

Włodarczyk-Stachurska, A. (2012). Sociolinguistic stratification in EFL lexicography. In P. Łozowski & A. Włodarczyk-Stachurska (Eds.), *Words in contexts: From linguistic forms to literary functions*. Radom: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Radomskiej.

Zgusta, L. (1989). Idle thoughts on an idle fellow; or, vaticinations on the learners' dictionary. In M. L. Tickoo (Ed.), *Learners' dictionaries: State of the art* (pp. 1-9). Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Contact

dr Anna Włodarczyk-Stachurska
Department of English Studies, Faculty of Philology and Pedagogy
University of Technology and Humanities
Chrobrego 31, 26600 Radom, Poland
a.stachurska@uthrad.pl

The benefits and pitfalls of a multicultural teaching faculty and a monocultural student population:
An interpretive analysis of tertiary teachers' and students' perceptions in the United Arab Emirates

P. J. Moore-Jones

University of California, Irvine, United States of America
pj.moore54@yahoo.com

Abstract

Emirati students at public universities have a wide demographic of faculty members teaching them courses in their second language, English. These faculty members bring with them their own cultural assumptions, epistemologies and use of language which at times are in stark contrast to those of the students. The aim of the research is to shed light on the effects that a multicultural faculty have on a monocultural student body and vice versa. This study looks at both faculty and students' perceptions of public tertiary education in the UAE. Namely, the research questions surround themes regarding the benefits and pitfalls of multiculturalism in a university environment.

Contentions are made based on qualitative data received regarding the levels of intercultural competence of both faculty and students. Noted are the importance of intercultural competence, how and why it is significant to have not only as a globalized member of a multicultural teaching faculty but how and why it is a central skill the fresh graduates must develop during their undergraduate careers.

Keywords

multiculturalism in education, intercultural competence, the UAE

Rationale for the study

With the advent of study abroad programs, with the advent of affirmative action, with the influx of English as a Second Language programs leading to higher international student populations and with the advent of a globalized world, much has been written, researched and studied about multicultural classrooms, how educators can deal with the wide spectrum of cultures within one classroom and the increasing necessity of multicultural competency for faculty in all levels of education (Brown-Glaude, 2009). However, quite a contrary

dynamic occurs in the United Arab Emirates, specifically in public institutions of higher learning. Here, it is the faculty which is multicultural and the student population is one which could be characterized as of a single, national and religious culture.

Emirati students studying at the University of the Emirates (a pseudonym), one of three major public institutions of higher learning, have a wide demographic of faculty members teaching them an equally wide variety of courses. All of these courses are mandated to be taught in English. These faculty members bring with them their own cultural assumptions, methods, expectations, educational practices and use of language. While, previous studies explored what faculty members are responsible to know and understand with a multicultural student population, I look at the United Arab Emirates and wish to know more about the effects of a multicultural faculty teaching a monocultural student population. Referring specifically to students who conduct their studies in a second language, Badger & MacDonald (2007) argue that there is a difference of culture between learners and educators and acknowledgement of that difference is crucial in understanding students' needs and academic progress. Often times what occurs in the classroom is the students bring in their own cultural assumptions, ideas, tendencies and expectations while the teacher comes in with what may be completely differing sets of each. This idea is noted by Mughan who states "In order for language learners to apply the language skills fruitfully and effectively, a knowledge of the cultural environment is essential" (Mughan, 1998, p. 43). This "cultural environment" that Mughan speaks of is comprised of the two sets of these cultural dynamics. What will be covered in in my recommendations is that a negotiated 3rd cultural space is needed to be created by both parties in successful classrooms where the teachers and students may differ in educational assumptions.

Glowacki-Dudka & Treff (2011) note in a study of a Saudi Arabian college that a multicultural faculty "need to be conscious of the cultural assumptions faculty and administrators bring with them" (p. 217). Generally speaking, it can be said that most faculty members have been educated in their own country and therefore bring a certain style of learning, a certain style of instruction and a methodology of teaching with them to the United Arab Emirates. Although many faculty members have taught elsewhere in the world as well, it is our native mode of education that tends to stand out when we, as educators, approach teaching a course in a second culture. Diallo (2014) echoes the sentiments made by Glowacki-Dudka & Treff and speaks more specifically and recently about the states of educational dynamics in the UAE. She writes: "Large scale importation of

Western-trained language teachers to teach in a non-Western educational context poses challenges because teachers and students tend to operate from within their own distinct, social, cultural and educational paradigm. Teachers draw on Western educational models and pedagogies to teach students who have different, if not opposing, educational values and epistemologies" (ibid., p. 1).

Context

This study focuses on students and faculty of Dubai Women's Campus and Dubai Men's Campus of the University of the Emirates, hereafter referred to as the U of E. The U of E was founded in 1989 with respective Men's and Women's campuses.

The students of public institutions in the UAE can be described as belonging to what Holliday calls the same "large culture" meaning that they are all of the same nationality (Holliday, 2002). From this, we know that they have come from secondary education systems which follow similar curriculums, be they public or private. They are also all Muslim and follow Emirati interpretations of Islam. This is mentioned due to the fact that some faculty members encounter facets of Emirati religious practice (i.e. frequent prayer) that they may not have been used to in their home country. All of the student participants are Emirati citizens.

Faculty come to the U of E from all corners of the globe. They are recruited online and through academic conferences such as TESOL Arabia, and are given a package to relocate to the UAE for a 3-year contract, after which they are reviewed by the university leading to a decision as to whether a renewed 3-year contract would be offered. Some nationalities are represented more than others due to a number of factors, most prominent being general proximity to the UAE. Those represented as faculty include but are not limited to British, Irish, American, Canadian, Jordanian, Egyptian, Indian, Filipino, Sudanese, Pakistani, Tunisian, Iraqi, Chinese, Brazilian, Dutch and several others.

Conceptual framework
Muller's 3 circles of worldview

This work draws heavily on the work of Roland Muller and the interworkings of intercultural competence (Knowledgeworkx Inc., 2013). Knowledgeworkx uses arguments and contentions made by Muller to establish a working definition of "culture" in a way that does not categorize or over-generalize nations or cultures as one way or the other but rather creates a picture of worldviews and ontologies that can, however, be described as being generally accepted and common in certain regions of the world and atypical in others.

Muller argues that there are but 3 circles of worldview and every human on Earth from every culture possesses elements and differing degrees of all 3 (Muller, 2001). What he goes on to argue and what Knowledgeworkx furthers to profess is that certain regions of the world include cultures which we can analytically assume are more dominant in one circle than others. The circles consist of opposing binaries of Guilt/Innocence, Power/Fear and Honor/Shame and appear thus,
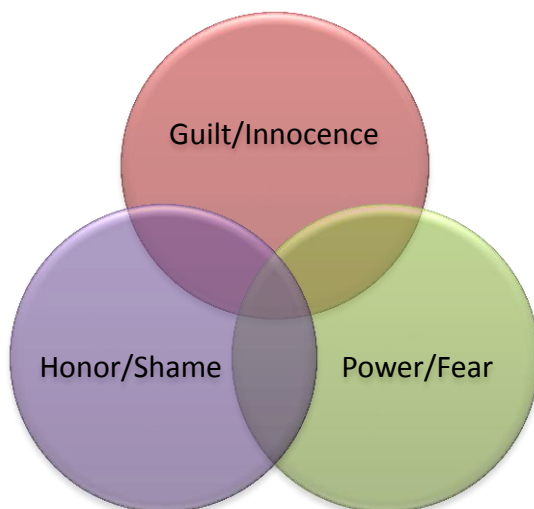
Figure 1: Muller's 3 circles of worldview

Muller describes these worldviews as main motivators that drive one's decision-making processes and in turn, their behavior (2001). How each culture values or undervalues each of the 3 circles is dependent on a variety of factors that may exist more prominently within the culture. These include political climate, religion, law and the direct or indirect application of it, relationship, group membership and many others.

Muller offers a useful framework for analysis of the data. He offers in this study his 3 Circles of Worldview which holds the notion that every human being, having been raised and acculturated in any region of the world, or even exposed to, studied, adapted to or even adopted ways of other cultures, possess elements of what he calls the 3 circles of worldviews (Muller, 2001). Regardless of what

culture one was raised in or what one has learned, all aspects of all three circles exist and are prevalent in all people of the world. Each person, however, is likely to have an ontology and live their lives by the cultural tenets of a dominant circle and Muller therefore, attempts to provide generalizations as to which cultures tend to value certain circles over others. These circles, vary in dominance from person to person and may, in fact, evolve and change over time due to a variety of factors including but not limited to globalization, exposure to other worldviews, ebbing and flowing one's own personal faith, age, education and a number of unpredictable variables.

Muller (2001) speaks of the globalized world and how while some cultures may have been driven purely or predominantly by one worldview or another, they are evolving into ones which yield a more equally distributed and mixed variety. When discussing the development and existence of the 3 worldviews, Muller writes "Some cultures have more than another, but all three are present in all cultures today" (Muller, 2001, p. 19). Therefore, attempting to fit or classify each culture into one or another becomes problematic while one worldview is mostly dominant, that is not to discount the existence, influence and effect of the other two. Further, one cannot accurately predict when the precepts and effects of the two lesser dominant worldviews may be the ones which dictate certain behavior.

Guilt & innocence

A Guilt/Innocence worldview is one which sees the world in terms of rules, regulations, correct, incorrect, right and wrong. It is one in which a person with this worldview bases his or her own actions and behavior on what is "the right thing", one which results in the doer to ascend onto a higher level of perceived correctness. People with this worldview often prefer clear guidelines, boundaries and definition in their daily lives. Consequently, cultures in which people with this dominant worldview live often do have complex legal systems and a high number of correctional institutions. Notions exist that what is wrong is wrong, even if no one else knows and if others were to learn of wrongdoing, there are policies, procedures and systems to ensure punishment and consequence. Individuals are raised and groomed to make right choices and resist temptation of wrong ones. With these notions is the idea that one will be fine as long as one "walks the line".

Cultures with this predominance tend to be highly individualistic and are found, according to Muller, primarily in the Western world. As he claims, "[M]uch of the English-speaking world and parts of Europe have worldviews that focus on

the aspect of man's guilt, and/or his freedom from guilt" (Muller, 2001, p. 18). Muller embraces the metaphor of a pool of swimmers enjoying the sun and a lifeguard on duty. When the lifeguard blows his whistle, swimmers from a Guilt/Innocence dominated culture are likely to stop what they are doing, look around and seek to find the source of the issue. The notion that it might have been them that has caused the alert is what stops them to check if what they have been doing might have been wrong. The initial reaction from someone with this dominant worldview is that of guilt.

Honor & shame

This worldview differs from Guilt/Innocence in that it is not the right and wrong of things that inform their worldview and therefore their behavior, but rather concern for the group to which they belong. Reputation, honor, shame, image and blasphemy are some elements that influence behavior. Protection of the group is synonymous with what one with a Guilt/Innocence worldview would consider protection of one's self. The name, reputation, image and sanctity of the group speaks louder to man than that of the individual. Honor is defined as what gives one status in the eyes of others.

Muller sees people who have a more Honor/Shame worldview tend to be more collectivist and often are of cultures in the Middle East and East Asia (Muller, 2001). "The other side of shame is honor, and every Arab desires and strives to be and become more honorable. The relationship between shame and honor has long been recognized by sociologists of Arab and Muslim cultures and also attributed to the generalized Mediterranean social complex" (Muller, 2001, p. 88).

Along with the same metaphor, when the lifeguard blows his whistle, people with an Honor/Shame worldview might have a different reaction. Instead of stopping their actions like a Guilt/Innocence culture would, people from an Honor/Shame culture are likely to continue what they are doing, with full knowledge that what they are doing is not the reason for the whistle. Although they might end up looking around out of sheer curiosity, they will not have the immediate assumption of guilt of their own action like others might.

Muller, being of a Western, Guilt/Innocence worldview set out to write his philosophy based on his own and others frustrations in teaching in cultures with a Honor/Shame worldview. He states that he has had much difficulty relaying messages and educating youths in the Middle Eastern world (Muller, 2001). He suggests those coming from different worldviews need to alter their approach only after understanding the differences that exist. Regarding Shame-based

cultures, he maintains that "[I]n our culture (Western, Guilt/Innocence) telling the truth is right and telling lies is wrong. In the Middle East, people don't think of lies as being right or wrong. The question is, 'is what is being said honorable'? If a lie protects the honor of a tribe or nation, then it is fine. If a lie is told for purely selfish reasons, then it is shameful" (Muller, 2001).

This broad stroke reasoning may seem reductive. One must remember that Muller's ethnocentrism is something that one can expect to be projected. In other words, Muller's worldview is one made up of a predominately Guilt/Innocence perspective, therefore the above quote is stated from a perspective of difference. However, I believe it speaks to multiple dynamics which exist in the world of education. Such instances can occur with students from differing worldviews as well. I can certainly think of many instances when students have told me something that I have questioned to be true in cultures which Muller describes as Honor/Shame as well as in those which he describes as Guilt/Innocence. What Muller also often does is to attribute these differences in worldview to differences in faith and religion; in this case he speaks directly to Middle Eastern, Muslim students. To me, this seems to be a road too easily travelled. Certainly one can look at any Holy book and find instances of all 3 circles being taught. To say that one is more pronounced in one book than others is a matter of interpretation.

In today's world, we are seeing a global clash primarily between the younger generations and the worrisome elder generation with stronger Honor/Shame worldviews. Through globalization, study exchanges, the growth of the English language, travel and other international exposures, a strict Honor/Shame heritage and set of cultural values are, at times, being marginalized. Some women jettison their sheilas, prefer attention-seeking beauty products and fashion as opposed to the modest and nondescript abayas. Young people are dating and rejecting the interfamily, arranged marriages that have been the norm for generations (Diallo, 2014). These examples often cause conflict among family members as a younger generation, at times, are seen as disregarding the honor of the collective group by projecting individualistic, Guilt/Innocence values.

Power & fear

The third of Muller's 3 circles in the worldview is dominated by Power/Fear. This worldview is often associated with power structures which include elaborate or absolute systems of hierarchy within the government, organization or family. This is a worldview which includes things like consequence and punishment as well as reward and positive acknowledgment of merit. These

structures can be found anywhere from a small scale like the family home and behaviors of parenting to large government organizations (Muller, 2001). They use people's fear by instilling it and the exercise of power to yield the desired results. Leaders tend to hone managerial skills to enhance their power over the masses. Regarding these systems where absolute monarchies and dictatorships are often the political structures, abuse mechanisms can often be seen to maintain and expand power bases.

A Power/Fear worldview is based on animism, from the Latin root "anima" for "soul" (Muller, 2001). The animistic worldview interprets everything from a spiritual philosophy rather than a materialistic one (Muller, 2001). This worldview is also attributed to cultures in which superstitions, rituals and other group-based beliefs systems are more prevalent than others. At times, the fear of the supernatural and heeding of its warnings play a large part of dictating behavior within the culture. Positive outcomes of this worldview include a heightened sense of trust amongst those being ruled as well as a sense of control over destiny and circumstances of one's life. However, this ruling system often includes threats, harsh punishment and oppression that are not uncommon in such dictatorships around the world.

Reverting back to the lifeguard metaphor, when the lifeguard were to blow his whistle, those coming from a Power/Fear worldview would likely begin to worry and be afraid in a more immediate sense of those from a Guilt/Innocence perspective. The lifeguard being a person of power, might impose a punishment or consequence to those in the wrong, whoever those may be.

Chapman et al.'s "Unsettled Journey"

Chapman et. al. took a more broad approach to exploring UAE expatriate teachers' perceptions than this study. This team of researchers interviewed teachers from all 3 federal institutions of higher learning throughout the 7 Emirates to learn their views on a wide variety of issues in their professional careers (Chapman, Austin, Farah, Wilson, & Ridge, 2014). Included in these themes were their participants' views on collegiality or faculty members' relationships and rapport with fellow multicultural teaching faculty as well as autonomy which they define as "discretion they have in making professional decisions about how they will organize and undertake their work" (ibid., p. 135). Their expectation before the study was due to the fact that multiple nationalities cultures of participants would yield varying result in terms of job satisfaction, this was realized in part (ibid.).

Their aims and much of their rationale for their inquiry revolved around the broad implications it has for all institutions of higher learning, which employ a multicultural teaching faculty (ibid.). As they state that those who did choose to participate in their study view the expatriate faculty in the United Arab Emirates "transient and easily replaceable" (ibid., p. 148).

Their participants generally noted that the working relationship that was had amongst the multicultural teaching faculty was harmonious and it was only when the "top-down model" of administration affected their work was there ever any discontent (ibid.). Some of their participants were faculty from the University of the Emirates and while they stated that they generally feel they had autonomy in their teaching practice, they were concerned over the lack of participation in the governance and design of curriculum which they feel had been handed down to them (ibid.). Additionally, faculty participants felt afraid of offering any criticism of the curriculum which many believed "could cost them their job" and such criticism was "not welcomed and poorly tolerated" (ibid., p. 145). Moreover, their participants gave the overall view of their higher education in the UAE as a "superficial system" which is a theme that recurs in the data of this study as well (ibid.).

These authors posit that while collegiality amongst the faculty is benevolent, there are often issues between themselves and their Emirati students and the Emirati administration which they believe is a result of differing values (ibid.). "Goals collide" as they state in terms of faculty motivation to conduct effective lessons for their students and the influence they tend to not have in terms of design, suggestion or criticism of current curricula (ibid., p. 149). Chapman et. al (2014) conclude by suggesting that the institutions which employ their participants have missed an opportunity in the beginning stages to offer support and "mechanisms to meaningfully engage these instructors to professional life" in the region and "allow them to feel valued as professional colleagues" (ibid., p. 150).

Methodology

A qualitative approach is employed with the collection of data of a single yet extensive line of inquiry. The data collected for this study are qualitative, conducted through semi-structured interviews from an interpretivist approach. These interviews and the qualitative data were expected to produce in-depth responses such as anecdotes, examples, exceptions and a social reality of the experiences of the participants. This is in an effort to construct "culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life world" which

can most effectively be collected through qualitative data such as interviews (Crotty, 1998, p. 67). In addition, interview items are constructed in a way to give me as the researcher as well as the reader a clearer sense of which of Muller's worldviews is dominant in each participant.

The constructivist relationship between the teaching faculty members and the students is one in which we make sense of the phenomena. We live the dynamics of it and thus the impossibility of the participants or I as the researcher, to remove ourselves from it, binds us. As a result, the idealistic notion of complete objectivity in this research and the separation of myself from the phenomena is a non-starter. I wished to learn more. I wished through research and collection of qualitative data, to have a self-reflective process that enabled me to know myself within the experience being investigated. Ultimately both personal and social knowledge are needed to arrive at valid understandings of reality, I must first be attuned to my own being, thinking and choosing before I relate to others' thoughts, understandings and choices. I must arrive at my own sense of nature and meaning of something, make my own decision regarding its truth and value before I consider the point of view of others (Moustakas, 1994, p. 121).

In addition to this, a separate aim of this study is to examine students' perceptions of their lived, educational experience with a multicultural faculty. Having a much more limited experience with being taught by a multicultural faculty, I offer my own professional experience to relate to students' input. This approach to the research includes my own experiences with the students, my challenges, successes and failures as a faculty member. Drawn side by side with that of my teaching faculty participants' perceptions, the student participants' responses served to elucidate the phenomena via their own lived, educational experiences which remain broader, having lived the phenomena several more times in several more courses. As Creswell (1998) states, I sought through the collection of qualitative data to "search for essentials, invariant structure (or essence) of the central underlying meaning of the experience" (p. 52).

The qualitative design of this research is divided into two parts, the interviews which were conducted with the faculty members and the focus groups conducted with the students. The teaching faculty members were interviewed in a semi-structured format for a variety of reasons. First, the interview format was chosen in an effort for the participants to discuss interpretations of their teaching experiences and express how they regard situations from their own perspective. Members of the teaching faculty are also the multicultural participants which this study seeks to explore the perceptions, effects and experiences of. The participants come from culturally diverse backgrounds. An example of this would

be that some of the participants are from cultures which Hofstede characterizes as more Individualist while others come cultures which are characterized as Collectivist (Hofstede, 1980). Due to the variety of length of experience, culture of origin, age and previous locations of teaching experience, the decision was made to collect this qualitative data individually in one-on-one interviews.

Students were interviewed (*See Appendix A*) in focus groups in attempt to allow group discussions and interaction to develop as well as a range of responses (Watts & Ebbut, 1987). The student participants in each focus group had been together for over 2 years, have had the same teachers and courses. As institutional practice dictates, they have been on the same academic journey together. This type of data collection also allows participants of the group to cross-check responses, contribute additional points, clarify or argue responses which leads to a more complete and reliable record of data (Arksey & Knight, 1999). The focus group format also allowed for a comfortable and relaxed atmosphere among the student participants which lessened the feeling of interrogation among them. I encouraged the student participants to speak freely, build upon or counterpoint the responses of their fellow classmates. Furthermore, the focus group interviews were conducted solely in English to native Arabic speaking students which allowed for student participants to help each other in translation of words or points they wished to express which would not have been possible with individual interviews. In addition to this, a fellow Arabic-speaking colleague (non-participant) was present in all of the focus groups to offer translation if needed. It should be noted however that this external translator was not needed throughout any of the focus groups. The precaution was made, however, to negate any possible effects on the credibility and ensure the reliability of the data.

Data analysis

Two methods of analysis were used to code responses and reorganize recurring themes of them. Initially, all data were transcribed using Evernote and printed to allow me to highlight frequency of terms, variety of responses and to give me hard copies with which I prefer to work with. In addition to this, I copied and pasted the transcriptions into NVIVO to give alternative views of data. With NVIVO, I reorganized the data to allow me to see not only the straight transcriptions, but also a view of seeing responses to specific question items side by side. For example, I wanted to see how each faculty participant responded to the item regarding classroom management. I simply ran an inquiry for each response regarding question item #20 and was able to analyze the variety of

responses. This was done for all of the question items however, follow-up questions varied with each participant.

Research questions & findings

Faculty members and students were questioned regarding their perceptions of the multicultural teaching faculty and the perceived benefits. Faculty members were asked to comment on both the dynamic that exists amongst themselves and also in relation to the students. Before the explicit question items were addressed, a brief discussion was had about what the term "multicultural" means.

Research Question(s)	Themes	Sub-themes
(Faculty)How do faculty members perceive their multicultural working environment? (Students) What are students' general perceptions and experiences with the multicultural faculty at Dubai Campuses of U of E?	Benefits of a multicultural teaching faculty	■ Exposure to varieties of English ■ Exposure of differing perspectives and philosophies ■ Competence for future work ■ Better working relationship and understanding of "the other" ■ Preparation for a globalized society ■ Wider understanding of Emirati citizens (for faculty) ■ Wider understanding of other cultures (for students)
	Pitfalls of a multicultural teaching faculty	■ Difficulty with varieties of English ■ Misunderstandings of culture & religion ■ Differing teachers' expectations ■ Lower standards ■ Gender issues ■ Standardization issues among the faculty

Table 1: Classification of themes (both faculty & students)

Most respondents, both faculty and student cited difference of nationality and "surface" culture or the "tip of the iceberg" that Peterson and others have cited, these being observable elements of culture such as dress, music, food, etc. (Peterson, 2004). Others cited the differences of culture in ways akin to how Holliday (2005) describes it as a "social force which is evident wherever it emerges to be significant" (p. 23). In other words, some participants described elements of culture which are under the surface, are less observable such as religious or ontological positions. Perhaps there is no more significant place where social forces can be evident than an educational setting where outcomes and assessment of academic competence are most crucial. Participants were asked their views on the multiculturalism of the U of E.

Carry, Canada: *Yes, it is [multicultural]. Well, where we work, the teachers are from a variety of different countries not just Western countries we have teachers on our staff from China, from India, from Syria, from Palestine, from the Netherlands and so forth. So, I believe it is a multicultural place.*

Abdulrazak, Algeria: *At the faculty level, we have so many individuals from different backgrounds, from different ethnic backgrounds, different countries, different cultures. But we teach one culture of students, the locals.*

All participant faculty members agreed and acknowledged the fact that the U of E could be considered multicultural which is representative of the demographic of the UAE as a whole. Many faculty participants commented the degree of multiculturalism as a difference from institutions where they had previously taught and how it has helped and been advantageous to their teaching practice.

These statements were verified by students who often differentiated their experience of cultures of teachers from their secondary educational institution (both public and private) and the U of E. This is exemplified by the response from Abdullah.

Abdullah, UAE: *Yeah, of course. Here my IT teacher is from India, my Ethics teacher is from Britain, I had an IELTS teacher from China, Finance is from Syria. This is a very multicultural place. My teachers have always come from abroad, since primary school but here at U of E, there are so many cultures teaching me. Every class is different.*

5.1 Perceived benefits of a multicultural faculty

After this, further inquiry was made to find out what, if any were the perceived benefits of having such a multicultural teaching faculty. Here, I wish to

present the data from the students first as it pertains exclusively to their classroom experiences. The faculty responses deal both their classroom experiences and their perceptions of the workplace.

> ***Abdullah, UAE:*** *Well, one benefit I had was that I could learn more about other cultures from my teachers, especially from Britain, Scotland, Ireland and these cultures. I also increased my language skills more than before. At the same time, I had to get used to their language, like the way they speak. It was difficult at first. One class I had a British teacher, which was hard anyway then I turned around and had an Indian for another class with a completely different way of speaking and communicating. I mean, one teacher could say one word and another teacher would use the same word with a different meaning. I had to learn what the word "hall" meant with different teachers. I thought it meant the same as corridor but sometimes it means classroom. So it was difficult to get used to them. I'm always having to translate what I learn in class to understand it.*

The above response is consistent with other responses from students in saying that the multicultural teaching faculty they had been educated by presented benefits and also challenges to them in terms of language. Responses regarding these challenges reflected what was found in the literature as to the compounding of language and subject matter as elements of education that made their learning especially arduous to grasp and completely understand (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2004). What Abdullah mentions above is an example of simple difference of varieties of English. However, when deeper conceptual instances of English interfering with their understanding of subject matter exist, DeCapua & Wintergerst's point become clear.

Students also suggested the multiculturalism present in their education has also affected their sense of identity, especially in regards to language. As Yousef states (<u>UAE</u>)*: I feel I'm more of a citizen of world now, not only a citizen of the UAE. I couldn't be that without the ability to speak English.*

While most responded that they felt the bicultural and bilingual skills that they will finish their education with will help them in their future lives, these are sentiments which echo what Moya (2009) has said that these "evolving products" of identity will continue to affect not only the students' own sense of identity but also how the students are identified by outside communities (p. 45).

A general sense of gratitude and appreciation came from the student participants when posed this question. However, most students, as Abdullah's response shows were quick to touch on the other side of this, being the pitfalls of

such multiculturalism, and give an explicit sense that studying their subject matter in English as a complement to their education was something that they only realized on the other side of mental labor. This indicates that some students feel that doing their higher education studies in a second language is something that linguistically they were not prepared for. Further interpretation in this chapter suggests additional cultural elements are aspects of the learning environment which pose challenges to students as well.

Interestingly, the participant Jamila had a different take on the experience of having a multicultural teaching faculty which will be explored further in later themes.

Jamila, UAE: From my experience, I haven't seen or had any benefits from having teachers from other cultures. For me, it just makes my studies and my life harder. Just give us all British or all American, or all Arabic that way we know the way the class will be, the way the language will be.

This compounding of content and language was deemed unnecessary by Jamila who seemed more concerned with the content and concepts of her major (Electrical Engineering) than with the linguistic obstacles which she noted were constantly in her way. Some students responded that this was simply too much to take in in terms of academic concepts through a second language which they had to then decipher. As Saif states,

Saif, UAE: Sometimes, I find it hard to understand everyone. Like, you think you know but actually, you don't really get what they just said. It's hard for me to learn, always guessing.

Faculty members had differing perceptions of the benefits of a multicultural faculty both in terms of student outcomes and of what their lived experience is and has been in terms of working with multicultural colleagues. Here it is evidenced by the data that the differences of faculty members' perceptions are not things that are always present in the eyes of the students. Students often noted the differences in how teachers conduct their classes while faculty members often cited the differences in the day-to-day-activities in the workplace as what primarily comes to mind when questioned about the phenomena.

Samira, Lebanon: We can learn from each other different ways of doing things, conducting our classes and managing our duties. I have the pleasure of observing some of my colleagues from America last semester and found their styles of teaching completely different from mine. I took a few pages from their way of doing things. It helps us all to gain a better perspective.

The response from Samira was especially telling that the teachers can be open and willing to learn new approaches than simply the approach of 'teach as you were taught' which is something that can be expected to grow and develop amongst the teachers as time and service go on in this teaching context. Considering contentions made by Glowacki-Dudka & Treff (2011) as well as Diallo (2014) that teachers in such an international context conduct their classes in ways and with methods native to their own ways of studying, Samira might agree that to say teachers do this exclusively, might be selling us all short. These contentions leave no room for teaching to alter, add to or amend their approaches which is what many of us do and is evidenced by Samira's response (Moore-Jones, 2014).

Participant Carry has a different point of view.

__Carry, Canada:__ Uh, well, I guess it is [beneficial] but I think as the faculty are multicultural, that's who the U of E could get to do the job; it's who they could get to live and work here. To be honest, I'm not sure if they had the students' interests in mind first.

The complexity and cultural diversity of teaching staff may, according to Carry, be a byproduct of other necessities both on parts of the Ministry of Higher Education and the teachers themselves and not by design to benefit the students. In other words, the multiculturalism that the U of E and other institutions employ, according to Carry, could be the consequence of recruiting in a wide variety of regions of the world, amongst a wide variety of cultures to ensure retaining the required number of staff. While this may be perceived as a benefit and an initiative to expose Emirati students to a variety of cultures in their education, Carry seems to think faculty retention may the actual motivation of such recruiting.

5.2 Perceived pitfalls of having a multicultural teaching faculty

I begin this section with the responses from the teaching faculty. Explored are perceived challenges present in the teachers' lived experience and were often followed up for expansion, clarification and examples.

__Andrew, Canada:__ Yeah, I think it's probably more likely that you'll have more misunderstandings between the students and yourself, between colleagues from a different culture and yourself. You know, it's a tough job, it's stressful and people have different ideas about how to do their jobs and how to handle things. I mean, normally in teaching you're pretty independent but when there's a push to standardize things, it can get

messy. You might be working with an older colleague from a hierarchical society which expects you to blindly follow his or her way and since you're younger, it's ok for them to tell you what to do and that doesn't always go over very well.

Here Andrew speaks directly to how the differences of worldview can and do cause conflict in the lives of the teaching faculty. Someone coming from a culture which is predominately of a Power / Fear culture which consists of what Andrew call "a hierarchical society" might have differing expectations from his students and even fellow teachers (Muller, 2001). What Andrew (coming from Canada, a region which Muller describes as predominately Guilt / Innocence) might expect in a professional situation is clear guidelines between right and wrong in certain contexts, these would be outweighed by the economies of power, that someone from a Power / Fear culture might value (Muller, 2001; Foucault, 1980). In the example that Andrew gives, the variable of age affects the relationship between himself and his rhetorical example (Foucault, 1980). This mismatch of cultural values tends, according to Andrew, to cause problems in the difference of professional expectations and willingness to work together.

Hanna's response seems less than optimistic about the prospect of having such diverse worldviews in a teaching faculty.

Hanna, England: *If we were a homogeneous group of educators who had all been trained, you know, in the same country, we would all be able to say that we've all got a good idea of what assessment is and what it should consist of, what rubrics and scales are used and be fairly confident. It's ludicrous to think we all [at the U of E] have the same ideas about assessments.*

From response, it seems Hanna might well agree with the previous comment by Jamila in stating that should all things be equal in epistemology or even worldview, things might run smoother where all parties involved, both students and teachers were on the same page in terms of academic expectations and accountability.

Sarah also believes there is variance in teaching styles and language. On top of what Yasmin mentions about how multicultural team dynamics and decision translate into what happens in the classroom. Sarah also points the differing expectations and outcomes of the courses that multicultural team members have.

Sarah, Wales: *I think the differences of [English] dialects have effects [on students] and also students have a variety of teaching styles that students have to contend with. But I also think that because of the way we've been*

taught, there's also an influence on our instinctive teaching style. Obviously, culture has a lot to do with teaching styles as well. And it's difficult for students, having been taught in many different ways by different teachers at the same time and also having different expectations from the teachers. Not only that, but the skills and the types of knowledge that we are hoping students will develop, I think are also different.

Sarah cites more challenges in the compounded cultures of academia. While Yasmin points to differences in how teachers conducted their classes, Sarah takes a step back from this in saying that our differing varieties of English as well as differing expectations of students often inform our practice thus leading to even further divergence in what the students may experience in the classroom.

Although most participants tend to agree with Glowacki-Dudka & Treff (2011) that certain cultural assumptions and practices from our own native education experience find their way in our own practice here in the UAE, remaining strict and stubborn to such epistemologies and practices could hinder one's cultural exploration and adaptation. More importantly, imposing one's native educational culture's practice without consideration of the target culture impedes one's ability to create a negotiated 3rd cultural space and some would argue borders on cultural imperialism in education (Said, 1993).

Noted responses regarding the benefits of having a multicultural teaching faculty is that the exposure the students receive to differing epistemologies, teaching practices and varieties of English is expected to produce more well-rounded graduates in terms of cultural and linguistic duality. However, as mentioned by Carry earlier, the students' best interests may not have been in mind and one could argue that failure to amend and alter one's teaching approach and to commit to and rely solely on one's own idea of how teaching and learning work is to impose an educational ideology on another culture. It also rejects what Moore-Jones (2014) states in that changing and altering one's own teaching approach based on the culture in which one teaching is beneficial to both the teacher and the student as a vehicle to promote intercultural competence. To him, one cannot rely solely on models and styles of teaching that one was educated in and has previously taught but rather adjustment of approach is necessary to conduct effective and successful teaching (Moore-Jones, 2014).

Throughout the various responses regarding both the benefits and challenges of the having a multicultural teaching faculty, I found that Murphy's summation covered many of the aspects of the phenomena. The following excerpt

demonstrates the participant's understanding of the linguistic and educational dynamics that are at play in such a multicultural environment. In such an ethnically, linguistically and ontologically diverse setting as Dubai, the struggles, challenges and obstacles can often be the best teaching tools. This participant seems to understand how this fits into Emirati students' higher education.

__Murphy, England:__ Well, I think the pitfalls and the advantages are the same. Language and culture are indistinguishable. So are idiolects and our culture. They are tied together so the way we use language, formulate language and emote language is connected to our culture in a way which is inseparable. So that is the problem in trying to teach a homogenous language but it's also an advantage in terms of being able to give insights in the culture of where the people come from.

Students had much more concrete examples of times when their education had been challenging due to the multiplicity of cultures in their classroom. When asked about the pitfalls of such a multicultural setting, responses from students covered a wide range of topics.

__Ahmed, UAE:__ Some teachers expect us to do something we can't do because of our culture. For example, one project we had was to interview a manager of a company and find out about the industry and the IT needs and data servers of the company. The particular company we were interested in had a woman manager and some guys in my group didn't want to talk to her. They said this is not allowed. So we couldn't do the project the way that the teachers wanted.

Examples such as this clearly exemplify the expectations of the teachers regarding assessments. Certain steps or actions within the assessments or projects that the teacher may feel will offer an experiential model for learning may offer tension between the accepted norms of Emirati students. An instance such as the one mentioned by Ahmed offers a look into how deep the worldview of Honor / Shame can be. It is not only the significance of such a worldview that distinguishes these students from some of the faculty members but the entire notions of what is honorable and what is shameful. I doubt any faculty member would ask students to embark on a project or assessment which they deemed to be inappropriate or shameful. This is often the root of the issue in that there exists a great divide between definitions of these things. In this case, the teacher assigned this assessment with the mindset that talking to a female would not be a problem for the students. To Ahmed and others, speaking to a female, even in a

professional manner might be considered a shameful mark on themselves or their family. Not all students feel this way but it is evident that Ahmed does and thus we can assume others do as well. An example of intercultural competence on the part of the teachers would be giving assessments and projects which do not impose their own cultural norms on students whose norms may differ.

Just as teachers profit culturally from having time to learn the intercultural competence required to function and teach effectively with Emirati students, the students also sharpen their cultural skills with time in what can be an academic, cultural and linguistic obstacle course. Yousef states,

Yousef, UAE: *Well, maybe I had some difficulty in the beginning because I had to adjust to different kinds of teaching and all the kinds of English. But then after 2 or 3 years, I've learned how to do this well.*

Mohammed suggests differences exist in terms of classroom management as well. A certain practice in particular which he has experienced before to be acceptable is no longer.

Mohammed, UAE: *Just the different rules. I mean my British teachers don't like when someone just jumps in an interrupts, which is the way many of our other classes are taught and that's what we are used to. Don't do that with a British teacher. No, no.*

Although Mohammed's response might seem humorous, this speaks to tempering and balance of cultural dimensions that he has learned. This has led him to amend and alter his classroom and academic practices from one class to another.

Participant Bashayer disregarded the phenomena as being a challenge or difficulty citing that,

Bashayer, UAE: *I can't say I've had a lot of difficulty because the UAE is a multicultural place so I'm used to it. I had a different education though. I've studied in international schools my whole life, so this is easy. I don't know about other students.*

Bashayer is someone who has been functioning in a multicultural academic environment for some time and has developed a sense of intercultural intelligence. The 3rd cultural space which is as defined by Knowledgeworkx is something that has seemingly grown inside her over time and experience with negotiated educational models (Knowledgeworkx Inc., 2013). My contention is that this response as well as others in later data show that time can be a major

contributor to the ability to achieve intercultural competence and eventually develop this into intercultural intelligence. Bashayer has spent years immersed in this multicultural learning environment and thus her comments reflect that she has experience less difficulty adapting to it.

It seems both faculty members and students alike who have spent more time in education together in the UAE have altered their expectations of each other to come to more shared understanding. As mentioned by Peterson, intercultural competence can be viewed as the bare minimum needed to function in an intercultural environment while intercultural intelligence is a heightened level in which the individual can actively engage interculturally and thrive in the environment (Peterson, 2004). Bashayer's response shows evidence of this. She further cites time and exposure to certain teaching styles in saying,

> ***Bashayer, UAE****: I can relate and understand all of my teachers. Most of my primary and secondary school teachers were British so I guess I get their way of teaching. They understand Emirati students too so they know where I'm coming from. Sometimes it's different from my Arab teachers but my home life is of course Emirati so because of that I think I can relate to them too. I had to know how strict they are to the U of E rules, but once I got that, everything has been fine.*

As Bashayer states, this level of comfort with a multicultural teaching faculty has come from years of experience learning with such diversity. She mentions, the "British teachers" and the collaboration that they employ. This has surely come from the years and experience they have had with Emirati students. From the data, we can see that teachers with a longer record of experience teaching and dealing with Emirati students seem to have done this as well whereas data from newer faculty members showed that there are still levels ranging from apprehension to discomfort to frustration in understanding and working with Emirati students. Hanna, with only 2 years' experience, vents,

> ***Hanna, England:*** *I've given up on trying to understand these guys. I have to accept their way of life because I live here but I'll never agree.*

The negotiated 3rd cultural space between multicultural teaching faculty and Emirati students is something that takes time and mutual understanding. Students like Bashayer and as we will see later, teaching faculty like Murphy have extensive experience with "the other" and the shared understanding of their expectations. In my experience and from the data collected from both students and faculty members with differing levels of experience with each other, it seems

this time is critical in creating this space which results in a harmonious learning environment. When questioned about the multitude of challenges that Emirati students face in a learning environment with a multicultural teaching faculty, Bashayer responses show her levels of ease and lack of difficulty while Hanna, who has only been in the country for 2 years has already "given up" and gives a sense of frustration. The fact that she mentions that "I have to accept" certain aspects of Emirati culture because she lives here evidences the fact that the 3rd cultural space which is necessary for intercultural intelligence may be an aspect of her teaching approach which has not yet been fully realized. In fact, according to Bennett's DMIS, she only seems to be at the 4th stage of this which bleeds into definitions of intercultural competence though not completely (Bennett, 1993).

5.3 Conclusion

I am reminded of Goodenough (1982) who stated "A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members" (p. 54). The unique situation in the U of E, is that the faculty 'members' are not of the native culture in which they live and operate. In some ways, we all 'operate' according to Emirati culture (i.e. observance and respect for a religion that for many of us is foreign, Islam). However, as opposed to what is often the case in living in other parts of the world, certain forms of assimilation are not required here (i.e. speaking the language of Arabic). Therefore, it seems many expatriates living and working in the UAE, in this case the teachers, often 'operate' under guises of both local Emirati culture and their own native ontology. Thus, discrepancies of how we operate in terms of teaching and learning are likely to occur.

We can see from responses presented here that both faculty members and the students alike acknowledge the fact that the U of E is an educational environment which is considered multicultural. This has presented many perceived benefits for both the students and faculty. However, it also presents challenges in the eyes of the student terms of the intercultural competence required for them to function and thrive academically from class to class. Considering the numerous cultures that students are taught by on a daily basis, I see their levels of intercultural competence as a more difficult challenge. Referring back to Byram & Zarate's (1997) definition of intercultural competence as having double points of view and the ability to adapt one's behavior's in relation to the duality of beliefs, it seems the students are having to do this multiple times a day. What students are forced to negotiate is a "set of cultural behaviors" which Peterson (2004) cites the ability to engage as having intercultural intelligence.

It also presents challenges amongst the faculty regarding the professional relationships and agreement on academic issues which can, at times be characterized as strained. It is clear that heightened levels of intercultural competence are crucial in successful academic and professional practices at the U of E. While some participants seem to have a firm grasp of this, it is evident that this was through experiential learning about the working and teaching dynamic of the institution through which this has developed. Fresher faculty members have shown signs of more frustration. These participants seem to have yet to attain higher levels of intercultural competence.

Significance of the study exists in the very fact that with globalized, transiting, international and ever-widening circles of academia, multicultural teaching faculties will become and are becoming the norms rather than the exception in campuses all over the world. The issues discussed here are certainly not exclusive to the Dubai Campuses of the U of E. Many aspects confined to the perceived dimensions of Emirati culture no doubt exist in all public institutions of higher learning in the United Arab Emirates and over-arching themes of intercultural competence can be seen on any campus which opens its doors to diversity.

References

Arksey, H., & Knight, P. (1999). *Interviewing for social scientists.* London: Sage.

Bennett, M. (1993). Toward ethnoreltivism: A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. *International Journal of Developemnt in Higher Education*, 51-60.

Brown-Glaude, W. (2009). *Doing diversity in higher education: Faculty leaders share challenges and strategies.* Piscotaway, NJ: Library of Congress Publications.

Chapman, D., Austin, A., Farah, S., Wilson, E., & Ridge, N. (2014). Academic staff in the UAE: Unsettled journey. *Higher Education Policy*, 131-151.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perpsective in the research process.* St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin.

DeCapua, A., & Wintergerst, A. C. (2004). *Crossing cultures in the language classroom.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Diallo, I. (2014). Emirati students encounter western teachers: Tensions and identity resistance. *Learning and Teaching in Higher Education: Gulf Perspectives*, 11(2), 1-14.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972 - 1977.* New York: Panthenon Books.

Hamdy, D. S. (1960). *Temperment and character of the Arabs.* New York: Twayne Publishers.

Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences.* Beverly Hills: Sage.

Holliday, A. (2002). Small cultures. *Applied Linguistics*, 20(2), 237-264.

Holliday, A. (2005). *The struggle to teach English as an international language.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Knowledgeworkx Inc. (2013). *Cultural mapping & navigation.* Dubai, UAE: Wiley Publishing.

Marton, F. (1986). Phenomenology: A research approach to investigating different understandings of reality. *Journal of Thought*, 21(3), 28-49.

Moore-Jones, P. (2014). Teaching approaches and teachers' perceptions in varying cultures. *Journal of ELT and Applied Lingusitcs*, 2(2), 28-49.

Moustakas, C. (1994). *Phenomenological research methods.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mughan, T. (1998). Integration of foreign cultural awareness into business language teaching materials and methods. *Language Learning Journal*, 17(1), 41-48.

Muller, R. (2001). *Honor & Shame: Unlocking the door.* New York: Xlibris Publications.

Peterson, B. (2004). *Cultural intelligence: A guide to working with people from other cultures.* Boston: Intercultural Press.

Said, E. (1993). *Culture and imperialism.* New York: Vintage Books.

Watts, M., & Ebbut, D. (1987). More than the sum of the parts: research methods in group interviewing. *British Educational Research Journal*, 13(1), 25-34.

Contact

P. J. Moore-Jones
University of California, Irvine, Department of Humanities
420 University Drive, Irvine, CA 92669
moorepj@uci.edu

Cultural influences in a multicultural academic workplace

Junko Winch
Imperial College London, UK
j.winch@imperial.ac.uk

Abstract

This study investigates if there are any cultural influences on language teaching staff in a multicultural British university language centre operating overseas. Language teaching staff who work at British universities in the UK usually involve only two cultures (British and their mother tongue culture). If non-native nationals are involved in two cultures, it is expected that they would conform to the host country's culture. Language teaching staff in this study involve at least three cultures, that is, British, their mother tongue culture and the host country's culture. In the case of the involvement of the three cultures, where do the majority of non-native nationals conform to in a multicultural workplace in the host country? Is it the institution's country's culture where they are based in their educational operation or the host country's culture? This study looks at individual value orientation in decision-making and problem-solving. Discourse analysis of e-mails between 20/10/2013 and 20/01/2014 was used to focus on two main language staff (French and Japanese). The results showed that teaching staff in the multicultural workplace seemed to alter and replace their own value orientations on a mix and match basis, which may affect their preferred culture. It is also suggested that cultural acquisition could occur regardless of the establishment of one's cultural preference.

Keywords

British culture, French culture, Japanese culture, multicultural workplace

Introduction

"Three (gardens, bouquets and flowers) are related and part of the same social reality" (Hofstede *et al*., 2005, p. 286). The metaphor of gardens, bouquets and flowers represents society, organisations and individuals respectively. Individuals are under the influence of organisations which are also under the influence of society. It is hypothesised that an individual's value orientation and actions are influenced by the organisations and society. This metaphor also explains why those who were born, educated and work in a particular culture usually conform to their country's value orientations. Value orientation is defined

as the "preferred and shared ways of perceiving the individual´s role in relation to the group, relating to each other, conceding and managing time, approaching risk-taking, and understanding tasks and relationships" (Christopher, 2012, p. 192). Value orientation usually becomes a basis for their actions of problem-solving and decision-making.

Organisations and society have become increasingly more globalised and multicultural. It is common that the workplace involves more than one culture. Language centres at universities have always been a multicultural working environment. In the context of the language centres in British institutions, the non-native language teaching staff (who were *not* born and brought up in the UK) in the UK usually involve British and their mother tongue culture and they readily conform to British culture. However, what is the case for the non-native individuals who work in a multicultural workplace involving three cultures, which is the case of this study? The paper is concerned with the multicultural workplace at a British university's language centre operating overseas. The majority of the language teaching staff in this study are *not* born and brought up in the host country and involve three cultures (British, the hosted country's and their mother tongue's). If it is a British university and its working language is English, it seems reasonable to consider that there are influences from British culture. It is also sensible to consider that there are influences from the host country's educational culture as the majority of students and staffs are native to the country.

The paper starts with the theoretical framework, research methods, data analysis, conclusions and implications.

Theoretical framework for British, French and Japanese culture

Since this study involves British, French and Japanese nationalities, the three cultures are selected as the focus. Hofstede *et al.'*s (2010) quantitative data for individualism–collectivism dimension were used as the framework for the study with regard to whether these countries are on individualism or collectivism side of the individualism–collectivism pole. Hofstede's model has been criticised as "essentialism" (Godwin-Jones, 2013, p. 3) and the use of his cultural categorisation as too stereotypical and simplified, since the reality may be more complex, with various types of people with various perspectives and belief regardless of where they live in the world. However, GLOBE Cultural Taxonomy is still built on Hofstede's work (Lustig & Koester, 2010, p. 112) and this categorisation is considered relevant for this study. He defined individualism and collectivism as follows: "individualism pertains to societies in which the ties

between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty" (Hofstede, 1991, p. 51).

According to Hofstede (2005), Britain and France are ranked 3rd and 13th–14th places respectively among 74 countries (Hofstede, 2005, p. 78), which indicates that they are on an individualist pole. However, although France is considered individualist, the French and the British are dissimilar in this dimension as "the French teams also are based on 'social, professional and family tie' as well as on interpersonal similarity, whereas British negotiators do put much stock in interpersonal similarity" (Lumsden & Lumsden, 2000, p. 61). In contrast, Japan is ranked 33rd–35th place among 74 countries (Hofstede, 2005, p. 78), with an in-between position. Lustig & Koester (2010, p. 123) also label various countries using two categories, high and low. According to them, UK, France and Japan's scores are +191 (high), +116 (high) and –97 (low) respectively. "A large positive score means that the culture is high on the dimension. A large negative score means that the culture is low on the dimension. The average score is zero" (Lustig & Koester, 2010, p. 123). According to Lustig & Koester's (2010) model, Japan stands on a collectivist pole. Therefore, this study also considers Japan as a collectivist country.

The next section discusses the three values associated with individualism–collectivism, that is, i) time commitment, ii) guilt and shame, and iii) high- and low-context communications.

Time commitment

Two opposing values associated with a collectivist society on time commitment are "time commitments theoretically desirable but not essential" (Christopher, 2012, p. 52) and "schedule and deadlines are very important" (ibid.). Collectivist countries including Japan consider "time commitments theoretically desirable but not essential" (ibid.). In contrast, individualist societies such as France and the UK consider "schedule and deadlines very important" (ibid.). The use of these two values in multicultural workplaces enables us to identify the influence of opposing culture. For example, if there are the French and British who do not show that "schedules and deadlines are very important" (ibid.) in their problem-solving or decision-making actions, the collectivist culture may have influenced them to take their action differently.

However, the current globalised teaching, learning and workplace environments should be taken into consideration. The preference for either "time commitments theoretically desirable but not essential" (ibid.) or "schedule and deadlines very important" (ibid.) may not simply be assumed by one's nationality or visual appearance, for ethnicity and heritage may be the influencing factors. Ethnicity is usually decided by one´s mother tongue. Majority of people's ethnicity and mother tongue matches. For example, somebody who speaks Chinese is more likely to be of Chinese nationality, etc. However, ethnicity and nationality do not match in the following case.

People who are involved in two nationalities can have the word "heritage" to describe their nationality such as "Japanese heritage Chinese". To explain the example of Japanese heritage Chinese, let us take an example of Lauren. She was born and brought up in the Taiwanese education and her name is Chinese. However, she was also educated in the British higher education for 10 years. She was also told to speak Japanese at home with her father who was Japanese and her mother was Chinese. Her nationality (Taiwanese-Japanese) implies that she has been influenced by two cultures (Chinese and Japanese), but she has also been influenced by British culture, which is, then, possible to say that she has been influenced by three cultures. Although other people can easily guess that this Japanese heritage Chinese person behaves similar to either Chinese or Japanese, people may not be able to notice that she has been influenced by British culture unless she tells about her previous cultural experience.

Guilt vs. shame

The concept of guilt vs. shame also relates to individualism–collectivism. It is claimed that "individualist societies have been described as guilt cultures… collectivist societies on the contrary, are shame cultures" (Hofstede, 2005, p. 89). In the collectivist "shame" culture, people expect others to apologise whereas they would not apologise and justify their actions in the individualist and "guilt" culture.

Lustig & Koester (2010) maintain that "the Japanese prefer to… provide an appropriate apology. They want to repair the damage, if possible, but without providing reasons that explain or justify their original error" (Lustig & Koester, 2010, p. 262). "The Japanese hate to hear someone make excuses for his or her mistakes or failures. They do not like long and complicated explanations" (Kloptf, 1991, p. 181). On the other hand, the Americans prefer to justify their actions instead of apologising: "Americans would prefer to… provide verbal justifications for their initial actions. They may use humor to divert attention from their

actions, but do not apologize for their original error" (Lustig & Koester, 2010, p. 262).

It should be noted that whether the person prefers either "guilt" or "shame" may not simply be assumed by one's nationality or visual features as other factors, not only ethnicity and heritage (mentioned in "time commitment"), but also previous cultural experiences may be related. Even though it is generally assumed that people with the same nationality think and behave similarly, this assumption is now being challenged, especially in collectivist countries, by the increasing number of people who were born and educated in one country, but have also lived and immersed in another country's culture for a long period of time. These people may behave and think differently from people of the same nationality and visual features. They may also encounter cultural misunderstandings and problems from people of the same nationality and visual features.

High-context – low-context communication

A high-context culture has the characteristics of "distinct in-groups and out-groups" (Lustig & Koester, 2010, p. 112) and "strong interpersonal bonds" (ibid.) which relates to collectivism. In contrast, a low-context culture has "flexible in-groups and out-groups" (ibid.) and "fragile interpersonal bonds" (ibid.), which relates to individualism.

A high-context communication is "one in which little has to be said or written because most of the information is either in the physical environment or supposed to be known by the persons involved, while very little is in the coded, explicit part of the message. This type of communication is frequent in collectivist culture… A low-context communication is one in which the mass of information is vested in the explicit code, which is typical for individualist culture. Many things that are self-evident in collectivist cultures must be said explicitly in individualist culture" (Hofstede, 2005, p. 89).

Generally, "by and large, Eastern societies are considered high-context cultures and Western ones, low-context cultures" (Lim, 2002). Ambiguity and indirection are examples of the Japanese style of communication, which is the opposite of English-speaking countries which value explicitness as English language "uses almost solely logical arguments" (Lustig & Koester, 2010, p. 231).

High-context and low-context communication also relates to "speaker-responsible language" and "listener-responsible language" (ibid., p. 226). One example of "speaker-responsible languages" is English (ibid.), which is expected to provide the structure and specific meaning of the statement (ibid.). In other

words, speakers are expected to be responsible for delivering their opinions. On the other hand, an example of a "listener-responsible language" is Japanese (ibid.) which has indirectness and vagueness. "Listener-responsible languages" expect listeners to be responsible for the constructing of speaker's meaning.

When people from high- and low-context culture communicate, a person who prefers high-context communication and listener-responsible language may wonder why the speaker provides an unnecessary explanation of the evident facts and may get frustrated why the listener does not understand the speaker's indirect implications. A person who prefers low-context communication and speaker-responsible language may also get frustrated talking with a person who prefers high-context communication and listener-responsible language as the other person does not say things directly and clearly which does not assist in getting to the point. To avoid problems arising from the different communication styles in the current globalised teaching and learning and workplace environments, the best communication mode between high- and low-context communication and the speaker-responsible language and listener-responsible language seems to be to adopt the high-context communication and the speaker responsible language.

Reviewing the current globalised learning and workplace environments, the preference for either high- or low-context culture as well as their preferred communication styles may not simply be assumed by one's nationality or visual appearances as there are factors which influence one's preferences not only ethnicity, heritage (mentioned in the "time commitment" section) and previous cultural experience (mentioned in the "guilt and shame" section), but also previously received education. For example, people who were born and educated even in the same country, but of a different generation, may also encounter misunderstandings and problems between the high- or low-context culture as well as communication style due to the different educational policy they received even within the same country.

To summarise, if individuals prefer the values "time commitment desirable but not essential", "shame", "speaker responsible language", "high-context communication", he/she has a collectivist background. Similarly, if one prefers the values "schedule and deadline important", "guilt", "listener responsible language", and "low-context communication", he/she has an individualist background.

However, in current globalised learning and workplace environments, the preference for either an individualist or collectivist culture may not simply be assumed by one's nationality or visual appearances as there are various factors

which influence one's preferences such as ethnicity, heritage, previously received education and previous cultural experience. It should also be noted that people who are born and educated in one country but have lived and immersed in another country's culture for a long period of time, or people of the same nationality but from a different generation, may also encounter cultural misunderstandings and problems related to the differences of culture from people of the same culture or visual appearances.

Research methods

The discourse analysis of e-mails was chosen to investigate if there were any impact of cultural influences in a multicultural workplace, as discourse analysis is claimed to be one of the "approaches to the study of organizational discourse that focus on language in use [seek] to provide a detailed examination of talk and text as instances of social practice..." (Grant *et al.*, 2004, p. 9). Furthermore, e-mails were appropriate as data, as there were common understandings among the staff at the Language Centre that e-mails are the most preferred, appropriate and common practice to solve problems over face-to-face or telephone communication. Despite this Language Centre's common practice among the language staff, Human Resources in the University stipulate electronic mail policy as follows: "...staff in receipt of an e-mail that causes offence or concern should check, where they feel comfortable doing so, with the sender whether the message was misunderstood, preferably face-to-face or over the phone rather than via further e-mail exchange... e-mails should not necessarily overtake written priorities or phone calls... try not to overload people with too many e-mails...".

More than 100 e-mails were collected related to the problem solving and decision making for the duration of 14 months. Relevant e-mails were selected and the content analysis was carried out in relation to the following two research questions(RQ):

RQ1. Does a multicultural workplace affect teaching staff's value orientation on problem-solving and decision-making as well as the attitude in dealing with problems?

RQ2. Does a multicultural workplace affect the staff's preferred culture?

Although the sample of the teaching staff concerns only two nationalities (Japanese and French), all members of the language Centre staff are immersed in the host educational culture and British educational culture as well as other multiculture including Italian, Polish, German and Spanish. It should also be noted that no British language teaching staff were present at this British

university's language centre, which may have an impact on problem-solving and decision-making. However, individuals' cultural influence on problem-solving and decision-making may be well explored without the direct influence of a British national. The total number of language staff is 20 and 85% of the language Centre were female. The study is demanding as for the generalization of its findings, since it may be difficult to arrive at general conclusions in a British university language centre context or any other country which usually involves only two cultures, let alone a multicultural workplace which involves three cultures, as is the case in this study.

Data analysis

The e-mails were analysed using the framework of the following three headings: i) time commitment, ii) guilt and shame, and iii) high- and low-context communication.

i) Time commitment

A French staff showed her collectivist trait in her e-mail: "The start of the examination can always be delayed without compromising the validity of the process." Her preference was shown by "time commitments theoretically desirable but not essential". Considering that the French prefers individualism, it seems that she was influenced by the collectivist culture.

ii) Guilt vs. shame

"Guilt *vs.* shame" was analysed through a way in which the Japanese and French staff dealt with the problem via e-mails substituting fictional names. In the analysis of ii) guilt and shame and iii) high- and low-context communication, two Japanese and two French staff are involved. Naomi and Lisa are the two Japanese staff. Naomi is Lisa's line manager. Julie and Marie are the other two French staff. Marie is the exam officer and Julie is the language centre manager.

Naomi sent an e-mail to Julie and Marie reporting Lisa's mistake, which was also copied onto Lisa. Lisa had two options to reply to Naomi, Julie and Marie. The first opinion is to apologise without making an excuse which is Japanese preferred strategy: 'The Japanese hate to hear someone make excuses for his or her mistakes or failures. They do not like long and complicated explanations' (Kloptf, 1991, p. 181). The second option is to justify her action which is the American preferred strategy.

Although Lisa is Japanese, she responded with the American (individualist) strategy to Naomi who is also Japanese: "I did not know how long I should have waited for the co-invigilator as the exam was due to start at 9:00 am and students to be seated at 8:50. So I took the initiative to collect the enough squared papers

as there was insufficient for the number of students. I realize the serious consequences that could have arouse and will not make the same mistake again." Lisa's reply contained justification of her action, but did not include an apology.

In response to Lisa's e-mail, Naomi (Japanese), Marie (French), and Julie (French) responded using either guilt or shame strategy in a combination of "enhancement", which is one of the strategies commonly used in organizational/institutional messages, that is, stressing the importance of an issue (Grant *et al.*, 2004, p. 96). Their responses are explained under the headings of "shame" and "guilt" below:

Shame

Naomi, who is Japanese, used the concept of "shame" in her e-mail, which is collectivist. Naomi's enhancement is combined with shame through the word "sad" which was used in her e-mail: "it is very sad there are some people who cannot be flexible under the condition that we have variety of nationalities and personalities in this university after some years of study in abroad or to understand what we are saying exactly in any languages." Naomi's use of the word "sad" includes a meaning of "sorry". The meaning of "sorry" is also included in "ashamed".

Guilt

Marie and Julie, who are both French, used the concept of "guilt". Enhancement was observed by the word "you made a mistake" (guilt), "you should have…". Marie's e-mail included that "you made a mistake", using the word "should" once. Julie's e-mail is also similar to Marie's, but stronger: the use of guilt "[T]his is a very serious professional breach" and the more frequent use, four times, of the word "should".

iii) High-context and low-context communication

Listener-responsible language

Naomi sent two e-mails asking Lisa to prepare for the course. In Naomi's first e-mail, she ended her e-mail by saying that "it is totally up to you how to use them". Lisa surmised that Naomi made suggestions but not request. Although Lisa is also Japanese, she was unable to read what Naomi really meant because of: a) Naomi's last sentence "totally up to you" and b) Naomi did not specifically write what action she wanted Lisa to take. Lisa found that she misunderstood Naomi when Lisa received Naomi's angry second e-mail. In Naomi's second e-mail, she asked why Lisa did not follow Naomi's instruction: "would you explain what happened and why you did so (i.e. why Lisa did not follow what Naomi told her to do) as a professional language teacher please?" The use of "listener-

responsible language" is observed from Naomi's two e-mails. Naomi's logic is based on listener-responsible language and the expectation of Lisa to be responsible for reading Naomi's true intention, although Naomi wrote these e-mails in English which is a speaker-responsible language.

High-context communication

Naomi prefers high context communication, which means that "most of the information is either in the physical environment or supposed to be known by the persons involved, while very little is in the coded, explicit part of the message." Naomi's ambiguous and contradicting style of communication may be better explained using Argyris and Schön's theories of action (1974). According to Argyris and Schön (1974), theories on action consist of "theory in use" and "espoused theories". "Espoused theories are those that an individual claims to follow! (Argyris, 1982, p. 81–82) whereas "theories-in-use are those that can be inferred from action" (p. 82). For example, "when someone is asked how he would behave under certain circumstances, the answer he usually gives is his espoused theory of action for that situation. This is the theory of action to which he gives allegiance, and which, upon request, he communicates to others. However, the theory that actually governs his actions is this theory-in-use" (Argyris & Schön, 1974, p. 6–7)

Based on these definitions, Naomi's "espoused theory" is observed in her first e-mail: "I just reminded that you don't teach until wed, but the exam is this wed afternoon. Therefore I think it would help students if you put them on Virtual Learning Environment (VLE) and send them an email to do it by theirselves, but it is totally up to you how to use them." In short, Naomi's "espoused theory" is expressed by "totally up to you how to use them". On the other hand, Naomi's "theory-in-use" (Argyris & Schön, p. 1974) can be observed by her second e-mail: "I don't see any mock exam materials there, even oral sample on VLE. Would you explain what happened and why you did so as a professional language teacher please?" Naomi was angry with Lisa as she did not follow her request. Naomi's "theory-in-use" is "why didn't you follow my request? You should have done what I told you to do".

Culture may be one of the reasons behind Naomi's two contradicting e-mails. Christopher (2012) points out that: "culture also influences individual's thinking and cognitive patterns, which in turn influence the way they relate to and interact with one another. Therefore, individual reasoning and problem-solving are culturally dependent and at times result in different ways in learning, understanding and doing things" (Christopher, 2012, p. 86).

Another possible reason behind this misunderstanding and problem may be the difference of previously accumulated cultural experience between Lisa and Naomi. Naomi's style of communication and her e-mails may work with people who prefer high-context and listener-responsible language. It is claimed that "the Japanese style of communication can work only in a rather homogeneous society in which people actually can anticipate each other's needs, wants and reactions. Japanese society is, in fact, extremely homogeneous and more group-oriented than American society" (Clancy, 1986, p. 216). In fact, anticipating each other's needs can be observed between adults and children: "Children are perpetually surrounded by adults who… do everything in their power to understand them, who even anticipate their thoughts and their desires… children do not take the trouble to express themselves clearly…" (Piaget, 2014, p. 61). However, it should not have been assumed that Lisa had a similar communication style just because of her being of the same nationality.

Conclusions

Reviewing the research questions will enable us to summarise the key conclusions of this study.

RQ1. Does multicultural workplace at the Language Centre affect teaching staff's value orientation on problem-solving and decision-making as well as the attitude dealing with problems?

Data analysis of i) time commitment showed that multicultural workplace affects teaching staff's value orientation on problem-solving and decision-making as well as the attitude in dealing with problems. Julie (French) seemed to alter her value orientations from individualist to collectivist on the time commitment. This suggests that multicultural work environments may include staff from both collectivist and individualist cultures, and the managers of the multicultural workplace may be under pressure to meet the staff's expectations opposite from their own. It is possible to conclude that multicultural workplace affects staff's value orientation on problem-solving and interaction patterns.

From the analysis of ii) guilt and shame, it was possible to observe the French staff's value orientation on problem-solving and decision-making as well as attitude in dealing with problems. Both French staff responded similarly. Japanese staff's value orientation on problem-solving and decision-making as well as the attitude in dealing with problems were observed from the analysis of both ii) guilt and shame and iii) high- and low-context communication. However, the value orientations of the two Japanese staff were different. Naomi assumed and expected Lisa, who is also Japanese, to think and behave similar to her ("it

was my second big mistake to think that you would have same sense" and "we have very different understanding of teaching"). Although both Naomi and Lisa are Japanese, they do not necessarily have to think and behave exactly the same as no one experiences exactly the same cultural experiences in life.

It is commonly assumed that people of the same nationality and physical features think and behave similarly, but this assumption was violated in the data. When a problem occurs among the Japanese staff, Naomi found it difficult to accept the differences. In the non-native country workplace context, some may interpret the differences as personality clashes within the same culture for convenient reasons. This is highlighted as one of new emerging challenges accompanying working in multicultural workplace.

RQ2. Does a multicultural workplace at the Language Centre affect the staff's preferred culture?

In this study, Julie's preferred cultural value was influenced from individualist to collectivist on time commitment. This suggests that the multicultural workplace affects the staff's preferred culture. It also confirms that cultural acquisition could occur after the establishment of one's preferred culture. A multicultural working environment offers numerous opportunities to choose the different cultural values on a mix and match basis as it may include staff from both individualist and collectivist cultures. Individuals have more opportunities to alter and replace the opposite culture, which may lead to the change of one's preferred culture. Behaving and thinking differently from their mother culture may be a superficial act at the beginning, but once they find the experience successful, they may continue to behave in the new way and it may eventually change their preferred culture.

Globalization has allowed people who were brought up in a collectivist society to work in an individualist multicultural workplace environment and *vice versa*. Some people from the collectivist society who work in an individualist culture may still retain their collectivist value orientations while some may adopt individualist values, or some may adopt a mixture of both values, etc. For those who grew up in a collectivist society, the cultural norms of the society are more consistently molded into the individual's value orientations and behaviour through group concepts, with a combination of the family and workplace. It is difficult to change one's acquired culture as it equates to change individual's value orientation and behaviour which accumulated over time. "Over the years, people who are brought up in a certain culture are 'committed' to their culture and to deny any part of it is to deny something within their own being" (Hinkel, 1999, p. 7).

Implications

Those who work in institutions which involve three or more cultures seem to encounter more complicated cultural influences than those which involve two cultures. Although multicultural workplaces could bring different perspectives, creativity and innovation allowing better solutions to the problem, truly multicultural workplace environment of more or less equal number of various multicultural staff may encounter a weakness, that is, difficulty in getting consensus of opinions and misunderstandings could easily arise. Therefore, more caution is advised for those who are involved in more than three cultures to maintain harmony in their organisational culture. If institutions that consist of three cultures recruit the majority of multicultural staff from the country which the institution originally comes from, it equates with the creating of the workplace environment of two cultures. Hence, the management of "multiculture" may be easier. This point may be worth taking into consideration for people at managerial positions in managing a multicultural workplace.

References

Argyris, M. & Schon, D. (1974). *Theory in practice: Increasing professional effectiveness.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Argyris*, C.* (1982). *Reasoning, learning, and action: Individual and organizational.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Christopher, E. (2012). *Communication across cultures*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Clancy, P. M. (1986). The acquisition of communicative style in Japanese. In B. Schieffelin & E. Ochs (Eds.), *Language socialization across cultures* (pp. 373–524). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Godwin-Jones, R. (2013). Integrating intercultural competence into language learning through technology. *Language Learning & Technology*, 17(2), 1–11.

Grant, D., Hardy, C., Oswick, C., & Putman, L. (2004). *The Sage handbook of organizational discourse*. London, UK: Sage Publications.

Hinkel, E. (1999). *Culture in second language teaching and learning.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G. J., & Minkov, M. (2010). *Cultures and organization: Software of the mind.* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Hofstede, G., & Hofstede, G. J. (2005). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind, Revised and expanded*. (2nd ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Hofstede, G. (1991). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Kloptf, D. W. (1991). *Intercultural encounters: The Fundamentals of intercultural communications.* 2nd eds. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Morgan.

Lim, T. (2002). Language and verbal communication across cultures. In W. B. Gudykunst and B. Mody (Eds.), *Handbook of international and intercultural communications* (pp. 69–88). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lumsden, G. & Lumsden, D. (2000). *Communicating in groups and teams: Sharing leadership.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Lustig, M. W. & Koester, J. (2010)*. Intercultural competence: Interpersonal communication across cultures.* Boston: Pearson.

Piaget, J. (2014). *The Language and thought of the child*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Contact
Dr. Junko Winch
Imperial College London, Sherfield Building, Level 3
South Kensington Campus
London,
SW7 2AZ, UK
jwinch@imperial.ac.uk

Appendices

Appendix 1: Naomi, Marie, and Julie's responses to Lisa's e-mail

Naomi's e-mail to Marie, Julie and Lisa	Marie's e-mail to Lisa	Julie's e-mail to Lisa
"It is very sad that there are some people who cannot be flexible under the conditions that we have variety of nationalities and personalities in this university after some years of study in abroad, or to understand what we are saying exactly in any languages. I hope all of us could have peaceful time and anniversary after 20th of January."	"you made a mistake. It can happen. However you should have read carefully the procedure that invigilators has to follow during an examination. This kind of mistake could have serious consequences…."	"you should be well placed to know quite how much work is involved in the production. This is a very serious professional breach …. You should have waited in the examinations room for your co-invigilator's arrival … you should have sought to borrow one from a student or sent an email to the Faculty Office - but under no circumstances should you have left the room empty…"

Appendix 2: Interpreting Naomi's actions using Argyris and Schon's theory

Naomi's espoused theory: Lisa would do what I meant although I wrote in the e-mail "it is totally up to you how to use them"	Naomi's e-mail to Lisa
	"I just reminded that you don't teach until wed, but the exam is this wed afternoon. Therefore I think it would help students if you put them on VLE and send them an email to do it by theirselves, but it is totally up to you how to use them(= mock exam materials)."
Naomi's theory-in-use: Why Lisa didn't follow my request? Lisa should put the mock exam materials on VLE and send students an email to do it	"I don't see any mock exam materials there, even oral sample on VLE. Would you explain what happened and why you did so as a professional language teacher please?"

DE GRUYTER
OPEN

Cultural education through the high school level English textbooks

Kouki Ookawa
Matsuyamaminami Tobe Branch High School, Japan
ookawasan3@yahoo.co.jp

Abstract

It cannot be denied that intercultural understanding is crucial in the process of learning English at elementary school, junior high school, high school, and beyond. This paper analyzes the high school English textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology in Japan from the perspective of intercultural understanding. First, it elucidates the types of the articles, the countries the materials deal with, and the purposes of the materials. Then it considers the important elements of intercultural education. The result of the research shows the materials contain various kinds of categories, and many materials concerning English-speaking countries. Furthermore, an important fact is that many materials concerning Japan aimed at understanding its own culture are shown in the textbooks. Finally, the paper suggests the future direction of the materials in the textbooks in order to facilitate the intercultural understanding.

Keywords

textbooks, English language, intercultural education

Introduction

In Japan, high school educational guidance has been revised for the first time in about ten years, and new textbooks based on the new government guidelines for teaching have been used since 2013. The instructional objective is described by the government guidelines as follows: to develop students' communication abilities to accurately understand and appropriately convey information, ideas, etc., deepening their understanding of language and culture, fostering a positive attitude toward communication through foreign languages.

Based on the objectives, it is necessary to consider the elements and topics of culture shown in the textbooks. The Course of Study explains the curriculum design and treatment of the contents for each subject as follows: In order to

cultivate communication abilities through the English language in a comprehensive manner, teaching materials that give sufficient consideration to actual language-use situations and functions of language should be used according to the objectives of each subject. Teachers should take up a variety of suitable materials in accordance with the level of students' development, as well as their interest, covering materials that relate to the daily lives, manners and customs, stories, geographies, history, traditional culture, natural sciences, etc., of Japanese people and the people of the world, focusing on the countries that use the English language. Special consideration should be given to the following perspectives:

A. Materials that are useful in understanding various viewpoints and ways of thinking, developing the ability to make impartial judgments and cultivating a rich sensibility.

B. Materials that are useful in deepening the understanding of the ways of life and cultures of Japan and foreign countries, raising interest in language and culture, and developing respectful attitudes toward these elements.

C. Materials that are useful in deepening the international understanding from a broad perspective, heightening students' awareness of being Japanese citizens living in a global community, and cultivating a spirit of international cooperation.

D. Materials that are useful in deepening individual thinking on humanity, society, nature, etc.

As for point A, I will examine how or to what extent materials in the textbooks deal with various ways of viewing and thinking. Considering B, a wide range of topics is needed for understanding the various ways of life and cultures of countries all over the world. The contents of the textbooks will be categorized. With regard to C, students need to understand their own culture as citizens living in a global society. Japan has been affected by Western culture for a long time, so many students do not seem to have a deep understanding of Japanese culture.

In this paper, based on these considerations, the materials were analyzed from the perspective of intercultural understanding, which has been defined along with the government guidelines for teaching. The top ten in sale of the English textbooks have been chosen for analysis from a viewpoint of cross-cultural understanding of the subject matter. This will make clear the characteristics of the contents treated in the textbooks.

Intercultural education
Intercultural understanding and its scope

The Ministry´s guideline says that one of the purposes of English education is intercultural understanding. As mentioned before with regard to materials, teachers should take up a variety of suitable topics that deepen their intercultural understanding. However, activities of intercultural education, or education for international education, can be found in in many fields as well. It may be used as synonymous with the related phrase "education for international understanding," and is mixed up in many cases. Yoneda (1998) states that intercultural understanding can be taught in the context of education for international understanding. He explains that when Japan grew up economically in the 1970s, it became time to consider how to communicate with people in the world well. The cross-cultural understanding became the keyword of international education during the 1980s. Yoneda claims that the following two points are significant:

[1] It must aim for symbiosis.
[2] It is important to understand the relation between cross-cultural understanding and the understanding of one´s own culture.

On the other hand, Ikeno (2000, p. 18) described the features of the education as follows, distinguishing it from "International understanding" education:

[1] Cultivation of world citizen consciousness.
[2] Cultivation of a tolerant attitude toward different cultures and the mind to respect those cultures.
[3] Relativism of one´s own culture and self.

The purpose of international education is to achieve three aims, while intercultural education emphasizes [2] and [3]. Furthermore, Ikeno (2000) states that the activity of intercultural education is classified into two types, knowledge approach and experience approach. He states that as an example of knowledge approach, the cultural understanding through linguistic analysis is a unique activity in English education. As for the experience approach, Mizogami (2009, p. 41) claims that intercultural understanding means methodology of self-change and of acquiring the active value judgment power through new frameworks, and it is caught by neither prejudice nor common sense.

Considering the opinions given above, the concrete and the abstract culture are given as standards in this research. I will analyze the ten English textbooks

that are currently used in high schools in Japan from the perspective of intercultural understanding.

The definition of 'Intercultural Education' in this research

Intercultural Education is defined as follows in this research: It gives students information concerning various cultures of the world through English, makes them aware of the varieties of cultures and respects not only the Japanese culture, but also other cultures, heightening students' awareness of being Japanese citizens living in a global community and cultivating a spirit of international cooperation. In this definition *cultures* refer to daily lives, manners and customs, stories, geographies, histories, the culture of the young, the environment, human rights, war and so on.

Previous studies

From previous studies about the subject matters shown in the English high school textbooks under the former government guidelines in Japan, the following tendencies can be found. First, many articles about everyday life are included in high-school English textbooks (Muroi, 1999; Muroi 2004; Yamanaka, 2004). According to Yamanaka (2004), as a result of investigating ten English textbooks used at high school and classifying the contents into cultural categories, it was said that about half of the lessons treated the contents about everyday life.

Second, many English-speaking countries, such as Britain and the United States, were treated in the lessons (Muroi, 1999; Muroi 2004; Yamanaka, 2004). For instance, Muroi (2004) researched top ten high-school English textbooks of the adoption rate and stated that 24 % of the textbooks included the countries of Inner Circle. Yamanaka (2006) analyzed nine junior-high school English textbooks (*Crown* 1-3, *New Horizon* 1-3, and *Sunshine* 1-3) and 10 English textbooks used in high schools, and stated that many of the subject articles and words concerning English-speaking countries, such as the United States, Britain, and Australia were included in those textbooks.

Thirdly, high-school English textbooks changed a lot as to the contents, vocabularies, and so on, compared with the English textbooks of junior high school (Yamada, 2004; Chujou et., 2007; Takeda et., 2007). For instance, it is indicated that the subject matter of a junior high school textbook was included in conversation form and there were few meaningful materials in Yamada (2004). Chujou, Yoshimori, Hasegawa, Nishigaki, & Yamazaki, (2007) investigated a total of 95 volumes of textbooks of English Ⅰ, English Ⅱ, and Reading (2007) used at high schools and reported that the number of different words was 9,903 and the

number of total words was 607,407. The numbers were much bigger compared with the total number of 1,690 counted as different words and the number of 41,344 counted as words that appeared in six sorts of English textbooks of the junior high school.

Fourthly, the subject topics concerning global themes, such as environment and war, exist to some extent (Muroi, 1999; Shikano, 2001). Shikano (2001) chose 18 textbooks of EnglishⅠand English Ⅱ used at high-schools and stated that the lessons treating three global problems of environment, human rights, and war occupied about 20 % of all the 98 lessons.

Lastly, there were many subject matters about Japanese utterance and Japan (Muroi, 1999; Muroi, 2004; Yamanaka, 2006). Muroi (2004) researched top ten high-school English textbooks in sale of EnglishⅠand EnglishⅡ, and reported that the lessons treating Japan occupied 22% of the whole in EnglishⅠand formed 17% of the whole in EnglishⅡ.

Research questions

The research task of this paper is to present clearly what kind of subject matters are seen in top ten in sale English high-school textbooks by investigating those textbooks based on the new course of guideline. The following are viewpoints of the analysis for the research task. Research questions include:
1. What kind of fields are treated in the cultural materials?
2. What kind of areas are treated in the materials?
3. What are the purposes of the materials treated in the new textbooks?
4. What is the rate of concrete culture and abstract culture in the cultural subject matters for intercultural understanding?

Method and procedure

The objects applicable to analysis in this research are top ten high-school English textbooks called Communication EnglishⅠand approved by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Science, and Technology. They are currently used as mandatory subjects. The adoption ratio is the top 10 highest of 25 textbooks. The analysis units are "Lesson", "Chapter", and reading materials such as "For Reading" and "Reading."

The first research question regards the fields treated in the cultural materials. The contents of the cultural articles were classified into the following categories; (a) daily lives (a greeting, self-introduction, etc.), (b) school life (a lesson, conversation with a friend, etc.), (c) manners and customs (eating habits, a lifestyle, annual events etc.), (d) geography and history, (e) language and

communication, (f) youth culture (anime, comics, etc.), (g) environment, (h) war, (i) natural science, (j) stories (an old tale, a novel, etc.), (k) human right, (l) biography.

The second research question is about the number and rate of the areas treated in the textbooks. The countries shown in the cultural materials are classified based on the division suggested by Kachru (1990). Kachru (1990) suggests three areas concerning the use of English. In his division, A is called Inner Circle, B is called Outer Circle, and C is called Expanding Circle. His division was adopted for the analysis of the second question. When one lesson includes two areas like A and B, it is counted as both points.

(A) The countries in which English is used as a native language (Inner Circle and e.g. the United States, Britain, Australia, etc.)

(B) The countries in which English is used as an official language (Outer Circle and e.g. Singapore, India, etc.)

(C) The countries in which English is used as a foreign language (Expanding Circle and e.g. Japan, South Korea, China, Thailand, etc.)

The third research question is about the types of the purposes for intercultural understanding. The following four purposes are used for the analysis:

(A) understanding other cultures

(B) understanding one´s own culture

(C) global understanding, and

(D) Comparison

The fourth research question is about the rate of concrete culture and abstract culture in the cultural materials. The concept shown in Ashikaga, Fukita, & Ikuta (2001) and Ikegami (2002) is applied in this paper. The visible things such as building and festivals are classified as concrete culture. The invisible things such as a sense of values, human relations, and personal views are classified as abstract culture.

Results
Contents of the materials for intercultural understanding

Figure 1 shows the numbers of the twelve categories in ten textbooks. As shown in Figure 1, there are many articles on human rights, manners and customs, daily lives, stories, and geography & history. There are few subject matters about youth culture, war, and biographies. Although various categories are treated, it seems that many subjects are easy to handle. It seems that the

number of natural science increased compared with the number of the English textbooks used at junior high school. Therefore, students will get a wide scope of information through the textbooks.

Top 10 High School English Textbooks

Category	Value
manners and customers	17
stories	13
daily lives	12
geography&history	13
natural science	12
school life	6
language and communication	12
environment	10
youth culture	4
human rights	15
war	3
biography	1
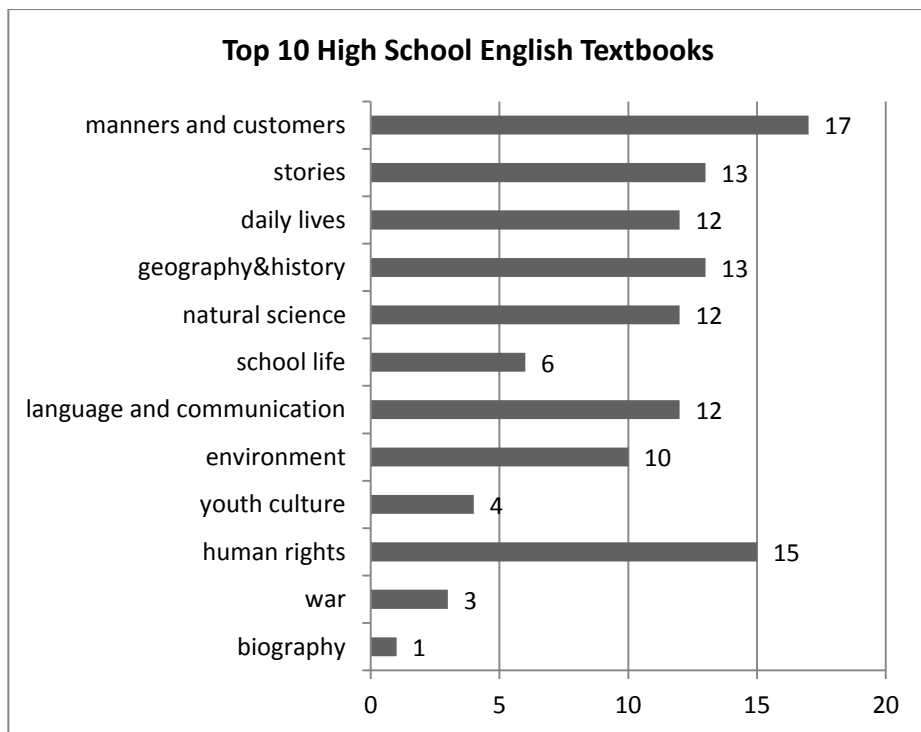
Figure 1: Categories of the cultural materials

Region of the materials

Figure 2 shows three regions, Japan, and unknown materials in total. When the material includes some information concerning two areas, they are both counted.

As shown in Figure 2, the topics concerning the countries where English is used as the first language are treated very frequently. Japan also occupies many of the lessons in total. On the other hand, the number of the lessons concerning the countries where English is used as a second language is very small.
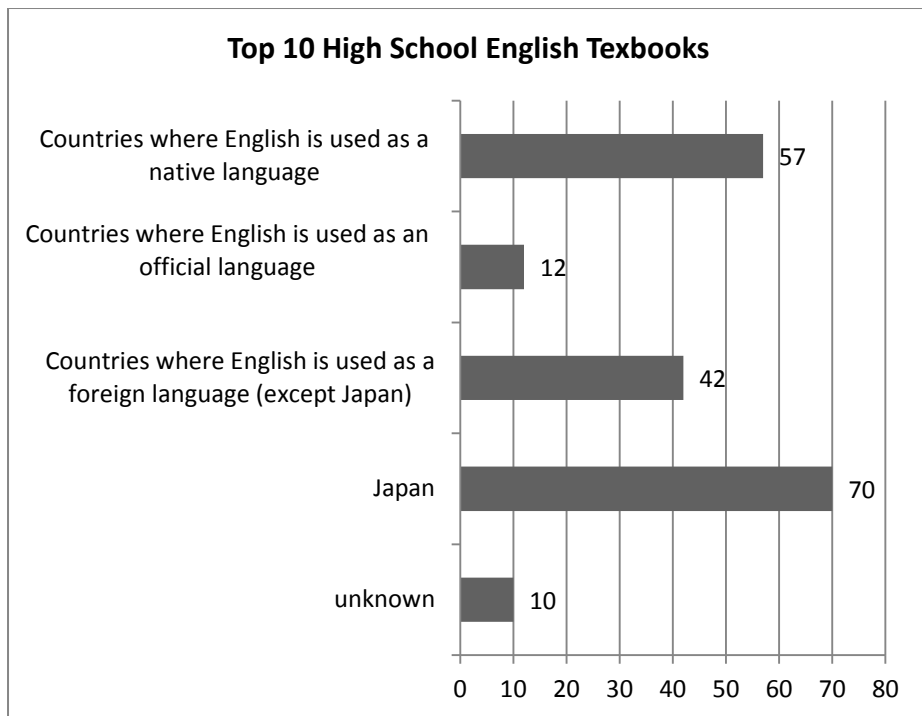
Figure 2: Areas treated in the cultural materials

Purpose of the materials

Figure 3 shows the number of the four categories for the purposes of the materials. When one lesson seems to have two purposes, they are both counted.

As shown in Figure 3, the number of global understanding is bigger than the other purposes. At the same time, the numbers of understanding other cultures and the source culture are big, while the number of comparison is so small. The materials for global understanding such as war, environment, and so on, are frequently treated in the high school textbooks in order to heighten students' awareness of being Japanese citizens living in a global community.
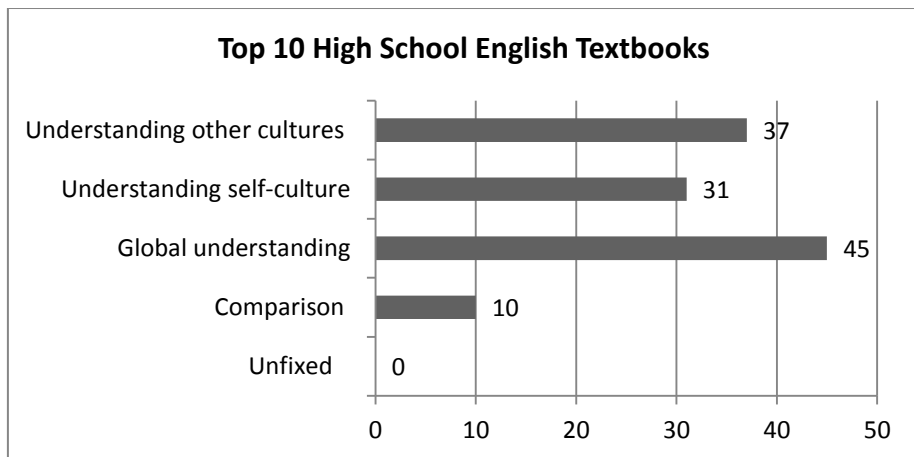
Figure 3: Purpose of the cultural materials

Comparison of Concrete Culture and Abstract Culture

Figure 4 shows the number of concrete culture and abstract culture references in the cultural materials for intercultural understanding included in high school level textbooks. The number of the abstract culture references is not big, but the materials of abstract culture are treated more frequently than in junior high schools. It is a good tendency that high school students have some chances to learn values that are different from their own.
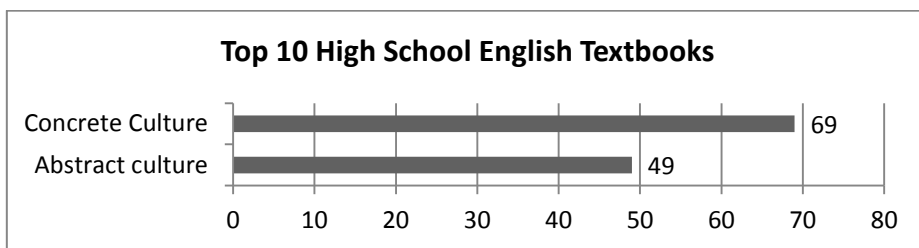
Figure 4: Comparison of concrete culture and abstract culture

Discussion

Based on the data, I will summarize the materials for intercultural understanding in the high school textbooks. First, all the lessons in the textbooks

deal with some elements which are presented as concrete culture or abstract culture for intercultural understanding, and the categories of these are shown in various fields from the daily lives to customs and manners, history & geography, traditional cultures, environment, war, and so on. This trend clearly reflects the Ministry's guideline. Therefore, teachers have great possibilities of teaching the cultural issues. They should explain the values or the ways of thinking behind the behaviors relating to themes in the textbooks or make students ask ALT teachers about the cultural articles because increasing humanity is also important in intercultural education.

Secondly, most of the regions in the materials for intercultural understanding are the countries where English is used as the first language, and few lessons concerning the countries where English is used as the second language are treated. The contents of the articles are taught in the subject of English, so it is natural that the textbooks use many topics related to the countries where English is used as a mother language. However, English is established as an international language, so it is desirable to increase the topics of the countries where it is used as a foreign language and make students aware of the fact that English is the international language especially because it is used in many more countries as a foreign language than as the first language. This point is discussed in Kamiya (2008). He suggests English Education in terms of World English and insists that English should be emphasized as the international language, not as American English. Moreover, more countries that have close relationship with Japan, such as Korea, China, and so on, should be treated, as Yamanaka (2006) indicates, because the students who are Japanese will probably communicate with those people in the future.

Thirdly, the purposes of global understanding and understanding other cultures are emphasized more than other purposes. This reflects the objective of deepening students' understanding of language and culture described in the Ministry's guideline. It will be interesting for high school learners to get a knowledge of foreign issues other than Japan. However, teachers should not only give students a piece of information, but also suggest materials relating to the information in details and effectively.

Finally, it might be possible to design some ideas for the deepening of students' understanding. As an example, local materials will be preferred in order to deepen students' understanding of the Japanese culture. One success is reported in Yoshida (2006). He and his team designed the materials of history, characters, public entertainments, and so on in Irima Area in Saitama Prefecture, managing to provide students with a deeper understanding of Japanese culture.

Conclusion

The research has shown that various kinds of topics suitable for high school students are presented in the English textbooks as a good balance of abstract culture and concrete culture. This characteristic can be said to be preferred because it follows the Ministry's guideline. However, one point needs to be changed. There are still biases because too much is focused on nations in Inner Circle. There is a marked lack of focus on nations in the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle except Japan in comparison to the nations in the Inner Circle. According to the government´s "white paper on tourism" (2013), the travelers who come to Japan have been increasing in number recently, reaching the total of 10,360,000 foreign travelers visiting Japan in 2013. This has exceeded 2010, which had been the highest until then. The rate has increased by 24% compared with the previous year. According to the report, foreign travelers visiting Japan come mainly from China, South Korea and Taiwan. Canada and Australia indicate only several percent of the visiting foreigners. Thus, it would be beneficial for high school students to learn a variety of cultures concerning those countries because there is a great possibility that they will meet people from those countries in the future.

It is hoped that this research has been successful in offering some insights into the teaching of culture in English textbooks, making clear some characteristics shown in the high school textbooks. It is very important for teachers to recognize the tendencies when engaged in the process of teaching of culture. It is hoped that this information will be useful for teachers when they are engaged in teaching English in their classroom.

However, as can be pointed to in Yamanaka (2004) and Yamanaka (2006), there are no detailed instructions in the Ministry of Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology as regards region, purpose, and so on. Although teachers are required to take up appropriate topics of various countries throughout the world, there is no specific information which would be useful in choosing countries and categories. It can be confusing to decide about the topics or make plans for cultural understanding, especially because culture has a multiplicity of meanings. It would be better to have clear instructions on the teaching of cultures in these courses.

Finally, some limitations in this study should be noted. English textbooks are not the only way of teaching culture in classes. It is possible for students to learn the cultural issues in other ways. For instance, students can learn culture from ALT teachers or in general studies. However, it is true that the contents of the

textbooks can have a great effect on the stage of cultural learning. Further discussions are preferred.

References

Ashikaga, T., Fukita, R., & Ikuta, Y. (2001). A study of cultural aspects in Japanese EFL communication. *JACET Bulletin* 33, 1-10.

Chujou, K., Yoshimori, T., Hasegawa, S., Nishigaki, C., & Yamazaki, A. (2007). Koutougattkou eigo kyoukasho no goi (Words in High school English Textbooks) *Nihondaigakuseisankougakukennkyuhoukoku B, 40,* 71-92.

Ikegami, M. (2002). One Approach to the Teaching Culture in English Education. *ARELE 13*, 181-190.

Ikeno, O. (2000) Eigokakyouiku niokeru ibunnkarikai: kanousei to gennkai [Intercultural Education in the subject of English Education: Its Possibility and limitations] *Ehimedaigakukyouikujittssencenter,* 7-30.

Kachru, B.B. (1990). World Englishes and Applied Linguistics. *World Englishes, 9*, 3-20.

Kamiya, M. (2008). Nihonnjinwa dareno eigoo manabubekika - World Englishes toiu shiten karano eigokyouiku- [What English should the Japanese learn in terms of World Englishes] *Sophia Junior College Journal, 28,* 41-71.

MEXT (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology) (2010). *Koutougattkou gakushu shidou youryou kaisetsu (Heisei22nen 5gatsu): Gaikokugo hen* [Description of the course of study for high schools (May, 2010): Foreign language education]. Tokyou: Kairyudou

Mizogami, Y. & Shibata, N. (2009). 'Ibunka Rikai' gaikokugo kyoiku – kyouyou Keitaino ichikeitai toshite – [Intercultural Understanding Foreign Language Education - One Form of General Study] *Aichikounanntannkidaigakukiyou, 38,* 31-42.

Muroi, M. (1999). Global issues in senior high school English textbooks: From the viewpoint of intercultural and global awareness: *Chuubuchikueigokyouikugattkaikiyou, 29,* 171-178.

Muroi, M. (2004). 16nendo shiyou no koukoukyoukasho niokeru Global issues: From the viewpoint of global awareness - [Global issues in high school textbooks in 2004]. *Chuubuchikueigokyouikugattkaikiyou, 34,* 91-98.

Shikano, T. (2001). Nihon no koukoueigo kyoukasho niokeru global na monndai (Global issues in high school English textbooks in Japan). *Globalkyouiku, 4,* 2-15.

Takeda, A., Eun-suk, C., Mochizuki, N. & Watanabe, Y. (2006). Analysis and comparison of the junior and senior high school level English textbooks for Japan and Korea. *Second Language Studies* 25(1), 53-82.

Yamada, Y. (2004). Chuugattkou no bunseki to hihan (Analysis and Criticism of junior high school English textbooks) *Hiroshimashudaironshuu, 45*(1), 149-203.

Yamanaka, N. (2004). An evaluation of English textbooks from the viewpoint of culture based on the 2003 Ministry of Education's course of study guidelines. *JACET Journal*, *39*, 87-103.

Yamanaka, N. (2006). An evaluation of English textbooks in Japan from the viewpoint of nations in the inner, outer, and expanding circles. *JALT Journal*, *28* (1), 57-76.

Yoneda, S. (1998). 'Ibunka Kokusai' kanrenjutsugo no Seiri (Summary of phrases relating to 'Intercultural or International') *Gendaieigokyouiku* December 1998, 13-17&59. Tokyo: Kenkyusha.

Yoshida, T. (2006). Chiiki eigo kyouzai "15 Stories of Saitama-ken" (Ver. 2) no kaihatsu to katsuyou [Design and Use of the Local Materials "15 Stories of Saitama Prefecture" (Ver.2)] *STEP BULLETIN, 18,* 177-195.

Textbooks

All Abroad! Communication English I (Tokyo shoseki)
VISTA English Communication I (Sanseido)
CROWN English Communication I (Sanseido)
MY WAY Communication I (Sanseido)
COMET English Communication I (Suken shuppan)
Vivid English Communication I (Daiichi gakushusha)
ELEMENT Communication English I (Keirinkan)
Power On Communication English I (Tokyo shoseki)
Landmark English Communication I (Keirinkan)
BIG DIPPER English Communication I (Suken shuppan

Contact
Kouki Ookawa
Matsuyamaminami Tobe Branch High School
Japan
e-mail: ookawasan3@yahoo.co.jp

Redefining Irishness: Fragmentation or intercultural exchange

Rania M. R. Khalil
British University in Egypt, Egypt
rania.khalil@bue.edu.eg

Abstract
The traditional definition of Irishness has been overwritten by internationalization, cultural and political discourses. Globalisation today sets the ground for the redefinition of a "new Ireland" altering the ethnocultural base to the definitions of Irish national identity. Recent cultural criticism on modern Irish studies have described the Irish nation as undergoing moments of crisis and instability within a global context. This paper explores and analyzes the process by which literary dramatic works dealing with Irish national distinctiveness have been put subject to being written and re-written as the Irish nation passes through periods of instabilities and problematisations. Ireland has been affected by conflicting narratives and needed to move "towards a new configuration of identities" (Kearney, 1997, p. 15). Edward W. Said comments on this fracturing of identity as "human reality is constantly being made and unmade" (1979, p. 33). The attempt Irish playwrights have made to address factors affecting Irishness and the violent assertion of national identity addressed in this paper, are considered within a post-nationalist and post-colonial context of dramatic works.

I

Ireland's nationalism has always been the binding force behind the nation. However, the unity of the nation was challenged with the advent of economic reform and globalization. Out of all the countries in Europe, Ireland had globalized at record speed. The rapidness was equally echoed in the identity shift of the nation's international expatriates and regional communities (Kearney, 1997). Socio-economic reform and cultural transformation exposed the indeterminacy of the nation. Nationalist ideology and Irish identity were fragmented as the country shifted from colonial to postcolonial. The

transformation led the nation and its people to experience moments of crises, disunity and enter a phase of discontinuity. The globalized identity paradoxically became a way to escape traditional constructs of Irish identity.

The aim of this paper is to focus on a textual analysis of the process by which the dramatic work of Brian Friel's *Translations* (1980), Tom Murphy's *A Whistle in the Dark* (1961) and Marina Carr's *By the Bog of Cats* (1998) deal with Irish national distinctiveness and the redefinition of Irishness. These dramatists are not chroniclers or political dramatists, yet they paint a rationalistic graffiti of Ireland's past and present. Their works move the Irish theater beyond the borderlines of buffoonery. They fulfill what Richard Kearney sees as the need today for Ireland to move towards a "new configuration of identities" (Kearney, 1997). The attention to identity in their plays echoes key concepts from Bhabha, Kearney and Appadurai's theories which help explain the spatial and cultural aspects of the formation, deformation and transnationalism of Irish identity. The dramatic works aim to provide a world view of Irishness. With any attempt at defining Irishness, there is always the question of "How does one get to the real Irish if there is such a thing? ...who gets to be Irish? Is there an authentic and true Irish type? And is recuperation of identity even possible in a post-colonial society (Heininge, 2009)?

The dramatic works discussed in this paper by Friel, Murphy and Carr raise in this sense uncomfortable questions and reflect the lives of Irish people who "really don't belong" (Toibin, 2012). The plays are not individual tragedies but rather a display of the process of Ireland moving from "Catholic nationalism towards civic" (Stewart, 1999). The plays share several significant structural and thematic similarities. The texts carry the hope and despair of an Irish nation juxtaposed between space and time. Through their works the authors, pertinent to this paper, depict the reality of modern Ireland and highlight the contradictions and complications of the hybridity of the Irish identity. The disruption caused by socioeconomic changes forces the Irish identity to re-emerge on the Irish theatre stage with a renewed dramatic force in an attempt to move beyond the limitations of traditional nationalism and dispossession.

II

Irishness in this paper is identified through a new configuration of identities as opposed to a single "post-colonial" identity exploring a notion of multiplicity in an age of multiple belongings (Lloyd, 2001). *A Whistle in the Dark*, *Translations* and *By the Bog of Cats...* have been understood as works which are preoccupied with exposing the uncertainty that underlies the shifting of borderline existence

as it is set against constructed "essentialist identities" (O'Toole, 2012). It is therefore reasonable to explore the notion of new Irishness and the implications of its cultural transformations in context of Bhabha's (1994) view that nations and cultures are "narrative constructions that arise from the hybrid interaction of contending national and cultural constituencies" where identity is negotiated.

The land setting of Baile Beag in Friel's *Translations* foregrounds historical, political and dramatic elements all realized as nationalistic fury. The existing social and cultural formations are actively erased in the making of a new Ireland through the Ordnance Survey. The mapping and Anglicization of Irish place names is a transformational phase, a process to purge Ireland into its "newness." Place naming is a central theme of *Translations*. The naming reveals a fresh geography which replaces the old native place names with their myths and identity. The mapping ironically becomes a mimetic representation of reality. The map presents a version of Ireland that is designed to conform to the view of the world - one that would make Ireland "recognizable." There is only a metaphorical reality between the map and the reality which it purports to represent (Bullock, 2000). Ireland's transformation in *Translations* begins on paper. Hugh in *Translations* says that it is not history that shapes the Irish identity but rather the images of the past which "we must never cease renewing… because once we do, we fossilize" (Friel, 1981). The past in Friel's play is didactically reinvented for the present, even as the present is lived through images of the past (Bullock, 2000).

Friel touches upon this intensified struggle between those who attempt to destroy the lingering aftertaste of the stereotyped Irish paddy of the past and those who want to emerge as modern free unlabeled Irish citizens. Hugh, Owen's father, and the school master, is proficient in Latin and Gaelic (the archaic languages); yet Hugh accepts the necessity of using English as a means to connect to the outside world. Owen in his community represents the allure of a better life after he returns from Dublin as a successful businessman. Owen is on the payroll of the British Army which is a declaration of the tangible advantages of English culture. The mark of success towards social advancement and upward mobility in the play is signified by Owen's acquisition of a professional position as opposed to the idyllic vision of a rural Ireland. Owen believes that he is better off being on the payroll of the British Army despite being under-paid. Owen creates for himself what Homi Bhabha terms as the third space through translation and straddles both worlds as he attempts to embrace the cosmopolitan world. Bhabha's notion of the "third space" (1994) allows Owen's Irish national identity to be questioned in terms of a contemporary socio-economic culture that is

situated in the shadows of a past in which there is a time-lag of post-colonial belatedness.

Owen is not the typical stage Irishman in appearance but he is the foil of Hugh. Both Hugh and Owen are two faces of the same coin. Hugh is the old Ireland bound by nationalistic ideals and Owen the emergent new Celtic Tiger image of a new globalised Ireland. Friel presents through them a partial assumption of a stereotype where he exposes their search for Irishness as a paradox; in wanting to break away from the roots of the land, it becomes impossible to escape from the nation's past. The notion of escape from the culture and the land is complicated by the need to survive the transition into the new era of a globalised Ireland. Hugh struggles in his metaphorical escape and drinks his Anna na mBreag (a poteen of lies) while the incident of renaming of the well Tobair Vree in *Translations* reveals Owen's intimate connection with his past.

Naming is typically demonstrated as key to the formation of Irish identity. Sarah's speech "My name is Sarah" in *Translations* is crucial to her self-definition, just as with the names of places; her name, in fact, carries with it not only an identity, but also an origin and a lineage. When Owen asks her about her name, she blurts out, "Sarah Johnny Sally." There is an aspect of continuity in these names. It is Manus who encourages Sarah to speak: "Soon you'll be telling me all the secrets that have been in that head of yours all these years" (Friel, 1981). The same cannot be said for Owen who fails to recognize his own metamorphosis from Irish Owen to British Roland as he carefully reveals his role on the Ordnance Survey: "My job is to translate the quaint archaic tongue you people persist in speaking into the King's good English" (Friel, 1981). The well Tobair Vree, named after a disfigured man named Brian who visited it daily because he thought the water was blessed till he drowned in it, emphasizes the subconscious conflict between Owen's inclination towards English modernity and his Irish heritage. He assures Manus that Irish names will be "Anglicized" only where there is "ambiguity" (Friel, 1981). He does not realize that he was being called Roland instead of Owen by the British. Owen misses what Heaney calls the "illiterate and unconscious" in a name – the heritage buried deep within the name itself. His own Irish identity is lost in the English transliteration, he is reduced from a human being to a sign. The loss of lineage in a name reduces identity where the person or place immediately becomes an epistemological referent. The temporary exile he passes on himself by isolating and distancing himself from the community, in retrospect, proves crucial in reconstructing his true sense of Irish identity. This realization symbolically is a revisit to his Irish past because "to

forget the past willfully is to threaten the fragile links that, however, tenuously, guard us from oblivion" (Zemon & Starn, 1989). Owen announces his renewed Irish loyalties when he responds to Lancey's question about Sarah's hometown with the Irish names instead of their new English ones.

III

Tom Murphy explores through *A Whistle in the Dark* the implications of post-colonialism for Irish identity. The characters struggle to define for themselves a coherent national identity in the industrial city of Coventry. The nature of the identity is analyzed according to Bhabha's hybrid voices and indeterminate identities which exist in liminal spaces. The play further sheds light on Ireland's transformation from being a "beleaguered colony to a postcolonial nation state" (Murphy, 2001). The play focuses on the "dignity of the human being, whose choices, identity and dignity have been taken away from them through their entrapment in impossible spaces" (O'Toole, 1994).

Having moved to Coventry from rural Mayo in Ireland, the Carney brothers in *A Whistle in the Dark* wonder if those who have left Ireland can still be called Irish and whether emigration requires a forfeiture of national identity just to "fit into a place" (Murphy, 2001). Michael, one of the three brothers, represents the pathology of the alienated individual in the play as he grapples with the reality of his homelessness in Coventry, a small town in England. Moving to Coventry may have allowed him to move beyond an Irish society divided by social classes, but paradoxically enough he finds himself in one where all Irish people are seen as identical "paddies" (Murphy, 2001). His Irishness casts on him a shadow of shame where he is unable to free himself from the notions of "puppetry, mimicry and rhetoric" (Harte, 2012). Michael does not have the ability to define himself, and is therefore defined by others. He articulates the problem in anguish: "We're all Paddies, and the British boys know it" (Murphy, 2001). Michael's identity is divided between "his washed up past; the life waiting to happen; and the part that needs to find its voice to create meaning and define his identity" (Carroll, 2014).

In *A Whistle in the Dark*, Michael wants to own a home and be part of a respectable civilized family; he tries to save Des, his younger brother, from a life of stereotypical "othering" and abjection (Murphy, 2001) by wanting him to be 'something respectable" (Murphy, 2001). Des suggests through his roles in the play that Ireland offers little hope for the future and contrasts Ireland's post-colonial poverty, where he manages to get "a lousy few quid" (Murphy, 2001) against the many opportunities they anticipate in England. In doing so, he

subverts essentialist notions of identity through his scornful speeches. The play reflects the character's lack of identity in his homeland and his search for Irishness globally. It may be true that something is being eroded or fragmented in this transnationalism of which Ireland is only a part, but at the same time, something new is being born. It is a new beginning that involves the dynamic interplay of Ireland's past with its present, one that we can refer to as interculturalism. Building identity from experiences and transformations allows a reconstruction and assembling of a global version of Irishness. An identity is forged through the contemporary lens of globalism. The journey of reconstructing Irishness happens in the space between the island and the outside world, the space between lands is usually one full of emotions. The longing for a varied people and places indicates a determination to create an identity from a global perspective.

The dilemma of borderline existence and its effects on identity formation is what Homi Bhabha refers to as the post-colonial "interstices" (1994). The struggle of forming an identity in *A Whistle in the Dark* is by no means a simple portrayal of the Irish immigrant in Britain. The setting represents a hybrid space; Coventry is an industrial immigrant city in England where the Carneys struggle to free themselves of colonial hegemony. Their endeavours to compensate for their sense of inferiority is done through mimicry in an attempt to redefine cultural identity. Michael ultimately has to face the indeterminacy of his identity. Moving to Coventry has allowed him to move beyond a divided Irish society only to exist in a place where all the Irish are seen as the "paddies" (Murphy, 2001). Irishness becomes a badge of shame, his search for a "way of being" yields only "puppetry, mimicry and rhetoric" (Harte, 2012). Michael is haunted by the fact that his desired identity interpreted by him as Englishness, leaves him no less a "paddy" in English eyes as would a "tinker" in Irish eyes. The new Irish identity is presented in a transmuted form. The play raises questions such as if emigration means that those who no longer live in the country are still Irish – is it a forfeiting of national identity and what is to become of those who are searching to "fit into a place" (Murphy, 2001).

Critics of post-national drama like Umberto Eco suggest that one of the ways by which the post-colonial nations and individuals form an identity is through the invention of an enemy. It is typically one of the ways to measure themselves against in order to demonstrate their self-worth; thus when there is no enemy, an enemy has to be invented, or one risks losing one's identity (Eco, 2012). In a colonial Ireland, the enemy was the English or the Protestant; in a post-colonial

Ireland where globalization creates complex connections, the person who exhibits his otherness or behaves differently is the "enemy."

IV

A Whistle in the Dark and *Translations* represent images of the internal enemy. Michael represents the internal enemy; he creates for the Carney brothers a sense of cohesion and identity through their distance from him. Having sided with the British Army, Owen in *Translations* by parading his "otherness" becomes the temporary enemy from within. The enemy in the plays is not those who pose a real threat but rather the ones who represent that which is different. More recently, Marina Carr's *By the Bog of Cats…* revisits the idea of the enemy within and the notion of exile and dissatisfaction with the homeland. Her character Hester Swane represents an isolated, rural, pagan Ireland and its struggle to maintain its traditions against the new trends of universal modernity. Hester embodies all the outdated traditions from which the community she lives in attempts to separate itself. The play illustrates the struggle between the traditions of Ireland and the national movement towards the European normalcy. Vic Merriman notes in his essay "Decolonisation Postponed: The Theatre of Tiger Trash" that the strain between Hester and her community stems from the economic boom of the "Celtic Tiger" (Merriman, 1999). For the first few scenes, it seems that Hester's identity is formed by her relationship with Carthage, as the play progresses, the complexity of the situation is revealed and it becomes clear that her identity is connected to the homeland and not Carthage. Hester's identity is defined by the landscape of the Bog of Cats; this deep connection restrains her ability to leave and further grounds her refusal to go into the exile state which her community wishes to force upon her. Hester's refusal to leave is both an act of self-definition of all that is traditionally Irish and an attempt to maintain an already strongly defined identity. Hester resists the attempts of forced exile by asserting her place in the community from her marginalized position: "I'm goin' nowhere. This here is my house and my garden and my stretch of the bog and no wan's runnin' me out of here" (Carr, 1998).

The symbols of the black swan and a black train are likened to Hester, connoting her mobile nature as a descendant of tinkers. Hester's permanence in that closed community, is a constant reminder to the characters in the play of their Irish traditions, which they wish to break from, as they progress towards modernism. The community is consumed with showy materialism as they prepare for Caroline and Carthage's wedding reception. Carthage's break from Hester and a uniting with a new wife, Caroline, is a representation of the dilemma

of the characters of the community as they straddle two notions of Irishness. Caroline and her family are the picture of modern conventionality juxtaposed against the lower class dysfunctional life of Hester. The fragmented memory of Hester's mother by the community as being a song stitcher is unfavourable as they recall her preference for drink and shameless sexuality in fulfilment of her mobile tinker nature. *By the Bog of Cats*… unravels the mystics behind the hybrid language only intelligible to Hester Swane because of her tinker lineage. This mystic language constitutes for her a sign of personal heritage and empowerment rather than shame. Her unintelligible speech, however, further marginalizes her from her community and connects her more to ghosts than to the living. Xavier Catherine's father recalls: "Let me tell ya a thing or two about your mother, big Josie Swane. I used to see her outside her auld caravan on the bog and … her croonin' towards Orion in a language I never heard before or since"(Carr, 1998). Hester's connection with the mythological, supernatural and pagan elements of the play reveal her as a mirror image of the fragmented Irish identity in the face of her community. In parallel, the members of the community are guilty of isolating Hester partly for the crime of being the embodiment of everything that reminds them of what it used to be to be Irish as they struggle with material modernity.

Hester's quest to achieve a balanced relationship with the community is diminished by her refusal to conform to the new standards of conventionality in Irish life. Her identification with mythological figures as well as her reliance on folk traditions best illustrate the way that she uses the recently outmoded elements of Irish culture in order to subvert the newly adopted modern ones (Kader, 2005). When Josie her daughter asks her what she needs her teeth for, Hester replies, "Ya need them for snarlin' at people when smilin' doesn't work anymore" (Carr, 1998). Hester is labelled as a witch despite her inability to perform witchcraft as a means to stereotype her as the enemy within. Hester turns this weapon of marginalization to her own advantage; she uses pre-modern traditions to inflate the negative conceptions of her community and assert her powerfulness in their eyes (Kader, 2005). Melissa Sihra in "A Cautionary Tale: Marina Carr's *By the Bog of Cats …*" identifies Hester as a Cathleen Ni Houlihan – a re-imagined metaphor for Mother Ireland. Hester is presented in many scenes as the daughter of great mother Ireland symbolising the bogs as an abandoned piece of land, an indication of the land's suffering and neglect. Both Hester and the bog are dangerous images for the collective trauma of the Irish people and their national sense of identity.

Unlike Michael who forfeits his homeland, Hester Swane in *The Bog of Cats…* defends her right to stay by the bog by telling the wedding guests, "I know every barrow and rivulet and bog hole of its nine square mile. I know where the best bog rosemary grows and the sweetest wild bog rue" (Carr, 1998). Hester's knowledge of the herbs of the bog marks her connection to the natural landscape and anchors her to her identity. It also re-emphasises her inert connection to folk tradition and removes any possibility of her emerging with a new Irish identity. The bog is a transhistorical space less solid than other landforms which effectively serves the play's purpose of keeping in flux the past and the present. Hester mirrors the past and the bog challenges the present towards which the community is heading. The characters in Carr's play fluctuate between a pagan Ireland and the temptations of "the new free market world of consumerism and upward social movement" (Gladwin, 2011). The waiter at Caroline and Carthage's wedding laments his fate for having been born in a family that has always worked on the bogs: "I want to be an astronaut but me father wants me to work on the bog like him and like me grandfather" (Carr, 1998). The young waiter, is unable to transverse the margins of economic development in twenty-first century Ireland.

Hester's refusal to leave the land stems from her desire to stay in a place to which she is connected: "I was born on the Bog of Cats and on the Bog of Cats I'll end me days. I've as much right to this place as any of yees, more, for it holds me to it in ways it has never held yees" (Carr, 1998) . Hester's identity is immersed in the place in which she lives and the thought of removal represents self-annihilation and redefinition (Kader, 2005). In her plea not to be removed from her life-long home, Hester tells the wedding guests, "I've never lived in a town. I won't know anywan there […]. I can't lave the Bog of Cats" (Carr, 1998). It is through the landscape that Hester defines herself. Her claim to the land is emotional; it is her pride and superior knowledge of the land which tells her to stay. When Xavier tells her, "This is no longer your property and well ya know it," Hester responds, "I have regained my pride and it tells me I'm stayin" (Carr, 1998). By modern day legal standards this may be laughable but the conflict over land between Xavier and Hester mimics the dispute which arose between the native Irish and the British forces in the colonial era. Ownership of land in pre-colonial Ireland was determined by familial connections to the piece of land. Unfortunately, such claims do not hold up in the modern world of globalization and intercultural exchange.

The bog in the play stands as a synecdoche for all of Ireland, it represents the challenges of a new Ireland, one that allows itself "to quickly expunge some of its

traumatic past" (Gladwin, 2011). Hester's relationship to the bog forces her to stand on the peripherals of society as she attempts to defy contemporary displacement. Carr aligns the bog and the Irish nation as a whole through Hester. Declan Kiberd's notion that Ireland represents the unconscious of England is underscored in Hester's sense of abandonment which Carr links with that of the nation itself. He claims that Ireland when looked at through a post-colonial perspective "represents the dark history of colonial rule and the attempt to eradicate surfaces not just in the residents of the bogs but in the Irish ethos" (Gladwin, 2011). Hester probes this tension: "The truth is you want to eradicate me, make out I never existed" (Carr, 1998). Hester's choice to commit suicide signifies her emigration from the homeland, Joseph's ghost tells her, "Death's a big country" (Carr, 1998).

Catherine Kelly, an emerging critic, attacks Carr's disappointing ending where suicide stands as a full abdication of Hester's identity and the loss of the battle between primitive Irishness and the modern day Ireland of multiple belongings. In her death, Hester is physically returning to the land or as Bernadette Bourke calls it, "the great nurturing womb of nature" (Bourke, 2003). Hester attempts to solidify her identity in Bhabha's notion of the "third space"; the bog which exhibits her connection to the land and to the peripheral social space of the bog. In fact, the bogs are commonly referred to as "liminal, no places" (Gladwin, 2011). The second act in *By the Bog of Cats…* is set inside Xavier's house where Hester is not welcome, hence representing a space in which the community resists misfits; a place where they can be easily marginalized for exhibiting their "otherness." Hester exhibits both pagan and Christian elements. Her heinous crime of offering her daughter to the bog as a sacrifice followed by her own suicide is a permanent fixture on the landscape of the Bog of Cats and her identity remains as an irremovable part of the land. In this way, her identity had been translated through strategies of appropriation producing for her the possibility of a dignified after life for having had a tinker identity conscripted on her.

Conclusion

The dramatic works *A Whisper in the Dark*, *Translations* and *By the Bog of Cats* question issues of Irish identity which Kearney describes as "co-terminous with the island" (1997, p. 99). The mobile life of the characters is what forges their new Irish identity; one can argue of course that it could also be fragmented. The plays display the stage Irish figure in a "heightened form of brutality" (Heininge, 2009), the characters fight the world and each other with a ferocity born of inner emptiness, frustration and bitterness (Griffin, 1983). The plays are illustrative of

the aspects of Irishness which must be cleansed to obtain a new configuration of cultural identity. The three dramatic texts are subtle "chronicler[s] of the embourgeoisification of rural Ireland" as Kiberd would put it (1996). This raises the issue of the impossibility of representing a single, fixed reality of postcolonial Irish identity on the stage.

Many critics have interpreted Sarah and Hester as allegorical representations of Cathleen ni Houlihan, the legend of Ireland and her connection to the Irish land. This element of similarity highlights a significant factor of the cultural marginalization experienced in Irish communities. Their limited margin of communication reveals the discrimination in society at a national level of those who resist cultivation. Sarah's lack of communication in *Translations*, represents the inevitable loss of the Irish language. Mikhail Bakhtin further explains the complexity of using this allegory in that when an audience have been promised a nationalist drama that will reveal themselves to themselves, dramatists tend to make use of "distant images" (Bakhtin, 1981). Eavan Boland explains that any effort to recover authenticity in Irish identity usually results in an abundance of false Irish sentimentalism (Harper, 2008).

Michael in *A Whistle in the Dark* and Owen in *Translations* both attempt to defensively assert their national identity and self-image as a natural response to their marginal status and powerlessness. Their identities as suggested by Bhabha's theory of hybridity do not live in the middle ground of difference or by the "straight arrow of emancipation" (1997). It is however as Diana Fuss argues, a sense of identification which is only possible when placed in Bhabha's ambivalent third space (Fuss, 1995). Owen and Michael retain their presence between those "lousy Englishmen" (Murphy, 2001) and the "Paddies" (Murphy, 2001) establishing themselves as what can be termed as borderline identities. With this setup, identity is moved beyond its former rigidity where it can escape the confinements of constructed identity.

On a more up to date note, communication and technology have become part of the individual's meaning-making and thus identity building. This suggests that individuals in different geographical spaces can construct a version of Irishness that has little to do with where an individual lives, or even where they began (Mara, 2010). The global connection via television, internet and radio build an Irish identity that withstands examination from within. Perhaps those new connections have allowed a broadening of the understanding of what being Irish can encompass. Globalism within such a context, recreates a more progressive Irish identity which integrates Irish experience with interactions other than those with the nation. In this sense, Irish identity continues to reside at the cusp

of transnationalism because it was constructed in a global context, both pre-nation and post-nation (Mara, 2010).

References

Bakhtin, M. E. (1981). *The dialogic imagination.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture.* London: Routledge.

Bourke, B. (2003). Carr's "cut-throats and gargoyles": Grotesque and carnivalesque elements in By the Bog of Cats...". In C. Leeney, & A. McMullan (Eds.), *The Theatre of Marina Carr* (pp. 128-44). Dublin: Carysfort.

Bullock, K. (2000). Possessing word(l)ds: Brian Freil's "Translations" and the Ordnance Survey. *New Hibernia Review/Iris Eireannach Nua , 4* (2), 98-115.

Carr, M. (1999). *By the Bog of Cats..., in Marina Carr, Plays.* London: Faber and Faber.

Carroll, M. (2014). The indeterminacy of identity in Tom Murphy's A Whistle in the Dark. *Nordic Journal of English Studies , 13* (2), 145-167.

Eco, U. (2012). *Inventing the enemy*. London: Harvill Secker.

Friel, B. (1981). *Translations.* London: Faber and Faber.

Fuss, D. (1995). *Identification papers.* New York: Routledge.

Gladwin, D. (2011). Staging the trauma of the bog in Marina Carr's By the Bog of Cats... *Irish Studies Review , 19* (4), 387-400.

Griffin, C. (1983). Produced, praised and hammered: The career of Tom Murphy. *Theatre Ireland*, 4, 17-19.

Harper, M. M. (2008). Five points. In J. A. Randolph (Ed.), *An interview. Eavan Boland: A critical Companion*, pp. 123-124.

Harte, L. (2012). Puppetry, mimicry, rhetoric! Colonial legacies in Tom Murphy. In *Druid Murphy: Plays by Tom Murphy.* (pp. 15-21). Galway: Druid.

Heininge, K. (2009). *Buffoonery in Irish drama: Staging twentieth century post-colonial stereotypes.* New York: Peter Lang.

Kader, E. (2005). The anti-exile in Marina Carr's By the Bog of Cats... *Nordic Irish Studies , 4*, 167-187.

Kearney, R. (1997). *Postnationalist Ireland: Politics, culture, philosophy.* London: Routledge.

Kiberd, D. (1996). *Inventing Ireland: The literature of the modern nation.* London: Vintage Print.

Lloyd, D. (2001). Regarding Ireland in a Post-Colonial Frame. *Cultural Studies , 15* (1), 12-32.

Mara, M. O. (2010). The search for global Irishness in Nuala O'Faolain. In L. Zamorano, Carmen, Nordin, & I. Gilsenan, *Redefinitions of Irish identity: A postnationalist approach* (pp. 50-65). Minneapolis: Peter Lang.

Merriman, V. (1999). Decolonisation postponed: The theatre of the tiger trash'. *Irish University Review: A Journal of Irish Studies , 29*(2), 303-17.

Murphy, T. (2001). *A Whistle in the dark. 1961.* London: Methuen.

O'Toole, F. (2012). The Voices on Druid's Sat Nav. In *Druid Murphy Play by Tom Murphy.* (pp. 29-31). Galway: Druid.

O'Toole, F. (1994). *Tom Murphy: The politics of magic.* Dublin: New Island Books.

Stewart, B. (1999). "A fatal excess" at the heart of Irish atavism. *IASIL Newsletter , 5* (1), 1.

Toibin, C. (2012). *Tom Murphy. druidMurphy: Plays by Tom Murphy.* Galway: Druid.

Zemon N., R. Starn, (1989). Introduction. *Representations*, Special Issue: *Memory and Counter-Memory*, 26, 1- 6.

Contact

Dr. Rania M. R. Khalil, Senior Module Leader, Research Coordinator, Preparatory Year Coordinator and Advising and Language Support Office Coordinator
English Department – The British University in Egypt (BUE)
El Sherouk City, Suez Desert Road, Cairo 11837 - P.O. Box 43
rania.khalil@bue.edu.eg

The thousand and one tries: Storytelling as an art of failure in Rabih Alameddine's fiction

Zuzana Tabačková
Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Slovakia
ztabackova@ukf.sk

Abstract

The paper discusses experimental fiction of Rabih Alameddine, an American writer of Lebanese origin, whose literary pursuits subvert Orientalist discourse based on the East/West dichotomy by focusing on the commonalities of the two. The recurring motif of searching for one's identity (while being trapped in-between two mutually distant and at the same time similar worlds) is reflected in the subversion of the traditional understanding of the narrative which is destined to a constant failure. Alameddine's storytelling is, in reality, a "story-trying." By employing multiple narrators, intertwining plots, genres and languages, the author is striving hard to tell "his-story" about American homophobia, Lebanese sectarianism as well as the physical and psychological outcomes of war – a story which turns up to be a narration of the thousand and one failed beginnings.

Keywords

Rabih Alameddine, American literature, identity, Orientalism, storytelling

> *'Sister, I pray you finish your tale.' To this Shahrazad*
> *answered: 'Gladly and with all my heart!' Then she continued:*
> (*The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night*)

Introduction

Kan ya ma kan, once upon a time, there was a story. But the story could not exist without its "teller" as the events that made up the story could only be communicated through telling. And that is how a storyteller was born. But the storyteller did not possess the story. He was not its sole owner, proprietor, and guardian. As Alameddine (2008, p. 137) suggests, once the story was told, it was "anyone's," it became "common currency," it got "twisted and distorted," for "no story is told the same way twice or in quite the same words." The art of

storytelling has had a long tradition in the Arab world. For centuries, the "once-upon-a-time" has been performed by the so-called *hakawatis* or storytellers. The *hakawati* did not necessarily rely on the written word; his (or her) expertise was the realm of the spoken as is also suggested by the etymological root of the word, whose origin can be traced back to the Arabic verb *haka* (= to tell, to relate). In the Lebanese dialect, the word *haki* also stands for *speech*; speaking, as Hassan (2011, p. 212) argues, is therefore "synonymous with telling a story"; and the story becomes the "condition of language and of all human knowledge." In his 2008 interview with Jacki Lyden, Alameddine, whose two works of fiction are discussed in the present paper, recalls this peculiar storytelling profession distinct for the Middle East: "At some point, you know, hakawatis were the primary form of entertainment. They could tell a story and expand it for about, you know, six months to a year. They could go on and on and on. Basically they were paid on whether the audience wanted them back or not. If they weren't able to hook an audience, they went hungry. And if, you know, God forbid at one point if they couldn't tell a good story they were beheaded".

The idea recalls Shahrazad whose life also depended on the thousand and one stories she was telling to her despotic husband. Under the threat of losing her head, she was narrating a thread of stories, one interwoven into another. Like Shahrazad, the *hakawati* would often take a break at the point of great tension, then "take a sip of tea, only beginning again after enough coins were tossed his way" (Zughaib, 2007, p. 132). For the storyteller, storytelling was a means of survival. El Hakouni (as cited in Hamilton, 2011, p. 5) suggests that the motif of survival should guide any reading of *The Thousand and One Nights*: "If Scheherezade could save her neck for one thousand and one nights, that would be long enough for the king to forget his vengeance. But the key was not a physical weapon. Scheherezade had nothing; only good stories to tell and the ability to tell them well. The lesson is that, if you want to survive, you better have a good story to tell."

The art of *hakawatis* is the leitmotif present in all literary pursuits of an American writer of Lebanese origin, Rabih Alameddine. The author's preoccupation with the narrative (or narratives) as the primary focus of his aesthetics is transferred into his postmodern pastiche composed of a mosaic of vignettes, mythical stories, traditional tales of the beautiful Shahrazad, stories from the Bible or the Koran, historical heroic tales as well as family histories of the "unheroic heroes and heroines" whose identities are broken between their civil war driven Lebanese homeland and the USA; whose gender or sexual identities are ruptured as well as the narratives that they are trying to create.

Alameddine's failing narrators are, thus, the postmodern versions of the beautiful Shahrazad, whose modern tales always begin and never end, desperately searching for a "Sharayar" to listen. All their ontological anxieties are transferred to their stories; stories that "speak to the tenuousness of storytelling as a foolproof mode of communication by highlighting the inevitable multiplicity that exists in the act of remembering something and then speaking about it" (Salaita, 2011, pp. 47 – 48). While traditional *hakawatis* were sort of entertainers speaking in local cafés and capable of keeping the attention of their audience for weeks, Alameddine's storytellers tell stories which are a reflection of their broken selves in the postmodern milieu; whose "once-upon-a-time" is more a "once-upon-a-timelessness" and whose "and-they-lived-happily-ever-after" turns into a desperate appeal to listen.

The article discusses different aspects of creating and telling Alameddine's stories, as represented by his two novels, *I, the Divine (2001),* and his first post September 11 novel (which is often referred to as his *opus magnum), The Hakawati (2008).* In both novels, the motif of break, split or cleavage has been transferred into the narrative techniques which subvert the traditional understanding of storytelling and storytellers. Literary criticism tends to look at American ethnic writers (be they of Arab, Jewish, Hispanic, etc. origin) through the perspective of culture and identity as well as the tendencies to either identify or non-identify with the culture of their adoptive country. Alameddine's stories suggest a different kind of reading and by doing so, they subvert the Orientalist discourse to nothing else but a work of fiction for if a story belongs to anyone, and if anyone can twist or distort it, then, as Hassan (2011, p. 215) suggests, "it would be folly to claim that any one culture is autonomous, self-identical, uncontaminated by outside influences, or has a monopoly on language or truth." Said's East versus West dichotomy thus turns in Alameddine's narrative into a fictional story itself. Alameddine is a postmodern *hakawati* who strives hard to "cook" in his literary cuisine a story of mixed storylines, mixed characters residing in mixed geographies and the motifs mixed of violence and storytelling; the overall effect being the themes flavored with postmodern spices suggesting different tastes and meanings in those who try to eat them.

Mixed up storylines

At the beginning of a story, there should be some "once upon a time," some launching or starting moment from which the narrator introduces the story to the one who listens; a moment which lays the foundations of the *fabula-sujet* relationship. In Alameddine's fictional projects, this point, which is supposed to

incite the reader's interest, is somehow blurred turning the "once upon a time" into a "once upon a timelessness." The time in its chronological understanding becomes a work of fiction itself evoking Alameddine's very first novel *Koolaids* (1998, p. 4) in which one of its multiple narrators proclaims that "the dimension of time has been shattered, we cannot love or think except in fragments of time." In the same way, the shattered time in the two discussed novels results in a shattered narrative (or narratives).

In his 2001 novel *I, the Divine* whose subtitle bears the name of *A Novel in First Chapters*, the first person narrator, a woman of Lebanese origin, Sarah the "Divine," strives hard to tell her story but is never quite satisfied. As a result, after every first chapter, she starts another first chapter hoping that her next attempt will be more successful. In the end, her narration turns out to be a novel of more than fifty first chapters (including some introductions) written in English, French and dispersed with Lebanese dialect. The foregrounded technique is complicated through the employment of various genres which challenge the process of narration as well as the process of reading. Sarah is sometimes writing a novel, sometimes a memoir. Her account of her introverted sister Lamia has the form of letters which Lamia writes (but never sends) in weak English to their American mother who was sent from Lebanon back to the United States for not giving a son to her husband. In addition to this epistolary form, Sarah also makes an attempt to tell her story through newspaper articles related to the Lebanese Civil War that deeply affected the stories of all the characters in the book. Paradoxically, none of these narrative experiments satisfies the narrator who upon finishing the previous chapter always begins the next chapter one. Intermixing English, French, and Arabic suggests that no language can in a satisfying way express Sarah's experience, her individuality, which is in fact nothing else but her story. The idea of these continual attempts to start with repeated revelations of failure are in-between-the-lines suggested in different parts of the book, such as "the false starts of the Volvo" (2011, p. 236), "The engine caught. I stepped on the gas. The car lurched forward, toward the approaching boy, and died. I tried again. Another false start. The engine caught again and died before I could step on the gas." Sarah's attempts to start the engine are interrupted by a boy with a machine gun who offers her help. Their conversation in the course of fighting gives the reader a clue to the false beginnings in the novel which may be understood through the perspective of the civil war:

"Why are they fighting?"
"Who can remember anymore? Habit, I guess. Nobody knows anything else. They start shooting, forgetting why. They stop. They start in a different

way. They stop again. Try a different attack. They can't seem to be able to finish a battle. It's endless."

"Can't someone get them to stop?"

He shrugged. I guess the question was too silly (2011, p. 237).

This writing technique enables the author to play with time so as to reveal Sarah's story gradually, in small steps, through which the readers can in "small bites" taste and digest Sarah's experience in a way that they would not if her story were told chronologically.

The Hakawati (2008), on the other hand, mixes up different storylines. The novel opens with three quotes that foreground Alameddine's motifs and techniques employed in the process of creating his *opus magnum*. The first quote is taken from al-Tifashi's *Delights of Hearts*, "Praise be to God, who has so disposed matters that pleasant literary anecdotes may serve as an instrument for the polishing of wits and the cleansing of rust from our hearts" (as cited in Alameddine, 2008, p. 3). In Alameddine's novel those "pleasant literary anecdotes" stand for the stories (or "the conditions of language and of all human knowledge") through which the author by means of Osama, one of the narrators of the story, reveals the rust that has gradually covered the wits of his fictional characters and non-fictional readers.

The second quote comes from Javier Marías' *A Heart so White* (1992, p. 136), "Everything can be told. It's just a matter of starting, one word follows another." The quoted statement is reflected in Alameddine's focus on the story which lies at the focal point of his novel. Every experience can be contained within a narrative; the question is the starting point. This statement is subverted in the novel since by getting to the end, we find out that the novel is in fact a cycle. Its first opening words do not tell who the narrator is, "Listen. Allow me to be your god. Let me take you on a journey beyond imagining. Let me tell you a story" (p. 5). On the first page of the novel, we do not have any hint of who that unnamed godlike narrator is. The narrator then continues with a story inspired by *The Thousand and One Nights* about an emir and his wife who had twelve girls but no son. The narrative then shifts to 2003 – the year which Osama, the first person narrator, chooses as his starting point. He comes back to Lebanon from the United States (which he chose as his new homeland upon finishing his studies) so as to visit his father, dying in the local hospital. The hospital also becomes the final scene of the novel which brings the reader back to the beginning. In this final setting, whose distance from the first scene stretches over more than five hundred pages, we find Osama in the hospital, standing next to his father's deathbed telling him a

story (or stories) that have accompanied the reader throughout the whole reading quest and that have been told to Osama by his grandfather (who was a true *hakawati)*, by his uncle Jihad and all other people that he ever encountered. The last words of the novel, in a Finnegans-like-way bring the reader back to the beginning of the story:

"Your father told me that story – one of his best, if you ask me. He also told me how you were born. Do you want me to tell you? He told me all kinds of incredible things about you. He told me how you used to steal meat as it was being fried, how you used to sneak by your mother, grab the lamb from the frying pan and run." I checked his face for a reaction. "Can you hear me?" I closed my eyes briefly. "I know your stories."

His chest kept rising and falling mechanically, systematically.

"And I can tell you my stories. If you want."

I paused, waited.

"Listen." (p. 513)

The irony of these last lines is that Osama's dying father cannot probably perceive his son's narration; there are, however, other people – his friend Fatima, sister Lina and niece Salwa (as well as the reader) – who can. The irony also stems from the father-son relationship that they had as Osama felt much closer to his mother and Uncle Jihad than to his father. Jihad happened to be Osama's most influential storyteller: "Uncle Jihad used to say that what happens is of little significance compared with the stories we tell ourselves about what happens. Events matter little, only stories of those events affect us. My father and I may have shared numerous experiences, but, as I was constantly finding out, we rarely shared their stories, we didn't know how to listen to one another" (p. 450).

Again, the story, the *fabula*, plays the crucial role and the common experience does not guarantee that one's story will be truly shared by all the recipients involved. This idea proves to be at the core of Alameddine's narrative. If Osama's father was not able to listen to his story during his lifetime, there is a small possibility that he will be able to "digest" his son's stories on his deathbed. The listener of Sharazad's stories was her despotic husband Sharayar whose violence was in small "fabula-inspired" steps softened and weakened. Osama is also searching for a listener who would be able to share his experience and digest his story as well as the story of his varied and large Lebanese family striving to survive in the skirmishes of the Lebanese Civil War. Osama's story is composed from a mosaic of other stories from the Bible, The Thousand and One Nights, mythologies, historical and heroic tales, etc. which Osama strives hard to retell by

repeatedly admitting that "[n]o one listens anymore" (p. 9). Da Costa (2008) sees this sequence of storylines as "a disorganized yet lavishly blurbed mass stitched together with deadly platitudes about the magic and mystery of storytelling." This statement, however, fails to see the motifs lying behind Alameddine's narrative techniques. The book may at first sight seem to be lacking any authorial command; however, it is because the novel, despite the fact that it is written in English, is mostly set in the civil-war-driven Lebanon. As argued by Salaita (2007, p. 77), "the political upheaval entailed in the civil war eliminated both temporal and ontological certainties" which affected the seemingly disorganized form of the two novels. Simultaneously, storytelling suggests telling existent stories to the audience while the audience is involved and whenever the audience is involved, there are multiple interpretations involved as well. Talking about "deadly platitudes" is thus quite unfair.

The third quote that opens up the novel is taken from *The Book of Disquiet* written by Fernando Pessoa, "What Hells and Purgatories and Heavens I have inside of me! But who sees me do anything that disagrees with life – me, so calm and peaceful (as cited in Alameddine, 2008, p. 3)?" The "co-existence" of Hells, Purgatories and Heavens is reflected in the characters of the novel who are somehow broken and split by competing ideologies (be they political, religious or philosophical) and who are despite their inner cleavage living their own stories which are sometimes broken, sometimes torn apart but which are not in disagreement with life.

To conclude, what these two novels share are the narrative techniques drawing on the subjective perception of time and the dissonance between individual remembering and retelling. The family histories in both novels prove to be nothing else but the subjective stories of the individuals within those families, composed not just of the microcosm of the inside-the-family storylines but also of the macrocosm of the Lebanese and American settings, religious, historical and mythological tales that have been tormenting and twisting the inner world of the *hakawatis.* While *I, the Divine* could be called "the thousand and one tries to find the right *sujet*" for Sarah's *fabula*; *The Hakawati* resembles "the thousand and one *fabulae"* moving in the cycle of one s*ujet* which is, however, never the same once the reading cycle is completed. Since the relationship between the story and the way in which it is told is mediated through the storyteller who constitutes the tension between the two by selecting a specific narrative mode, to understand the complexity of Alameddine's aesthetics, we now need to focus our attention on the mediators, the storytellers, who are trying to tell their stories to the reader.

Mixed characters residing in mixed geographies

The difference between the narrator and the non-narrator (who is often referred to as a reflector) could be, according to Procházka (2015) expressed through the opposition between telling and showing, "The story is either told by the narrator (Fielding's *Tom Jones*), or the narrator may be partially or totally absent. In the former case, it is telling that prevails, in the latter case showing is the main way" (p. 170). In both discussed novels, the narrator may sometimes seem absent but his (or her) presence is nevertheless always suggested in-between the lines. The narrators of both novels discussed in the present paper are broken in a similar way as the narratives that they are trying to reconstruct from a myriad of stories and memories. What is broken is their understanding of their own roots; their identities split between different ethnicities, religious conceptions, and between the East and the West. All of these "cleavages" complicate their storytelling.

The first thing that Sarah and Osama share is their fake name as well as the fake stories about their roots told to them by their paternal grandfathers. *I, the Divine* is told from the perspective of a woman, Sarah Nour el-Din (which translates as the *light of religion*), named by her grandfather after a famous French stage icon, Sarah Bernhardt, well-known by her nickname "The Divine Sarah." The origin of Sarah's name is discussed in the "first first" chapter of the book, which is quite brief:

"My grandfather named me for the great Sarah Bernhardt. He considered having met her in person the most important event of his life. He talked about her endlessly. By the age of five, I was able to repeat each of his stories verbatim. And I did.

My grandfather was a simple man" (Alameddine, 2001, p. 3)-

It is only much later in her life that Sarah learns that her name is in reality nothing else but a lie repeatedly told to her by her patriarchal grandfather. She becomes his favorite granddaughter because as the third girl in line, she proves to be the medium through which he is able to send her American mother back to the United States and find a proper wife for his son. Sarah's name and her grandfather's tales (which she listens to throughout her childhood) are fake; as is her idea of who she is and where she should go. Consequently, she does not turn out to be a "divine," omniscient narrator, but a subjective, first person one. Despite the fact that she sometimes tries to switch to the third person, especially when she is trying to reconstruct a difficult story which she would rather forget, she still remains the narrator trying to show what she cannot tell.

The irony of the narrator of *The Hakawati,* who is asking the readers to "be [their] god" (Alameddine, 2008, p. 5), is that he is also subverting the idea of an omniscient, all-knowing and godlike third person narrator who, in this case, turns out to be a mere reflection of his first person, subjective perspective – the perspective which is again nothing else but a mixture of the stories of all the characters involved in his story. Similarly, the name of Osama's grandfather suggests the idea of something fake and unreal. As in Sarah's case, Osama's grandfather, who is a professional *hakawati*, exerts significant influence on his grandson. His personal narrative shapes the narratives of all his descendants. Osama's grandfather is called Ismail which his grandson considers predetermined as "[w]hat would you call a son of your maid if you lived in Urfa" (p. 36)? Since Urfa, situated in southern Turkey, close to the Syrian border, is often referred to as the birthplace of Abraham, Osama's statement creates an analogy between his grandfather's story and the story of Abraham's illegitimate son Ismail. Osama's grandfather was the son of an English alcoholic doctor Simon Twinning and his Armenian maidservant. Simon Twinning's legitimate wife would not allow her husband to give his name to the son he had with a servant so the child was called after his mother. When Ismail becomes a professional *hakawati*, a *bey* hires him and names him "Al-Kharrat" which translates as fibster because "When he [the bey] inquired after my grandfather's background, the young Ismail provided three different improbable tales in a row. On the spot, the bey hired my grandfather to be his fool, and from that point on referred to him as "al-kharrat," the fibster, or "hal-kharrat," that fibster…Since my grandfather had no papers, no documented father, the bey called in favors, paid bribes, and offered his boy a new birth certificate, baptizing him with a fresh name, Ismail al-Kharrat" (p. 36 – 37)-

The name pointed to the grandfather's job of the *hakawati* whose origin brings forward the idea of a lie as suggested by Osama himself:

" What is a hakawati, you ask? Ah, listen.

A hakawati is a teller of tales, myths and fables (hekayât). A storyteller, an entertainer. A troubadour of sorts, someone who earns his keep by beguiling an audience with yarns. Like the word "hekayeh" (story, fable, news), "hakawati" is derived from the Lebanese word "haki," which means "talk" or "conversation." This suggests that in Lebanese the mere act of talking is storytelling" (p. 36).

The idea of beguiling the audience is foregrounded by the family name invented for their paternal grandfather. It also points to Osama himself for he,

too, plays the role of the *hakawati* of the story relying on his blurred memories of the tales he has heard throughout his lifetime and striving hard to reconstruct the fragmented recollections of the past.

What Sarah and Osama share besides their fake names and influential paternal grandfathers is their mixed identity foregrounded by their Lebanese origin. Both of them come from fairly well-to-do Lebanese families of mixed ethnic and religious background. Their financial background enables them to sojourn between the East and the West – the fact which complicates their "who-am-I-dilemma."

Sarah is a daughter of a Lebanese Druze father and an American mother. As she recounts in one of her first chapters, when her father and mother fell in love with each other, her father's Druze family did everything possible to break up the relationship. Despite the fact that her mother became a true Druze woman, adjusting to the traditions of the family, "[o]ne could not convert to the religion, but had to be born into it" (Alameddine, 2001, p. 48). As it was not possible to have civil marriages in Lebanon, Sarah's parents got married in Cyprus and this makes Sarah say that "technically, that meant that all their children [including herself] were bastards." Osama's background is even more complicated, having English, Armenian as well as Lebanese roots. From a religious perspective, he is Druze (like Alameddine's parents) but his sister is a Maronite. His closest friend Fatima is a daughter of an Iraqi Christian father and an Italian Jewish mother. This multiethnic origin stresses the Lebanese setting incorporating a myriad of cultures, ethnic groups and religious confessions.

Furthermore, both Sarah and Osama move between Lebanon and the United States, their adoptive country, a fact which complicates their narratives even more. As an adult, Sarah constantly shuttles between the USA and Lebanon and, as Fadda-Conrey (2009, p. 164) argues, this commuting to her homeland and back to the USA enables her to enact "physical and ideological negotiations of both cultures that are deeply informed by an anti-nostalgic critical standpoint." As an adult, Sarah takes a quizzical standpoint to both Lebanon and the USA, complicating the idea of belonging or identifying within specific spatial or cultural boundaries. Sarah is split between those two cultures in the same way as her narrative which makes her confess: "I have been blessed with many curses in my life, not the least of which was being born half Lebanese and half American. Throughout my life, these contradictory parts battled endlessly, clashed, never coming to a satisfactory conclusion. I shuffled ad nauseam between the need to belong to my clan, being terrified by loneliness and terrorized of losing myself in

relationships. I was the black sheep of my family, yet an essential part of it" (Alameddine, 2001, p. 229).

Sarah's narration is split between the ideas of American individualism and Arab collectivism, the first represented by her American mother, the second by her Arab father. Her quest for independence is, however complicated by her desire to belong somewhere so as not to be labeled as "the other". This makes her proclaim that her "American patina covers an Arab soul" (p. 229).

Osama, too, selects America for his new homeland. Upon finishing his studies in California, he takes up a job in an American company. His split self is reflected in his preference for a specific musical instrument. As a child, he is fascinated by the oud, a traditional Middle Eastern pear-shaped instrument. His talent is further developed by Istez Camil, who used to accompany the greatest Arab musical icon, Umm Khoultum. Osama is, however, very often reprimanded that he plays well but cannot feel the music. Once, his teacher tells him, "You're hitting the right notes, but there's more to this than that….You have to be more honest with yourself. You have to" (Alameddine, 2008, p. 209); Osama reacts by saying, "I'm playing well,....., This is who I am." When a Kuwaiti later tells him that his oud "is for old-fashioned Arabs" (p. 211); Osama decides to change the oud for its descendant, the guitar, and begins to play American music. His decision to identify with a new instrument foreshadows his future decision to live in the United States.

Furthermore, there is another break within the personality of the two narrators. Both Sarah and Osama are somehow lost in their relationships. Sarah, who has been divorced twice, is unable to maintain her relationship with David, her American lover. Her mother commits suicide and her sister Lamia is put under the forced medical supervision after having killed seven patients in hospital. Osama, on the other hand, does not have any wife. Like his favorite uncle Jihad, he is a homosexual but his sexual orientation is just suggested in-between the lines and never treated directly. Osama's mother suggests Jihad's sexual orientation to her son only indirectly: "Do you think for a moment that Jihad fell in love with me or I fell in love with him? Please. No matter what Farid [Osama's father] and Jihad might have ardently wished to believe, no one was ever fooled. I recognized – oh, what shall we call it? – his special ability to be best friends with women, the instant I saw his impish grin from across the room. My God, how could I not, given the way he crossed his legs or what he did with his hands? No one would talk about it, but that didn't mean anyone was fooled" (p. 418).

Like his uncle, Osama leads a celibate life in the United States which is not discussed in the novel at all. This multilayered ethnic, religious, cultural, and sexual break in the identities of the two narrators is intensified by the motifs mixed of violence and storytelling, which are present in both novels.

Motifs mixed of violence and storytelling

Both books share a number of common motifs recurrent in the narratives and affecting the two narrators. One of the most prominent ones is the motif of violence which goes hand-in-hand with the Lebanese Civil War – a long-term conflict affecting both Nour al-Din and al-Kharrat family. The civil war, stretching over two decades of Lebanese history, deeply affected the narrators themselves. Salaita (2007) argues that this long chain of skirmishes in the multiethnic society of Lebanon should guide the reading of Alameddine's fiction. Lebanese society has always been referred to as sectarian, multireligious, multiethnic and multicultural and, as Salaita (p. 72) suggests, "[t]he polyphonic nature of the Lebanese Civil War undoubtedly has led to the polyphonic fictive depictions of it (intratextually as well as intertextually)." The violence accompanying the civil war shattered the lives of the narrators in the same way as it shattered their narratives. Besides other things, the civil war also brought about the ignorance of law. It is at this time that Sarah takes a taxi which changes her life and becomes the starting point of the rupture that splits up her whole narrative. On that day, Sarah is kidnapped and gang-raped; an experience which she repeatedly tries to tell but in the end manages only to show – in the second half of the novel and in the third person. Once, she tries to tell this story in French but fails. Another time, she decides to use a sort of a prose poem filled with metaphorical language but fails again. Her short sentences which are often cut and lack predicates, foreshadow the rape scene:

"I wore a black linen dress.
The linen was perfect for the weather, but the color was not.
The dress was covered with tiny colorful flowers, a happy motif.
The black was a stark contrast to my skin.
The dress exposed my shoulders, which the sun attacked mercilessly.
Merciless. That evening was merciless.
I watched the cars drive by. No taxis in sight" (Alameddine, 2001, p. 113)-

It is precisely on this evening that Sarah, aged sixteen, is kidnapped and raped. The short sentences create a regular rhythm as if Sarah, the first person narrator, wanted to bring order to this part of her story which is, paradoxically, the source of the greatest rupture. The hot, merciless sun foreshadows Sarah's

merciless experience which later affects all her future relationships. But at this point, she fails in her storytelling attempt; the last sentences of the chapter just discuss her dress and the sea, "The dress was French, bought from a catalogue. I loved it. I looked at the sea behind me, oblivious to the play of colors" (p. 114). Sarah finally succeeds in communicating her harsh experience in the second half of the book, in the chapter called *Spilt Wine*, and this third person account suddenly reveals the main motif that lies behind the novel in first chapters. The name of the chapter evokes a conversation that Sarah has with her father who once compared a boy's sexuality to a plastic tablecloth:

"If a carafe of wine is spilled on it, you can easily wipe it off. A girl's sexuality, on the other hand, is like fine linen, much more valuable. If a carafe of wine is spilled on it, it will never come off. You can wash it and wash it, but it will never be the same" (p. 127).

The motifs lying behind Sarah's continuous attempts to start her narrative are at this point of the novel put under more light. Her false starts are, in reality, her attempts to wash the red spots from her linen.

The al-Kharrat family is also affected by the civil war which at one point of the story forces them to leave to the mountains and abandon their apartments. Mrs al-Farouk, the closest friend of Osama's mother, is forced to return back to Italy with her younger daughter Fatima who happens to be Osama's closest friend. Her elder daughter and husband stay in Lebanon and die. Osama's sister Lina gets pregnant with their neighbor Elie, who is the leader of the militia, but never sees him again after their wedding. After the war, the family loses their flat; the neighborhood where they live is completely annihilated. The twenty-five year old violent experience which starts and ends and starts and ends again is thus transferred to the disrupted narratives.

Another motif that is recurring in both books is the narrator's obsession with stories which prove to be a mirror reflection of the language itself. The story and its retelling forms the core of Alameddine's aesthetics evoking Cohan's and Shires' (1988, p. 1) argument that "stories structure the meanings by which a culture lives." Throughout both books, there are multiple metafictional digressions pointing to different aspects of storytelling. In *I, the Divine*, Sarah, a successful visual artist, decides to write a novel but continuously fails. Very often, she directly addresses her readers stating that she wants to tell them her story. Sometimes, she considers her love story unbelievable, "If I were to write our love story, no one would believe it. My real-life story is unbelievable" (Alameddine, 2001, p. 111). Other times, she explains she just wants somebody to note what happened, "I want to tell you my story, not to show how I was hurt, though I was.

I simply want someone to note what happened" (p. 115). Sarah feels tense whenever she opens her manuscript:

"I drag my forefinger across the computer touchpad to eliminate the carnivorous fish. Out pops my manuscript. My manuscript. Mine. I tense, feel a knot building in my right shoulder. I feel about to faint.

I stand up and put on my coat. I will walk across the street for a coffee, something to ease the tension. I stretch my back" (p. 240).

As a visual artist, Sarah is obsessed with perfectly regular shapes. Her painting with Cadmiun red bars on titanium white background irritates her only because "[t]he second lowest bar on the right is not a perfect rectangle, which tilts the whole painting. Few people realize that. The eye always fills in the imperfections. Eleven perfect rectangles; the twelfth must be as well" (p. 239). Her obsession with regularity disables her to express her experience in language, which is unpredictable. Her continual attempts to tell her story prove to be a chain of constant failures. Since her identity is broken in multiple ways, her narrative is also ruptured, chaotic, irregular and, therefore, it could be equaled with an irritable "quest for a fictional form to reflect trauma and self-invention" (Jaggi, 2002).

Compared to *I, the Divine*, *The Hakawati* could be considered a sort of a "fictional metafiction" for what combines all the storylines – the story of the al-Kharrat family, the story about emir and his wife, Fatima, Baybars, etc. – is the narrative and the process of its remembering, retelling as well as its narrator (or *hakawati*). The story thus becomes the most significant leitmotif as every character is nothing but the story itself; every event, skirmish, conflict is nothing but its own reflection in the story because a *hekayat* (tale) matters more than the event itself. When Osama listens to one of Jihad's stories about Genghis Khan, he has hard time believing him and after he asks him if he should trust him, his uncle answers, "Never trust the teller…trust the tale" (Alameddine, 2008, p. 206). The tale, the story, thus becomes the most important drive of the novel. The narrative moves from one tale to another as if it was a sort of a postmodern version of *The Thousand and One Nights.* It is a story within a story. Not only the members of the Al-Kharrat family but also the characters in their narratives are obsessed with stories. When emir's wife is giving birth to her son, her husband is telling her a story about Baybars, an Arab hero. Later, we learn that it is, in fact, Uncle Jihad, who is telling Baybar's tale to his nephew Osama. At the same time, Baybars himself is telling his story to his audience, "And Prince Baybars told the stories of his grandfather and his father, and those of his mother, and those of his uncles.'This is who I am,' he finally said" (p. 242). The man is seen as a fabric

woven from a myriad of stories from his past and present. The story is what he is. However, the man does not possess the story which can, consequently, take many different forms as it is subject to multiple interpretations. The character of Baybars gives the reader a significant hint to understanding Alameddine's masterpiece. When Uncle Jihad gives his own account of Baybars, he subverts him, eventually turning him into a mere fictional masquerade created by "an army of hakawatis" (p. 441):

"You see, the story of the story of Baybars is in some ways more interesting. Listen. Contrary to what my father and most people believe, the only true event in that whole story, in all its versions, is that the man existed. Everything else has been distorted beyond recognition. Al-Malik al-Zahir Rukn al-Din Baybars al-Bunduq-dari al-Salihi owes his fame to his talent for public relations, without which his reign might have been reduced to a historical footnote" (p. 440).

Another function of the tale is that is remodels reality creating a new, alternative one, eventually planting roots for a certain philosophy or ideology. In an ironic way, Jihad draws a parallel between Baybars and the existent Arab political milieu, satirizing Arab politicians who are creating similar stories as Baybars and his *hakawatis* did: "He [Baybars] was definitely a marketing hero. Baybars consolidated his power and created a cult of personality by paying, bribing, and forcing an army of hakawatis to promulgate tales of his valor and piety… He was the precursor to all Arab presidents we have today" (p. 441).

Like many other Arab American writers, Alameddine, too, includes politics in his writing. According to Layton (2010, p.10), "Whether explicitly or implicitly, the political environment of a post-September 11 world has influenced writers living in the United States, Arab Americans to a greater extent than others." For Alameddine, the problem of the Arab world (as well as the problem of the Western world) resides in the stories, that we may call ideologies, which are often mutually contradictory but which do not reflect the reality as every story is a mere creation of the *hakawati*, who likes to beguile his audience.

Consequently, the motif of storytelling shows different aspects of stories. A story never exists on its own, it is always created from the stories that the *hakawati* has heard (or invented) before. There is a striking similarity between Alameddine's understanding of a storyteller and Barthes' conception of the author. In *Notes and Acknowledgements* to *The Hakawati*, Alameddine argues that "a storyteller is a plagiarist" (p. 515) and in the following lines, he gives the reader a list of sources that were included in his books: *A Thousand and One Nights,* the Old Testament, the Koran, *The Ring of the Dove, Iliad* – to mention just

a few. Similarly, Roland Barthes in his famous work *The Death of the Author* (1967, p. 4) claims that a text "is a space of many dimensions, in which are wedded and contested various kinds of writing, no one of which is original: the text is a tissue of citations, resulting from the thousand sources of culture." In the same way as the author is dead so that the reader should live; for Alameddine, not the teller but the tale should be trusted. Despite the fact that it was woven from the thousand and one other stories of culture that were remembered, retold, and reshaped, it is the story that matters for "Reality never meets our wants, and adjusting both is why we tell stories" (Alameddine, 2008, p. 434); and if you pretend to be another hero, in one instant, you acquire "a new story, a new family, a new identity, and gifts, many gifts (p. 436)"; and still, if you suffer, the *hakawati* can "ease your suffering" (p. 321). The last component necessary for the storytelling to be successfully communicated is the recipient, the listener or the reader; the call for whom both opens and closes *The Hakawati* or, rather, it connects its beginning with its end creating a cycle of reading interpretations which are never the same once the cycle is completed.

Conclusion: Themes flavored with postmodern, antiorientalist spices

Coming back to literary cooking, Alameddine himself, in *Notes and Acknowledgements* to *The Hakawati*, gives his own recipe of how to prepare a book by drawing a parallel with coffee: "Everything one comes across – each incident, book, novel, life episode, story, person, news clip – is a coffee bean that will be crushed, ground up, mixed with a pinch of salt, boiled thrice with sugar, and served as a piping-hot tale. A brief list of sources that provided the most beans: *A Thousand and One Nights* (uncensored), Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the Old Testament, the Koran, W. A. Clouston's *Flowers from a Persian Garden,* Italo Calvino's *Italian Folktales*, Kalila wa Dimma (uncensored), Ahmad al-Tifashi's *The Delight of Hearts*, Ibn Hazm's *The Ring of the Dove*, Mahmoud Khalil Saab's *Stories and Scenes from Mount Lebanon*, Homer's *Iliad*, Jim Crace's *The Devil's Larder*, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, Ida Alamuddin's *Maktoob*, Shakespeare's plays, numerous Internet folktale sites, and quite a few books of Syrian and Lebanese folktales bought for pennies from street vendors" (p. 515).

The beans in Alameddine's literary coffee cup come from both Western and Eastern literary traditions; they are Islamic to the same extent as they are Christian or Druze. Some beans are American, some are Lebanese – but, what is America and what is Lebanon? The plantations where they were grown were located in England, Turkey, Armenia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Belgium, etc. for these are the original roots of the people and stories that were forming the storytelling of

the narrators of the two novels. This makes Curiel (2008) proclaim that *The Hakawati* "is a kind of East-meets-West comedic clash of cultures." The literary coffee prepared from these beans creates the themes soaked in postmodern spices. Osama grows up hearing tales from all the above mentioned sources; the Biblical story of Abraham and his son Isaac as well as the Koranic story of Abraham and his son Ismail; Fatima's encounter with *Efreet Jehannan* as well as the story of how his grandfather became a *hakawati*; the story of his neighbors killed in the skirmishes of the Lebanese Civil War as well as the love story of how his father met his mother. Moreover, as Crossen (2008) suggests, some of the stories that Osama listens to "come directly from Mr. Alameddine's Technicolor imagination." All of these sources create his own story. The story thus equals identity. Since each person has his or her own, individual story, which is the result of multiple interpretations of the people one encounters, the tales one reads, the events one has to face…, the question of objective truth, ideology or religion is subverted to a mere fiction itself.

I, the Divine is also soaked in "postmodern sauces" because Alameddine in a similar way "addresses personal dislocation by constructing a text that defies fixedness and postulates the implausibility of cleaving to a centre" (Garrigós, 2009, p. 189). This turns the center-periphery opposition of the East versus West dichotomy into "a mission impossible." In her final *Introduction*, Sarah is watching a PBS nature documentary about lions while contemplating on the reasons why she is having trouble with her memoir, "I was having trouble with my memoir, not being able to figure out how to attack it" (Alameddine, 2001, p. 306). The word "memoir" evokes memories while the word "attack" implies violence suggesting that Sarah's recollections of the past resist her constant attempts to control them and put them in order. The PBS documentary suddenly provides her with an epiphany. It shows "a story" of a lion pride in which a new male assumes dominance, forcing his predecessor to leave and subsequently killing his offspring. Sarah's initial shock upon seeing her favorite lion cub Ginny killed suddenly turns into a revelation, "If I wanted to know about *lion*, I had to look at the entire pride" (p. 308). In other words, her constant attempts to tell her individual story could not be successful because her individual story is not her own story, but the story of her family, friends and relationships. Consequently, what was wrong from the beginning was the title of the memoir that Sarah was trying to write. *I, the Divine*, the glorifying deification of the individual, is subverted and mocked. However, as Hassan (2011, p. 211) suggests, "the implicit acceptance of patriarchal violence as a fact of nature deepens instead of resolves

the problem. Consequently, this resolution remains yet another draft that may well be discarded like those that preceded it…"

Most Arab American authors tackle the problem of Orientalism by either identifying with the West, with the East or staying somewhere in-between. Alameddine's coffee cup rejects the mere idea of the Orientalist dichotomy. In the same way as a story may bring about multiple meanings, interpretations or reactions because it is just a chain of quotations from other sources; the ideology or philosophy that someone is something with defined Eastern or Western borders is a mere fiction. The idea is stressed by Sarah's and Osama's multiethnic, multireligious and multicultural background. It is also suggested by Osama's grandfather who criticizes his father's didactic tales: "Stories with obvious moral lessons are like eels in a wooden crate. They slither over and under each other, but never leave the tub. In my day, I told some of the same stories, but mine soared. His problem was that he believed. Belief is the enemy of a storyteller" (p. 61).

Consequently, those stories that people call ideologies or philosophies are nothing more than the eels that never leave the tub. The tub which stands for nothing else than the mind of the recipient (the reader or the listener). Alameddine's "and-they-lived-happily-ever-after" is thus turned into a desperate appeal to listen. This open ending (which is at the same time the beginning of the novel) deconstructs all seemingly well-defined messages as it is through listening to (or reading) other people's stories that the recipient becomes aware of the multitude of meanings and interpretations that a single storytelling attempt (which in Lebanese equals an act of communication) can offer. Storytelling implies the receptive skill of listening combined with a productive skill of speaking. Telling a story cannot exist without remembering and memory never has well-defined borderlines. Using "listen" as the inciting as well as the enclosing word of the book opens up multiple interpretative possibilities for the recipients, evoking "our post-Postmodern situation" which "has served to remind us that there are never final answers (Ruland & Bradbury, 1991, p. xx). The "ah moment," the great ending, is thus unexpectedly hidden in the mere act of listening. Alameddine's play with the reader (who has gone through more than five hundred pages just to be asked to "listen") evokes Uncle Jihad's words that he addresses to Osama somewhere in the middle of the book, "So you ask, why am I telling you a story without a great ending? Because, as in all great stories, the end is never where you expect it to be" (Alameddine, 2008, p. 344). The act of storytelling implies a tension that exists between one's experience and one's memory of that experience. In her essay, The *Relentlesness of Memory*, another

Arab American writer, Elmaz Abinader (2004, p. 110), argues: "The moment of experience transforms immediately from event to memory. The evolution of that instant never ends. Each time a story is told, something changes. The difference may be as subtle as an intonation or as pronounced as time or place. Memory is not to be trusted for it is unstable and is affected by perspective, character and consequence".

The irony of the "listen" appeal is that Osama addresses it to the reader, not the listener of the traditional storytelling evenings at Arab cafés. He is asking the reader to listen to his story as if the written word depended on auditory senses; as if he was trying give a solid and well-defined visual form to his dispersed memories – an attempt which is destined to a constant failure as "Truth nor story can be written in stone; each dies when petrified" (Spaulding, 2011).

Acknowledgment & Permissions

References
Abinader, E. (2004). The Relentlessness of Memory. In S. M. Darraj (Ed.), *Scheherazade's Legacy: Arab and Arab American Women on Writing* (pp. 109 – 119). Westport: Praeger.

Alameddine, R. (1998). *Koolaids.* London: Abacus.

Alameddine, R. (2001). *I, the Divine: A Novel in First Chapters.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Alameddine, R. (2008). *The Hakawati.* New York: Anchor Books.

Barthes, R. (1967). *The Death of the Author.* Retrieved from http://www.tbook.constantvzw.org/wp-content/death_authorbarthes.pdf

Cohan, S., & Shires, L. M. (1988). *Telling Stories: A Theoretical Analysis of Narrative Fiction.* London: Routledge.

Crossen, C. (2008, April 26). A New "Arabian Nights": A novel of Life in the Middle East Relies on the Art of Storytelling. *The Wall Street Journal.* Retrieved from http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB120916642423246209

Curiel, J. (2008, April 29). Alameddine. *San Francisco Chronicle.* Retrieved from http://www.sfgate.com/entertainment/article/Alameddine-3217366.php

Da Costa, D. (2008, April 22). Let Me tell You a Story... [Review of the book *The Hakawati*]. Observer. Retrieved from http://observer.com/2008/04/let-me-tell-you-a-story/

Fadda-Conrey, C. (2009). Transnational Diaspora and the Search for Home in Rabih Alameddine's *I, the Divine: A Novel in First Chapters*. In L. Al Maleh (Ed.), *Arab Voices in Diaspora: Critical Perspectives on Anglophone Arab Literature* (pp. 163 – 185)*.* Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Garrigós, C. (2009). The Dynamics of Intercultural Dislocation Hybridity in Rabih Alameddine's *I, the Divine*. In L. Al Maleh (Ed.), *Arab Voices in Diaspora: Critical Perspectives on Anglophone Arab Literature* (pp. 187-201). Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Hamilton, R. (2011). *The Last Storytellers: Tales from the Heart of Morocco.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hassan, W. S. (2011). *Immigrant Narratives: Orientalism and Cultural Translation in Arab American and Arab British Literature.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Jaggi, M. (2002, September 21). I, the Divine [Review of the book *I, the Divine*]. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from: http://www.theguardian.com/books/2002/sep/21/featuresreviews.guardianreview13

Layton, R. (2010). *Arab American and Muslim Writers.* New York: Chelsea House.

Lyden, J. (2008, May 18). The Pull of the "Hakawati". All Things Considered. *Podcast.* Podcast retrieved from http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=90576250&ft=1&f=1008

Marías, Javier. (1992). *A heart so white.* New York: New Directions Books.

Procházka, M. (2015). *Literary Theory: An Historical Introduction.* Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.

Ruland, R., & Bradbury, M. (1991). *From Puritanism to Postmodernism: A History of American Literature.* New York: Penguin Books.

Salaita, S. (2007). *Arab American Literary Fictions, Cultures, and Politics.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Salaita, S. (2011). *Modern Arab American Fiction: A Reader's Guide.* New York: Syracuse University Press.

Spaulding, A. E. (2011). *The Art of Storytelling: Telling Truths through Telling Stories.* Lanham: The Scarecrow Press.

The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night (vol. 1). (1964). London: Routledge.

Zughaib, H. (2009). Stories My Father Told Me: The Personal Narrative in Visual Arts. In H. Arida, & A. Ameri (Eds.), *Etching Our Own Image: Voices from Within the Arab American Art Movement* (pp. 132-156). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Contact
PhDr. Zuzana Tabačková, PhD.
Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra
Dražovská 4,
949 74 Nitra, Slovakia,
ztabackova@ukf.sk

DE GRUYTER
OPEN

Suffering wives: Miller's Linda and Mahfouz's Amina

Atef Abdallah Abouelmaaty
Aljouf University, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
atef.abulmaaty@yahoo.com

Abstract
The theme of suffering female characters has been the interest of both the drama and the novel of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among those who are interested in the matter are the Noble Prize winners Arthur Miller and Naguib Mahfouz in *Death of a Salesman* (1949) and *Palace Walk* (1956). Both of Miller's Linda and Mahfouz's Amina have greatly suffered at the hands of their tyrannical husbands Willy Loman and Al-Sayyid Ahmad Abd-Elguaad respectively. The main aim of this paper is to study the sources, forms, and consequences of the sufferings of both Miller's Linda and Mahfouz's Amina, and to place their sufferings against the current beliefs of the age in which they lived. The reason behind choosing these two characters is that they look like each other in many ways. First, they are reliable, trusted wives and mothers who are dedicated to the welfare of their families. Second, they face the same inherently patriarchal cultures and suffer the same misogyny. Third, they are different from other tragic wives like Shakespeare's Desdemona, who are created to meet Aristotle's tragic requirements.
Keywords
comparative literature, Suffering Wives, Miller's Linda, Mahfouz's Amina

The theme of suffering female characters has been the interest of both the drama and the novel of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During that period, as Gail Finney believes, "the first feminist movement was challenging the traditional view that women are fundamentally different from and subordinate to men" (Preface, ix). Among those who are interested in the matter are the Noble Prize winners Arthur Miller and Naguib Mahfouz in *Death of a Salesman* (1949)[30] and *Palace Walk* (1956).[31] Both of Miller's Linda and

---

[30]All references to Miller's play are from the Anglo Egyptian Bookshop Edition, Cairo, 1999.

Mahfouz's Amina have greatly suffered at the hands of their tyrannical husbands Willy Loman and Al-Sayyid Ahmad Abd-Elguaad respectively. Willy himself acknowledges this fact when he tells his brother Ben that "the woman has suffered" (p. 125). This shows that Linda's suffering is the main key to understand her character. Truly, she has suffered Willy's "mercurial nature, his temper, his massive dreams and little cruelties" (p. 30). In like manner, Mahfouz's Amina is "docile, long-suffering, affectionate- it was how God made woman" (Enright, 1990, p. 45). She has "suffered unbearable torments" (p. 10) at the hands of her tyrannical husband Al-Sayyed Ahmad Abd-Elguaad, who treated her merely as a maid servant who had no right even to discuss his corrupt behavior. The woman is not only belittled and scorned by her tyrannical husband, but also by her stepson Yasin, whose degraded view of women in general reflects the dilemma of the Arab woman at that time: "A woman. Yes, she is nothing but a woman. Every woman is a filthy curse. A woman doesn't know what virtue is, unless she's denied all opportunities for adultery. Even my stepmother, who's a fine woman - God only knows what she would be like if it weren't my father" (p. 81).

The main aim of this paper is to study the sources, forms, and consequences of the sufferings of both Miller's Linda in *Death of a Salesman* (1949) and Mahfouz's Amina in *Palace Walk* (1956), and to place their sufferings against the current beliefs of the age in which they lived. The reason behind choosing these two characters is that they look like each other in many ways. First, they are reliable, trusted wives and mothers who are dedicated to the welfare of their families. Second, they face the same inherently patriarchal cultures and suffer the same misogyny. Third, they are different from other tragic wives like Shakespeare's Desdemona, who are created to meet Aristotle's tragic heroines' requirements.

In Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, Linda, a sixty-year-old wife, greatly loves, admires, and supports her sixty-three-year old husband in spite of his cruelty and barbarity towards her. This nature of the man has resulted from his failure to achieve dreams of success for himself and his family, especially his elder son Biff, whom he considers the victim of his own moral degradation. For when Biff was a high school student, now a thirty-four-year old wandering boy, he discovered his father's secret relationship with a whore. The result of the incident was disastrous to Biff as he lost faith in his father and everything in life and failed in his education. Linda, ignorant of the incident, greatly suffers to reconcile both

---

[31] All references to Mahfouz's novel are from The American University Press Edition, Cairo, 1989.

father and son, but in vain. The incident greatly haunts and torments Willy's mind together with another incident. In the past, due to Linda's suggestion, Willy declined his brother's offer to find a new life in Alaska, preferring to live a steady, calm life as a salesman than starting a risky enterprise. Now he, after thirty-six years' work for his company, is fired from his job, and is not able to face everyday life financial needs. The tragedy amounts and Linda bitterly suffers to support and protect her dead-tired husband but, again, in vain. After many unsuccessful attempts to commit suicide, Willy finally puts an end to his life to compensate for his failure of achieving dreams of success for himself and his own family. This is because, he thinks, Biff will be provided with a sum of twenty thousand dollars in insurance money.

Palace Walk is the first book of Mahfouz's *Cairo Trilogy*, the other two being *Palace of Desire* and *Sugar Street*. The novel's Arabic title is "bayn al- qasrayn", literally "between the two palaces". The novel is named after a street in the district of Gamaliyya, Cairo, and covers a historical period of two years from 1917 to 1919. In the novel, Amina is a forty-year-old wife, much younger than Linda, and, like Linda, greatly suffers her husband's dictatorship and insults. Every night, she wakes up late to meet and serve her reveling husband, a forty-five-year-old successful shopkeeper, who used to come back home drunk, having enjoyed wine, women, and song. Amina is content with her lot, despite the fact that she spent twenty five years imprisoned at her husband's house, which she is not allowed to leave alone even for prayers at the nearby mosque, and even if she is properly veiled. To escape her present dilemma, Amina's interest is directed towards the house roof where she can smell some air of freedom, the oven room where she practices her sovereignty as a cook woman, and, more important, her family where she practices her role as a mother. There are five children. The play boy Yasin, the eldest, is not Amina's, but the son of a previous wife who rebelled against Al-Sayyed Ahmad's dictatorship. Yasin also marries a rebelled wife and the marriage collapses as the wife divorces him due to his taking after his father in his personal gratification. Fahmy is a university student who is engaged in the national struggle for change in spite of his father's objection. Kamal, the youngest member of the family, is still a schoolboy. There are two daughters: the serious, shrewd Khadija, already twenty when the novel begins; and skinny, beautiful Aisha, a sixteen-year-old romantic girl. Al-Sayyed Ahmad demands complete, blind submission from his family, and also demands complete adherence to Islamic principles and traditions, while he permits himself to stay out late at night to practice forbidden pleasures, especially enjoying wine, music and prostitutes. Amina represses her jealousy and grief and behaves almost ignorant

of the whole matter, considering it a characteristic of true manhood. The novel explores this theme of dictatorship and its consequences of submission and suffering, especially the relationship between the husband and his family, the husband and his friends, the interrelationships of the family members, and the family affairs, especially the children's marriage. It ends with what seems to be a promise of success for the 1919 revolution against the British occupation, a revolt against submission in its political sense.

Bearing the foregoing background in mind, we meet three types of women represented in Miller's *Death of a Salesman* and Mahfouz's *Palace Walk*. The first are the suffering, those who sacrifice their own freedom and convenience to secure their own husbands and children. Linda and Amina belong to this category. The second are the rebels, those who could not submit to and challenge their husbands' supreme authority, so they sacrifice their families' stability to gain their freedom. Al-Sayyed Ahmad's first wife and also Yasin's belong to this category. The last type of women represented in the two works are the whores, the prostitutes who are created to satisfy the husbands' sensual needs, and who act as rivals to the hard-working, homely, desexualized suffering wives. Willy's mistress and Al-Sayyed Ahmad's Jalila and Zubayda are of that type.

The sources of both Linda's and Amina's sufferings are completely different. That of Linda lies in the fact that "she more than loves" and "admires" (p. 12) her tyrannical, weak, dreamy, prideful, corrupt husband, who "never had an ounce of respect" for her, nor for anyone else in the play (p. 55). He usually belittles her, and whenever she worries about his affairs, he nervously answers her "with casual irritation" (p. 13). But to her, he is "the dearest man in the world" (p. 37), dearer than her sons, and even herself. Linda does not only greatly love her cruel and insulting husband, but never belittled him for being low, poor, and unattractive (p. 56). On the contrary, she adores and makes him the center of her life, in spite of being "a pathetic fool", "vulgarian" and "even barbaric" (Foster, 1961, p. 84).

Thus, Linda's suffering stems from the fact that she adores her sixty-three-year-old disabled husband. As Linda herself puts it, "the man is exhausted" (p. 65). Truly, he is exhausted physically, as he is "tired to the death" (p. 13); mentally as he is lost in a torment of dreams and despairs, or as he himself confesses: "I have such strange thoughts" (p. 14); socially as "no one welcomes him" (p. 57); financially as he lost his income and is no longer able to earn his living (p. 57); and even morally as he betrayed his wife with the Boston woman (p. 110-20). This exhaustion led the man to have his "mercurial nature, his temper, his massive dreams, and little cruelties" (p. 12), and consequently to

Linda's suffering. In this respect, Miller summarizes Linda's situation as follows: "She regards Willy as being very brittle, very easily destroyed, and she's got to prop him up or he'll collapse. In a way, it's like someone who is dealing with a sick person. She's trying to keep bad news away from him lest he be destroyed by it" (Kullman, 1998, p. 6).

Miller's words refer to many facts concerning Linda's suffering. First, she regards her husband as a disabled son who does not only need medical care, but also kindness, warmth, and sacrifice. She is, in the words of James E. Walton, the "ever protective, ever forgiving, ever solicitous" (p. 56). She tries hard to protect him from all his acquaintances, friends, and even his sons, whom he treats pridefully and scornfully. She forgives his insults as if she were a heavenly angel incarnated in a human being. She solicits him to give him hope for a better future. All these fine virtues are best exemplified when the exhausted Willy goes to bed, asks Linda to sing to him, and Linda "hums a soft lullaby" to make her sick, exhausted husband sleep soundly (p. 68). This fact is absent to the minds of her sons, who are ignorant of the reasons why she is "sitting here and waiting for" (p. 57). By "waiting" she means suffering, an idea which is expressed by T. S. Eliot when he equates waiting with suffering in *Murder in the Cathedral* (p. 240).

But Linda's suffering is "most often jovial" (p. 12). This means that there is a free will in her suffering at the hands of her exhausted husband, who lives in a cruel business, materialistic world in which activity is "conditioned not by what is human, but by goods and cash" (Foster, 1961, p. 83). His life is a business failure because of his refusal to go with his brother to seek a fortune, thinking that "business is bad, it's murderous" (p. 65). He preferred to live humbly as a mere salesman, not to take a risky step towards achieving his dreams of success. That is why he failed in all aspects of his life, and his failure afflicted not only himself, but also the whole members of his family, especially his suffering wife Linda.

Unlike Linda's suffering which resulted from her own deep love and respect for her exhausted husband, Amina's originated from deep fear of her tyrannical husband, who regards his wife as less than a maid servant who deserves all kinds of contempt and abuse. Amina's suffering occupies the mind of Mahfouz, who projects it at the very beginning of his novel. He portrays Amina when she automatically wakes up late after midnight at a time when she should have been asleep to meet and serve her dictatorial, corrupt, drunken husband as follows: "Habit woke her at this hour. It was an old habit she had developed when young and it had stayed with her as she matured. She had learned it along with the other rules of married life. She woke up at midnight to await her husband's

return from his evening entertainment. Then she would serve him until he went to sleep. She sat up in bed resolutely to overcome the temptation posed by sleep. After invoking the name of God, she slipped out from under the covers and onto the floor" (p. 1).

This opening extract tells many facts about Amina's suffering. First, it is unarticulated and silent. This means that Amina, unlike Linda, does not complain about the hardships in her life, nor does any other character in the novel speak directly about the woman's suffering. It is understood, deduced and seen. The main reason behind this is that no one in society recognizes the suffering of the woman who has no rights, only the right to suffer. Nor does she even have the right to articulate her suffering, and if she does, she would incur a great shame to herself, and perhaps severe punishment.

Second, Amina's suffering was a 'habit'. She has learned suffering since she was young. This is due to the social, political, cultural and economic conditions which prevailed not only in the Egypt of that time, but also throughout the whole Arab world. These conditions have connected husbands with dictatorship and wives with complete subservience.

Third, Amina's early Islamic education is responsible for her suffering, being the daughter of a Muslim cleric. Her father, "a religious scholar trained at al-Azharmosque university" taught her, of course, how to submit to her husband (p. 47). This early religious education is clear in her "invoking the name of God", her many Qur'anic recitations, and the various religious references she used throughout the whole novel. Moreover, as El-Enany observes, religion had a great effect on Mahfouz's family and he himself was religiously absorbed (p. 83).

Fourth, Amina's married life has "rules" not to be violated under all conditions. These rules include complete submission to her husband's will, carrying out all his orders, and not to question even his wrong conduct. Otherwise, she would be punished. This is clear when Amina politely questioned her husband's frequent nights out, he tyrannically grabbed her by the ear and shouted: "I'm the one who commands and forbids. I will not accept any criticism of my behavior. All I ask you is to obey me. Don't force me to discipline you" (p. 4). That is why Ibrahim El-Sheikh sees Amina's portrait as "an almost accurate representation of the late 19th and early 20th century Egyptian middle class womanly woman" (p. 96). By "womanly woman" El-Sheikh means, I think, a woman who is reliable, trusted, respected, and, more important, who blindly surrenders to her husband's will without any question. Clearly, she is the woman who suffers for the sake of her husband, her family, and her society. That is why El-Sheikh considers Amina's role as forming "the main pillar on which not only

the family but also the social structure as such rests" (p. 95). This means that Amina does not have any individuality due to the fact that her husband, in the words of Miriam Cooke, "cannot imagine that a woman's function masks an individual" (p. 115). His conception of masculinity, Cooke believes, "is too rigid to accommodate interaction with women on the basis of equality" (p. 108). That is why she is belittled by her husband as a mere woman lacking in mind, not a complete partner in managing the family's affairs. This is clear when Amina dared not give an opinion concerning a suitor asking for her daughter's hand as she is "just a woman, and no woman has a fully developed mind" (p. 156). She left the whole matter to her dictatorial husband. It is he who accepts and rejects, commands and forbids. Even the poor girl dares not give her opinion on her future husband, everything will be decided by her father, and she will be informed of the decision. The view of western woman during that period was the same: "Women at that time were condemned to trivial occupations. It is hardly surprising that women were not permitted to undertake challenging tasks in this period: Victorian physicians and anthropologists believed that female physiological functions delivered roughly 20 percent of women's creative energy from brain activity; that the frontal lobes of the female brain were lighter and less developed than male lobes; and that women were therefore less intelligent than men" (Finney, 1989, p. 2).

That is why Linda is interested in washing clothes (p. 36), mending stockings (p. 39), paying for the refrigerator, the washing machine, and the vacuum cleaner (p. 73-74). But the problem with Linda is that her husband, besides being physically, mentally, financially, morally and socially invalid, has "got no character" (p. 56). He is fat, ugly and unwelcomed by his friends due to his "false pride" and his jealousy of them due to their success (p. 97). In this, Linda is very different from Amina, who completely surrenders to her husband, who is respected, esteemed, and loved by his friends (p. 35). Besides having "strong personality and good looks" (p. 8), he is faithful, sensitive, discern, sincere, pure and having a heart "abounding in love for people, and a soul that was generous in its gallantry and help for others." These rare qualities, Mahfouz continues, made "people vied to enjoy the pleasures of his friendship" (p. 43). That is why Amina completely surrenders to him and even is immensely proud of him.

But Linda struggles hard in order not to let anyone make her husband "feel unwanted and low and blue" (p. 55). She shares his massive dreams and attacks her son for calling him crazy. She prefers him to her sons and even to herself and stubbornly stands by him. Moreover, Linda bolsters Willy's sense of self-importance. She takes off his shoes (p. 13), takes the jacket from him (p. 14), and

is interested in the smallest details in his life: his glasses, handkerchief and saccharine (p. 75).

Another form of Linda's suffering is that she repeatedly lies to Willy to separate him from tragic reality. She is aware that he is fired from the company and "has to go to Charley and borrow fifty dollars a week and pretend to me that it's his pay" (p. 57), but leads him to believe that he adequately provides for her and the family (p. 72). He himself admits that he is "fat" and "very foolish to look at" (p. 37), but she assures him that he is popular as he is "the handsomest man in the world" (p. 37). She is sure that "he's been trying to kill himself" but dares not mention it lest he would be insulted: "I'm ashamed to. How can I mention it to him? ... How can I insult him that way?" (p. 59-60). Willy's friends and even his sons hate and unwelcome him as he is prideful, jealous, and insulting, but to her, he is "too accommodating" (p. 14) and "well liked" (p. 85). Clearly, Linda is deceiving her husband, making him think the thing which he is not. Here Lamya Ramadan sees Linda as a "sales woman, for she sells lies to Willy day and nights about his success which never existed" (p. 284). The following is his true reality as she herself recognizes it: "Willy Loman never made a lot of money. His name is never in the paper. He's not the finest character that ever lived" (p. 57). In short, Linda is trying to mythologize Willy, to make him god-like, or a legend to compensate him of the American dream which he has failed to achieve. But the woman is suffering alone. All other people belittled, unwelcomed, disrespected, and abandoned him, even his sons left him alone at the restaurant and went out with the two superficial women to amuse themselves (p. 121).

Linda's suffering may be regarded as a retribution for her responsibility of Willy's failure to achieve his dreams of success. This is because Ben offered Willy to find a new life in Alaska, and the latter agreed. But Linda declines the offer, considering this a sort of a dangerous adventure: "Why must everybody conquer the world?" (p. 85). To her, living a steady, calm life as a salesman is better than starting a risky enterprise. She convinces Willy that he has "got a beautiful job" and that he is "doing well enough" as a salesman (p. 85). But later on, he discovers that he is deceived. All what he has achieved as a salesman is a great failure, not only for himself, but for his family. He is unable to earn his living and is sacked without pension and compensation. His two sons are also failures: one is a "philandering", the other is a "lazy" bum (p. 16). So, Linda is trying to purge her sin by undergoing the process of suffering for the sake of her husband, whom she discourages, in the words of Barry Gross, from "accepting the one opportunity which would allow him to fulfill his pioneer yearning" (p. 407). Gross even exaggerates saying that Linda "frustrates the pioneer in Willy because she

fears it" lest he would dominate her (p. 407-8). This agrees with the view that Linda wanted Willy to be her puppet to control not only him, but also the whole family. That is why she directs him to go to "tell Howard you've simply got to work in New York?" (p. 14), asks Biff to respect his father or else "not to come here" (p. 55), and reproaches her two sons as "a pair of animals" for humiliating their father (p. 124). In short, she is trying to play the leader of the family, the manager of its affairs, while her husband is nothing but "a hard-working drummer", who is not respected, loved, and honored by anyone in society (p. 132).

As for Amina, her suffering had begun very early as she married before she was fourteen and gave birth to four children before she was twenty-five, a very early time to bear the responsibility for a big family. Now she is forty. Every night she automatically wakes up after midnight to meet and serve her playful husband, who, unlike Willy, is "so wealthy, strong and handsome" (p. 6). He used to come home late and drunk from his evening escapades, while the rest of the family, including the servant Om Hanafi, are enjoying deep sleep. When he arrives home, Amina helps him remove and arrange his clothes, and, like Linda, remove his shoes and socks (p. 8). After placing a basin by her husband's feet, she pours water for him to wash himself. Then he dries his head, face and hands while his wife carries the basin to the bath. This task is "the last of the many duties she performed in the big house". For twenty five years she continued to perform it with "an ardor undimmed by ennui", the reason for which she was called "the bee" by her neighborhood women (p. 9).

Amina, moreover, deeply fears her unsmiling, autocratic and abusive husband, who is used to get angry at home "for the most trivial reasons" (p. 131). Her husband "had shut off in pursuit of all the varieties of love and passion, like a wild bull" (p. 99). As Mahfouz puts it, "nothing was so like his lust as his body, since both were huge and powerful, qualities that bring to mind roughness and savagery" (p. 100). She usually calls him "sir", a title which denotes slavery affection. In this, she is totally different from Linda, who addresses her husband as 'dear' and 'darling', denoting a "motherly, rather than wifely, affection" (Tyson, p. 269). In return, her husband usually calls her "Amina", a mere woman without "a fully developed mind" (p. 156). When he speaks, she lowers her eyes in a kind of submission (p. 10). She dares not sit down beside him or even have a friendly speech with him. Here, as Lamia Ramadan observes, "Mahfouz is an undeniable feminist in disguise, for he explicitly showed how much Arab women could endure in terms of pain and humiliation from men like Sayed" (p. 287). To Rasheed El- Enany, Amina's relationship with her husband "characterized by

total unquestioning acceptance of his authority, is itself the image of the stability of the value system that is the frame for this relationship" (p. 83).

Amina greatly suffered as her husband's moments of tenderness were "fleeting and accidental" (p. 10). Paradoxically, the only moments in which he is more gentle and tender to her were the moments of his return from his partying when he is drunk and talkative (p. 10). She used to enjoy these rare moments of drunken tenderness although she "never forgot to implore God to pardon his sin and forgive him" (p. 10).

Amina is forced to live inside the house walls and not to go out under all conditions: "since antiquity, houses have been for women and the outside world for men" (p. 340). She does not have any contact with the outside world "about which she knew almost nothing" (p. 13). This is exactly the same as the attitude of Linda, who willingly imprisons herself inside her husband's house and does not leave it at any occasion. She does not even attend Biff's dinner at the restaurant because she is totally connected to the house. This is in agreement with the prevailing beliefs that houses represented peace, safety, and shelter for a woman, while the outside world represented danger, toil, and doubt. In this respect, Finney quotes William R. Creg: "The man, in his rough work in open world, must encounter all peril and trial…. But he guards the woman from all this; within the house…need enter no danger, no temptation, no cause of error or offence. This is the true nature of home - it is the place of peace; the shelter, not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division" (p. 3)-

Amina is not even allowed to pray at the mosque. When she did it from behind her husband's back, she did it out of the desire to be free like all other creatures: "It was the pleasure of someone who had spent a quarter of a century imprisoned by the walls of her home, except for a limited number of visits to her mother in al-Khurunfush, where she would go a few times a year but in a carriage and chaperoned by her husband. Then she would not even have the courage to steal a look at the street" (p. 167).

But her desire to smell the air of freedom out of the walls of her prison-home cost her a very high price. She suffered the most shameful punishment to be received by an Egyptian wife during that time: the dismissal out of her husband's house into her parent's. D. J. Enright sees it a "question of pride, of preserving total authority" (p. 46). That is why the punishment falls on her head "like a fatal blow" (p. 195).

The most important consequence of both of Linda's and Amina's suffering is their desexualization. This means that their sexual attractions are completely reduced in favor of their homely duties. Linda is, as Lois Tyson sees her, "the

devoted, sexless wife that good women were required to be in the patriarchal society of her time and place" (p. 268). Though not even sixty, Linda is no longer interested in dying her hair. Biff advices her "to dye it again" as he does not want to see her "looking old" (p. 54-55), the result of which Willy felt "terribly lonely" as "there's nobody to talk to". Here Gail Finney sees the respected woman's desexualization as a current matter of the time, and quotes William Acton: "As a general rule, a modest woman seldom desires any sexual gratification for herself. She submits to her husband, but only to please; and, but for the desire of maternity would far rather be relieved from his attention (p. 4).

That is why Willy throws himself into the arms of the Boston woman, who makes him "feel that he is an important salesman and a powerful man" (Ribkoff, p. 49). It is this disastrous incident that destroys Biff's faith in himself and his father, who turns into "phony little fake" in the eyes of his son (p. 121). Both of them became "so hateful to each other" (p. 54). Linda is not invited by her son to share the meal in the restaurant to act her homely activities. In this she is like Amina, who shares the belief that houses are for women and the outside world for men.

Amina, like Linda, is also completely desexualized. She is belittled and mocked at as a woman whose beauty and mind are incomplete. This disagrees with the taste of her husband, who was "infatuated with feminine beauty in all its flesh, coquetry and elegance" (p. 398). Besides, he used to select his lovers, prepare himself for the occasion and welcome his mistress "with a fragrant atmosphere, redolent of roses, incense, and musk" (p. 399). What is important is that Al-Sayyed Ahmad greatly adored beauty, which Amina lacks, because of its social function: "In his circle beauty and reputation went hand in hand, like an object and its shadow. Beauty was most often the magic wand that opened the door to reputation and noteworthy status (p. 399).

But Amina finds herself lacking in the beauty standards to which her husband yearns, and not able to compete with her husband's most famous entertainers. That is why she raises the white flag and finds her full sovereignty not in the bedroom, but in the ovenroom, exactly like Linda who finds her sovereignty in the kitchen. There, she was "the mother, wife, teacher, and artist everyone respected (p. 14). Her husband, who used to scold her for the most trivial reasons, if he did favor her with praise, would be for a "type of food she prepared and cooked to perfection" (p. 14). In this, Amina, like Linda, belongs to the category which is composed of "sacred, pure mothers and frigid, chaste, respectable wives" not to that of the prostitutes, or women who are "warm, pulsating, seductive, but despised" (El-Saadawi, 1989, p. 166). This is in

agreement with Mondal's opinion that Mahfouz's women are divided into two categories: the "ill repute" who satisfy the male characters with their sexual needs outside the house, and the "respectable" who provide them with their social needs inside the house, to which Amina belongs. That is why Amina is completely desexualized (Mondal, 1999, p. 8-9). Again, this is the reason why Al-Sayyed Ahmad knows what a good, trusted, reliable wife and mother Amina is, and she is totally aware that true manhood involves tyranny, arrogance, and escapades.

Amina tended to be more hypocrite to avoid her husband's punishment. After his severe anger because of her objection to his repeated nights out, she learned to "adapt to everything, even living with the jinn, to escape the glare of his wrathful eye." She is forced to obey him "without reservation or condition", convincing herself that "true manhood, tyranny, and staying out till after midnight were common characteristics of a single entity" (p. 4-5). Amina also dares not voice her inner thoughts to her husband, and negates her own true personality lest she would be punished: "My opinion is the same as yours, sir, I have no opinion of my own" (p. 156). So she has learned how to avoid her husband's anger and gain his rare praise by being more hypocrite, a more bitter consequence of suffering.

Amina, moreover, learned how not to be jealous, a major step in the process of her desexualization. This is again out of fears of being punished, for "a single evil was better than many". For her, jealousy "was no different from the other difficulties troubling her life. To accept them was an inevitable and binding decree. Her only means of combining them was, she found, to call on patience and rely on her inner strength, the one resource in the struggle against disagreeable things" (p. 6).

Amina's calling on patience is an evidence that she is forced not to become jealous. This is because she is non-competitive to other mistresses, who are created to satisfy men's lust. Moreover, Amina accepts the rumors of her husband's relationships with other women as a "characteristic of manliness, like late nights and tyranny" (p. 6). Even when she confided her grief to her mother about her husband's night escapades, she received the answer that urges her to be firm in her suffering: "his father had many wives. Thank our Lord that you remain his only wife" (p. 6). So, she must be patient, either willingly or forcefully.

Finding herself between the hammer of her husband's cruelty and the anvil of strict rules of the patriarchal society in which she suffers, Amina finds resort in the roof of her house, which represents to her a world of freedom and beauty. This roof, "with its inhabitants of chickens and pigeons and its arbour garden,

was her beautiful, beloved world and her favorite place for relaxation out of the whole universe, about which she knew nothing" (p. 34). There, she used to "look at the sky, the limitless space, and the minarets of the Cairo's ancient mosques with devotion, fascination, thanksgiving, and hope" (p. 35). The dearest mosque to her was that of al-Husayn, at which she used to fix her eyes, regretting that "she was not allowed to visit the son of the Prophet of God's daughter, even though she lived only minutes away from his shrine" (p. 35).

In short, Amina suffers in fear of her rich, powerful, abusive, tyrannical husband, to whom she completely surrenders. She sacrifices all her rights of freedom, equality, honor, and respect to secure her husband, sons, family, and society. In this, her suffering represents "the past in its last secure days, the past as it will never happen again" (El-Enany, 1993, p. 83). She represents all our suffering, reliable, hard-working, and respected grandmothers, who had sold the dearest of their rights to purchase our dearest hopes. That is why she receives the fruits of her suffering: the achievement of the Egyptian dream of a prosperous husband, successful sons, a happy family and a stable society.

Linda, on the contrary, suffers in pity of her poor, week, cruel, husband over whom she has complete ascendancy and supremacy. It is true that she struggled hard to support her husband financially. But at the end she fails to save his life. This is because he convinces himself that "his death can restore his prominence in his family's eyes and retrieve for him his lost sense of honor" (Centola, 1993, p. 40). That is why she cannot understand the reason behind it: "Willy, dear, I can't cry. Why did you do it? I search and search and I search, and I can't understand it. Willy I made the last payment on the house today. Today dear. And there'll nobody home….We're free and clear….We're free clear" (p. 139).

What Linda cannot understand is that she wasted all her life in a false suffering. She cannot understand that making "the last payment on the house" and being "free and clear" are not her own responsibility, but that of her husband, whose "vision of success perpetuates crippling feelings of inferiority and inadequacy that drive him to destroy himself" (Ribkoff, 2000, p. 52) . She should have helped him to achieve dreams of "self-reliance and individualism of spirit" which imply "self-sufficiency and personal creativity, not domination of others" (Foster, 1961, p. 86). Linda dominates Willy and hinders him from achieving these values during his life. That is why he tries to achieve them by committing suicide.

References

Centola, S. R. (1993). Family values in "Death of a Salesman". *CLA Journal* 37.1(Sept. 1993), 29-41.

Cooke, Miriam. (1993). Men constructed in the mirror of prostitution. In M. Beard and A. Hayder (Eds.), *Naguib Mahfouz: From regional fame to global recognition* (pp. 106-125). New York: Syracuse University Press.

El-Enany, R. (1993). *Naguib Mahfouz: The pursuit of meaning: A critical study*. London & New York: Routledge.

Eliot, T. S. (1969). *The complete poems and plays of T. S. Eliot*. London: Faber and Faber.

El-Saadawi, N. (1989). *The hidden face of Eve*. Trans & Ed. Sherif Hetata. London: Zed Books.

El-Sheikh, I. (1991). Egyptian women as portrayed in the social novels of Naguib Mahfouz. In T. le Gossick (Ed.), *Critical perspectives on Naguib Mahfouz* (pp. 85-100). New York: Three Continents Press.

Enright, D. J. (1990). Gloomy clouds & laughing sun: Naguib Mahfouz, Nobel Laureate. *Encounter,* 75(2), 43-46.

Finney, G. (1989). *Women in modern drama: Freud, feminism, and European theatre at the turn of the century*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Foster, R. J. (1961). Confusion and tragedy: The failure of Miller's salesman. In J. D. Hurrell (Ed.), *Two modern American tragedies: Reviews and criticism of Death of a Salesman and A Street Car Named Desire* (pp. 82-88). Charles Scribner's Sons.

Gross, B. E. (1965). Peddler and pioneer in Death of a Salesman. *Modern Drama,* 7, 405-10.

Kullman, C. H. (1998). Death of a salesman at fifty: An interview with Arthur Miller. *Arthur Miller*, Vol. XXXVII, 4, Fall 1998. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.act2080.0037.403

Mahfouz, N. (1989). *Palace walk*. Trans. William M. Hutchins and Olive E. Kenny. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Miller, A. (1999). *Death of a Salesman*. Cairo: The Anglo Egyptian Bookshop.

Mondal, A. (1999). Naguib Mahfouz and his women: *The Cairo trilogy*. Retrieved from http://www.soas.ac.uk/soaslit/issue1/MONDAL.PDF

Ramadan, L. (2011). The role of we-men and wo-men in American and Arab contemporary families: A comparative study of Tennessee William's The Glass Menagerie, Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman and Naguib Mahfouz's Trilogy: Palace Walk, Palace of Desire and Sugar Street. *International Journal of Arts and Sciences,* 4(14: 2011), 277-296.

Ribkoff, F. (2000). Shame, guilt, empathy, and the search for identity in Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman. *Modern Drama* 43(1), 48-52.

Tyson, L. (1992). The psychological politics of the American dream: Death of a Salesman and the Case for an Existential Dialectics. *Essays in Literature* 19(2), 260-74.

Walton, J. E. (2003). Death of a Salesman's Willy Loman and Fences's Troy Maxson: Pursuers of the elusive American dream". *CLA Journal,* 47(1), 55-65.

Contact

Dr Atef Abouelmaaty
Department of English
College of Humanities and Administrative Sciences
Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
atef.abulmaaty@yahoo.com

Queering gender in contemporary female *Bildung* narrative

Soňa Šnircová
Pavol Jozef Šafárik University, Slovakia
sona.snircova@upjs.sk

Abstract

The paper explores, in the context of feminist discussions about the Bildungsroman, a contemporary British novel that offers shocking images of female coming of age at the turn of the millennium. Queering gender and introducing male elements into the heroine's process of maturation, the analysed novel appears to raise questions about the continuous relevance of the feminist distinction between male and female version of the genre. The paper however argues that although significantly rewriting both female *Bildung* and pornographic narratives, Helen Walsh's *Brass* can still be read as a variation of the female Bildungsroman and an example of its contemporary developments.

Keywords

female Bildugsroman, male Bildungsroman, feminism, Helen Walsh, genderqueer

Introduction

Maturation understood as the "development of an innate genetic potential under the influence of a particular geographical and cultural setting" (Summerfield and Downward, 2010, p. 2) is a relatively recent concept promoted within the humanist tradition which, from the eighteenth century onwards, has shaped the modern conception of selfhood.[32] The large number of literary representations of maturation that appeared during the Age of Enlightenment

---

[32] Watson (Spencer & Watson, 2003) in his concise overview of the theme of maturation in British and American literature places the beginnings of maturation in fiction with John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), when the word progress started to mean "both *movement* and *improvement*" (p. 4). At the same time, he names Daniel Defoe as "the first great writer to find fictional ways of expressing the modern self – predominantly Protestant and middle-class, dramatic and insecure, private and social, but above all with a dynamic sense of its continuity and capacity to change and develop" (Spencer & Watson, 2003, p. 9).

and the two centuries of its legacy reveal much about changing perceptions of the individual's inner world and its interaction with society. While at the beginning, the narratives of personal development possessed a high measure of thematic and structural idiosyncrasies which often formed the basis of rather narrow definitions of the *Bildungsroman* as a novel about a young middle-class man, the growing complexities of nineteenth- and twentieth-century society brought diversifications of the genre. The rising need to consider gender, class, ethnicity, race and sexuality in literary representations of maturation and in critical studies about them shows that both writers and critics realize that the traditional humanist idea of an internally developing individual as a unified, masculine, white, middle-class self no longer corresponds with the awareness of the complexities of personal development in the contemporary world.

Female *Bildung* in the context of the genre

The Bildungsroman genre originated in the eighteenth century when the idea of an individual's development through the interaction with the social environment appeared in the wider context of the Enlightenment emphasis on the importance of personal and social progress. The Enlightenment belief in the possibility of progress was deeply rooted in the philosophical assumptions about Reason, knowledge and education whose gendered nature has been noticed by female critics. Eighteenth-century philosophy constructed the concept of Rationality as the "transcendence of the feminine" (Lloyd, 1993, p. 104), providing a conceptual basis for both association of advanced Reason with maleness and exclusion of women from the public domain. Just like society's development was assessed by the progress of Reason away from feminized Nature, the achievements of advanced Reason were measured by its capacity to leave behind the feminine, "immature stage of consciousness" (Lloyd, 1993, p. 58).

In this understanding of maturity, the public sphere plays a crucial role. As Lloyd (1993), quoting Kant, explains: "The maturity proper to enlightenment is directly connected with access to a public space in which men of learning enjoy unlimited freedom to use their own reason and 'speak in their own person'" (p. 67). To restrict this freedom in this sphere would be to 'virtually nullify a phase in man's upward progress, thus making it fruitless and even detrimental to subsequent generations'" (p. 67). However, the traditional confinement of female individuals to the domestic sphere obstructed the personal development of "higher" quality available to their male counterparts and prevented them from making an autonomous contribution to the public sphere of learning and value

creations. This line of philosophical thinking thus reflected the realities of the traditional divisions of female and male roles in relation to the private and public spaces and at the same time provided the conceptual reinforcement of the tradition. Assuming a woman's greater closeness to Nature, the Enlightenment philosophy did not stress so much her inferiority as her difference and the complementariness of her mind to the male one. The male capacity for developing abstract thought was complemented with female "possession of other mental traits – taste, sensibility, practical sense, feeling" (p. 76).

Inspired and shaped by the Enlightenment thought, the Bildungsroman, from its eighteenth-century German prototype, Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (1795), to its most famous nineteenth- and early twentieth-century representatives in British literature (*David Copperfield*, *Great Expectations*, *Sons and Lovers*, *The Portrait of an Artist as a Young Man*), appears as a genre mainly concerned with male development. As some feminist scholars point out, this apparent maleness of the genre informs the early attempts of German critics to delineate its definition. Morgenster during a lecture in 1819 stated that "the genre was to portray the hero's *Bildung* (formation) in all its steps and final goal as well as to foster the *Bildung* of the readers" (quoted in Summerfield & Downward, 2010, p. 1), and in 1870 Dilthey, formulating an influential definition of the genre, also spoke of "a young male hero [who] discovers himself and his social role through the experience of love, friendship, and the hard realities of life" (quoted in Labovitz, 1986, p. 2).

This tendency to associate *Bildung* with male hero is equally strong in the works of the critics who discuss the novel of development written in English. Howe (1930) and Buckley (1974) examine the English Bildungsroman in the context of the German tradition and derive its definitions from their discussions of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century works by mostly male authors.[33] As Fraiman (1993) notices, both "Howe's rendering of Bildungsroman as 'apprentice novel'" (p. 4) and Buckley's attempts to prove "the autobiographical nature of the English Bildungsroman" by selecting the novels whose protagonists are artists (p. 8) enforce the perception of *Bildung* as a specifically male experience. Associating *Bildung* either with "'*apprentice*' [which] refers to a vocational practice" (p. 4) or with the "conception of artistic selfhood" (p. 8), the critics relate the process of the individual's development to the traditional domains of men. A more recent

---

[33] The only significant exception is George Eliot, discussed by Buckley (1974), who reads *The Mill on the Floss* as "a sort of contrapuntal *Bildungsroman*, comparing and contrasting hero and heroine as each moves into young adulthood" (p. 97).

study by Moretti (2000) relates the inner development of the young protagonist in the European Bildungsroman[34] to his mapping of the social space full of uncertainties and contradictions and the Bildungsroman genre appears as "the 'symbolic form' of modernity" (p. 5), the era that brought the destabilization of traditional social structures and radical changes in class mobility. Although Moretti (2000) makes references to female authors (Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot) and their Bildungsroman heroines (Elizabeth Bennet, Jane Eyre, Dorothea Brooke), he still relates the genre to primarily male contexts: "…the very elements that characterize the Bildungsroman as a form: wide cultural formation, professional mobility, full social freedom – for a long time, the west European middle-class man held a virtual monopoly on these, which made him a sort of structural *sine qua non* of the genre" (p. ix).

The recognition of the important differences between men's and women's relations to society underlies the works by the feminist critics who see the introduction of gender into the studies of the Bildungsroman as a serious precondition for expanding the definition of the genre. The first systematic approach to the novels of female *Bildung* appears in *The Voyage in: Fictions of Female Development*, which examines both classic and more modern examples of the female Bildungsroman, such as *Jane Eyre*, *Villete*, *Little Women*, *The Awakening*, *Mrs. Dalloway*, *White Sargasso Sea* and many others. Besides presenting the reader with representative texts about female *Bildung*, the authors also offer a criticism of male-centred approaches to the genre and try to define its female version.

Making the point that many of the constitutive elements of the protagonist's development provided by male critics of the Bildungsroman, such as formal education, independent life in the city, two love affairs and an active interaction with society, traditionally did not belong among the social options available to women, they maintain that the "heroine's developmental course is more conflicted, less direct" (Abel, Hirsch & Langland, 1983, p. 11). At the same time, they claim that the female Bildungsroman is best described in terms of two recurrent narrative patterns: apprenticeship (to life), showing continuous development from childhood to maturity and awakening, usually realized later in life of a married woman; and in terms of thematic tensions – "between autonomy

---

[34] Moretti's discussion includes, for example, Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, Stendhal's *The Red and the Black*, Dickens's *David Copperfield*, Fielding's *Tom Jones*, and Flaubert's *Sentimental Education*.

and relationship, separation and community, loyalty to women and attraction to men" (Abel, Hirsch & Langland, 1983, p. 11-12).

Labovitz (1986) in *The Myth of the Heroine: The Female* Bildungsroman *in the Twentieth Century* represents the voice of those who believe that the female Bildungsroman in which the protagonist's development is successfully completed could appear only in the twentieth century when "*Bildung* became reality for women" (p. 7). In her discussion of the works by Dorothy Richardson, Simone de Beauvoir, Doris Lessing and Christa Wolf, she mainly focuses on the recurrent patterns of their *Bildung* narratives, such as self-realization, sex roles, education, inner and outer directedness, career, attitudes towards marriage. The major differences between the male and female Bildungsroman, according to Labovitz (1986), include female *Bildung*'s greater relation to "[the heroine's] life experience" than to "*a priori* lessons to be learned" (p. 246) and replacement of the hero's grapple for social equality by the heroine's struggle for "equality between sexes" (p. 251).

Fraiman (1993) notices, just like Morreti, the Bildungsroman's ideological function and relates the narratives about male apprenticeship to the myth of bourgeois opportunity claiming that they "helped to construct the normative, middle class man whose skills and labor are his own" (p. 5). In general, she agrees that the twentieth century created more favourable conditions for the female Bildungsroman, but she focuses on four classic texts, *Evelina*, *Pride and Prejudice*, *Jane Eyre* and *The Mill on the Floss*, to show that the tendency to define the genre in terms of a single heroic figure is not useful for approaching the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century narratives about female development. She sees the major difference between the male and female versions of the genre not only in the female lack of opportunities to search for other goals in life than successful marriage and motherhood, but also in the female protagonist's greater awareness that "personal destiny evolves in dialectical relation to historical events, social structures, and other people" (p. 10). Fraiman (1993) claims that the male Bildungsroman's focus on the protagonists' "wilful selfmaking" (p. 6) reflects the belief that the construction of self must include a high degree of individualism. On the other hand, the Bildungsroman heroines are more aware of society's influence on their self-formation.

McWilliams (2009), dealing with more recent developments of the female Bildungsroman, notices its ambivalent position in the context of postmodern critical attacks on the humanist idea of the unified self capable of continuous progress towards improvement. The new perceptions of the self as unstable, fragmented and constantly shifting appear to have led to the decline of male

versions of the genre in the second half of the twentieth century,[35] but the narratives of female *Bildung* still work with the "idea of the cohesive self moving towards clarity and a secure place in the world" (p. 20). However, these traditional representations of the self are, according to McWilliams (2009), "rendered in a new form removed from the measured, linear development propounded in the early *Bildungsroman*" (p. 20).

Although the feminist concerns with gender present a valuable contribution to the studies of the genre, some female critics do not find the clear distinction between the female and male Bildungsroman productive. Ellis (1999) in her study on the British Bildungsroman between 1750 and 1850 disagrees especially with the radical rejections of the possibility of any positive female development in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century texts based on the belief that in these novels "'growing up female' has been in fact a 'growing down', 'a choice between auxiliary or secondary personhood, sacrificial victimization, madness and death'" (p. 16). Claiming that there are "striking similarities" (p. 15) between the novels about male and female *Bildung*, Ellis (1999) maintains that certain amount of "growing down", of certain loss of personal autonomy is an inevitable constitutive element of maturation process regardless of the protagonist's gender (p. 19).

Ellis (1999) emphasizes the common ground of the male and female Bildungsroman, giving the protagonist's agency (active involvement in one's development), self-reflection (ability to grow from one's experiences) and the protagonist's eventual reintegration with society as the most central issues in the narratives of maturation. Still, she admits to the existence of some specific aspects of the female situation when she states that the eighteen- and nineteenth-century heroine's maturation "involves learning to see herself as others see her, learning how to experience herself as the object of the other people's gaze", which enables her to preserve some autonomy by manipulating others for her own gain (p. 30). The apparent submissiveness that the heroine learns to adopt as a part of her *Bildung* process, Ellis (1999) suggests, is to be seen as a "form of empowerment" since it allows her to "create a manipulative form of control" (p. 33). This conflict between the heroine's apparent loss of autonomy and the actual (?) gain of feminine, manipulative control (over her husband) is seen as the typical unresolved paradox of the ambiguous endings of the classic novels of

---

[35] Abel, Hirsch & Langland (1983), for example, quote an opinion of Miles who claims that the male Bildungsroman "has reached its 'absolute end' in Grass's The Tin Drum" (p. 13), published in 1959.

female development. As it seems, despite her questioning of the clear distinction between the male and female Bildungsroman, Ellis's argument about the heroines in the traditional British Bildungsromans adds strength to the feminist point that female development has been for centuries determined by women's greater association with the domestic sphere, which has left them "legally and socially powerless as individuals" (p. 46).

Twentieth-century developments of the female Bildungsroman have brought not only new types of heroines whose self-realization could be searched for in ways unthinkable for their eighteenth-century predecessors (equal access to formal education, active involvement in the public world of work and politics, explorations of female sexuality), but also greater thematic and formal variations of the genre. As McWilliams (2009) states, the contemporary female Bildungsroman ranges from "novels of childhood and adolescence to chronicles of transformation in middle age", usually focusing on the "moments of crisis", the turning points in the life of the heroine, "such as the onset of puberty, imminent marriage, or the prospect of children leaving home" (p. 20).

The narrative chosen for the analysis in this paper is the novel of adolescence, with its young protagonists going through several moments of crisis on her coming-of-age journey. Set at the turn of the millennium Helen Walsh's *Brass* appears to challenge the continuous relevance of the division between male and female Bildungsroman, as it "queers" gender and introduces male elements into the heroine's process of maturation. Mapping the main turning points in the heroines' life, however, I aim to show that, despite its questioning of the gender binary, *Brass* can be still read as a variation of the female Bildungsroman.

Queering gender in *Brass*

Curry (1998), in an article on the construction of women in contemporary female fiction, notices the emergence of the "girl 'I' narrators" who "recognize that adults do not want to hear about incest, sexual activity, sexual desire, masochistic desire, and other "unladylike" language, but these girls, like their authors, no longer wish to fake their innocence, nor to preserve the innocence of the surrounding adults" (p. 97). O'Reilley, presenting the reader of *Brass* with explicit descriptions of her "queer" desires and casual sex with men and women, appears as one of the girls who resist "both patriarchy's constrains as well as the constraints of feminist portrayals of them as victims" (Walsh, 2004, p. 97). She creates an image of girlhood which questions both feminist assumptions about pornography as well as traditional stereotypes about gender identities. However, I intend to argue that despite its gender queering and its presentation of the

heroine as a sexual predator who satisfies her "pervert" desire for schoolgirls through sexual encounters with "brass" (prostitutes), Helen Walsh's novel is still primarily a story about growing into womanhood. Although significantly rewriting both female *Bildung* and pornographic narratives, *Brass* can still be read as a variation of the female Bildungsroman and an example of its development at the end of the millennium.

The novel has in fact two narrators, nineteen-years-old Millie and her older friend Jamie, whose stream-of-consciousness monologues, presented in regular intervals, cover the two-month period that leads to the escalation of Millie's coming-of-age crisis. The choice of narrating the story in present tense and with the focus on the just lived experience, on the one hand, creates a postmodern image of identity as fluid, unstable and under constant process of construction, and, on the other, forces the reader to construct the heroine's life from scattered memories and sporadic references to the past. Millie as the narrator of her growing-up story does not possess the detached perspective that would allow her to reflect on the psychological and social conditions of her personal development in a consistent and explanatory way. Although her monologues are not devoid of brief epiphanic or reflective moments, her mind seems to be obsessed with her bodily desires and the need of their instant gratification through binge drinking, drugs and sex.

Millie grows up in a middle-class family with traditional gender role divisions. Her father is a distinguished professor at the University of Liverpool, while her mother, herself a teacher, performs the female role of caregiver: "That's what she was best at Mum. Being a Mum and a wife. Put her everything and beyond into looking after us" (Walsh, 2004, p. 250). The father, loving but unable to help Millie through the crisis of adolescence is quite eager to introduce his daughter to the dangers of the world; at first only by exposing her to the effects of wild storms during their trips to the sea, later by "sneaking [her] nips of Jamesons" (p. 63) behind her mother's back. Due to his relaxed attitude about her drinking, clubbing and entering the drug culture at the age of thirteen, the father appears as an embodiment of the-end-of-the-millennium permissive society and its failure to deal with adolescent youth. This failure is ironically emphasized by the fact that though being a writer of important sociology books on the crime and deviance in contemporary Britain, he is unable to perceive the devastating effects of his daughter's involvement with prostitutes and criminals.

The novel's central concern with the protagonist's corrupted life in the city may suggest that the twentieth-century process of women's emancipation managed to wipe out traditional differences between male and female stories of

development. As feminist critics have noticed, the heroine of the classic female Bildungsroman, usually educated in the safe space of her parental or marital home, has almost no opportunity to experience the city. On the other hand, in the male Bildungsroman the city plays a crucial role: "[The protagonist] sometimes at a quite early age, leaves the repressive atmosphere of home (and also the relative innocence), to make his way independently in the city…There his real "education" begins, not only his preparation for a career but also – and often more importantly – his direct experience of urban life. The latter involves at least two love affairs or sexual encounters, one debasing, one exalting, and demands that in this respect and others the hero reappraises his values" (Buckley, 1974, p. 17).

To Millie, who dismisses the academic world as sterile and hypocritical, the city also provides the "real" life experience, and as a *Bildung* narrative protagonist she encounters the physical and moral corruption that her nineteenth-century male predecessors could not even imagine.[36] Still, the heroine's "male" encounter with the city does not overshadow the fact that what *Brass* presents is primarily a female *Bildung* process. Firstly, Millie never really leaves her paternal home and, as her working-class friend Jamie notices, her movements in Liverpool's underworld are protected by her middle-class privilege and father's money. She runs to the city to satisfy her desires, not to search for an independent life on her way to maturity.

Secondly, her encounter with the city and its corruptions is not a result of her conflict with the father, which is a typical situation in the narratives of male *Bildung*, but, on the contrary, of her intense emotional affiliation with the male parent after the marital breakup. According to Buckley (1974), the typical male *Bildung* includes "the loss of the father, either by death or alienation" which "usually symbolizes or parallels a loss of faith in the values of the hero's home and family" (p. 19). This "defection of the father becomes accordingly the principle motif force in the assertion of the youth's independence" (p. 19). The parents' divorce, on the one hand, causes Millie's loss of faith in home – the faith in monogamy and happy families – but, on the other, it intensifies her affection for the adored father. Millie naively believes that her sexy father is "utterly, adoringly oblivious to the starving adulation [of female students] he so innocently accrues" (Walsh, 2004, p. 88), not realizing that her suddenly developed "pervert" desire for schoolgirls mimics the father's inappropriate

---

[36] As Buckley's study (1974) suggests, although urban life of the male hero usually includes sexual experience, the city is in traditional *Bildungsroman* more associated with corrupting power of money than corruption of the body.

desire for his young students. Millie's discovery of the pleasure derived from pornographic images of women, her "voyage into the arcane alter ego of men's sexuality" (p. 199) during the emotional turmoil of the marital crisis suggests that she adopts the male position as a subconscious rejection of the mother who "betrayed" them when she left home. Thus far from going through a conflict with her father, Millie is crucially shaped by the mother/daughter relationship, which is "a key element in the female *Bildungsroman*" (Gamallo, 1998, p. 121). This draws attention to Chodorow's point, noticed by Gamallo (1998) in relation to another *Bildungsroman* heroine with queer identity, that "women's sexual difference stems primarily from their identification with their mothers (and not with their fathers, as in the case with boys)" (p. 121). Millie's rejection of the mother indeed seems to prevent her from evolving into "a healthy uncomplicated heterosexual" (p. 199), while the final identification with her, as I show later, has a significant influence on the heroine's maturation into womanhood.

The pornographic passages that Walsh creates to attack "Andrea Dworkin feminism and ... its homophobic inference that there are only two genders or sexualities, and all men are perpetrators and all women are victims" (Helen Walsh, 2008) introduce the queering of gender that may raise questions about the need to distinguish between male and female *Bildung*. Walsh's portrait of the protagonist with bisexual behaviour makes an acceptable point about female individuals' ability to adopt even the most "extreme" male subject positions such as, the indulgence in pornography or the enjoyment of sexual preying on vulnerable women. The reader is constantly reminded of this by Millie's masculine objectification of female bodies or by pornographic scenes, typically associated with male imagination: a brief sexual encounter with a child prostitute in a graveyard, the search for the fleeting moment of sexual satisfaction in the arms of a whore infected with gonorrhoea, even a rape of a drunken schoolgirl in a pub's toilet. However, what the reader receives as an undercurrent message is that Millie's masculine desire to "violate" the innocent bodies of young girls, finally realized in the rape scene, is aligned to her need to violate the image of her own innocent girlhood, whose loss keeps torturing her mind. Millie comes close to grasping the connection when during a lustful watching of schoolgirls, a moment of revelation comes: "And it's then that it pricks me. The cold weight in my tummy. I know what it's about now. It's the realisation that I was once fourteen and carefree. That I was once a kid" (Walsh, 2004, p. 126). When later, after the rape scene, Millie wonders drugged and disorientated in a dangerous part of Liverpool, turning herself into an easy prey for rapists, she again has a moment of revelation that there is no great difference between her and the

schoolgirls who "go out, get off their head and then walk home and expect their pals or Mr fucken Samaritian to look out for them" (p. 230).

In fact, despite all her "fearless", nocturnal explorations of the Red Light District, Helen Walsh's heroine appears quite often in need of male protection. Whether it is Sean who follows Millie to save her from a potential rape attack, Stan who offers help instead of robbing her during her drunken sleep on a park bench or Jamie who, from the moment he finds Millie, thirteen-year-old, in front of a club, keeps taking care of her - all these cases represent thwarted versions of "romantic chivalry", which survive in the post-feminist atmosphere of the end of the millennium. This romantic line of the plot acquires its centrality through the novel's focus on Jamie's relationship with Millie that goes through the well-known stages of romance narratives: the initial emotional confusion of the protagonists (for years Millie and Jamie believe that they enjoy a "male" form of friendship, realized through the laddish pastimes of heavy drinking and drug-taking), the complication produced by the threat of the wrong choice of marital partner (represented by Jamie's proposal to another girl) and the lovers' final realization of the true nature of their relationship during the emotional storms of the novel's climax.

The motif of romance creates an important connection between Millie's coming-of-age story and classic female *Bildung* narratives, which is further strengthened by Jamie's role of male mentor, traditionally an older man who "schools [the heroine] in order to wed her" (Fraiman, 1993, p. 6). Jamie, nine years older than Millie, offers the education that she cannot find at home. Thus while her father is an egoistic womanizer whose constant sexual affairs destroy his marriage, Jamie taught Millie that "sex was much concerned with psychology as it was with physiology. It was as much about the courting of anatomy as it was the meeting of two hearts, two minds" (Walsh, 2004, p. 196). He also expresses his concern about Millie's future, urges her to grow up and not to waste the opportunities provided by her middle-class background and university education. The fact that Millie, "reared on the diet of Bronte and Austen" (p. 122), finds in Jamie a "soul mate" who satisfies her need for a relationship with a father figure (reflected in her search for and quick emotional attachment to middle-age sexual partners) also shows that she experiences an end-of-the-millennium version of the traditional female development story. As the novel's allusions reveal, *Brass* is, to a great extent, a conscious rewriting of the female *Bildungsroman* in the style of James Kelman and Hubert Selby Jr. (p. 122), whose interests, respectively, in capturing lower-class urban experience through

characters' internal mental processes and "indecent" taboo subjects pervade Walsh's image of the heroine's apprenticeship in womanhood.

Walsh's surface emphasis on female equality, realized through Millie's equal access to the depravity of the urban world, is in *Brass* combined with the undercurrent stressing the heroine's female positions in what remains a predominately male world. Even when she adopts a "male" role of a prostitutes' punter, Millie is forced to accept the female position, as she watches a male customer who is "picking up a *whore*" (Walsh, 2004, p. 93): "...as a man, and a man with a car, he has privileges that I can only dream of. Even if he's obese and miserable, even if she's the lowliest, more rancid wraith, I still wish I were him" (p. 93-94). A woman's perspective can be also sensed in Millie's sorrow over the loss of belief in the possibility of monogamy and in her criticism of the hypocrisy of the family men who playing "proud husbands" and "proud fathers" hide their sick and depraved nature (p. 112). Millie's inability to admit that this criticism applies the most to her own father is a sign of her immaturity and unwillingness to lose the last connection with her innocent girlhood that the idealization of the male parent provides.

Thus when she is exposed not only to the reality of her father's "pathetic" sexual affairs with his "love-struck students" (p. 253), but also to the truth that the real cause of the marital breakup was his adultery with the mother's sister, Millie's much admired aunt, she experiences a crucial turning point on her way to maturity. The fact that her growing up is mainly induced by the re-living of her mother's experience of disappointment, jealousy and betrayal by the persons she loved shows that the identification with the mother plays an important part in the heroine's abandonment of childhood naivety and her willingness to accept womanhood. The return to the mother is reinforced on the level of the plot when Millie, worn out by her lifestyle and feeling dislike for "that person in the mirror" (p. 277) decides to leave the paternal home and travels to the Scottish "countryside, far, far away from the madness of the city" (p. 294) to search for her mother's help. Leaving Millie standing hopefully on the threshold of the mother's house, Helen Walsh's end-of-the-millennium story of female development leaves the reader with an open-ending conclusion and the sense that it promotes quite a traditional, Rousseauistic, belief in the healing touch of mothers and the purifying effect of (mother) nature.

Conclusion

The analysis of Helen Walsh's *Brass* has shown that the novel preserves important connections with traditional Bildungsroman narratives about women.

It has also revealed that despite women's achievement of a high level of equality with men, including the right of equal access to the dubious joys of binging on alcohol, drugs and sex, the distinction between male and female *Bildung* remains useful. The heroine's process of maturation, just like the maturation of her eighteenth- and nineteenth-century predecessors, is influenced more by her life experience than formal schooling. In addition, although Millie goes through some form of experience of the "independent" existence in the city that is seen as central to the traditional male *Bildung*, her personal development is to a great extent dependent on the domestic sphere and her need for familial ties. Millie, who instinctively searches for the feeling of security in the circle of Jamie's family and depends on his "brotherly" mentorship, at the end hopes to shed the confusions of adolescence in the domestic space of her mother's house. The female nature of her *Bildung* is also emphasized by the centrality of the romantic apprenticeship motif in her coming-of-age narrative, represented not only by her acquisition of the ability to overcome her dependency on an ideal man image and recognize the right male partner, but also by acquiring an adult understanding of the relationship between men and women.

On the other hand, the central place that active sexual life has in Millie's process of maturation proves that the twentieth century brought some radical changes in the representations of female development. While the traditional Bildugsroman's hero was allowed to experience "at least two love affairs or sexual encounters" (Buckley, 1974, p. 17), its heroine's sexuality was for centuries considered to be a taboo subject, either completely unrepresentable or touched only through subtle symbolism. Helen Walsh's pornographic passages indicate the extent that the breaking of the taboo achieved at the turn of the millennium. Undoubtedly, a major difference between the classic female *Bildung* narrative and Walsh's novel is the latter's questioning of the gender binary not only by putting the heroine into the "male" roles of prostitutes' punter and sexual predator, but also by letting her go through "male" emotional reactions: the disdain for the prostitutes she uses to satisfy her desires, the feelings of "horror, guilt and disgust" (Walsh, 2004, p. 107) induced by a one-night stand with a whore, the rejection of the feeling of guilt by the belief that the rape victim "enjoyed it" (p. 218). Still, as I have argued, the coming-of-age process of Walsh's heroine includes some important signs of a typical female development: the conflict with mother, the emotional attachment to father/figures, the romantic involvement with man and the final return to mother (nature) as a form of accepting womanhood. This indicates that the novel can be read as a

representative of the female *Bildugsroman*, which in its contemporary form preserves the interest in specific aspects of female development.

References

Abel, E., Hirsch, M. & Langland, E. (Eds). (1983). *Voyage in: Fictions of female development*. Hanover and London: UP of New England.

Buckley, J. H. (1974). *Season of youth: The Bildungsroman from Dickens to Golding*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard UP.

Curry, R. C. (1998). 'I ain't no friggin' little wimp': The girl 'I' narrator in contemporary fiction. In Saxton, R. O. (Ed). *The girl: Construction of the girl in contemporary fiction by women* (pp. 95-105). New York: St. Martin's Press.

Ellis, L. (1999). *Appearing to diminish: Female development and the British Bildungsroman*, *1750-1850*. London: Associated UP.

Fraiman, S. (1993). *Unbecoming women: British women writers and the novel of development.* New York: Columbia UP.

Gamallo, I. C. A. (1998). Subversive storytelling: The construction of lesbian girlhood through fantasy and fairy tale in Jeanette Winterson's Oranges Are Not the Only Fruit. In Saxton, R. O. (Ed). *The girl: Construction of the girl in contemporary fiction by women* (pp. 119-134). New York: St. Martin's Press.

Helen Walsh: young, gifted, bold as brass (2008, March 7). *The Independent.* Retrieved from: http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/ books/features/helen-walsh-young-gifted-bold-as-brass-792492.html

Howe, S. (1930). *Wilhelm Meister and his English kinsmen: Apprentices to life*. New York: Columbia UP.

Labovitz, E. K. (1986). *The myth of the heroine: The female Bildungsroman in the twentieth century, Dorothy Richardson, Simone de Beauvoir, Doris Lessing, Christa Wolf*. New York: Peter Lang.

Lloyd, G. (1993). *The man of reason: "Male" and "female" in Western philosophy*. London: Routledge.

McWilliams, E. (2009). *Margaret Atwood and the female Bildungsroman*. Surrey: Ashgate.

Moretti, F. (2000). *The way of the world: The Bildungsroman in European culture*. Trans. Albert Sbragia. New ed. London/New York: Verso.

Spencer, M. M., & Watson, V. (2003). *Coming of age in children's literature: Growth and maturity in the work of Phillippa Pearce, Cynthia Voigt and Jan Mark*. London: Continuum.

Summerfield, G. & Downward, L. (2010). *New perspectives on the European Bildungsroman*. London: Continuum.

Walsh, H. 2004. *Brass.* Edinburgh: Cannongate.

Contact
Mgr. Soňa Šnircová, PhD.
Faculty of Arts, Pavol Jozef Šafárik University
Petzvalova 4, Košice, Slovakia
sona.snircova@upjs.sk

Does the quality of interlingual translation influence the quality of the intersemiotic translation?
On the English language film adaptations of S. Lem's *The Futurological Congress* and *Solaris* in the light of their translations into English

Agnieszka Majcher
Uniwersytet Jana Kochanowskiego, Poland
agamajcher74@gmail.com

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to compare two English language film adaptations (by Steven Soderbergh and Ari Folman) with each other and with the books they are based on. Stanisław Lem's novels – *The Futurological Congress* and *Solaris* – were translated into English and the directors of the films mentioned above were able to work with them. However, while one translation was appreciated by many, including the author of the original, the other one did not get much credit and features many inaccuracies, which will be presented below. The question of how much the quality of translation influences the intersemiotic translation, which adaptation is believed to be, will be examined in the paper. As, according to translation scholars, preliminary interpretation is vital for any translations, it seems justified to state that without being able to refer to the author's original thoughts the film-makers cannot produce a good adaptation. This will be revised on the basis of comparing examples from the books and films. The analysis will be drawn on an account of translation and film adaptation theories together with the outlining of cultural background for each work.

Keywords

interlingual translation, intersemiotic translation, film adaptation, science-fiction, Stanisław Lem, literary translation

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to consider potential relations between the quality of interlingual translation and inspired by it intersemiotic translation, which, according to some film researchers, a film adaptation is believed to be. In this

article, the two English-speaking film adaptations[37] based on the English translations of Stanisław Lem's prosaic works, i.e. *Solaris* (Lem, 2013a) and *The Futurological Congress* (Lem, 2014), will be analysed in the light of these translations and their correspondence with the messages of the original works in Polish. Also, the question if weaknesses of literary translations may in any way deteriorate the quality of the film referring to the book will be raised. Finally, having taken that a film adaptation is a kind of translation it will be investigated if one can impose the same requirements concerning film adaptations and literary translations and whether following the rules of how to create a good literary translation can be helpful while transferring a book onto a screen. Being aware that the proposed material is partial, which does not allow to constitute firm evidence for the hypothesis, one is, nevertheless, tempted to assume that, even though it is possible for a weak book to be a base for a good film, it is more likely for a well-translated book – in this case it means a literary piece the message of which reflects the one conveyed by the author of the original book – to be an inspiration for a good moving picture. It becomes an especially interesting issue to research, knowing we are able to study the book of letters Lem (Lem, 2013b) sent to Michael Kandel, the translator of *The Futurological Congress* (Lem, 1985), the letters that cover the thorough transfer of the author's ideas into a foreign language. On the other hand, a researcher can assume that such transfer must have been disrupted in the case of *Solaris* (Lem, 2003), as its English version was translated from another – French, translation and with no reference to Lem's suggestions. Thus, during such study one can observe if the ideas produced in Poland of the 1960s and the 1970s can be similarly expressed by the authors creating in the world of the West and whether it can be in any way helpful to make a film several decades later, presenting messages no less important than the original ones.

In this paper, first, the outline of the history of translation will be presented, pointing out what is important in the most recent approach to it. The next part will cover the issue of film adaptation as an intersemiotic translation. In the analytical part the transfer of ideas from the original books into the films will be looked into, in the light of Translation Studies review of selected examples from the English versions of the books conducted to assess the general quality of the translation, as well as with references to the reception of the films.

---

[37] "Solaris" directed by Steven Sordenbergh from 2002 and "The Congres" by Ari Folman from 2013.

From the theories of translation

Translation has been defined in various ways. With regard to the type of the code, Jakobson (1989) distinguishes three ways of interpreting verbal signs. Intralingual translation, that is rewording, occurs when verbal signs are interpreted with other verbal signs of the same language. Interlingual translation, translation proper, interprets verbal signs from one language using verbal signs of another one. Intersemiotic translation, or so-called, transmutation, makes use of non-verbal system of signs to interpret verbal signs. Nevertheless, within the last two millennia there have appeared a number of definitions and attempts to approach the issue.

The differences come from a variety of translated materials, goals of the translations, their recipients' needs and different philosophical views of translators. One of the proposed definitions by Nida and Taber (1982) states that translation is constituted by reproducing in the recipient's language the closest natural equivalent of the source language message, both in terms of meaning and style. Other approaches aim at producing the text in the target language which has an intended or required function in this language. Several oppositions describing the properties of translation can be vital: literal – free, literary – non-literary, semantic – communicative, form – content. In the study of style one must also consider philological theories of translation. According to Nida (2001), being the extension of philological approach to literary analysis, they investigate corresponding written texts in the source and the target language, trying to evaluate their equivalence, dealing with structures, stylistic and rhetorical devices, the literary genre and cultural influences.

Steiner (2000) in his study on translation identifies four periods in its history. The first one, starting in Ancient Rome, lasted until the Enlightenment. It features an empirical approach, encompasses first attempts to organize the issues of translation, starting from the question: word for word or sense for sense. The second period, finished in the 1940s, was more theoretical and its nature was more hermeneutical. Those days, the questions about translation merged with questions about a language and state of mind. Started by Schleiermacher, continued by Schlegel and Humboldt, hermeneutics tried to answer the question what it means to understand the text. The questions concerning translation were raised in philosophical aspects. The third period takes us into modernity. There appear first works on machine translation. Formalists use linguistic theories and statistics to study literature and translation. There appear models of connections between formal logic and linguistic transfer. Structural linguistics enters the

discussion concerning interlingual exchange. Organizations comprising professional translators are set up.

The third phase has practically been still on, yet, some changes that took place in the 1960s made Steiner (2000) distinguish the fourth period, initialized by the discovery of the work by Benjamin from 1923 – "The Task of the Translator". This text, along with the great influence from Heidegger and Gadamer, made translators and translation scholars return to hermeneutics and ask almost metaphysical questions of the essence of translation and interpretation. Again there appeared enquiries into universalist or relativist character of a language. Translation has become a subject of study by psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists. Humboldt's conviction that each act of communication is a translation has become valid again.

Steiner (2000) emphasizes that human speech consists of arbitrarily chosen, but considerably conventionalized signs, the meaning of which can never be separated from the form used to express it. There are no transparent places in a language, however transparent the style seems to be. Each reading is translation, and each deliberate translation, intralingual, interlingual or intersemiotic, requires preliminary interpretation. As Balcerzan (1998) points out, in the literary translation a significant deal of the work should be attributed to the translator.

One does not need scientific evidence to state that much of the film adaptation comes from its director and that film language also uses conventionalized signs, though they are not so codified and are more prone to mutations than human speech. Therefore, the assumption that while transferring a book onto a screen we cope with the problems parallel to those faced while translating a piece of literature. And also, that a recipient of both types of translation is likely to meet similar obstacles while interpreting the target materials.

Film adaptation as intersemiotic translation

The theoretical part presented below is fully based on the study by Choczaj (2011). According to her, adaptation has been analysed in many structural-semiotic ways, considering the category of equivalence of signs in translation, making use of such terms as transformation, transposition, transcription, or intersemiotic translation. Among those who were in favour of granting film adaptation the label of intersemiotic translation were Eichenbaum (cf. Choczaj, 2011), Münsterberg (cf. Choczaj, 2011), Orłowski (cf. Choczaj, 2011) (who postulates the existence of the system of language signs transposition into the system of audiovisual signs, based on finding equivalence between works of

various structures), Hopfinger (cf. Choczaj, 2011) (pointing out, however, that full translation is impossible due to lack of equivalence of the systems). The latter recognizes adaptation as a kind of reading-interpretation of the literary input material which must be the result of numerous external factors such as development of filming techniques as semiotic system. Laskowicz (cf. Choczaj, 2011) dubbed interpretation a kind of transformation in the semiotic and sociological context. She acknowledged that system differences between the film art of many fabrics and the literature of one fabric mean that adaptation always deforms its original, as it is only multiplied and subjective transformation. While Bettetini (cf. Choczaj, 2011) claimed that transcription is unlikely to be achieved, and neither is thorough translation, Osadnik (cf. Choczaj, 2011) revives the transformative approach towards adaptation. According to him, each work of film art (target text) is an adaptation of a literary work (source text) – that is a screenplay. What is to be assessed is equivalence, not adequacy, as the measure of such translation is not faithfulness but approval. Osadnik understands translation as a process dealing with cultural, social and moral contexts.

What one may find interesting is that, despite current opposition (e.g. represented by the popular theory of adaptation as "creative betrayal" by Helman (cf. Choczaj, 2011)), semiotic research concerning adaptation has not disappeared, yet has been subject to transformation. Wysłouch (cf. Choczaj, 2011) revives the postulate of intersemiotic translation emphasizing correspondence of arts. In her theory, the term of transcription, along with transliteration, description and borrowing, returns as one of the four translating principles. This allows to transfer a phenomenon from one system to a different one, for instance from literature to film. Thanks to relatedness of film and literary signs, the systems are translatable. Finally, Spedicato (cf. Choczaj, 2011) refers to interlingual translation, mentioning Translation Studies model by Malone for the first time in the film sciences context.

Although, as Choczaj (2011) states, in studies concerning adaptation one can observe significant dominance of literary studies approach, where literary work is regarded as the original and the value of adaptation is evaluated according to its dependability on the literary piece or its autonomy, taking film adaptation as an intersemiotic translation is fully justified as thus film adaptation will be treated in the further part of this paper.

Analysis
While analysing works of art that use different "fabric", as it is in the case of books in different languages and, moreover, films, one must carefully trace the

transfer of the ideas from the original books, through their translations, and to the adaptations. Without an attempt to grasp the main message of the original book (in the light of the theories mentioned above) one cannot assess the value of any translation, interlingual or intersemiotic. To state if the general quality of the translation proper has been achieved, it is advisable to refer to some selected examples from the English versions of the books in terms of translation analysis. The combination of these steps can help us draw the conclusion whether, despite some obvious differences between the book and the film, the links between the quality of translation and film adaptation can be observed.

Lem's Solaris (2013a), written in 1961, is a story of a scientist, Kris Kelvin, who, having arrived in research space station in the vicinity of the planet Solaris, experiences inexplicable encounters with a walking embodiment of the memories of his long-dead wife. The creature, which is not subject to any laws of earthly physics, seems to be the product of the Solaris's ocean. The ocean has been categorized as a living and thinking creature and the doppelgangers it produces appear to be the climax of the attempts to make contact between the ocean and people. Sadly, as the reader can see in the course of action, the greater lengths we go to so that the contact and understanding can be established, the further we get from it. Such conclusion can be also drawn from the tons of scientific volumes presented in the book. The presumed gifts from Solaris turn out to be a curse and rich terminology used to describe the ocean only makes the image more obscure. (Is it not the trouble with contemporary earthly science?)

The incapability of contact is symbolically expressed in the last scene, where Kris reaches the plasma of the ocean with his hand and it smothers the limb, making a kind of a negative, a cast of it, flexible but distant, as there is always some space in spite of the movement. The lack of direct contact can be post factum interpreted as an allegory of the condition of translations and interpretations of this work – neither the literary translation from 1970 (Lem, 2003) nor the adaptation by Steven Soderbergh are among works unequivocally praised. "The New York Times" (Holden, 2002) in its review writes that the result of co-operation between Soderbergh and Cameron is getting rid of many disturbing scientific and philosophical details, turning the story into a popular fairy tale, without bothering the audience with linking the meanings, and exchanging the intellectual values of "Space Odyssey" for romantic framing like one of the "Titanic". The conclusion – balancing on the verge of two genres was not successful.

It is hard not to agree. The reception of the film in Poland is even more ambivalent. Turning our flagship proposal of science-fiction literature into a

metaphysical story of the second, third, or even fourth chance in love is disappointing. One cannot help noticing that the actors themselves seem confused. Is it possible that reducing the philosophical aspects of the novel could have been caused by its insufficient understanding resulting from the flaws of the translation? This cannot be ruled out. Ironically, although in the West *Solaris* is regarded as Lem's showcase work, until 2011 it did not have a satisfactory translation (cf. Lem, 2011). The translation by Kilmartin & Cox (Lem, 2003) was prepared on the basis of the French translation. The result of this multiplied copying is a lot of inconsistence on various levels of language. Some errors refer to proper names. Although all spaceships in *Solaris* bear the names of mythological heroes, one of them, *Laokoon* in the original [Laocoön][38], is recalled in the English version as *Laakon*. One cannot also find firm excuses that made the authors of the 1970 translation change the first names or surnames of the people inhabiting the international station and call *Snaut – Snow*, and *Harey –* with its anagram *Rheya* (these names appear in the film adaptation). While the former change can be explained by the urge to use a more conventional and devoid of unnecessary associations English name, the latter is strange. Why has the perfectly English name been changed so that is has the characteristic Slavic suffix "a"? Another issue is obscuring the message in the translation. As a result of proximity of the "guests", the scientists want to keep their conclusions secret and decide to call them in the original text *fantomy – twory F* for short. Kilmartin & Cox copy the name, using *phantom* in their translation (cf. Lem, 2003). That would be perfect if they had not decided to use *Phi-creatures* as the alias for them. Thus, instead of a quite neutral letter of the Latin alphabet, the reader is given the Greek *phi*, burdened with quite vast meaningfulness, of which the mathematical symbol of circumference is the easiest example. This can significantly influence the interpretation, especially when the readers will allow themselves for global intertextuality play.[39]

The translation features complex sentences and groups of sentences devoid of sense or with an illogical meaning. While the original says: "Giese jednak, który we wszystkich opisach innych stworów solarycznych zachowuje się jak mrówka, chodząca po zamarzłym wodospadzie, niczemu nie dając się wytrącić z miarowego kroku swej oschłej frazy, tak był pewny swego, że poszczególne fazy wyłaniania się mimoidu uszeregował w ciąg rosnącej doskonałości." [Giese,

---

[38] All translations and explanations in square brackets were made by the author of this paper.

[39] The latest translation deals much better with this: the creatures are called "ghosts", that is "G-formations".

however, who in all descriptions of other Solaris's creations behaves like an ant crawling on a frozen waterfall, allowing nothing to distract him from the steady pace of his dry phrases, was so sure to be right that he put subsequent phases of a mimoid emerging in a sequence of increasing perfection.], the first translation will present: "Giese would not abandon his account of the various phases of the process as a sustained progression towards perfection, with a conviction which is particularly surprising coming from a man of such moderate, cautious turn of mind in advancing the most trivial hypothesis on the other creations of the ocean. Normally he had all the boldness of an ant crawling up a glacier."

To sum up, the language obscuring the reading of the target text calls for simplifications, including simplified interpretation, for drawing the most obvious and popular conclusions and keeping only them with the use of audiovisual code – for the sake of a less demanding audience.

Soderbergh's adaptation, apart from the abovementioned emphasis of the love theme, introduces more modifications. Sartorius becomes (in the name of general correctness?) a black woman, while the plump African woman produced in the book by one of the crew – Gibarian's mind turns out in the film to be his young son. Some themes that were barely suggested in the book become obvious in the film.

How far from the original book the adaptation based on it can be illustrated by the ending of the film. The film is devoid of the scene of Kris's landing on a mimoid (described above). What corresponds with it is the last but one scene in the film, when Kris, losing his vitality as a result of the ship getting closer to the planet, sees the boy – the Solaris's creature, representing the mind of the ocean. The boy reaches his hand towards Kris, their fingers meet in the pose well-known from the fresco in the Sistine Chapel, nevertheless so meaningless due to overexploitation of the image in popular culture. Compared to the profound and visually rich scene of "touching the ocean" in the book, preceded by a dialogue about the nature of gods, this mass-production image becomes symbolically sad. Instead of pondering on god's duality we are additionally offered a kind of a happy ending in the moving picture. Ironically enough, now Kris – George Clooney's sad countenance, expressing "why-am-I-here" question, encourages buying the book both in English-speaking countries and in Poland.

The state of interlingual and intersemiotic translations of *The Futurological Congress* (Lem, 2014) seems different. Written in 1970, the prose by Lem presents the adventures of Ijon Tichy, an astronaut, who after the political rebellion and its inconceivably strange consequences is taken from *The Futurological Congress* in Costaricana to New York of the future. Lem creates for

his readers the vision of a utopian – anti-utopian world, where people, aware to some extent and to some by deceit, let powerful hallucinogenic pharmacological substances control over their lives. The drugs allow them to live in the illusion of blissfulness in the actually rotting world.

The tasks which the translator of this literary piece faces are multiple. First of all, the world depicted – Latin America and the United States, especially the States, must look credible for the English speaking reader. All cultural hints conceived by Lem must face the reality of the actual country. Thus, word puns, neologisms must find their equivalents in the language of a different structure. Kandel did his job well (cf. Lem, 1985). *Towarzystwo Opieki nad Robotami* [Society of Taking Care of Robots] has been turned into *Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Automats, SPCA*. This acronym, without any modification is the name of the popular organization looking after animals in the USA and the UK. The term *Bemby, Bomby Miłości Bliźniego* [Bombs of Loving Thy Neighbour] *(BMB)*, has found its equivalent in *LTN (Love Thy Neighbour) bombs*, the name combining associations with the TNT explosive material and "Love thy neighbour" commandment from the Gospel.

In his letter to the translator, Lem (2013b) compliments him on surpassing the original, creating a purely American text, yet remaining faithful to the original.

Secondly, the American must realise that, while in the 1970s the Poles still saw the vision of imposed totalitarian happiness as a real thing, the threat of serious political changes in the West was not so clear as some decades before when the visions by Huxley and Orwell had stirred imagination for the first time. Therefore, it would be better to emphasize the message of *The Futurological Congress* as a warning against deformed overconsumption rather than as a hidden hint concerning political situation. Lem (2013b) himself in the letter to Kandel, pointing out it is wrong to facilitate in any way the reading comprehension for the English speaking reader, writes: "*The Congress* is a kind of a paraboly of consumptionist community, the community targeted at MASSFACILITATION as SUPERIOR VALUE of existence, and this targeting brings about a crisis of authentic values, those historically created, while 'psychemistry' is an ultimative and universal technology of smoothing the path. The final scene implies that the world was shaped differently, that a moment comes when instrumental hedonism must PAY for its practices, and the pay turns out rather nightmarish"[40].

---

[40] Translated by the author of this paper.

Although the author admits later that his opinion concerning the interpretation of the book is not binding, one cannot help accepting this universal message, abandoning the one that has tempted the western readers, to regard the book as a voice from behind "the iron curtain" allegorically presenting the system in force. It would require further research to state whether the author of the English version was in favour of one of the interpretations and this is not the main goal of this article. However, one can read in the interview with Ari Folman, the director of *The Congress* that he was looking for a new, more contemporary expression for the allegory of communism included in the book (cf. INTERVIEW). As a result, he was forced to introduce significant changes to the plot. Amazingly, the changes led to producing the film whose message could be expressed with the words by Lem quoted above. The universal reading of the book proved right after decades.

In Cannes *The Congress* was dubbed the most anti-Hollywood movie ever made (cf. Kohn, 2013), yet it was much credited. This unusual production, half traditional with actors, half animated with the use of up-to-date motion capture method, is truly impressive. The review (Kohn, 2013) reveals phrases like: "genius design", "beguiling project," "stunning appearance and the extraordinary depth of insight", "beauty and wonder as vessels for rage". The production is said to "rail against commercialism".

The director himself, undoubtedly using Kandel's translation as his base[41], tells us in the promotional materials about the need of courage that adapting a classic book requires; about how brave one must be to free from the text to some extent. Thus, he had to change political dictatorship into an entertainment industry dictatorship, especially emphasizing the overly control film studios have taken over our lives (cf. INTERVIEW). In such circumstances, replacing the astronaut Ijon Tichy with an ageing actress (Robin Wright playing herself) is more than justified. The new identity of the leading character leads to further changes in the storyline (family theme, the idea of selling one's digital image to film producers, followed by the loss of identity).

What has been preserved from the book – the idea of willingly giving up the control over us to omnipotent psychotropic substances – or actually to their distributors, the idea of masking the dull reality with the illusion of wonderful worlds, the vision of people incapacitated under the appearances of being given happiness in a pill – these have not changed and after forty years speak volumes to the contemporary audience.

---

[41] In the film, Kandel's neologisms appear, such as LTN bombs.

In the last scene of the book Lem, gracefully and ironically, releases the character from the nightmare, revealing that even the final phase – the world devoid of chemical boosters – was an illusion, hallucination created by overdose of psychotropic gas spread under the Hilton hotel in Costaricana. Robin Wright manages to get away from the vapour masking the decaying reality, returns from the animated to the real world here and now, but the changes that have taken place are irrevocable. The recipient from the 21st century seems more pessimistic and apparently can face reality without the mask of irony.

Conclusion

To sum up, one cannot present a simple recipe on how to make a successful film adaptation. Studying the relations between the literary translation and the quality of its screen version will always meet counterarguments, like those saying that even good non-translated books happen to have weird and failed film adaptations. Nevertheless, if we take both literary translations and film adaptations as types of translations – interlingual and intersemiotic – we will observe a number of analogies. Undoubtedly, according to the abovementioned contemporary approach towards translation, it requires an appropriate series of preparatory activities, understanding the input material and having an opinion on it. The effort made at this stage may result in a piece of work that will be at least good. On the other hand, a series of not very successful interpretations or translations leads, like in Chinese whispers, to works less and less touching the original senses. And, even though these days few care for the author's opinion – the author of the original book in this context – each attempt of engaged reading of his intentions gives us the scope for a creation no worse than the original.

Therefore, *The Congress*, the film apparently more distant from Lem's book, has more in common with the message of the original than, seemingly quite faithful to the story in the printed version, but missing important points, "Solaris". And thus, imposing the same requirements (yet for different type of signs, of course) for film adaptations that usually refer to literary translations is fully justified and can be helpful when defining the features of a good film adaptation.

References

Balcerzan, E. (1998). Poetyka przekładu artystycznego. In *Literatura z literatury: strategie tłumaczy* (pp. 17-31). Katowice: Śląsk.

Benjamin, W. (2012). Zadanie tłumacza. In A. Lipszyc (Ed.), *Konstelacje, Wybór tekstów* (pp. 23-36). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Choczaj, M. (2011). O adaptacji, ekranizacji, przekładzie intersemiotycznym i innych zmartwieniach teorii literatury, filmu i mediów. *Przestrzenie Teorii, 16,* 11-39.

Holden, S. (2015, September 22). Their love will go on in outer space. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=9405E1DC1638F934A15752C1A9649C8B63

Jakobson, R. (1989). O językoznawczych aspektach przekładu. In M. R. Mayenowa (Ed.), *W poszukiwaniu istoty języka*, vol. 1 (pp. 372-381). Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.

Kohn, E. (2013, May 17). Cannes: is Ari Folman's 'The Congress' the most anti-Hollywood movie ever made? *Indiewire*. Retrieved from http://www.indiewire.com/article/cannes-is-ari-folmans-the-congress-the-most-anti-hollywood-movie-ever-made

Lem, S. (1985). *The futurological congress: From the memoirs of Ijon Tichy*. Tr. M. Kandel. New York: A Harvest Harcourt Inc. Book.

Lem, S. (2003). *Solaris*. Tr. J. Kilmartin, S. Cox. London: Faber and Faber.

Lem, S. (2011). *Solaris*. Tr. B. Johnston. Kindle Edition, Premier Digital Publishing.

Lem, S. (2013a). *Solaris*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Lem, S. (2013b). *Sława i fortuna, Listy Stanisława Lema do Michaela Kandla 1972-1987*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Lem, S. (2014). *Kongres Futurologiczny ze wspomnień Ijona Tichego*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Nida, E. A. & Taber, Ch. R. (1982). *The Theory and Practice of Translation*. Leiden: Brill.

Nida, E. A. (2001). *Contexts in translating*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamin's Publishing Company.

Steiner, G. (2000). *Po wieży Babel. Problemy języka i przekładu*. Kraków: Universitas.

Folman, A. (Interviewee). *Interview with Ari Folman*. Retrieved from http://thecongress-movie.com/behind-the-scenes-1.htm?lng=en

Contact

Agnieszka Majcher, MA
Os. Na Stoku 80/34
25-437 Kielce, Poland
agamajcher74@gmail.com

JoLaCE

Plurilingualism – an educational challenge:
the case of Slovakia

Dana Hanesová
University of Matej Bel, Slovakia
dana.hanesova@umb.sk

Abstract

First, the author analyses the current challenges of European institutions to implement plurilingual approaches to languages in national language policy. According to EU policies, the Slovak school system should be actively open to linguistic and cultural plurality. Plurilingual methodology uses educational approaches focused on awareness of the need both to acquire more languages and to use efficient means of acquisition. To describe the specific case of the Slovak Republic, the author first looks into the multilingual society living in the territory of current Slovakia in the 18th century, focusing on the response of Matej Bel – a Slovak polymath, scientist, teacher and language methodologist – to the challenge of his plurilingualism. In the next part, the study presents the current Slovak plurilingual policy. Data related to this policy are taken from state educational documents. Last part presents data from interviews with teachers and education students, specifically about their plurilingual needs and awareness.

Key words

language policy, Slovakia, teacher, plurilingual approach, plurilingualism

"Linguistic and cultural diversity is one of the European Union's major assets. Language learning facilitates communication between peoples and countries, as well as encouraging cross-border mobility and the integration of migrants."
Androulla Vassiliou
European Commissioner for Education, Culture, Multilingualism and Youth
IP/12/990, 2012

Introduction

Current educational reform efforts in the European context and the educational policy of European institutions emphasize the importance of finding better ways to respond to multilingualism and to promote plurilingualism in Europe. As the study will show, this applies to all European countries, including the Slovak Republic. Before going deeper into a description of this challenge and the response of Slovak educational language policy to it, two main concepts are going to be defined.

Multilingualism denotes "the presence of several languages in a given geographical area, regardless of those who speak them (some people use only one)" (Guide for the development and implementation of curricula for plurilingual and intercultural education, 2010, p. 16). Generally, European language policies deal with multilingualism as "a continuum of attitudes and approaches: on the one hand policy for the reduction of diversity, and on the other the promotion and maintenance of diversity." (Guide…, 2007, p. 7). Promoting multilingualism, the European Commission has been seeking to achieve the following objectives: a) to promote intercultural dialogue and inclusive society; b) to help the public build a sense of EU citizenship; c) to develop more opportunities for young people to study and work abroad; and d) to create new markets for EU companies that can compete at the global level (European Commission, IP/12/990, 2012).

Plurilingualism implies the individual speaker's command of more languages and the language variety (mother language, second and other languages). To facilitate the development of plurilingual competence of students means to aim at the ability to use a plural repertoire of linguistic resources to meet communication needs or to interact with people from other backgrounds and contexts, and enrich that repertoire while doing so. Plurilingual competence "refers to the repertoire of resources which individual learners acquire in all the languages they know or have learned, and which also relate to the cultures associated with those languages (languages of schooling, regional/minority and migration languages, modern foreign or classical languages" (Guide…, 2010).

Plurilingualism in European Language Policy

In its 1995 *White Paper* (p. 47), the European Commission stated an objective for member state school systems to support the proficiency of all Europeans in at least two foreign languages in addition to their mother tongue. In 2012, the European Commission outlined a functional way to develop students' communication skills in at least two foreign languages by the age of 15. It set a new benchmark for the year 2020 when at least 50% of 15 year-olds are to have a good knowledge of the first foreign language (currently 42%) and at least 75% (from the current 61%) should learn the second foreign language (Rethinking Education - Country Analysis, 2012).

The development of plurilingual and intercultural awareness as a life-long process has also been one of the overarching educational aims of the Council of Europe, starting with the primary education level. Its aim has been to deepen mutual understanding of European citizens and to raise respect for diversity of

other cultures. The Council of Europe has developed several explanatory and methodological documents (so called *Guides* – 2003, 2007, 2010) in order to show a) how to develop language policies on the basis of a systematic approach to develop plurilingual competence; and b) how to increase the effect of other already-published documents (e.g. Common European Framework of Reference for languages and the development of language policies – CERR, 2001), developed by the Language Policy Unit of the Council of Europe.

According to *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR), published in 2001, plurilingualism has to be viewed as the ability to use more languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has varying degrees of proficiency in several languages, and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as "the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competencies, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw" (p. 168). In other words, plurilingual competence is "a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact" (p. 4). Applied plurilingualism means that during interaction the communicators switch from one language to another so that they can express themselves in one language and understand the other. The aim is not to achieve "mastery in a certain number of isolated languages but to use a combination of various skills in various languages" (p. 1-2). Emphasizing understanding before speaking, CEFR promotes plurilingualism as well as intercultural understanding. The desired end result of language policies applying this CEFR approach is a communicating person who "has proficiency of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures" (p. 168).

Plurilingual competence involves the development of linguistic and communication awareness. The "experience with plurilingualism and pluriculturalism has potential to accelerate subsequent learning in the linguistic and cultural areas" (CEFR, parts 6.1.3.3-4). This may be achieved even if proficiency in some learned languages is 'partial'.

Another tool promoting plurilingualism elaborated by the Council of Europe is *The European Language Portfolio.* After some experimental years, it launched officially throughout Europe in 2001. The ELP supports the diversity and synergy of learning languages in a transparent way, e.g., by offering multilingual dossiers and textual aids. Besides others, their educational functions are to "enhance a) the motivation of learners to learn additional languages"; and b) "their plurilingual and intercultural experience" (ELP Guide for Developers). If dealt

with correctly, the ELF can become a transparent and comprehensive evidence of one's plurilingual language proficiency development.

One of the leading principles upon which the Council of Europe (Guide…, 2003, p. 41) based its plurilingual policy is the idea that plurilingualism is "an unexceptional ability shared by all speakers which may either stay latent or develop just with respect to varieties very close to the first language" and that is "relevant for all European states whatever degree of multilingualism they embody" (Guide…, 2007, p. 38). That means that from the educational point of view all European states have to face the current challenge to become more active in supporting the plurilingual and intercultural competence of all students in their state school system.

The Guide (2007, under the full title Guide for Development of Language Education Policies in Europe) introduces a complex process showing how to reflect and support linguistic variety in plurilingual education. It considers plurilingualism to be the fundamental principle of language policy in Europe. Very practically, it means that besides teaching the English language – often described as European *lingua franca* - the Council of Europe encourages teaching the whole variety of languages, primarily minority languages.

Of course, plurilingual education is interconnected with the intercultural competence of learners, as evidenced in the learners' knowledge about various cultures and one's own culture, attitudes (tolerance, openness, respect) and actual skills and actions (ability to use the intercultural contacts in self-orientation in the pluralistic world) (Zelenková, 2010, p. 26).

Pluralistic approaches to language education

As already indicated in part by the language policy of the Council of Europe, language teaching should build up the plurilingual competence by comparing the existing knowledge of languages, not developing each language separately – without connection to what the learners already acquired either from their mother tongue or from other languages they have been learning. The Council of Europe envisages a positive role of the influence of language transfer; of the previous knowledge of one's mother tongue and his/her first foreign language(s); and, to some extent, of learner's ability to construct the knowledge of other foreign languages based on the pre-requisites.

Plurilingual education is not to be thought of as a new methodology for language teaching. Rather it should be envisioned as a change in how language education is understood. Its main characteristic is that it should integrate the learners' experience not only with learning foreign languages but "also the

languages in proximity, the languages of the learners' repertoires, the languages of schooling and of all subjects. It implies global language education, across all languages of the school and in all disciplinary domains, which provides a basis for an identity open to linguistic and cultural plurality and diversity, insofar as languages are the expression of different cultures and of differences within the same culture. All disciplines contribute to this language education through the contents which they carry and the ways in which they are taught" (Cavalli et al, 2009, ff. 8).

Thus, **pluralistic approaches to language education** apply those kinds of teaching methods and techniques that stir up the learners' awareness of the need to learn more languages and that show how to do it actually. The range of methodologies for plurilingual language teaching must include various techniques of higher thinking skills, such as guessing, comparing, matching, evaluating, etc., associated with comprehension of related languages and with the intercultural approach, which is an inseparable ingredient of the plurilingual educational approach to languages.

According to *Project Graz 2000-2003 "Learning more than one language efficiently: Tertiary language teaching and learning in Europe",* which was carried out by the European Centre for Modern Languages in Graz, one of the fundamentals of plurilingual didactics is the fact of the learner's existing language knowledge and cognitive and emotional learning experience (his/her mother tongue and the subsequently learned languages – via 'subconscious' process of their 'acquisition' as well as their 'conscious learning'). On this account, the development of plurilingual competence happens as a result of systematic, synergistic effort to utilize the learner's knowledge of the qualitative differences between learning the first, the second, the third and the following languages; or their similarities and differences.

A historical example of plurilingual education in the multilingual Slovak region

To sum up what was said so far, plurilingualism is a phenomenon that has received special attention from various European institutions and which demands responsible reflection and response in the educational systems of individual European states. The next parts of this study focus on one state: Slovakia. The way that state educational policy responds to the challenge of plurilingualism depends on a whole set of factors, especially on the history of the nation, its legislation, educational management, teaching methodology, etc. We

begin the description of the Slovak case with a look at the 18th century because that period saw remarkable documentation of our situation.

The Central-European region, including Slovakia, has not only had a long history of multilingualism but there has been evidence of individual schools and teachers striving to develop plurilingual competence of their students with the aim of preparing them for future life in this region.

Looking back into the Kingdom of Hungary in the 18th century, it is possible to find an excellent example of this in the work of Matej Bel (Matthias *Bel,* 1684 – 1749), known as *Magnum decus Hungariae - the Great Ornament of the Kingdom of Hungary* (the following data – see e.g. *Pedagóg Matej Bel*, 1985; Hanesová, 2014). He considered himself as *lingua Slavus, natione Hungarus, eruditione Germanus* (by language a Slav, by nation a Hungarian, by erudition a German). He lived in a multilingual region and he was also a passionate plurilingual personality. Not only did he use classic languages (Latin, Greek and Hebrew) and several national languages (German, Hungarian and a kind of Slovak version of the Czech language) in his private and teacher-preacher-scientist professional life, but he also strove eagerly to promote plurilingual principles in his own teaching of languages.

Bel' approach to plurilingualism in the context of 18th century's classical and modern philology was uniquely innovative. Due to the historical background and multi-ethnic character of the region, Latin was the main official communication language applied in all areas of cultural and political life. It was also the main language of school instruction, so the aim of studying it was its practical knowledge. According to Jóna's description (1984), Bel's times echoed ideas and methods of humanism and of the Renaissance that migrated from the Middle Ages and sometimes even from ancient times. Hebrew was considered to be the mother of languages. Writing and spelling usually prevailed over the correct pronunciation and sounds. Analysis of texts according to parts of speech (*partes orationis*), as advocated by Aristotle and Donatus, survived until 'modern' times of Matej Bel.

Scholars of Bel's era were interested in the problem of language diversity from various viewpoints, but Bel was an exceptional linguist, teacher, and headmaster (consequently of two Slovak grammar schools). He was persuaded and troubled with the idea that "the diversity of languages alienates man from man" (Jóna, 1984, p. 131). In his famous *Introduction into Doležal's Grammar* (*Grammatica Slavico-Bohemica*, 1746), Bel verbalized this idea in an almost poetic way. He was a major proponent of the idea that the ability to communicate in the languages of one's neighbors could contribute to better mutual

understanding and relationships between ethnic groups and countries. In this point Bel identified himself with J. A. Komenský who also argued in favor of learning several national languages, especially those of neighbors. He proposed that such mutual interaction would give all partners a chance to communicate with their neighbor in their mother tongue. In this *Introduction* Bel expressed his very high opinion of the profession of language teachers as they were trying to clarify languages and facilitate language learning. He appreciated that they did so in order to help the tribes and peoples, previously divided by linguistic differences, to reassemble and return to mutual, human natural social relationships. He even quotes St. Augustine, to the effect that not being able to respond to the variety of languages could become a hindrance to building community relationships among people, with the result that people "spend time with their dog rather than with another human speaking other language ... It happens that people speaking different languages almost do not treat the others as humans ... A human can comprehend the ideas of another human only if he comprehends his language ... Otherwise there cannot be any fellowship among neighboring nations, and it may end in mutual disagreements, or even expressions of hostility." So Bel compares language teachers - who teach languages with the aim to ease contacts with neighboring nations - to negotiators sent to the warring opponents (Slovak translation of *Introduction*, 1984, p. 3). Bel sincerely honored and loved to teach languages of the neighbors. He explicitly praised, e.g., both Hungarian and 'Slovakized' Czech language.

Matej Bel faced the challenge of multilingualism and the need to develop plurilingual and pluricultural competencies by acting in two directions. First, he paid careful attention to the new methodological approaches to teaching classical languages. He especially focused on a reform of teaching Latin with the aim of facilitating its study and of enhancing functional communicative competence in the Latin of his students. Bel's rejection of the static learning of grammar rules by detailed explanation and memorization reminds one of the approach to languages by J. A. Komenský, who inspired him initially. Later on, Bel developed his own language methodology.

For Bel, Latin language was only a tool – not the aim – to become educated. He strongly emphasized the need to reduce the huge number of grammar rules to a minimum and to raise students' interest in the cultural context of languages; he included the reading of authentic Roman and Greek literal texts (applying the *ad fontes* principle) of various (age-appropriate) levels. Bel can be considered a kind of a predecessor of content-based language instruction as he tried to integrate Latin language with interesting meaningful content by implementing historical,

geographic and legislative texts and their lexis. The students had, e.g., to learn to describe a trip to Slovak unique caves with verbal expressions such as "enter the cave, climb it, measure it" in Latin. Bel realized that for his students to learn Latin grammar from a detailed German grammar textbook might have been demanding, boring and frustrating. That is why he decided to write a very simple Latin grammar book usable for all nationalities,

Concurrently, Bel gave effort to developing communicative competence in all national neighboring languages needed by the then-living inhabitants of Hungarian/Slovak territory (German, Hungarian, Slovak). Though Bel was influenced by Komenský's methodological ideas, especially his advocacy of taking a complex, holistic approach using visual aids, interesting content, age-appropriateness, etc., he rejected Komenský's grammar textbooks as linguistically impure, and he composed his own textbooks. To face multilinguism in Hungary (with German, Slovak, Hungarian and Croatian native speaking students together in his classroom), he even wrote a grammar of German in Latin (1718) to enable people separated by different native languages to learn German. Later on he wrote more grammar books for other languages. In the words of Bel's contemporary, Hruškovic, by producing his own grammar textbooks (for the Latin, German and Hungarian languages) Bel wanted to reform all schools in the region (1942, p. 77).

Besides the grammar textbooks, Bel compiled a multilingual dictionary based on the Latin-German dictionary written by Cellarius; he did so by adding the Czech and Hungarian equivalents. What Bel actually did was to simplify Cellarius's Latin-German dictionary and to add not only more "modern" Latin key words, but also other language versions of all concepts, with the aim of supporting the principle of four-language competence that Hungary needed in its civil administration, and its cultural and educational institutions. Thus Bel's Latin-German-Hungarian-Czech School Dictionary (*Liber memorialis*) was published in r.1719. It was intended for students in the senior grades of grammar schools; its second (shortened) version (*Primitiva Latina)* was designed for pupils in the lower grades.

Bel's publications are clearly an attempt to balance language theory (etymology, syntax) with the methodology of teaching to communicate in the learned languages through short dialogues. Besides religious topics, his textbooks and dictionaries included predominantly practical topics of everyday life (e.g. getting up, getting dressed, taking care of the kitchen, an invitation for coffee, going to church, lunch, dinner, walks, leisure activities. These are examples not only of Bel's pedagogical realism, but also of his response to the

multilingual context he lived in and the challenge he faced to encourage the plurilingual competence of his students. There are a few historical records from eye witnesses of his examinations of students, indicating that Bel's language teaching methods achieved higher results with at least some students (Sopko, 1985, s. 188). In fact, as the archives confirm, Bel's publications were used widely in the Slovak region and not only during his life, but through almost the whole next century. Several scholars and translators have studied these publications up to the present time.

Later, Slovakia continued to be a typical case of a country where many people had partial knowledge of more languages, even if they were not aware of it. Before the separation of Slovakia from the Czech Republic in 1993, Slovaks and Czechs living in Czechoslovakia comprehended both official languages – Czech and Slovak as they had lots of opportunity to acquire them naturally, e.g. via TV and radio broadcasting. In some places there was even trilingualism (e.g. with Hungarian language in the South of Slovakia or with German language in the same area), or quadrilingualism (e.g. according to the author's personal experience with older Slovak native people speaking/comprehending Czech, Hungarian and German living in Bratislava before 1989).

Plurilingual education and plurilingual awareness in Slovakia

According to current legislation, compulsory foreign language education in Slovakia starts in the third year of primary level at the age of 8. This system was approved by the Slovak government (2007) and introduced to schools in September 2008. The new language teaching policy was designed in accordance with the ideas of *the Millenium* project and with the *National Program of Education* in the Slovak Republic (2001) after a long tradition of compulsory foreign language learning from fifth class (at the age of 10). As §No. 4/ of the Educational Act No. 245/2008 stated, the aim was to allow the students to acquire proficiency in two languages - primarily in the English language and also in one other foreign language. In practice almost all kindergartens and many primary schools offer foreign language teaching even before reaching the age of 8. In years 2008 – 2014 the teaching of an obligatory second foreign language was introduced from sixth class (11-year-old learners) at lower secondary schools. Since 2014 the second foreign language has the status of an elective subject.

Since 2010/11 the compulsory first foreign language has been English language, taught at least three hours a week. At lower secondary school, English language teaching continues with three weekly hours, aiming at A2 level. The aim

is that the learners at the age of 10/11 reach A1 level and the graduates of lower secondary school reach A2 in English, according to the CEFR. The second foreign language is only an optional subject at ISCED 2, aiming at A1. At upper secondary school two languages had to be taught, the first language aimed at B2/B1, four lessons a week. The objective for the second foreign language (taught two lessons per week) was B1/A2.

Let us have a closer look at the aims of teaching foreign languages, as indicated in the State Educational Programs of the primary (ISCED1) and lower secondary (ISCED 2) education levels by the Ministry of education:
- to raise the interest in foreign languages,
- to create the basis for further language learning,
- to develop communication competences of students in the native and foreign languages;
- to promote holistic development of students: cognitive (distinguishing and remembering, systematic training of receptive and productive skills), social, emotional, personal,
- to develop intercultural competence,
- to develop all communication skills: listening with comprehension, speaking; gradually reading with comprehension and writing.

According to the Ministry of Education, Research and Sport in the Slovak Republic and its National Institute for Education, foreign languages learning should contribute to understanding and discovering the facts that go beyond the range of students' experience mediated by the state language. Having ensured a good quality of education, they should provide the basis for students' communication within the European Union, exploring the richness of various cultural traditions, deepening mutual knowledge and international understanding and tolerance, and creating conditions for school collaboration on international projects. The overall aim is that the graduates of Slovak schools will be able "to contribute to the development of pluralism and cultural openness, and to growing awareness of language belonging to the same ethnic, linguistic affinity and a sense of belonging to other ethnic groups, by operating the standard literary language" (ŠPÚ, 2011).

This implies that a standard situation of the plurilinguistic repertoire of a secondary school graduate living in Slovakia and coming from the Slovak majority is as follows: He/she is able to communicate in spoken and written form of Slovak as the state language (in schools and public institutions). His/her mother tongue may be a regional dialect of Slovak. Besides this, he/she masters at least one or two foreign languages learned at school (English and one other

language) both in a spoken and written form at different levels of ability. In cases where the person belongs to an ethnic minority in Slovakia (Roma, Hungarian, etc.) or is an immigrant to Slovakia, he/she has also the ability to speak in yet another language as a mother language. Children from ethnic minorities in Slovakia can study in schools using both their mother language and Slovak language. Of course there are cases with more acquired native languages (both parents use different languages) or learned foreign languages (via language courses or as self-learners etc.). Besides these considerations, the best conditions for acquiring an understanding of a neighbor's national language via TV and other media are naturally set in case of the Czech language which is understood to some extent by majority of population.

Comparison of the current language choice by students in compulsory education in the Slovak Republic with the European documents focusing on plurilingualism results in several generalizations about the Slovak language teaching policy:

- The decision to reduce the diversity of foreign language teaching to teaching English as the compulsory first foreign language for all students does not fully support the idea of plurilingualism. On one hand, of course, there were good reasons behind it and there are advantages to this approach – that is that all students have a democratic right to learn the *lingua franca* that will enable them to communicate with people from many nations, have wider access to study abroad, or to apply in the European labor market. But on the other hand, as a consequence, students are often not able to comprehend peers from neighboring states if they use their native languages (which was such a standard condition of an educated person in the times of Komenský or Bel).
- There is another problem connected with the dominance of English language teaching – and that is the persistent lack of sufficiently qualified English teachers (especially at the primary school level). A big group of new English teachers are graduates of other languages and they have learnt English only recently in re-qualifying courses. Their level of pronunciation and speaking competence is often not satisfactory.
- Having decided to eliminate compulsory teaching of the second foreign language during the lower secondary level, the chance for students to have exposure to other languages has been dramatically reduced in two ways: variety of languages, and depth of exposure.
- Generally, foreign languages in Slovakia are taught separately, with no ministerial requirement of making any connections between them. It means

that there is almost none emphasis on implementing pluralistic approaches as described earlier in, e.g. the Graz Project.

Besides describing the current language education policy in Slovakia yet another, different perspective of plurilingual competence can be applied. It is associated with the plurilingual awareness of the need for more languages in public and personal life. For the purpose of describing some aspects of this awareness, an investigation of plurilingual awareness of students in pre-primary and primary teacher education (TE) Bachelor non-linguistic study programs was carried out. The first phase of this survey was accomplished in 2002 in a sample of 547 students. Recently (Spring 2015) a similar survey with the same target group of students though in a smaller sample of 111 students was repeated.

Because the samples were quite small, it is not possible to generalize their results to the whole population. But on the other hand, the acquired data can be useful in evaluating the current plurilingual awareness of students from faculties of education. The respondents had to answer two open-ended questions: What kind of language have you needed so far (in the past and at present), and what for? Which foreign language do you anticipate needing to use in the future?

In order to show the scope of plurilingual awareness of the respondents, the data are presented in the following order:
- some data from the survey of teacher education students in 2002 – about their past, present and future use of individual foreign languages,
- some data from the survey of teacher education students in 2015 – about their past, present and future use of foreign languages,
- comparison of both surveys.

Survey in 2002
Comparing **the use of English in 2002** showed some discrepancies between their **past and present** use of it. When asked why it was like that the respondents reasoned that by the "present" they meant the period of the current school year, not including last holidays. The respondents anticipated much higher use of English in all areas in the future except of using English for communication with foreigners in Slovakia which was rather strange.

Comparing the use of **German in 2002** also produced some surprising results. The respondents expect a decreasing level of professional contacts in English and also a very slight raise of opportunities to use German during tourism abroad.

Data from comparing the use of **Russian in 2002** reflected a certain level of skepticism among respondents regarding their use of Russian in professional contacts and contacts with Russian-speaking foreigners in Slovakia, as well as a very low increase (if any) of speaking Russian during tourism abroad.

Language	Work/ study abroad	Better job position	Tourism abroad	Communication with foreigners in Slovakia	Contacts with colleagues	International conferences
English	8.7	7.1	2.0	37.8	11.3	5.2
German	4.2	3.8	12.0	2.0	11.0	0.9
Russian	1.0	0.9	2.0	5.8	1.6	0.2
French	0.4	0.5	3.1	1.5	0.5	0
Spanish	0.9	0.8	4.3	4.0	1.5	0.5

Table 1: Chart 1: Past opportunities for using foreign languages (%) – 2002

Language	Work/ study abroad	Better job position	Tourism abroad	Communication with foreigners in Slovakia	Contacts with colleagues	International conferences
English	5.7	5.7	17.5	33.8	10.0	4.2
German	2.7	3.1	11.0	14.0	2.7	0.6
Russian	0.6	0.6	1.5	5.1	0.6	0.4
French	0.2	0.2	0.7	0.2	0	0
Spanish	0	0	0.2	0	0	0

Table 2: Present opportunities for using foreign languages (%) – 2002

Language	Work/ study abroad /Au pair	Better job posi-tion	Tourism abroad	Communi cation with foreigners in Slovakia	Contacts with collea-gues	Internation al conferen-ces	Cultural purpo-ses films, books	Informa-tion for my profession
English	30.7	33.0	32.7	42.3	21.5	15.9	43.4	7.0
German	8.0	12.0	11.9	16.8	4.7	2.9	10.0	2.9
Russian	1.0	1.7	2.0	2.9	0.9	1.5	2.2	1.0
French	1.0	1.0	1.8	0.9	0.9	0.2	1.3	0.07
Spanish	0.7	0	0	0.2	0	0	0	0
Italian	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.18	0.07

Table 3: The potential use of foreign languages in the future (%) - 2002

Survey in 2015

In the next charts, No. 4 and 5, data from **the survey** of teacher education **students in 2015** are presented. Because the respondents mentioned more options for the use of foreign languages, the data are presented in two charts (A and B):

Language	Work abroad	Work in Slovakia	Tourism abroad	Communication with foreigners in Slovakia	Contacts with colleagues/ relatives Slovakia	Cultural purposes films/ books	Information for my profession
English	12	16.2	58	22.5	18	59.4	7.1
German	14.4	7.1	26.1	4.5	0.9	3.6	1.8
Russian	0	7.1	2.7	1.8	1.8	2.7	
French	0.9		8.1	0.9	0.9	0.9	
Spanish		0.9	4.5	0.9	0.9	1.8	
Italian	0.9		6.3		0.9		
Croatian	0.9		9				
Greek			1,8				
Polish		1.8	4.5		1.8		
Czech			5.4		2.7	3.6	0.9
Hungarian		1.8	7.1	1.8	0.9		
Romanian			0.9				
Bulgarian			0.9		1.8		
Ukrainian		0.9	0. 9				
Japanese			0.9			0.9	
Arabic			0.9				
Dutch	0.9						
Hebrew			0.9				
Turkish			0.9				
None	0.9						

Table 4: Which foreign languages have you used/needed so far? (%) – 2015 (A)

Language	Professional mobile-ties Eras-mus etc.	Music	Computer / Internet web-shopping /chatting	Everyday abroad - tickets, accomo dation	General education / Used at school	Helping friends learning/ transla-tion	Writing/ Reading in Slovakia Instruc-tion, texts	Related language / Neighbor language
English	1.8	6	16.2	7.2	29	2.7	5.4	
German	3.6		0.9	3.6	9	0.9		
Russian			0.9		5.4			0.9
French	0.9	1.8	0.9		1.8			
Spanish		1.8			1.8			
Italian		0.9						
Croatian								
Greek								
Polish				0.9				
Czech	0.9				0.9			
Turkish	0.9							

Table 5: Which foreign languages have you used/needed so far? (%) – 2015 (B)

As the charts No. 4 and 5 from **2015** show, English continues to be the most important language for the respondents. But it is important to add that the scope of other languages that the respondents considered important in their past and present has grown to 18, even though only some of them use it. This shows a trend of growing plurilingual awareness. A surprising but realistic result of the survey is that there is quite a high percentage of respondents working in German-speaking countries (higher than in English-speaking countries). Not only does tourism in foreign countries raise the plurilingual need, but so do various cultural forms and media (TV programs, books). The goal of using foreign language for professional purposes is still very low among the respondents.

Comparison between surveys 2002 and 2015
To start with, the survey showed that the number of students who had **no plurilingual awareness** in 2002 was much higher than in the 2015 sample. In the 2002 sample a) about 14% of respondents did not report any past use of any foreign language; and b) about 29% did not have any present need or opportunity to use foreign languages. What was rather sad was that almost 8% of them were so skeptical as not to see any chance to use any foreign language in

their future at all. In the 2015 sample, none of the respondents mentioned zero past or present use of foreign languages, only 1 of them mentioned that she used only the English language. Only 1 respondent commented on this survey negatively "I have needed only the Slovak language because I do not go for holidays and I have never spoken to any foreign speaker – I had English only at school. I do not think I will need any foreign language in my kindergarten teacher career (or only minimum English)."

Comparing the level of plurilingual competence of both groups of respondents **2002 and 2015**, some more interesting information about the level of plurilingual awareness of the respondents appear:
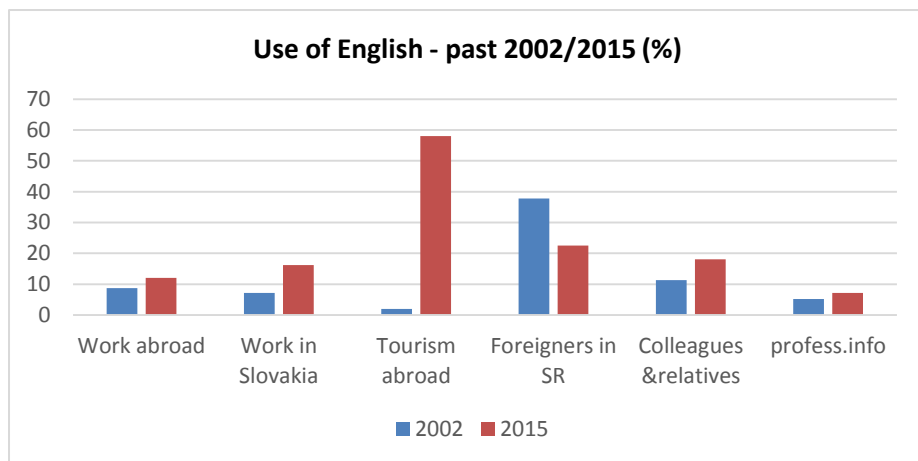
Graph 1: The use of foreign languages in the past

As can be seen from the graph No 1, the level of **past** experiences of **English** by the sample in 2015 (by past they meant before this academic year) increased (except talking to foreigners in Slovakia, which, on the other hand, may be explained by growing contacts with colleagues and relatives and friends in English).

The percentage of the use of **German in the past** has increased in the group of respondents in 2015 (with the exception of the category of their professional contacts).

The **past use of Russian** has increased radically in the working position in Slovakia, but has decreased in relation to opportunities to work abroad or to speak to foreigners in Slovakia in the Russian language.

The percentage of the use **of Spanish in the pas**t seems to be at the same level in both samples; there is radical drop in their opportunities to use Spanish while working abroad or in contact with foreigners or even colleagues and friends in Slovakia.

The percentage of the use of **French in the past** has increased with the respondents in 2015 in all areas except of their speaking French with foreigners in Slovakia.
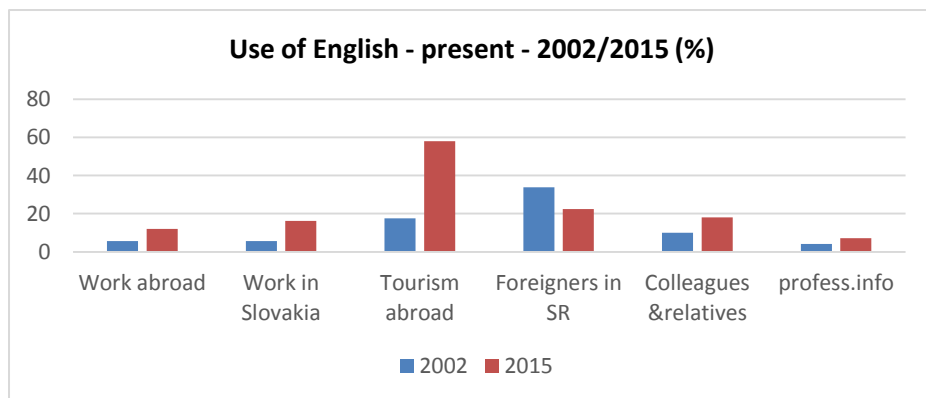
Graph 2: The use of foreign languages at present

Comparison of the present use all of the five mentioned languages **(English, German, Russian, French and Spanish**) by both samples showed similar results as the comparison about their past use (with the exception of Spanish as there was almost zero level of the 'present' use of Spanish in the 2002 sample).

Anticipated use of foreign languages in the future
The 2015 sample was also asked about the future need of foreign languages but focused specifically on their professional life. As the question was narrow, it was not possible to directly compare both samples and that is why we evaluated these responses in each sample individually. In the 2002 sample, up to 21% respondents could have imagined talking in English with colleagues, up to 15%

communicating in English during professional conferences and only 7% using English in acquisition of professional information.

A massive increase of plurilingual ambitions was documented with the 2015 group. All students but one mentioned some kind of use of English in their future career. What is encouraging from the point of view of plurilingual awareness, almost 40% of the respondents think that they might use German in their future life, one fifth anticipate the use of Russian and there was a small number of respondents suggesting ten other languages: a) languages of minorities living in Slovakia – Hungarian, Roma, Ukrainian; b) languages of neighboring countries – Hungarian, German, Czech, Polish; c) languages of foreigners and immigrants living/working in Slovakia – Korean, Chinese; d) other traditional languages – French and Spanish. Not only did the awareness of the variety of languages needed in the future profession of teachers increase, so did also the variety of purposes of their use – from teaching some languages at home or abroad to even founding new bilingual kindergartens, etc.

Conclusion

The intention of this study was to present some data about the situation associated with plurilingual education in the Slovak Republic. The methodology chosen was based on four different perspectives on this rather complex phenomenon: a) setting the situation in Slovakia in a broader frame of plurilingual educational policy in European documents; b) exploring the rich tradition of plurilingual education in the Slovak territory; c) examining current language education policy from the point of view of plurilingualism; and finally d) sharing some results of two surveys showing the level of plurilingual awareness of two samples of future Slovak pre-primary and primary teachers (in 2002 and 2015).

The final reflection of all these different views at plurilingualism in Slovakia may indicate two trends.

The first of them can be inferred from the fact that the recent movements in the official language education policy have reduced the scope of foreign language teaching (from various practical reasons which were not analyzed in this study). If this fact is 'reflected in the mirror' of European documents that to show evidence of supporting plurilingualism in a particular country is to show an effort „to increase the offer of languages by education system (the number of learners with access to foreign language teaching, the number of hours devoted to those languages, the number of linguistic varieties studied, etc.)" (Guide, 2003, p. 36),

then the Slovak educational system shows decreasing interest in development of plurilingualism.

On the other hand, the comparison of plurilingual awareness evident in two samples of preprimary and primary teachers indicates a growing trend. The growth in the interest and real need of the use of more languages (privately as well as professionally) has been indisputably confirmed. As plurilingualism does not expect "perfect" but only "partial knowledge" of languages for the purposes of exploiting the ability to express oneself in one language and being understood by the other people, then the hope is that it may be successfully developed not only by more and more Slovak professionals and citizens as such, but hopefully there will be a new flexible system developed in the future to realize such linguistic facility on a national scale (e.g. by allowing more films without Slovak dubbing; organizing games and competitions focusing on the added value of plurilingualism; awarding plurilingual competence of people of various generations; organizing various leisure time activities, mobilities, international conferences for various ethnic/language groups in Slovakia and with neighboring countries; implementing plurilingual approaches into regular school curriculum (e.g. integrating them with geography or history); producing plurilingual publications; and more and more other exciting ways of formal, semiformal or non-formal education.

Acknowledgement

References
BEACCO, J. C., BYRAM, M., CAVALLI, M., COSTE, D., CUENAT, GOULLIER, F., PANTHIER, J. (2010). *Guide for the development and implementation of curricula for plurilingual and intercultural education*. Strasbourg : Council of Europe. Available on the interenet [May 2015]:
https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Source2010_ForumGeneva/GuideEPI2010_EN.pdf
BEL, M. (1746). *Predhovor* k Doležalovej gramatike. – Grammatica Slavico-Bohemica. Posonn 1746. Prefácia. Prel. Do sl. In Slovenská reč, 49, 1984, č. 3)
CANDELIER, M., CAMILLERI-GRIMA, A. et al. (2012). *FREPA – A Framework of Reference for Pluralistic Approaches to Languages/ Cultures*. Graz : ECML.

CAVALLI, M., COSTE, D., CRISAN, A., PIET-HEIN van deVen. (2009*). Plurilingual and Intercultural Education as a Project. In Languages in Education – Languages for Education,* DG IV/EDU/LANG (3).

Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment. (2001). Strasbourg : Council of Europe, Cambridge University Press.

Doušková, A., Lynch Z. (2015). Foreign Language as One of Key Competences in Primary and Pre-Primary Education. In Hanesová, D. (ed.) *Education – Research – Evaluation.* Banská Bystrica : PF UMB, pp. 73-80.

European Commission (2012. Children in Europe start learning foreign languages at an increasingly early age. Available at: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-12-990_en.htm?locale=en

From Linguistic Diversity to Plurilingual Education: Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe. Strasbourg : Council of Europe, 2007. Available on the interenet [May 2015]: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/elp/elp-eg/Source/Publications/Developers_guide_EN.pdf.http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/FullGuide_EN.pdf

HAMADA, M., NOVACKÁ, M. (1985). Matej Bel v kontexte školy, vzdelanosti a kultúry od reformačného humanizmu k osvietenectvu. In *Matej Bel Pedagóg*. Bratislava, pp. 26 -66.

HUFEISEN, B., NEUNER, G. (2004). The Plurilingualism Project: Tertiary Language Learning – German after English. Strasbourg : European Centre for Modern Languages.

Language Education Policy Profiles. Strasbourg : Council of Europe, http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Profils_en.asp.

HANESOVÁ, D. (2003). *Odborná angličtina na PF.* Banská Bystrica : Trian, 2003.

HANESOVÁ, D. (2014). Pedagogická koncepcia Mateja Bela. In *Pedagogika,* 2014, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 273 – 289.

HRUŠKOVIC, S. (1942). *Vlastný životopis.* Lipt. Mikuláš, 1942, s. 77.

JÓNA, E. (1984). Matej Bel. In *Slovenská reč*, Vol. 49, 1984, No. 3, pp. 129 – 135.

MŠVVŠ SR. Súčasný systém výučby cudzích jazykov je naplnením programu Milénium. Available at: https://www.minedu.sk/sucasny-system-vyucby-cudzich-jazykov-je-naplnenim-programu-milenium/

NEUNER, G. (2004). The concept of plurilingualism and tertiary language didactics. In Hufeisen, B., Neuner, G. (eds.) *The Plurilingualism Project: Tertiary Language Learning – German after English*. Graz : European Centre for Modern Languages, pp. 13 – 34.

JANÍKOVÁ, V. (2006). Jazykové vzdělávání a jazykové kurikulum na počátku 21.století. In J. MAŇÁK a T. JANÍK. [ed.] *Problémy kurikula základní školy.* Brno : Masarykova univerzita, pp. 203-215.

RICZIOVÁ, B. (1985). Rukopisný zlomok latinskej gramatiky písanej po maďarsky a po česky. In *Pedagóg Matej Bel*. Bratislava : SPK, ÚSI, pp. 202 – 212.

SCHNEIDER, G. , LENZ, P. (2015). *European Language Portfolio: Guide for Developers.* University of Fribourg. Available on the interenet [May 2015]: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/elp/elp-eg/Source/Publications/ Developers_guide_EN.pdf.

SOPKO, J. (1985). Matej Bel a vyučovanie latinčiny. In *Pedagóg Matej Bel.* Bratislava : SPK a ÚSI, pp. 181 – 201.

Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in Education and Traininig (ET 2020). Available on the interenet [September 2014.]: http://ec.europa.eu/languages/policy/strategic-framework/documents/rethinking-leaflet/slovakia-rethinking-060913_sk.pdf.

ŠPÚ. Štátny vzdelávací program. Available at: http://www.statpedu.sk/sk/Statny-vzdelavaci-program/Statny-vzdelavaci-program-pre-1-stupen-zakladnych-skol-ISCED-1/Jazyk-a-komunikacia-ISCED-1.alej

ŠPÚ. Štátny vzdelávací program – Dokumenty. Available at: http://www.statpedu.sk/files/documents/svp/2stzs/isced2/vzdelavacie_oblasti/ anglicky_jazyk_a2_titul.pdf

ZELENKOVÁ, A. (2010). *Interkultúrne vzdelávanie v cudzích jazykoch na vysokej škole. Metódy a ich reflexia*. Banská Bystrica : EF UMB.

Contact
Assoc. Professor Dana Hanesová, PhD.
Faculty of Education, University of Matej Bel
Ružová 13, Banská Bystrica, Slovakia
dana.hanesova@umb.sk

The perspectives of English language teachers
on intercultural awareness
at a university prep school in Turkey

Burcu Yılmaz & Yonca Özkan
Çukurova University, Turkey
burcu.yilmaz89@gmail.com; yoncaca@cu.edu.tr

Abstract

The spread of English as a global language raised some arguments against the centrality of native speaker norms of English in English language classrooms. Since most of the English speakers today are non-native, they are more likely to speak English in order to communicate with other non-native speakers of English. Therefore, the aim of English language teaching should be to provide the learners with varieties of English so that they gain an intercultural perspective of English. This research aimed to explore to what extent English language instructors in Turkey indicate intercultural awareness. Questionnaires and interviews were conducted with native English speaking teachers (NESTs) and non-native English speaking teachers (NNESTs) at a university preparatory school. The research findings provided remarkable information about teachers' perspectives. The findings revealed that most of the teachers believed the importance of intercultural teaching; however, they experienced some difficulties reflecting their intercultural awareness into the classroom. This study can contribute to English language teaching by displaying teachers' perspectives on the issue. It can also help us look into the reasons underlying their beliefs about intercultural awareness, which may provide an insight into current situations in language classes. Also, the findings can suggest what should be done to enrich intercultural perspective in English language classrooms.

Keywords

nonnative English-speaking teachers (NNESTs), native English-speaking teachers (NESTs), intercultural awareness

Introduction

Along with the global spread of English, there has been a remarkable increase in the number of people who speak English as their second or even third language. As the majority of English speakers are non-native all around the world, the special status given to native-speakers and British and American English has been questioned largely during the past few decades. The idea that speakers of English in different parts of the world communicates in English mostly with non-native speakers rather than native speakers has challenged the

"ideal norms" of English spoken by native speakers. (Widdowson, 1994; House, 2004; Jenkins, 2000; Crystal, 2003). Not surprisingly, this idea has broadly affected English language teaching field all over the world. As a natural consequence of this view, currently, the traditional approach to follow "native speaker norms" in English language teaching is widely questioned since English is spoken by millions of people in different parts of the world, leading the emergence of different varieties. Therefore, English language teaching is expected to expose learners to different varieties of English with the purpose of raising their intercultural awareness. In this regard, the question arises as to whether intercultural awareness is promoted in English language classes.

In order to address this question, this research aims to explore to what extent native English speaking teachers and non-native English speaking teachers at a university in Turkey indicate intercultural awareness. Beginning with the theoretical background, the study will be introduced and methodology part will be explained briefly. Following this part, results of the study will be presented and discussed thoroughly. In conclusion, the study will be summarized briefly and significant implications for English language teaching field will be outlined.

Theoretical background

The centrality of native speaker norms has been challenged for the past few decades by many scholars and researchers. In fact, we can find its roots in Kachru's (1985) three- circle World Englishes model as a new perspective to Englishes spoken all around the world. It has been influential in raising the awareness about the recognition of different varieties of English. As well as this "World Englishes" view, English has also been considered as having a "Lingua Franca" status. It is referred as 'the common language of choice among speakers who come from different linguacultural backgrounds' (Jenkins, 2009, p. 200). That is to say, all speakers of English -regardless of whether that are native speakers or not- need to acquire ELF as a means of communication to be able to communicate successfully with English speakers who have different mother tongues. Although these two models differ in some perspectives, both of them points out the significance of varieties of English and considers English as a language that doesn't belong to its native speakers only. "In their different but complementary fields both research areas have shown how English cannot any longer be considered as a monolithic entity, not least in didactic terms." (Vettorel & Lopriore , 2013). Likewise, McKay (2002) claims that competency shouldn't be based on native speaker models. The aim should be the awareness of both native speakers and bilingual users of English that pragmatic rules can differ

significantly cross-culturally" (McKay, 2002, p. 76). Similarly, Alptekin (2002) argues that native speaker model of communicative competence is not realistic and it imposes only native speaker language and culture, which is completely against the idea of English as an international language.

Regarding the worldwide usage of English as an international means of communication, English language teaching is expected to promote the intercultural role of English in the classrooms. In this respect, some researches were concerned with intercultural awareness of ELT teachers and English language learners in different parts of the world. Timmis (2002) surveyed English language learners from fourteen countries and found out that they had a great tendency to follow native speaker models in pronunciation. Margić and Širola (2009) investigated the attitudes of students from English MA and BA programs toward different varieties of English. As a result of the study, they found out that MA students who completed English as a Global Language course were more open to the idea of English as an international language compared to BA students. However, there was still a great desire to sound like a native speaker and most of them made it clear that they would only teach native speaker norms to their students in the future. Young and Sachdev (2011) conducted a multimethodological research combining diaries, focus groups, and questionnaires. The results showed that experienced teachers from UK, USA and France had conflicts between their beliefs and practices in classroom. While teachers expressed a positive view toward intercultural approach to be applied in classrooms, their practices indicated poor signs of culture teaching and they seemed unable or unwilling to apply their beliefs about intercultural awareness in their classrooms. Approaching the issue from pre-service teachers' point of view, Olaya and Gómez (2013) explored pre-service English teachers' attitudes toward the aspects of culture and intercultural competence. The results indicated biased opinions about non-native culture variations and accents, which requires the need for raising learners' intercultural awareness. More recently, Sung (2014) examined the perceptions of English language learners in Hong Kong toward accent variety in ELT classrooms. The results indicated conflicting ideas about the idea of exposure to multiple accents. Even though they believed the importance of exposure to different accents of English, most of the students were not open to the idea to be exposed to different accents of English in their classrooms. They were rather concerned about diverging from the native norm and they desired to follow 'standard' English pronunciation. Another recent study that explored learners' perceptions about the issue was Kang (2014)'s study that investigated the attitudes of English language learners from inner,

outer and expanding circle countries towards their instructors' different accents. The students in inner and expanding circle countries showed more dissatisfaction about their pronunciation curriculum because of teachers' lack of effort of incorporating the role of English as an international language and also due to the confusion of various models of English. The learners in expanding circle countries also didn't value their teachers' accent as a perfect model of English pronunciation, which clearly signals their desire to be exposed to native speaker model of English pronunciation.

Some studies were carried out in Turkish context with respect to teaching of culture in ELT classrooms. Onalan (2005) and Sahin (2005) focused on the role of target language culture in ELT, excluding the implications of ELF and WE in classrooms. In his study, Onalan (2005) illustrated whether Turkish non-native English speaking teachers put emphasis on teaching the target culture. As a result of his study, Turkish NNESTs stated that students should learn about the target culture; however, they indicated unwillingness to teach culture in their classes because of some reasons such as to avoid cultural imperialism or exposing students to irrelevant topics. Sahin's (2005) study supported the results of Onalan's study in that, NNESTs were less effective to arouse positive attitudes toward target culture compared to NESTs in a Turkish private school context. Addressing the issue from a more intercultural perspective, Yılmaz (2007) analysed university students' perceptions of the role of culture in English language teaching. The results demonstrated that students wanted to learn about international topics rather than topic on target culture and they also wanted their own native culture to be included in their textbooks and syllabus. His findings do not seem to require a need for NESTS unlike the results revealed in Sahin and Onalan's studies. The native speaker norm dominance was also challenged by Acar (2009), and Alptekin (2009). According to Acar (2009), English language teachers need to develop an international perspective in their teaching focusing on English norms in both native speaker norms and emerging norms in diverse contexts. Pointing to the same issue, Alptekin (2009) questions the validity of native speaker norms and states that intercultural awareness needs to be raised in English language classrooms. Another study that reveals the need for promoting the role of English as a means of international communication was carried out by Ozturk, Cecen & Altınmakas (2009). In their study, Turkish pre-service teachers of English language reflected their idea about the ownership of English and normative standards. Their view about the issue indicated that there was a lack of awareness about ELF and they generally disregarded the multicultural role of English language. In this regard, it is clear

that English language teaching has not gone far beyond the conformity to native norms in many international contexts despite the global spread of English and its changing role.

The study

This pilot study explored to what extent native and non-native English speaking teachers had intercultural awareness in English language teaching. Five main points were the focus of the study:

1) What are teachers' perceptions of "intercultural awareness"?
2) What are teachers' attitudes towards culture teaching in English language classrooms?
3) How do teachers incorporate intercultural awareness into their teaching?
4) What challenges do teachers face in intercultural teaching process?
5) What could be done to improve intercultural awareness in English language teaching?

The method

The teachers that participated in the questionnaires were 5 native and 11 non-native English speaking teachers working at a university prep-school. Their ages varied between 24 to 55 and teaching experience were between 1 to 10 years. The participants were selected randomly. As for the interview, 2 native and 3 non-native English-speaking teachers were included in the study. The number of female and male teachers was not even in the questionnaire and interview because gender was not the focus of the study and therefore not taken into account.

A 38-item-questionnaire adapted from Sercu (2005), Almawoda (2011), and Wang (2014) was used to gather quantitative data. 5 point Likert scale were used for 35 of the questions. One of the questions were closed-ended and the last question was open ended. To gather qualitative data, semi-structured interview questions adapted from Almawoda (2011) and Jokikokko (2010) were used.

SPSS program was used to analyze the data obtained from questionnaires. Following that, the researchers identified, coded, and categorized themes found in the interview data by using NVivo 10.

Quantitative data results

The findings obtained from the questionnaires will be analyzed in this part. Findings from the questionnaire data will be revealed in tables. Teachers'

attitude toward intercultural awareness will be indicated in five categories that form the basis of the questionnaire.

A.   Objective of English Language Teaching in Cultural Dimension

As can be seen from the table 1, English language teachers mostly indicated a positive attitude towards the cultural perspective of English language teaching objectives. While the most popular objective among participants seemed to be "to promote the acquisition of an open mind and positive disposition towards unfamiliar cultures", they also tended to give importance "to motivate their students to communicate native speakers of English".

Objectives of ELT in cultural dimension	strongly agree	agree	not sure	disagree	strongly disagree
To promote the acquisition of an open mind and positive disposition towards unfamiliar cultures	56.2%	37.5%	6.2%	0.0%	0.0%
To motivate my students communicate native speakers of English	31.2%	43.8%	18.8%	6.2%	0.0%
To assist my students in developing a better understanding of their own identity culture	18.8%	50.0%	18.8%	6.2%	6.2%
To promote my students' familiarity with all English speaking cultures	12.5%	50.0%	31.2%	6.2%	0.0%

Table 1: Teachers' responses on objectives of English language teaching in cultural dimension

B.   Definition of Intercultural Competence

Data from the questionnaire indicated that more than half of the teachers agreed with all the given definitions of intercultural competence. There was a very little disagreement with the definitions. According to table 2, "how to communicate interculturally with others" was the most rated definition among participants with a percentage of 93.8 %. Following that, with a percentage of 87.5 %, "non-judgmental communication with other cultures" was the second most popular

definition among participants. While there was an open-ended part for teachers' own deifinition, none of the participants wrote any definition in that part.

Definition of intercultural competence	strongly agree	agree	not sure	disagree	strongly disagree
How to communicate interculturally with others.	43.8%	50.0%	6.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Non-judgmental communication with other cultures.	62.5%	25.0%	6.2%	6.2%	0.0%
A field of research that studies how people understand each other across group boundaries.	25.0%	43.8%	18.8%	12.5%	0.0%
Analyzing and adapting ones behavior when interacting with others	43.8%	25.0%	18.8%	12.5%	0.0%
It is how two different cultures relate to each other in terms of differences and similarities.	25.0%	50.0%	12.5%	12.5%	0.0%

Table 2: Teachers' responses on definition of intercultural competence

C.   Teachers' attitude towards culture teaching in English language classes

Questionnaire findings in this category were analyzed in four main parts based on participants' responses showing their attitude towards culture teaching in English language classes.

The first part explores how many of the participants considered teaching culture as an important part of English language teaching. As it is seen in table 3, a very high percentage of the participants regarded culture as a very important part of English language teaching. 93.8 % of the participants stated that teaching culture should be integrated in English language teaching and it motivates students to learn English. There was only a small number of participants with 12.5 % who were not sure and 6.2 % who disagreed that teaching culture is as important as teaching the language.

Teaching culture is very important in English language teaching	strongly agree	agree	not sure	disagree	strongly disagree
Culture teaching should be integrated into English language	25.0%	68.8%	6.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Providing cultural information enhances motivation towards learning English	37.5%	56.2%	0.0%	6.2%	0.0%
All students should acquire intercultural competence	25.0%	62.5%	6.2%	6.2%	0.0%
The more students know about the target language culture(s), the more tolerant they are	37.5%	43.8%	18.8%	0.0%	0.0%
In the language classroom, teaching culture is as important as teaching the language	18.8%	62.5%	12.5%	6.2%	0.0%

Table 3: Teachers' responses on the importance of teaching culture

Culture should be taught only when necessary	strongly agree	agree	not sure	disagree	strongly disagree
Teaching culture is important only if it is necessary for the students (e.g. travelling).	0.0%	18.8%	25.0%	37.5%	18.8%
Only when there are international students in your classes do you have to teach intercultural competence	0.0%	6.2%	6.2%	62.5%	25.0%

Table 4: Teachers' responses on teaching culture only when necessary

The second part shows how many of the participants believed culture should be taught only when necessary. From Table 4, we can see that a large number of participants disagreed with the idea of culture being taught only when necessary. Only 18.8 % of the participants thought culture should be taught if it is necessary for the students and even a smaller number of participants with

percentage of 6.2 % stated teaching intercultural competence is important only when there are international students in the class.

Negative attitudes toward culture teaching	strongly agree	agree	not sure	disagree	strongly disagree
Intercultural skills cannot be acquired at school	6.2%	18.8%	6.2%	50.0%	18.8%
Intercultural education has no affect whatsoever on students' attitudes	12.5%	0.0%	12.5%	50.0%	25.0%

Table 5: Teachers' negative attitudes toward culture teaching in English language classes

The third part indicates how many of the participants had negative attitudes toward culture teaching in English language classrooms. As can be seen in table 5, most of the teachers didn't show any negative attitudes toward culture teaching. While there was a percentage of 12.5 % teachers agreeing with the statement that intercultural education had no affect on students, there was relatively more number of participants with the percentage of 25 % agreeing with the idea that intercultural skills cannot be acquired at school.

Which culture to teach?	strongly agree	agree	not sure	disagree	strongly disagree
Non-native English speakers' culture should be included in culture teaching	31.2%	50.0%	12.5%	6.2%	0.0%
Students' own culture should be included in culture teaching	6.2%	62.5%	12.5%	12.5%	6.2%
Native English speakers' culture should be included in culture teaching	12.5%	37.5%	37.5%	12.5%	0.0%

Table 6: Teachers' negative attitudes toward culture teaching in English language classes

The last part explores teachers' opinions about which culture to teach in English language classes. Table 6 shows that most of the participants with the

percentage of 81.2 % revealed their positive attitudes toward non-native English speakers' culture being taught in English classes. Second most rated culture seemed to be students' own culture with the percentage of 68.7 % participants. Interestingly, only 50 % of the participants believed native English speakers' culture should be taught in English language classes.

D. How do the teachers incorporate intercultural awareness into their teaching?

As illustrated in table 7, most of the participants indicated that they did almost all of the activities listed in this category. There was a great consensus among participants that they all agreed on asking students to compare their culture to English speaking cultures in the classes. Following that, 93.8 % of the participants seemed to tell students what they hear or read about other cultures and 87.4 % of the participants asked students to share their experiences related to culture aspect. Despite the high number of agreement on most of the statements, the last two statements in this category showed division among teachers. While 56.8 % of the participants stated that they focused on native English speaking cultures more than non-native English speaking cultures, the percentage of teachers who disagreed with this statement was 31.2 % and there was 12.5 % unsure participants. When it comes to decorating the class with cultural posters, interestingly, there was only 25.% agreement with this statement while 37.5 % of them indicated that they didn't provide any cultural posters in the class. Also, there was the same number of unsure participants with the percentage of 37.5 % as well.

E. Teachers' personal experience in English language program

In this part of the questionnaire, data about teachers' personal experience in their own institution was gathered. Table 8 demonstrates that there was not a unity among participants in this aspect. 50 % of the participants thought their institution placed too much attention to the language side while 37.5 % of them were unsure and 12.5 % of them didn't agree with this statement. It was also interesting to see that while 50% of the participants didn't believe their institution adequately dealt with intercultural awareness, only 12.5 % didn't think the institution inspired them to interact with people of different cultures and 18.5 % thought the institution didn't enhance their intercultural awareness. It can be seen here that there is not a consensus among teachers in this category.

Classroom applications to enhance intercultural awareness	strongly agree	agree	not sure	disagree	strongly disagree
I ask my students to compare an aspect of their own culture with that aspect in the English speaking culture(s)	56.2%	43.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
I tell my students what I heard or read about English speaking countries or their culture (s)	43.8%	50.0%	6.2%	0.0%	0.0%
I ask my students about their experiences in English speaking countries	31.2%	56.2%	12.5%	0.0%	0.0%
I ask my students to think about what it would be like to live in the English speaking countries	18.8%	62.5%	12.5%	6.2%	0.0%
I talk to my students about my own experiences in the English speaking countries	43.8%	31.2%	12.5%	6.2%	6.2%
I use pictures, videos, etc. to introduce my students to non-native speakers of English and their culture	25.0%	50.0%	12.5%	12.5%	0.0%
I ask my students to independently explore an aspect of the English speaking culture (s)	12.5%	56.2%	12.5%	12.5%	6.2%
I tend to focus on the culture of native speakers of English rather than the culture of non-native speakers	18.8%	37.5%	12.5%	31.2%	0.0%
I decorate my classroom with posters illustrating particular aspects of both native and non-native English speaking cultures	6.2%	18.8%	37.5%	6.2%	31.2%

Table 7: Teachers' responses on classroom applications to enhance intercultural awareness

Personal experience in English language program	strongly agree	agree	not sure	disagree	strongly disagree
The English language program I have taught places too much attention to the language side.	12.5%	37.5%	37.5%	12.5%	0.0%
The ELP I have taught deals adequately with intercultural awareness.	6.2%	25.0%	18.8%	37.5%	12.5%z
The ELP I have taught inspires me to interact with people of different cultures.	6.2%	50.0%	31.2%	12.5%	0.0%
The ELP I have taught enhances my intercultural awareness	12.5%	50.0%	18.8%	18.8%	0.0%

Table 8: Teachers' responses on classroom applications to enhance intercultural awareness

Regarding the responses on a more direct question about whether they feel the need to focus more on intercultural teaching, it can be seen in table 9 that half of the participants wanted to focus on this aspect more and 37.5 % also pointed out that they felt that need from time to time. Only 12.5% of the participants seemed to deny that need.

	yes	*sometimes*	*no*
Do you feel the need to focus more on intercultural teaching?	50.0%	37.5%	12.5%

Table 9: Teachers' responses on their need to focus more on intercultural teaching

F. Factors affecting intercultural teaching negatively

In relation to teachers' personal experience in intercultural teaching process, an open-ended question was included in the questionnaire in order to explore underlying reasons why teachers can't get round to focus on intercultural

teaching. Out of 16 participants, 13 of them provided response to this open-ended question. Table 10 shows the main themes occurred in the responses.

Factors affecting intercultural teaching negatively	*Frequency*
Syllabus/Curriculum	9
Students' (negative) attitude	5
Time constraint	3
Lack of necessary methodological background	2

Table 10: Teachers' responses on factors affecting intercultural teaching negatively

Qualitative data results

In order to get a more detailed account of intercultural awareness issue, key questions based on the questionnaire themes were generated and asked to 2 NESTs 3 NNESTs.

Participant Profile	*Nationality*	*Experience in teaching English*
Participant 1	American	4 years
Participant 2	American	3 years
Participant 3	Turkish	4 years
Participant 4	Turkish	4 years
Participant 5	Turkish	7 years

Table 11: Interviewed participant profile

As a result of the qualitative data analysis, 6 main themes emerged from the answers participants provided for the interview questions and each of the themes will be analyzed in this part with examples from participants' utterances.

Theme 1: "Standard English" concept

1.1 Strict definition of the concept as British and/or American English

When participants were asked whether they believed the existence of "Standard English", they mainly agreed that there was a standard English. 3 of the participants stated that British and American English is the standard and 1 participant considered British English as the standard. Here are teachers' comments:

I don't feel that there are major differences between American English and British

English. I think they are minimal. There is really a standard English. (P1)

I do believe so, British English or American English is standard to me and I want my students to be involved in these standard English norms. (P3)

I think British English is standard because English was born in British geography, so because of that. (P5)

1.2 Intercultural perception of the concept

2 of the participants (1 NEST and 1 NNEST) approached the term from a wider intercultural perspective. Though they may have agreed on the existence of a standard English, it was not so important as to accept it as their strict teaching philosophy. They were more open-minded in this regard:

I do think so, but it is more important for me the idea that it can be understood. If the English is understood, it should be fine. But, there is, I suppose, a standard, like either a standard British or American English. (P2)

I guess this is English that native speakers speak, but I don't think that there is a standard English and we need to teach that standard English to our students. (P4)

Theme 2: Which culture to teach?

2.1 Native English speakers' culture

Participants who pointed out the native English speakers' culture as their focus of intercultural teaching mainly referred to American culture. The reasons why they focuses on American culture in the classroom are as follows:

2.1.1 Teachers' own nationality and expectations from students

Both of the NESTs interviewed stated that their nationality as an "American" was an important reason for them to expose students mainly to American culture:

I am an American, so I tend to teach about American culture; however, I do talk about other cultures also. (P1)

I m here (in Turkey) and I feel like they may want me to teach something about my (American) culture . (P2)

2.1.2 Previous experience in American culture

One of the NNESTs referred to her previous experience in American culture as a reason for her tendency to mention American culture in the class:

It is mostly American culture, because I have been there before and I know some things, so I give examples and they are pretty interested in their daily life. (P3)

2.2 Non-native English speakers' culture

Only 2 participants mentioned that they tried to include non-native English speaking cultures in their lessons. Some specific cultures they focused on are as follows:

2.2.1 The cultures of students in the class

One of the NESTs signified the importance of including students' own culture in teaching English whether there were international students or not:

I love to include those as much as I can. Sometimes, if we are talking about manners, that was my favourite topic, two years ago. We had an African student in our class. We had him share his ideas. That's really useful. Even if there are no international students, I still try to say like " Well, did you now that this is what they do in China, and this is what they do in Africa, what do you think?" and try to get their idea and get them to see that there are other ways of doing things. (P2)

2.2.2 The local culture (Turkish culture)

It was actually interesting to see that only one of the NNESTs indicated that she mentioned Turkish culture in the class.

I also give some examples from the local culture. (P3)

2.3 Culture addressed in the textbook

It was another theme occurred in the course of the interviews. 3 of the participants indicated that they only exposed students to whatever culture the textbook focused on:

Yes, if the subject matter of my material in the class is focusing on different cultures, then we will talk about that. (P1)

Actually it depends on the book because we have to follow the book and syllabus, so if the topic is about cultural things, yes of course I introduce the cutes of native or non-native speakers, but I mean suddenly, I mean culture thing can't pop up in the class. (P4)

Usually, in the book we see American or British culture, but also we can encounter different culture all over the world. If it is in the book, I teach it. (P5)

Theme 3: Definition of intercultural awareness

4 out of 5 participants defined intercultural awareness as knowing and being aware of other cultures. There was only one participant (P2) who added interaction aspect into the definition:

In terms of English, realizing that there are other cultures where English is spoken but people are not native speakers. (P1)

I think that it is more than just knowing about other cultures because it is having to do with interacting with people and being able to be successful in your communications and socializing with people from other cultures.(P2)

It sounds like knowing about not only American or British culture but also like Spanish culture or Mexican culture. Knowing all these different cultures.(P3)

It means students and teachers should be aware of the differences and varieties of the cultural elements and effects of these on learning and teaching English. (P4)

I think that is knowing the differences between two cultures, like Indian and British.(P5)

Theme 4: Classroom activities to enhance intercultural awareness
4.1 Sharing cultural knowledge and experience with students

This was a popular theme emerging in the course of the interviews. Teachers told that they shared their experiences and what they knew about other cultures in order to raise students' intercultural awareness:

I talk about other cultures where English is the native language such as Australian, Canada etc. (P1)

For example, the topic was "rodeos" and our students here don't have any idea, but my uncle is a real cowboy and he is a rodeo guy, so I can tell about him or show some pictures of him. (P2)

We can talk about the historical places in different countries, the places that they can visit in those countries. (P5)

4.2 Use of visual images

2 of the participants explained that they used visual images to introduce some cultural points:

I find something on the internet and show it to students. (P4)

For example, if the topic is food, we can teach them "tacho" as a Mexica food. I use visual images. (P5)

4.3 Compare and contrast activities

2 of the participants pointed out they tried to enhance students' intercultural awareness by encouraging them to compare and contrast the cultures they have learned.

Whatever the topic in the book, if there is a chance to compare it and contrast it to Turkish culture or Syrian culture, then I will always do it. Or even like a city, you know different cities or village and city. I think it is important. (P2)

I ask international students, "How is this in your culture?" and this is in our culture, compare and contrast. I do my best to teach such things. (P4)

Theme 5: Suggestions to enhance intercultural awareness
5.1 Teacher effort

Most of the participants highlighted the importance of teacher effort in raising intercultural awareness:

I would take it upon myself to be more involved with those non-native cultures and students. (P1)

Our curriculum is almost too focusing on American culture and our students don't have any contacts for some of the topics, so I would rather sometimes just teach something in their own culture but teach it in English. I think there is a use for that.(P2)

I think a lot of us, and Turkish teachers have travelled to different, they have gone to Europe or something, may be we could find ways to share these experiences in our classrooms like showing pictures.(P2)

I would like my students to get involved in American or British culture more. Maybe by giving some texts, or getting them to watch some TV series, I can make it happen, or maybe I can use social media. (P3)

I am interested in different countries and cultures, so I am motivated in that aspect, so when I am motivated, I think the students are motivated too. I can ask different questions about different cultures to them, so because that comes to my mind. (P5)

5.2 Extra-curricular cultural activities

Almost all of the participants pointed out that there was a need for cultural activities in the school in order to raise intercultural awareness:

By having students from these cultures give presentations and demonstrations of aspects that are unknown to the general public, which then could be incorporated into our general teaching schedule. (P1)

We can arrange some "American Day" or "Korean Day" organizations. (P3)

May be we can have more time or we can have clubs that students can go and learn other cultures may be watch some videos and films. (P4)

We can arrange some days like "Korean day" OR "Indian day". In those days, students can do some activities according to that culture. May be they can cook some foods. (P5)

5.3 Staff and student variety

2 of the participants indicated that there should be more international students and teachers at the university to create a more intercultural environment:

Also, we could hire some teachers from different countries. (P2)

We can have some not only American or British teachers, but also Syrian, Mexican or Farsi teachers. That can be a solution. Also, we can have more international students. (P3)

5.4 More flexible syllabus to include intercultural activities

Only one of the participants directly referred to the need for more time in class so that there is a flexibility to include intercultural activities out of the syllabus.

Time factor is important because in class, sometimes we are in a rush because we have to follow syllabus, they have exams. We have to follow it. Students need to be ready. In limited time, you can't focus on other topics besides target of the class.

Discussion and conclusion

Referring to first research question, we tried to find out to what extent teachers had the knowledge and awareness of intercultural teaching by including related questions in both quantitative and qualitative data collection instruments. Based on the quantitative results, most of the teachers provided agreement with almost all of the definitions of intercultural competence listed on the questionnaire, but the most common ones were "communicate interculturally" and "nonjudgmental communication". However, the definitions interviewees provided for intercultural awareness did not focus on communication mostly. They usually referred to this term as knowing and being aware of other cultures. Only one participant mentioned communication factor. This lack of "communication" perspective may result from "standard English" concept they have in their mind, which leads them to think that American or British English is the standard and that is what students should know no matter where they go or who they talk to. 3 of the 5 interviewees believed the existence of a standard English and the need for students to learn that standard English, which was mainly American or British English according to the participants. In this regard, we can say that it will be useful for the teachers to attend seminars and conferences about intercultural teaching so that they know more about it and transfer it to their students.The aim of second research question is to display teachers' views about culture teaching. There was a great deal of agreement on

the significance of culture in English language teaching based on the quantitative data results. It seemed that teachers believed culture should be integrated in language teaching and they agreed that students' motivation to learn English is affected positively when they are provided cultural information. A very small number of the teachers considered teaching culture as necessary only when there are international students in the class or when it is necessary for students (travelling etc.) Most of the teachers' responses indicated that intercultural skills can be acquired in school. In general, there were almost no negative attitudes toward culture aspect in English language teaching. When it comes to which culture to teach students in English language classes, the percentage of responses that were in favor of non-native English speakers' culture and students' own culture were higher than the ones supporting native English speakers' culture teaching. It was interesting to see that only half of the participants wanted native English speakers' culture to be included in English language classrooms although there was a population of native speaker teachers at the institution. Contrary to the quantitative data results, there was a high tendency to expose native speakers' culture to students, which was American in this case. Both of the NESTs pointed out that they taught American culture because that was the culture they belonged to and students expected them to talk about their own culture. Also, one of the NNESTs stated that she gave examples from American culture due to her previous experience in that culture. As for the non-native English speakers' culture, other than their own local culture, interviewees did not seem to be involved in those cultures themselves. Only one NNEST explained that she gave examples from Turkish culture and one NEST indicated she included students' own culture in the class. Another factor determining which culture to teach in the class was definitely the textbook. Almost all of the interviewees mentioned their need to follow the syllabus and course book and therefore the cultures that textbook focused on were the most frequent ones that came up in the course of the lesson. From what teachers said, it appeared that though there were some bits and pieces of information about other cultures in their textbook, the main focus was on American culture. Considering all the information gathered, it would be right to say that teachers were open to the idea of teaching culture in English language classes; however, they needed to include more aspects from non-native English speaking cultures as well.

The purpose of third research question was to learn about what teachers do in class in order to enhance students' intercultural awareness. The most popular activities and techniques emerged from quantitative and qualitative data were sharing their own knowledge or experience in other cultures with the students,

use of visual images and videos, and encouraging students to compare and contrast different cultures. It seemed that teachers were willing to include cultural information in their lessons, they could not do much to make it a continuous process in language learning considering the small number of positive responses to decorating classrooms with cultural items and no mentioning such things in interview accounts, as well.

The challenges English language teacher have experienced in intercultural teaching process was another area that our research focused on. Since it is highly important to know what kind of problems teachers have that keeps them from getting involved in intercultural teaching, we provided an open-ended section in the questionnaire to gather as much information a possible about their problems. Syllabus or curriculum was the most mentioned reason that prevented teachers from being flexible and doing extra cultural activities or giving more information about them in the classroom. They indicated their need to follow the syllabus or curriculum, which gives them almost no time to do any extra intercultural activity. It was natural for time constraint to come up as another factor affecting intercultural teaching process negatively in parallel with the need to follow the syllabus. However, students' negative attitude was mentioned even more frequently than time constraint, which was an unexpected result. Taking teachers' account into consideration, it seemed most of the Turkish students had a bias against other cultures or simply they were not interested in learning about them. It may result from their monocultural environment in which they didn't need to deal with any different perspectives.

The last research question aimed at revealing teachers' suggestions on enhancing intercultural awareness in English language teaching. We believe that teachers are the most crucial part of intercultural teaching process, and the challenges they experience should be taken into account. That is why the last part of the study addressed teachers' suggestions on his aspect. The most common suggestion was about teacher effort. All the interviewees pointed to the need that the more teachers include intercultural aspect in the classroom, the more effective English language teaching process will be. Showing pictures, videos, sharing experiences with students and encouraging them to be more involved in other cultures were the solutions they offered. Secondly, extracurricular cultural activities were suggested as another solution to raise students' awareness and interest in other cultures. Staff and student variety was also considered important. Though there were some international students and teachers in the university, it seemed there was a need for more. It was interesting to see that only one interviewee referred to flexibility of the syllabus as a suggestion to

enhance intercultural teaching although participants in the questionnaire mentioned syllabus as the most popular reason to prevent them from intercultural teaching.

Needless to say, this study has some limitations. The number of participants and the size of the study weren't adequate enough to make generalizations. Since a small number of NESTs participated in the study, it would not be right to make any comparisons between NESTs and NNESTs' attitudes toward intercultural teaching process. Also, the study should provide more comprehensive results when classroom observations are included in the study besides questionnaire and interview research instruments. The goal of this pilot study was to explore the perceptions of English language teachers on intercultural awareness. In order to analyze to what extent intercultural awareness is embedded into English language teaching, we carried out this study in the light of our research questions. The main conclusion emerging from this study is that although teachers seemed to have positive attitudes toward intercultural teaching, more attempts should be made to enhance both teachers' and students' intercultural awareness in English language classrooms.

References

Acar, A. (2009). On EIL competence. Paper presented at the English as an International Language Conference, Dokuz Eylul University, Izmir, October 2009.

Al Mawoda, K. R. A.. (2011). *Exploring Secondary Teachers' Perception Towards Teaching Intercultural Competence in English Language Classrooms in Bahrain*, Exeter Research and Institutional Content archive (ERIC). Retrieved at February 20, 2015, from the website temoa: Open Educational Resources (OER) Portal at http://www.temoa.info/node/391850

Alptekin, C. (2002). Towards intercultural communicative competence in ELT. *ELT journal*, *56*(1), 57-64.

Alptekin, C. (2009). Reconceptualizing teaching and testing for ELF. Paper presented at the International English Language Teaching Conference on Teacher Education and Development, Maltepe University, Istanbul, April 2009.

Canagarajah, S. (2006). Changing communicative needs, revised assessment objectives: Testing English as an international language. *Language Assessment Quarterly, 3* (3), 229- 242.

Crystal, D. (2003*). English as a global language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Galloway, N. (2011). *An investigation of Japanese university students' attitudes towards English* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Southampton).

House, J. (2004). Unity in diversity: English as a lingua franca for Europe. Paper presented at the BAAL Conference 2004, King's College, London.

Jenkins J. (2009). World Englishes. A resource book for students 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

Jenkins, J. (2000). *The Phonology of English as an International Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jokikokko, K. (2010). *Teachers' Intercultural Learning and Competence*. University of Oulu.

Kachru, B. (1985). Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk & H. G. Widdowson (Eds.), *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and literatures* (pp. 11–30)*.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kang, O. (2014). Learners' Perceptions Toward Pronunciation Instruction in Three Circles of World Englishes. *TESOL Journal*.

Margić, B., & Širola, D. (2009). English as an international language and native speaker norms: Attitudes of Croatian MA and BA students of English. *Journal of English as an International Language*, *5*, 129-136.

McKay, S. (2002). *Teaching English as an International Language: Rethinking Goals and Approaches*. Oxford: OUP.

Nunn, R. (2007). Redifining communicative competence for international and local communities. *The Journal of English as an International Language*, 2(2), 7-49.

Olaya, A., & Gómez, L. F. (2013). Exploring EFL pre-service teachers' experience with cultural content and intercultural communicative competence at three Colombian universities. *PROFILE Issues in Teachers' Professional Development, 15*(2), 49-67.

Onalan, O. (2005). EFL teachers' perceptions of the place of culture in ELT: A survey study at four universities in Ankara/Turkey. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies* 1, 215–235.

Ozturk, H., S. Cecen & D. Altınmakas (2009). How do non-native pre-service English language teachers perceive ELF? A qualitative study. Paper presented at the English as an International Language Conference, Dokuz Eylul University, Izmir, October 2009.

Sung, C. C. M. (2014). Exposure to multiple accents of English in the English Language Teaching classroom: from second language learners' perspectives. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching*,(ahead-of-print), 1-16.

Sahin, I . (2005). The effect of native speaker teachers of English on the attitudes and achievement of learners. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies 1, 29–42.*

Timmis, I. (2002). Native-speaker norms and international English: A classroom view. ELT Journal, 56(3), 240–249.

Vettorel, P., & Lopriore, L. (2013). Is there ELF in ELT coursebooks? *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching, (III-4), 483-504.*

Wang, Y. (2014). *Views and attitudes of staff and students towards the significance of intercultural awareness in foreign language teaching and learning in an Australian university context (*Doctoral dissertation, University of Tasmania*).*

Widdowson, H. G. (1994). The ownership of English. *TESOL quarterly*, *28*(2), 377-389.

Yılmaz, D. (2007). 'Culture' in English language classrooms: What do students think? *Online Proceedings of the Sabancı University International Conference on Foreign Language Education*. Retrieved from
http:/sl.sabanciuniv.edu/eng/?SLConf2007/proceedings.html

Young, T. J., & Sachdev, I. (2011). Intercultural communicative competence: Exploring English language teachers' beliefs and practices. *Language awareness*, *20*(2), 81-98.

Contacts

Burcu Yılmaz
ELT Department
University of Çukurova
burcu.yilmaz89@gmail.com

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yonca Özkan
ELT Department
University of Çukurova
yoncaca@cu.edu.tr

In-between language, society and culture:
Tu-vous distinction, naming and address terms

Rafał Gołąbek
Uniwersytet Technologiczno Humanistyczny, Poland
Rafal.Golabek@wp.pl

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to introduce and discuss briefly the concept of the T-V distinction as well as naming and address terms found in various languages. Since it is often believed that langue and culture are interrelated, it may be reasonable to claim that cultural factors may also influence the existence and development of particular T-V systems, naming practices and address terms. The paper presents different theories of origins of the T-V distinction. While talking about the T-V distinction, one should not forget that the T and V forms are strongly connected with the concepts of power and solidarity. Moreover, social distance or its lack may also be important factors governing the application of a particular T or V form. The article presents selected examples of the T-V forms found in different European and non-European languages and focuses on the situation concerning the T-V distinction in contemporary English. Attitudes of the Anglo-Saxon culture are viewed as key factors which may explain the lack of the syntactic T-V distinction in English.

Furthermore, the paper briefly introduces and discusses forms of address and naming practices found in various languages. The article presents selected examples of forms of address found in different European and non-European languages: English, Hungarian, Nuer and Chinese. With regard to English, it advocates that albeit the language has no formal *tu-vous* distinction found in other languages, the relative status and power of the interlocutors may be signalled by terms of address. The article also mentions a fascinating system of naming found in the language of the Nuer. The paper demonstrates possible links between the Nuer culture (central position of the cattle) and the naming practices of the Nuer (using ox names for people). Similar claims are made with regard to the influence of the Chinese culture upon Chinese address terms. What is more, the paper postulates that the systems of address terms of non-related languages such as Hungarian, on the one hand, and English, on the other, exhibit numerous similarities due to the influence of the common European culture. The final sections of the article mention some universals with regard to the choice of particular address forms in various languages as well as a hypothesis according to which systems of address terms tend to be more complex in the languages of those societies in which a social position of an individual results from being 'assigned' to a particular social group or stratum at birth.

Keywords

sociolinguistics, *tu-vous* distinction, naming, address terms, language and culture

Introduction

As Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2011, p. 485) says, "in all societies, people tend to acquire several identities as they participate in the network of social structure". Not only do they "belong to different social groups, but they also perform different social roles" (ibid.). Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2011, p. 485-486) adds that "significantly, any of these identities may have consequences for the kind of language the particular person uses". What is more, Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2011, p. 486) claims that "age, sex and socio-economic class have been repeatedly shown to be of great importance as far as sounds, constructions, and vocabulary are concerned". Therefore, while communicating in a language, a decision needs be taken not only about what is said and how it is said, but one must also make a choice of specific sentence structures, lexical items to be used, and pronunciation that would be appropriate in expressing what is meant. Hence, it seems that what is said is at least as important as how it is said. It can be even argued that the content of one's utterances and their form are quite indivisible. This relation may be understood better by examining two important aspects of communication, namely, making a distinction between *tu* and *vous* forms (T-V forms), in languages that require such a choice, as well as the use of naming and address terms. We believe that, as to provide a true and complete picture of sociolinguistics, sociolinguistic topics should not only be presented as those pertaining to the traditionally recognized domains on which sociolinguistics draws heavily, that is, linguistics and social sciences, but it should also be viewed in conjuncture with culture. Therefore, we opt for a special kind of sociolinguistics, that is, cultural sociolinguistics. Certain social phenomena, when linked to and rooted in culture, allow us to explain the linguistic behavior of languages speakers. This is also true as far as the motivations for applying T-V forms as well as the use of naming and address terms are concerned. In other words, what this means is that in order to account for the above-mentioned language practices, one needs to go far beyond the bounds of linguistics proper and dash into the realms of sociological and cultural studies.

Culture and language

Since it is often believed that T-V systems, naming practices and address terms found in various languages and the cultures of the societies that use those languages are often interconnected, before we discuss some interesting issues with regard to the above-mentioned linguistic devices, an attempt will be made to provide a sketch of those mutual relations between language and culture. In order to facilitate our discussion, we should first expressly articulate what is

meant by 'culture'. At this point, it should be stressed that for the purposes of this paper, the term culture is not understood in the sense of 'high culture', that is, the set of cultural products such as music, literature or visual arts. What is meant by culture may be well illustrated by the following definition by Goodenough (1957, p. 167): "A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and to do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves. Culture, being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end product of learning: knowledge, in a most general, if relative, sense of the term. By this definition, we should note that culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behavior, or emotions. It is rather the organization of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them."

So, according to Goodenough, the notion of culture involves knowledge and belief. It goes without saying that culture must be learned and it is contrasted with our biological endowment with which one is born. Taking into consideration the above, for the purposes of this paper, the concept of culture will be construed in the way advocated by Goodenough.

As far as the mutual links between language and culture are concerned, one may quote Salzmann (1993, p. 151) who claims that "the nature of the relationship between" the two "was under consideration long before anthropology became recognized as a scholarly field in its own right". Also to Łozowski (2013, 2014), it seems rather obvious that some relationship between culture and language exists. As Łozowski (2013, p. 352) notices, "that language and culture are interrelated may seem self-apparent, but that there is a dialectic relationship between the two has not always been easily or readily recognized". In other words, although it may seem straightforward that one may find some kind of link between the two, it was not always easily determined how strong this reciprocal relation is, how the two are related to each other, or what their mutual relationship is like.

Moreover, as Łozowski says (2013, p. 355), while trying to establish possible relations between language and culture, one can postulate four different ways in which language and culture may be interrelated to each other. They may be linked symmetrically in a way that one cannot be separated from the other and they cannot exist individually. Another possibility is that the two concepts are related asymmetrically, with one of them dominating and influencing the other. In such a case, depending on the direction of the dependence, culture would be viewed as a product of language, or, on the contrary, language would be

determined by cultural issues. Finally, as Łozowski says, no apparent link between the two concepts may be recognized, hence they would remain autonomous and independent of each other. By no means is it easy to give a final and concluding decision with regard to the validity of one or more of the four aforementioned approaches. However, it seems reasonable to claim that mutual links between language and culture exist and one of the manifestations of such relations is the presence of T-V systems, address forms as well as naming practices in numerous languages.

Tu-vous distinction

As Wardhaugh (2006, p. 260) says, "many languages have a distinction corresponding to the *tu–vous* (T/V) distinction in French"[42]. In the case of French, *tu* (T) grammatically refers to the second person singular, whereas *vous* (V) is the equivalent of the plural *you* in English. The rules of the French grammar require that *vous* (V) be used with certain individuals on strictly defined occasions, mostly in order to signal, *inter alia,* power, social distance, or a lack of solidarity (for details, see Vigner 1978).

As mentioned above, other languages also have a sociolinguistic device similar to the *tu–vous* (T/V) distinction observed in French (or the *tu-vos* distinction found in Latin), for example, German *du-Sie*, or Welsh *ti-chwi.* Some of T-V systems are very complex in that one may identify several possible ways of marking the V and T usages and the rules governing their applications are rather complicated. Others do not always show that much complexity with regard to the T-V marking, but they may still have very sophisticated rules of sociolinguistic nature regulating their usage. It should also be added that with the T-V distinction are strongly connected the concepts of *power* and *solidarity*[43]. It is normally expected that the more solidarity is present, the less distance is among

---

[42] It seems important to point out that in numerous languages the T-V forms are not necessarily expressed grammatically by the second persons singular and plural, but the distinction may be signalled otherwise (cf. the Germen V form *Sie*).

[43] Hudson (1996, p. 122) says that "speech may (...) reflect the social relationships between the speaker and addressee, most particularly the POWER and SOLIDARITY manifested in that relation". In the words of Hudson, the concept of power "is self-explanatory", but it is more difficult to define solidarity. Hudson says that the concept of solidarity *"concerns the social distance* between people - how much experience they have shared, how many social characteristics they share (religion, sex, age, region of *origin, race, occupation, interests*, etc*.), how* far they are prepared to share intimacies, and other factors" (ibid.).

the parties involved in a relation. On the other hand, in relationships which are based on power, one can expect a greater social distance. Those factors may undoubtedly govern the choice of a T or V form. At the very outset of the discussion over T-V forms, it should be stressed that the systems of T-V marking may be influenced and shaped by the cultures of the societies that use particular T-V systems.

Before delving more deeply into the concept of T-V distinction, it may be useful to trace its origins. Brown and Gilman (1968, p. 254) claim in their prominent work that the T-V distinction originated from referring to the Roman Emperor by using the Latin plural form *vos* rather than *tu*[44]. Moreover, Brown and Gilman, in explaining the origins of the distinction make a clear reference to power, which they define as a person's ability to control other individuals. In their words power is "a relationship between at least two persons, and it is non-reciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behaviour" (1968, p. 254). Brown and Gilman's explanation offers an insight into how cultural factors and social patterns influence the application of particular linguistic forms.

As far as the spread of the Latin *vos* is concerned, Crystal (1987, p. 45) advocates that "gradually, this 'royal *you*' extended to others who exercised power, so that by medieval times, the upper classes were showing mutual respect through the use of V forms only". Furthermore, as Crystal (ibid.) maintains, subsequently, the V forms started to be used in different circumstances, not only as a sign of respect for people who held power or had higher status, but also in order to indicate any kind of social distance between individuals. On the other hand, as Crystal maintains, T forms began to be employed as to indicate intimacy and social closeness. Therefore, as Crystal argues, "between equals, it became possible to use either T or V, depending on the degree of solidarity one wished to convey. Low-class friends would address each other as T, and use V to strangers or acquaintances. Upper-class people would do likewise" (ibid.).

---

[44] Brown and Gilman (1968: 254) claim that "the plural *vos* as a form of address to one person was first directed to the emperor, and there are several theories (...) about how this may have come about. The use of the plural to the emperor began in the fourth century. By that time there were actually two emperors". As we know the ruler of the eastern empire in Constantinople and the ruler of the west sat in Rome. Brown and Gilman add that "words addressed to one man were, by implication, addressed to both. The choice of *vos* as a form of address may have been in response to this implicit plurality. An emperor is also plural in another sense; he is the summation of his people and can speak as their representative" (ibid.).

What Crystal asserts seems to be chiefly in line with what Mesthrie (2009, p. 311) reports after Brown and Gilman (1968), namely, that in most European languages which have the T-V distinction, the use of reciprocal T is associated with solidarity whereas the use of reciprocal V with non-solidarity[45]. What is more, Mesthrie (ibid.) says that Brown and Gilman construe "solidarity in terms of personal relationships and degree of friendliness. Essentially, this means that differences of power and status are *less* likely to determine the choice of T or V" (emphasis mine). As Mesthrie holds, what really is important "is whether relations of solidarity hold between the participants. When relations are (or become) 'solidary', T is usually exchanged irrespective of status. Where relations are not solidary, V is exchanged" (ibid.). However, one should note that Mesthrie adds a cautionary note: "It cannot be assumed that the linguistic expression of power and status has been completely *diminished* in favour of the variable of solidarity in *western* Europe. Some theorists argue that power *has been somewhat redistributed and* diffused, but also to some extent disguised. Despite the western distaste for the face-to-face expression of differential status, residues of the old power hierarchy exist in*, for example*, the right to initiate reciprocal T (where reciprocal V might have been previously appropriate) in a *relationship* between two acquaintances. *This right* still belongs to the more powerful interlocutor (ibid.).

---

[45] It is worth noting that not all researchers necessarily agree with the interpretation of the origins of the T-V distinction offered by Brown and Gilman. The work by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson provides an alternative explanation of the rise of T-V forms. As Hudson (1996, p. 124) reports, Brown and Levinson's explanation (1987/1987) concentrates around the *theory of face*. Hudson (1996, p. 113) explains the theory as one that "is based on the term 'FACE', which is used in much the same way as in the expressions *to lose face* and *to save face*, meaning something like 'self-respect' or 'dignity'". Hudson (1996, p. 124) says after Brown and Levinson (1987/1987) that *"*by using a plural pronoun for 'you', the speaker protects the other person's power-face" in two different ways. "First, the plural pronoun picks out the other person less directly than the singular form does, because of its ambiguity". Therefore, according to the theory of face, one of the purposes of using a plural you form is to offer some kind of indirectness which may save the face of the speaker's interlocutor. At the same time, as Hudson reports, "the second effect of using a plural pronoun is to pretend that the person addressed is the representative of a larger group ('you and your group'), which obviously puts them in a position of greater power" (ibid.).

What this may mean is that solidarity is a decisive factor governing the usage of T and V forms; nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that power and status are still important issues which determine the choice of the T or V form. What is also quite obvious, in European societies, it is usually the individual having more power who can propose to switch to T forms in reciprocal contacts. In this respect, one can mention the example of a well-known tradition present in German-speaking and other countries (for example, Poland or Russia) rooted in the cultures of those countries, referred to as *Brüderschafttrinken* in German (*bruderszaft* and *брудершафт*, respectively in Polish and Russian). In Germany, individuals who know each other well may decide to use the T form *du* to each other rather than the V form *Sie*. On such occasions, they make a little 'ceremony' consisting in drinking some alcohol together and switching to the T forms. This well illustrates how culture (a traditional custom) and language (a switch from the T to V forms) are linked and interlocked with each other.

It may be worth mentioning one more interesting issue concerning the nature of the system governing the use of T-V forms. Brown and Levinson (1979, p. 332–333) maintain that "T/V usage is tied primarily to kinds of social relationship, and the association of T-exchange with low-status groups in stratified societies is due to the way that stratification affects the nature of intra-group social relations." In other words, they claim that the representatives of the lower classes of the society are more dependent on each other, and as a result "relations of equality and solidarity are likely to arise between adults, appropriately symbolized by mutual T-exchange" (ibid.). On the other hand, the upper strata of the society are characterized by rather loose social bonds, with members of the upper classes being more independent. Hence, one may expect the social distance among the upper strata to be greater. This is why V forms are more common in the upper, rather than in the lower, classes of the society. It seems that the above-mentioned speculations seem to be especially valid for the societies that belong to the spheres of western culture. Similarly, it could be expected that in those cultures in which more egalitarianism is found among individuals, the T form would be a more natural or more frequently used form.

Having presented some possible explanations for the rise of T-V forms and some universals which govern those forms, below are provided several actual examples of T-V marking. It is believed that the presence of the T-V distinction, or its lack, is to a high degree motivated by cultural factors. Apart, from the well-know French *tu-vous* and German *du-Sie* forms, several other examples may be added. For instance, in Czech, Slovak and Russian the T-V forms are *ty-vy*, Dutch uses *jij (je)-u*, whereas the Polish system is quite complex when compared to

other European languages. In Polish, the T singular form is *ty*, and the V singular forms are *Pan* (when addressing a man), *Pani* (when addressing a woman). T plural form is *wy* and, V plural forms are *Państwo* (used to persons of different sex), *Panowie* (used to men) and *Panie* (used to women).

As mentioned above, *Pan* and *Pani* are the basic V forms used in Polish to refer to a man or woman, respectively. In the past, these forms were reserved to hereditary nobles and played similar roles as *Lord/Sir* and *Lady/Madame* in English. In the 19th century, *Pan* and *Pani* began to be used in all spheres of society and may be now considered equivalent to the English *Mr* and *Mrs*. Since the dominating culture of Poland in the past was that of the upper strata of the Polish society, that is, the magnates (*magnateria*) and the nobility (*szlachta*), we believe that the complex Polish T-V system is a reflection and a remnant of the social structure of the Polish society of the past. Again, one may notice how culture (in this case the culture of certain social groups) determines and shapes certain linguistic habits (T-V forms in this case).

Also Hungarian has a more complex system of T-V forms than, for example, the forms found in French or German. In Hungarian, the second person pronouns are *te* (*you*, singular) and *ti* (*you*, plural). As Kenesei et al. (1998, p. 266-267) say, the aforesaid forms denote "familiarity, informality, solidarity, and/or intimacy". On the other hand, "formality, politeness and/or lack of familiarity or intimacy is expressed by the nominal forms *ön* or *maga* in the singular and *önök* and *maguk* in the plural, cooccurring with the third person verb-forms in the appropriate number". This means that the former forms may be treated as T forms, whereas the latter ones have the V function. Kenesei *et al.* (1998, p. 267) add that "of the two sets, *ön/önök* is more formal and/or polite than *maga/magunk*". They also say that the choice of the informal *te*-form or the formal *ön-* and *maga*-address, as well as whether they are used reciprocally or not depends very much on the conditions proposed in the classic study by Brown and Gilman (1968). Bearing in mind that Hungarian is an Uralic language, its T-V system, although more complex than the systems found in German or French, does not show extreme differences, when compared to many European languages, which are of Indo-European origins. At the same time, it is much less complex than systems found in other languages, for example, in Thai, which will be presented below. In this respect, one might speculate that T-V systems of languages such as Hungarian, on the one hand, and Polish, on the other, exhibit some similarities, due to the influence of a similar cultural background, that is, European culture.

Apparently, as Stockwell (2002, p. 22) asserts, somewhat humorously, French aristocrats including the former *French President "*Valery Giscard *d'*Estaing use V

to everyone*, including*, *it is* reported*, to* voters*, ministers, his wife and* passing dogs". On a more serious note, *Batchelor and Offord* (2000, p. 306) claim that in France, "in certain aristocratic families, parents use tu to their children, while the latter use vous to their parents". However, several authors report a general decline in the use of the V form in French (for example, see *Clyne* et al. 2009)[46]. Therefore, probably it would be rather unusual nowadays for children to use the V form towards their parents unless they come from very conservative families. Definitely, the choice between the T or V forms is seriously affected by cultural patterns of a given community. In case of France, the decision on a choice of the T versus V form depends on complex sociolinguistics rules. The reflection of those rules may definitely be found in the French savoir-vivre (for details of T-V forms in French, see Vigner 1978). Similarly, it seems plausible to postulate that in the case of *French* or other languages, it may be cultural considerations that influence the sociolinguistic rules of the T-V application.

Let us now focus on the T-V system (or its lack) in English and how the situation found in English may be influenced by cultural factors. An interesting account with regard to the lack of a formal T-V distinction in English is offered by Wierzbicka (2003). According to the scholar, the current state of affairs in English in this respect may have its roots in the Anglo-Saxon culture. As it is known, English lacks the T-V contrast[47], as the language just uses a universal form *you*. Therefore, according to Wierzbicka, English has no 'familiar' T-form, nor 'polite' V-form, found in other languages. In this connection, Wierzbicka (2003, p. 47) says that, "one is tempted to speculate (...) that the absence of an intimate T-form of address (...), which sets English apart from other European

---

[46] Spolsky (1998, p. 21) advocates that "with the growing egalitarianism of modern life, there has been a slow breakdown in the formality of address systems". For instance, French children use T forms when talking to their parents, whereas many Swedes "now use T even to strangers" (ibid.).

[47] In the past, a T-V distinction was also found in English. As Upton and Widdowson (2006, p. 79) say, "in very early English there was a simple distinction between THOU for the singular and YE for the plural subject pronouns, while THEE and YOU were respectively used for the singular and plural object pronouns". As they add, "in the thirteenth century the French T-V system came to be copied in English, singular *th*-forms being applied to familiars, children and inferiors, while plural *y*-forms were used to show respect" (ibid.). They advocate that the T-V distinction become obsolete in English after *thou* and *thee* had become "increasingly unpopular, probably because of their connotations of disrespect and gradually disappeared from standard speech (...)" (ibid.).

languages, is a reflex of" the attitudes of the Anglo-Saxon culture. Those attitudes could be, according to Wierzbicka, illustrated by the concept of *privacy* understood as being "able to do certain things unobserved by other people, as everyone would want to and need to" (ibid.). As Wierzbicka adds, this concept "reflects one of the central values of Anglo-Saxon culture" and "the cultural assumption embodied in this concept" could be expressed as having "a little wall around" oneself, "at least part of the time and that this perfectly natural, and very important" (ibid.). Wierzbicka also argues along the following lines that "*the English you is of course* very democratic, it is a great social equaliser, *but it can also be seen as a distance-building device*. This is not to say that the meaning of the English word *you* is analogous to that of a V-form in a language which does have a T-V contrast. (…) In the absence of such a contrast the form *you* can't convey the intimacy signalled by the choice of a T-form. An intimate form allows the speaker to get psychologically close to the addressee, to penetrate the wall surrounding each individual. The English *you* keeps everybody at a distance (ibid.).

What this may imply is that the English *you* form is very neutral, but at the same time, it does not enable English speakers to express intimacy or familiarity which can be expressed in languages which have a T-V distinction.

Wierzbicka adds that when compared with Slavic or Mediterranean cultures, Anglo-Saxon culture seems rather restricted as far as non-sexual body contact is concerned. As she notices, the Anglo-Saxons rarely "touch one another, hug one another, kiss one another, or seldom even shake hands (…). They also physically keep at a considerable distance from one another, as compared, for example, with Slavs (…)" (ibid.). I should add that, at least some languages belonging to the aforesaid language groups, e.g. Polish, Russian, Czech and Slovak, as well as Italian and Spanish, observe a distinction between the T and V forms. However, in the case of English, as Wierzbicka advocates, "the absence of an intimate T-form reflects and fosters the culturally expected psychological distance between individuals, the general need for psychological and physical 'privacy'" (ibid.). Bearing in mind the above, once more one must accept that that impact of culture upon language is of great significance.

Agha (2007, p. 285) presents the T-V system of the Thai language. The system is realized by means of a complex set of person-referring pronominal forms. The system comprises several different forms which carry various social meanings. Below are presented some of the selected forms found in the system. For example, *kuu* 'I' (the first person singular) and *miŋ* 'you' (second person singular) are "strong nonrestraint terms". They are used chiefly by males and only

sometimes by "female intimates and more broadly by rural dialect speakers; otherwise [they] imply anger, coarseness, etc." On the other hand, *chăn* 'I' (first person singular) and *thəə* 'you' (second person singular) are "used primarily by women when speaking to equals or inferiors". In turn, as Agha (ibid.) informs, *Phŏm* 'I' (fist person singular) refers to male speakers. It is a "polite, status neutral term used in a wide range of social situations", etc. (for details, see Agha 2007). The above-mentioned Thai person-referring pronominal forms may well illustrate how complicated and complex the T-V systems may be in various languages. At the same time, one may assume that the richness of the Thai T-V system is a reflection of the complex relations found in the Thai society motivated by factors of a cultural nature (for details concerning Thai culture, see Kislenko 2004).

As already mentioned, T forms often express intimacy and social closeness. Yet, Meyerhoff (2011, p. 87) claims after Jauncey (1997, p. 107) that "being family members doesn't necessarily mean you can assume closeness. In a lot of places, some kinship relationships are conventionally considered respectful ones, and you must use respect forms when addressing that member of your family". Meyerhoff reports an example provided by Jauncey with regard to the situation found in Tamambo language, which is an Oceanic language spoken in Vanuatu. In that language, "a mother's brother is addressed with *kamim* and the subject agreement marker *no-* ('you, plural') as a show of respect (like *vous* in French)" (Meyerhoff 2011, p. 87). Therefore, it seems again plausible to claim that in the case of *Tamambo* or other languages, it may be cultural factors that influence the application T-V marking.

Naming and address terms

Linguistic phenomena related to T-V distinction are naming practices and the use of address terms. Terms of address are used in order to index social relations between the addresser and the addressee. The manner in which we name and the address forms that we use reflect the relation of power and solidarity between the two speakers engaged in mutual communication. As mentioned above, English once had a T-V distinction (*thou/you*). Albeit the distinction is no more present in the language, as Spolsky (1998, p. 21) says, the language "still offers a range of address terms, ranging from Title Alone (Sir, Your Majesty, Madam, Constable) through Title + Last Name (Mr Jones, Dr Smith, Lord Clark, Miss Jones, Mrs Jones, perhaps Ms Jones) to First name or Multiple Names (including Nicknames)" to convey the above-mentioned attitudes towards the addressee. As Spolsky asserts, the rules that govern the choice of a particular address term are

of social nature (ibid.). Much is a similar vein, according to Mesthrie (2009, p. 311), among language devices that signal relative status and power of the interlocutors, one finds "linguistic phenomena like the terms of address in British English (madam, sir, your ladyship and so on)".

As mentioned above, address forms may signal power and social status of individuals. Moreover, they may also indicate a degree of solidarity. It is normally expected that the more solidarity is present, the less distance is among the parties involved in a relation. On the other hand, in relationships which are based on power, one can expect a greater social distance. Those factors may undoubtedly govern the choice of a particular address form. At the very outset of the discussion over address terms, it should be stressed that systems of address forms may be influenced and shaped by the cultures of the societies that use those particular systems.

When discussing various terms of address, let us first focus on the ones found in English. A well-known study in this respect is that of Brown and Ford (1961). Brown and Ford (1961, p.380) established "that the principal option of address in American English is the choice between uses of the first name (hereafter abbreviated to FN) and the use of a title with the last name (TLN)". Examples of the two categories would be *John* and *Senator Brown*, respectively. They report that TLN/FN used asymmetrically indicates inequality in power, that mutual TLN is a sign of unfamiliarity and inequality, whereas reciprocal FN suggests equality and familiarity. They also say that nonreciprocity of FN and TLN is caused by professional status or different age of the individuals. Moreover, they argue that the switch from reciprocal TLN to FN is usually initiated by that individual in the relationship who enjoys more power. There are also other options, according to Brown and Ford. They include: title alone (T), e.g., *Doctor,* which is more respectful than TLN, last name alone (LN), for instance, *Smith,* which is placed on the scale between FN and TLN, or a variety of more individual, intimate address expressions, referred to by Brown and Ford *as* multiple naming (MN). Let us also mention that the two scholars claim that the titles such as *Sir* or *Madam* are generalized variants of the T category, or in other words, generic titles, whereas forms like *Buddy* or *Mate* are generic first names (FN), as in 'How are you Mate?' Finally, it should be pointed out that, as Brown and Ford say, there is also a possibility to avoid an address term at all (NN).

Let us cite Wardhaugh (2006, p. 268-269) who argues along the following lines that "address by title alone is the least intimate form of address in that titles usually designate ranks or occupations, as in *Colonel*, *Doctor*, or *Waiter*. They are devoid of 'personal' content. We can argue therefore that *Doctor Smith* is more

intimate than *Doctor* alone, acknowledging as it does that the other person's name is known and can be mentioned. Knowing and using another's first name is, of course, a sign of considerable intimacy or at least of a desire for such intimacy. Using a nickname or pet name shows an even greater intimacy. When someone uses your first name alone in addressing you, you may feel on occasion that that person is presuming an intimacy you do not recognize or, alternatively, is trying to assert some power over you. Note that a mother's *John Smith* to a misbehaving son reduces the intimacy of first name alone, or first name with diminutive (*Johnny*), or pet name (*Honey*), and consequently serves to signal a rebuke."

As we can see, the use of a name alone or a combination of a name and a title in each case carries some semantic connotations. Depending on the very combination of the elements used, the interlocutors and the circumstances of use, the meaning and the emotional load of the address term may vary. English, as Wardhaugh (2006, p. 270) says, gives us also "choice between familiar and polite. One simple test for distinguishing familiar, informal address terms from polite, formal ones in English is to look at them in conjunction with informal and formal greetings and leave-takings, e.g., *Hi*, *Bye*, and *So long* in comparison with *Good Morcing* and *Goodbye. Hi, Sally*; *Bye, Honey*; and *So long, Doc* are possible, just as are *Good morning, Mr Smith* and *Goodbye, Sir*. However, there is something peculiar about *Hi, Colonel Jones*; *Bye, Professor*; *Good morning, Mate*; and *Goodbye, Pussykins*."

Therefore, as can be seen above, what is quite interesting is that in English informal address forms may usually be combined with informal greetings and leave-takings; whereas formal ones are normally combined with polite, formal greetings and leave-takings. A violation of those rules results in oddness and peculiarity.

Let us now briefly discuss address terms in Hungarian, a European language, yet one which is non Indo-European. As Kenesei *et al.* (1998, p. 267) say "the use of names, titles, and various combinations of names and titles indicates politeness if the addressee's title and/or name is known to the addressor, whereas their omission indicates the lack thereof". Hungarian has two unique honorary kinship titles, namely, *bácsi* and *néni*, literally meaning 'uncle' and 'aunt', respectively. The two titles are used by children in addressing adults. Furthermore, they can be used by adults as nonreciprocal formal (but familiar and intimate) forms of address towards adults who are at least a generation older from the speaker (ibid.). Titles and combinations of titles and names in Hungarian include, as Kenesei *et al.* say, the "first name (full or diminutive)", for example, "*Péter, Peti, Anna, Ani*" or the "last name", for example "*Kovács, Szabó*",

as well as, the "first name + honorary kinship title", for instance, "*Péter bácsi*, *Mari néni*" or the "last name + honorary kinship title" such as "*Kovács bácsi, Szabo néni*". Moreover, in Hungarian, it is also possible to use a "title alone", for example, "*uram* 'sir', *asszonyom* 'ma'am', *kisasszony* 'miss'", "last name + title", for instance, "*Kovács úr* 'Mr Kovács', *Szabó kisasszony* 'Miss Szabó'" or finally a "double title *doktor úr*, 'sir doctor', *elnök asszony* 'ma'am president', *tanárnő* 'ma'am teacher/professor'" (ibid.).

Kenesei *et al.* add that "the cooccurrence of *te-*, *ön-* and *maga-* address", that is T and V forms mentioned above, "with the various title and name combinations creates over a dozen possible ways of address, the choice among which is determined by a complex set of Hungarian sociolinguistic rules" (ibid). They add that "sociolinguistic variables that contribute to determining the appropriate address are: the social context of the interaction shared group membership, kinship ties and previous acquaintance between the parties involved, sex, and age". Bearing in mind that Hungarian is an Uralic language, its system of address terms does not show extreme differences, when compared to many European languages, which are Indo-European languages. In this respect, we might speculate that systems of address terms of languages such as Hungarian, on the one hand, and other European languages, such as Polish and English, on the other, exhibit numerous similarities, due to the influence of the common cultural background, that is, European culture. We voiced similar sentiments with regard to T-V system found in Hungarian and other European languages. The fact that the Hungarian naming and addressing systems may be may less complex than other systems may be caused by factors accounted for by the hypothesis offered by Robinson (1972), which will be dealt with later in this Section (for further details concerning the T-V distinction and address terms in Hungarian, see Reményi, 1994).

Having briefly presented the English addressing practices, we can now turn to a more 'exotic' language. Evans-Pritchard (1948) reports a fascinating system of naming found in the language of the Nuer living in South Sudan. As Evans-Pritchard says Each Nuer has a personal or birth name which a child is given shortly after his or her birth. Their personal names are interesting, in that "they refer as a rule to events which took place before or at the time of birth, or to the place of birth; and a man generally knows the circumstances which led to his *being given* the name he bears" (1948, p. 167). Examples of Nuer names include Reath, '*drought'*, Nhial, 'rain', or *Nyuot*, 'heavy rainstorm'. Additionally, the grandparents on the mother's side may give a child another personal name. As a result, a child's kin on the father's side may address the child by a different

personal name than the kin on the mother's side. To make the situation even more complicated, Nuer children also have "a honorific, or praise name of" their clan, which is inherited. "In practice", such a name "is little used and then mostly on ceremonial occasions" (1948, p. 168) such as, for example, weddings. The clan names are also used sometimes by mothers to their young children in order show approval and contentment.

In addition to those two types of names, the Nuer also use ox names, which are derived from one's favoured ox. The ox name is used by a man in hunting or at war, and is used among peers in order to address one another. Women may also be address by an ox name, which comes from a bull calved by the cow she milks. However, as Evans-Pritchard (1948, p. 169) says, married women "take cow-names from their favourite cows in the family herd". Cow names are only used among women, and "men do not address women by those names" (ibid.). Since, as can be seen from the above-mentioned description, each person has a number of names, a choice of name is made when circumstances change. In addressing one another, the Nuer's choice of name depends on the type of the relation between the two interlocutors as well as the circumstances in which this choice occurs.

As Bodley (2011, p. 105) points out, Evans-Pritchard demonstrated that the culture of the Nuer places the cattle in the centre of the Nuer people's ideas and activities and the Nuer are known for their fondness of oxen. Bodley calls the culture of the Nuer "a cattle culture" (ibid.). Bodley also mentions that, to Evans-Pritchard, the Nuer were a pastoral tribe who "considered themselves herdsmen above all else and only grudgingly resorted to faming when they didn't have enough animals (ibid.). He also says that, as Evans-Pritchard reports, the Nuer had the herdsman's outlook on the surround world and treated cattle as their most precious possessions. Bodley says after Evans-Pritchard that the "cattle were ornamented (…) and their genealogies were remembered" (ibid.). As can been seen, the cattle occupy a prominent role in the culture of the Nuer. One of the reflections of this culture is undoubtedly the naming practices found among the Nuer.

Let us now mention some peculiarities of the system of address terms found in another non-European language, namely, in Chinese. Since the Chinese culture has traditionally put much emphasis on social hierarchy, one can expect to find a sophisticated system of address forms in Chinese. According to Hongyin (2005, p.817), this is actually the case as "in the complex Chinese system of kinship terms, many remote relationships receive lexical coding". As Hongyin argues, the Chinese kinship terms are also applied to strangers. For example, as the author

claims "a child can be expected to address a female stranger as *jiejie* (elder sister) or *ayi* (auntie). The common prefixes of *lao* (old) and *xiao* (little/ young) in a surname mark both age relation and perceived seniority" (ibid.). Hongyin also claims that the areas that probably most clearly reflect shifts in social structure are the forms of address which are used in relation to non-kin. He says that before the People's Republic of China was proclaimed, honorific forms such as *xiansheng* (mister) and *xiaojie* (miss) had been widespread*,* however, after 1949, the Communist Party promoted the use of *tongzhi* (comrade), a term which undoubtedly was inspired by use of the Russian (Soviet) counterpart tovarish, or *comrade*. As the scholar reports, *tongzhi,* "however, like many other high-profile terms of address, has undergone changes in status along with the society in which it is used, with the most recent change being the revival of old honorific forms in place of *tongzhi*". Finally, Hongyin adds that in Chinese one finds a common tendency to use appreciative terms referring to craftsmanship as well as to the educational background of an individual. Therefore, as Hongyin asserts, "*shifu* (master/teacher), *laoban* (boss/business owner) and laoshi (teacher) are some of the recent terms employed to address strangers who are not necessarily professionals" (ibid.).

Bearing in mind that, as Yong (2006, p. 265) asserts, there are significant "differences between Chinese and western culture in terms of the emphasis on group and individual contribution", one should expect that the address terms in Chinese, on the one hand, and English, for instance, on the other, will vary significantly, which is actually the case. As Yong claims, "China is generally a *collectivist* society. Individualism-collectivism, another of Hofstede's dimensions of culture, is an important parameter in measuring cultural variability, *as it* shows the norms and values that a culture attaches to social relationships and social exchanges. The Chinese people have a tendency to pursue collective goals rather than individual interests, and this is a fundamental characteristic of the Chinese culture governing the relationship between organization and individuals. Collectivism is still emphasized in China as a virtue and a citizen's social responsibility.

As may be seen above, western culture and Chinese culture vary to a great degree. In China, collectivism is *emphasized and favoured over individualism. Therefore, it is not surprising to find such forms as* a jiejie (elder sister) used by children to address female strangers or shifu (master/teacher) to address strangers who are not necessarily professionals. However, as Yong (2006, p. 266) says, "over the past 24 years since China opened up to the outside world, the collectivism tendency has been exposed to western individualism, and its

influence is clear among the younger generation, who have a stronger sense of self-importance". If we agree with the validity of the aforesaid observation, we should not be surprised to witness changes in the future in the use of the address terms in the Chinese language.

We have presented the ways of addressing and naming in English, Hungarian, Nuer and Chinese. As can be seen above, culture is undoubtedly an important factor determining the establishment and application of particular systems of address forms. One may speculate whether there are any universals with regard to the choice of particular address forms in languages spoken around the globe by societies characterized by different cultural backgrounds? Wardhaugh (2006, p. 272) comes with an assertive answer to that question. He holds that "if we look at what is involved in addressing another, it seems that a variety of social factors usually governs our choice of terms: the particular occasion; the social status or rank of the other; gender; age; family relationship; occupational hierarchy; transactional status (i.e., a service encounter, or a doctor–patient relationship, or one of priest–penitent); race; or degree of intimacy. The choice is sometimes quite clear; when racial or caste origin is important in society, that is likely to take preference; when family ties are extremely strong, that is likely to be preferred; and so on. In societies which claim to be egalitarian there may be some doubt as to what is the appropriate address term, and consequently none at all may be used between, say, husband and wife's mother; son who is learning a lowly job in a company and father who is the company president; police officer and young male offender; and older male and much younger feminist."

As Wardhaugh explains, the choice of a particular address form depends on manifold factors, such as social status, gender, occupational hierarchy, degree of intimacy, race or caste, to name a few. Finally, in more egalitarian societies, individuals may doubt about which address term is an appropriate one and in consequence they use none. This is in line with what Hudson (1996, p. 123) advocates: "one of the advantages of signalling power and solidarity by our choice of names is that we can avoid such problems simply by not using any name to address the person concerned".

One interesting hypothesis about the application of address terms is offered by Robinson (1972, p. 129) who argues that the languages of the societies in which social position of individuals is a result of their choices and achievements make few distinctions in address terms. However, in the societies where an individual is 'assigned' to a particular social group or stratum at birth, one may expect to find systems characterized by more complex systems of address terms. Such systems tend to reflect the social structures of those societies. For example,

when we compare the terms of address used in English and Japanese, we undoubtedly notice that the Japanese system is more complex. The same could probably be true about naming and addressing practices, mentioned above, which are rooted in the Indian culture. This may, in fact, be in line with what Robinson advocates. In a much more highly stratified society like China, we should expect a system of address terms to be more elaborate. However, whether the Robinson's claims are true, as Wardhaugh (2006, p. 274) says, still remains unproved. Nevertheless, what seems to be certain is that social and cultural issues exert a great deal of influence in the use of address terms. As can be seen above, the use of address terms in not universal, but it is rather conditioned by cultural systems of the societies that use particular languages.

Bearing in mind all the factors that influence forms of address, let us emphasise that cultural factors seem to have a decisive influence upon establishment and application of particular address forms or naming practices, as could be seen in the case of the Nuer. Hence, one can expect different systems in western cultures on the one hand, and different ones in those cultures that impose rigid caste systems on the society, such as that found in India. This may be illustrated by a situation found in northern India, where the age factor of the speakers plays an important role in choosing a particular form of address. As Pruthi (2004, p. 162) reports, "among young siblings in a household, there is constant acknowledgement of age differences: younger siblings never address an older sibling by name, but rather by respectful terms for elder brother or elder sister. However, an older sibling may address the younger by name". Much in a similar vein, as Pruthi claims, "even in a business or academic setting, where colleagues may not openly espouse traditional observance of caste or class ranking behaviour, they may set up fictive kinship relations, addressing one another by kinship terms reflecting family or village-style hierarchy" (ibid). Fasold (1990) claims that the use of address forms varies extensively in different languages and cultures. Examples presented in this paper seem to confirm and be in line Fasold's findings. Morover, as Chang and Wu (2011, p. 59) claim, "some forms of address in one language do not exist in another language, or the usage of seemingly equivalent ones may be governed by different norms in different linguistic and cultural contexts". We should also add that the highly language-specific and culture-related nature of address forms can be a source of great challenges for those who deal with inter-language and cross-cultural communication.

Conclusion

As mentioned above, the application of V forms in many languages signals politeness and status. Moreover, the T-V distinction is a linguistic device that is also used to express various levels of power, solidarity, social distance, courtesy or familiarity towards the speaker's interlocutor. Many languages offer the same possibility as French of addressing an individual using either the singular pronoun *tu* or plural *vous* (for example, Czech, Slovak, Russian). Other languages make use of different forms to express the T-V contrast (for example, German, Polish, Hungarian, or Thai), while still others do not make a distinction between the T-V forms at all (for example, English). Languages, such as modern English, which have no formal T–V distinction, may use different means to convey the above-mentioned attitudes towards the addressee. This can be achieved, for example, by addressing someone by their first name or surname, or using a title such as sir, doctor or ma'am.

Furthermore, also the application of address forms and ways of naming in various languages expresses power and solidarity. Moreover, by using appropriate address forms, one may also signal social status of the individuals engaged in communication. The choice of a particular address form depends on various factors, such as, *inter alia*, social status, gender, intimacy or caste. One should not underestimate the significance of mutual relations between language, society and culture. It goes without saying that strong bonds are found between the culture of a particular society and the language spoken by that society. It seems plausible to believe that systems of address terms and naming practices as well as T-V distinction found in a given language are strongly influenced by the culture of the society using that language. This becomes very evident when one examines address terms of languages such as Nuer or Chinese. What is remarkable is that languages which belong to different language families (e.g. English and Hungarian) exhibit similarities as far as their address terms are concerned, which again may be attributed to the influence of similar cultural factors. If the above-mentioned considerations are accepted, one is tempted to believe that the relations between language and culture are of profound significance. In the case of naming, address terms as well as T-V marking, the culture of a particular society usually finds its manifestation in above-mentioned linguistic devices.

References

Agha, A. (2007). *Language and Social Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Batchelor, R. M. & Offord, M. H. (2000). *Using French: A Guide to Contemporary Usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bodley, J. H. (2011). *Cultural Anthropology: Tribes, States, and the Global System*. Plymouth: AltaMira Press.

Brown, P. & Levinson, S. (1978/1987). *Politeness. Some Universals in Language Usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, R. & Ford, M. (1961). Address in American English. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 62.

Brown, R. & Gilman, A. (1968). The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity. In Fishman, J. A. (Ed.), *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. The Hague: Mouton.

Chang, C. & Wu, M. M. (2011). Address Form Shifts in Interpreted Q&A Sessions. In R. Setton (Ed.), *Interpreting Chinese, Interpreting China*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Clyne, M., Norrby, C. & Warren, J. (2009). *Language and Human Relations: Styles of Address in Contemporary Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (1987). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1948). Nuer Modes of Address. *The Uganda Journal*, 12.

Fasold, R. (1990). *Sociolinguistics of Language*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.

Gołąbek, R., (2014). Culture as a Factor Determining Tu-Vous Usage. In A. Štulajterová (Ed.), *Teória a prax prípravy budúcich translatológov a učiteľov anglického jazyka II.* (pp. 110-122). Banská Bystrica: Vydavateľstvo Univerzity Mateja Bela v Banskej Bystrici – BELIANUM.

Gołąbek, R. (2015a). Address Terms and Culture. *Radomskie Studia Filologiczne*, 1/2/2015, 95-106.

Gołąbek, R. (2015b). *English Periphrastic Causative Constructions as Gender-Based Expressions of Human Experience in F. Scott Fitzgerald's Novels 'The Beautiful and Damned' and 'Tender Is the Night'.* Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej w Lublinie, unpubl. PhD Dissertation.

Goodenough, W. H. (1957). Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics. [in:] Garvin, P. L. (Ed.), *Report of the Seventh Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Study* (pp. 167–173). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Hongyin, T. (2005). Terms of Address. In E. L. Davis (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Chinese Culture.* Oxon and New York, NY: Routledge.

Hudson, R. A. (1996). *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jauncey, D. (1997). *A grammar of Tamambo: the language of western Malo, Vanuatu*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University.

Kenesei, I., Vago, R. M. & Fenyvesi, A. (1998). *Hungarian. (Descriptive Grammars).* London: Routledge.

Kislenko, A. (2004). *Culture and Customs of Thailand.* Westport CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Łozowski, P. (2013). Language vis-à-vis culture in Jerzy Bartmiński's cognitive ethnolinguistics. In A. Głaz, J. Danaher & P. Łozowski (Eds.), *The Linguistic Worldview: Ethnolinguistics, Cognition and Culture* (pp. 351-370). London: Versita.

Łozowski, P. (2014). Homo loquens w języku i kulturze, czyli skąd sie biora wartości? In J. Adamowski & M. Wójcicka (Eds.), *Wartości i etos,* (Tradycja dla współczeności. Ciągłość i zmiana 7). Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Mesthrie, R. (with contributions of Deumert, A.), (2009). Critical Sociolinguistics: Approaches to Language and Power. In R. Mesthrie, J. Swann, A. Deumert & W. L. Leap, *Introducing Sociolinguistics* (pp. 309-343.). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Meyerhoff, M., (2011). *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. New York: Routledge.

Pruthi, R. K. (2004). *Indian Caste System*. New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House.

Reményi, A. Á. (1994) Influences and Values: a Sociolinguistic Study in the Hungarian System of Address. *Studies in Applied Linguistics*, 1, 85–109.

Robinson, W. P. (1972). *Language and Social Behaviour*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Salzmann, Z. (1993). *Language, culture and society: An introduction to linguistic anthropology*. Oxford: Westview Press.

Stockwell, P. (2002). *Sociolinguistics: A Resource Book for Students.* London: Routledge.

Spolsky, B. (1998). *Sociolinguistics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Upton, C. & Widdowson, J. D. A. (2006). *An Atlas of English Dialects: Region and Dialect.* Oxon: Routledge.

Vigner, G. (1978). *Savoir-vivre en France*. Paris: Hachette.

Wardhaugh, R. (2006). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistic.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Wierzbicka, A. (2003). *Cross-cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human Interaction.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Włodarczyk-Stachurska, A. (2011a). Language variations vis-à-vis gender factor. In G. A. Kleparski & R. Kiełtyka (Eds.), *Podkarpackie Forum Filologiczne. Seria: Językoznawstwo.* Jarosław: Wydawnictwo Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Techniczno-Ekonomicznej w Jarosławiu.

Yong, L. (2006). Cultural Differences and Clashes in Communication. In J. Reuvid & L. Yong (Eds.), *Doing Business with China* (pp. 261-274). London: GMB Publishing Ltd.

Note

The present paper is a revised and elaborated version of the ideas presented in the author's doctoral dissertation entitled "English Periphrastic Causative Constructions as Gender-Based Expressions of Human Experience in F. Scott Fitzgerald's Novels 'The Beautiful and Damned' and 'Tender Is the Night'"as well as the author's earlier articles: "Culture as a Factor Determining Tu-Vous Usage","Address Terms and Culture" (for details, see Gołąbek, 2014, 2015a, 2015b, in References).

Contact

Rafał Gołąbek
Kazimierz Pułaski University of Technology and Humanities in Radom
31 Chrobrego Str.
26-600 Radom, Poland
Rafal.Golabek@wp.pl

JoLaCE

INSPIRATIONS

Shakespeare in Arabia:
Directing Macbeth Arabia and Antony and Cleopatra
in the United Arab Emirates

Anthony Tassa
American University of Sharjah, United Arab Emirates
atassa@aus.edu

Abstract
Working with student theatrical production casts, this paper details the exploration of various cultural elements in staging two plays by William Shakespeare, Macbeth Arabia and Antony and Cleopatra. It looks specifically at portions of the text and their direct correlation to cultural elements in the Arab world. The productions were staged in Sharjah, United Arab Emirates in November 2011 (Macbeth Arabia) and December 2014 (Antony and Cleopatra). The primary question being examined: How does one adapt moments from Shakespeare's text to the culture for which it is being presented? It sheds light on the idea that the themes in the works of this great playwright are universal and can apply to any cultural setting.

Keywords
Shakespeare, theatre, drama, Arab, culture

Introduction
The Theatre Program is one segment of the Performing Arts Program in the College of Arts and Sciences at the American University of Sharjah in the city of Sharjah, United Arab Emirates. This program seeks to "examine and promote music and theatre by providing students with opportunities to explore how the performing arts foster creativity and promote inclusiveness, diversity and understanding in an increasingly interdependent world. Through their course of study students learn to think critically, engage creatively, and collaborate effectively. Performing arts skills are life skills, leading to enhanced life options and diversified employability."

In the program's efforts to build a solid foundation in theatre, the works of William Shakespeare are commonly utilized, as they are an essential component of the canon of dramatic literature around the world. In order to make these pieces more accessible, not only to a modern audience, but an audience in the

Middle East, adapting the pieces to the culture for which they are being presented is standard methodology in the program.

It has become common practice in modern theatre to present adaptations of classics in various cultural and period settings. One only needs to call to mind Peter Brook's famous version of A Midsummer Night's Dream (1970), presented within a circus context; or perhaps the version of Richard III (1993) directed by Richard Eyre and starring Ian McKellan, which was set in World War II era garb. The goal of each new conceptualization is simply to make the themes and ideas more relevant to its audiences. These adaptations, among a multitude of others, serve to remind us that the explorations of the human condition by Shakespeare are universal. In Macbeth, the playwright investigates the impact of unbridled ambition upon its protagonist. In Antony and Cleopatra, he explores the role of Marc Antony's conflicted sense of duty and honor as confronted by his passion and love for the Egyptian queen.

One traditionally expects Macbeth to begin with the sounds of bagpipes among visuals of fog and mist above the Scottish Highlands. One anticipates battles of Claymore-wielding clansmen adorned with kilts and other highland garb. But what if…

Study

House to half, the sound of Arabic drums begins, house out. Pre-set fades to half, the tribal rhythm beating in the desert air, across the dunes, pounding, pulsating with an ancient rhythm older than time. Pre-set out. In black, sounds are heard, Bedouin voices sailing on the wind, the crunch of cold night sand beneath naked feet. Seashells thrown on a dirty mound of sand, not once, not twice, but thrice. Drums fade, still pulsating lightly in the background, then:

First Witch
When shall we three meet again
In thunder, lightning, or in rain?

Second Witch
When the hurlyburly's done,
When the battle's lost and won.

Third Witch
That will be ere the set of sun.

First Witch
Where the place?

Second Witch
Upon the dunes.

Third Witch
There to meet with Macbeth.
(*Macbeth Arabia*, Act I, Scene 1)

It is opening night of *Macbeth Arabia*, a new *Macbeth*, different than before, adorned with Bedouin costumes and traditions; a tattered tattooed witches coven moves across the stage, a tribal women's dance ensues; tribal sheikh Duncan enters with his train and hears reports from the bloody field. Macbeth in flowing robe, regal *agal* atop his head holding the *gatra* in place, an Arab dagger tucked in his *sache*, Arab sword at his side, enters.

Set in 9th century-inspired Arabia, this is a new look at *Macbeth…*

Photograph by Zuzana Tassa

The first role of any Director when mounting a piece of theatre is to conceptualize the production. This means taking an approach to the text that will enhance the play's inherent themes. For the student-actors working on the production, they had to fully understand the play; not only the text of the author, but the actions of an Arab man or woman within the culture.

An actor begins with the text, but his primary task is to "create the whole length of a human soul's life on the stage every time he creates a part. This human soul must be visible in all its aspects, physical, mental, and emotional" (Boleslavsky, 1933, p. 38). But how does one go about his task? The first step is to answer simple questions with as great detail as possible.

1. Who am I? This question refers to how the character was raised; into what culture; how was he educated; what relationships were built along the way; what the parental relationship was here; the list is inexhaustible; an actor should know the character as well as he knows himself.

2. Where am I? This exploration should involve absolutely every aspect of the moment, and should be conducted for each and every moment of the play being produced. It includes simple answers such as: am I indoor or out? Is it winter? What time of year, of day; what things surround me? Again, an inexhaustible list.

3. What do I want? The actor must explore what he wants for the entire length of the play, his through-line. He then must fully understand each and every moment to moment objective of the character, where objectives change, and whether or not they are achieved. He must also understand the impact of his objectives on other characters.

4. How will I go about achieving the objectives? The actor must utilize active verbs as they relate to his objectives to attack every moment of text or movement.

5. Why do I want these things? This is the motivation. The greater depth with which the actor builds the motivation, the more necessary and aggressive the objective will become.

Once an actor understands these basic questions within the context of the given Directorial concept, he is ready to begin his study of the play. For *Macbeth Arabia*, it also required a deep understanding of Arab culture.

Achieving this was no easy task. As the cast was primarily made up of Arab students, rehearsals began with discussions amongst actors of their own individual backgrounds, their own personal experiences as young Arab men and women. But the Arab world is large and diverse, and the ancient setting provided

another challenge for the young actors. The discussion then turned to specifics about text and character and implementation of Constantine Stanislavsky's *Magic IF*. Constantine Stanislavsky is the famous acting teacher, director, and co-founder of the Moscow Art Theatre, as well as the father of Method Acting. The *Magic If* reminds an actor that he cannot simply say: if I were present at the murder of King Duncan, how would I react? It must go deeper: if I were a Bedouin leader and the Sheikh were murdered in the home of his cousin, how would I react? This helps the actor to begin thinking as the character, not as himself.

Macbeth Arabia was presented in November 2011. It featured two guest artists: Jordanian-born American actor Bashar Atiyat as Macbeth; American actor (company member of the Guthrie Theatre) Hugh Kennedy as Macduff. *Antony and Cleopatra* was presented in November 2014 with a full cast of theatre students from the American University of Sharjah.

Bashar Atiyat, a Jordanian-born actor who works in Los Angeles, served as the cultural advisor for the 2011 production at the American University of Sharjah. He assisted with actor training, but was especially important as the production sought to incorporate customs, clothing, settings, and traditions of Bedouin culture. The actors were well-schooled in movement and manners appropriate to a Bedouin during this period of time. The colors and the fabrics of the costumes were heavily researched and accurate to the Bedouins of the 9th century. The scenic elements were chock-full of mosaics and tapestries and magically transformed the AUS Performing Arts venue into a 9th century Arabian palace.

"…the adaptation of the script to the practiced culture, the way an Arab man would behave and carry himself; where he stands in the presence of a leader; how to address another man, or a woman; how to behave in his home or outside… (an) aspect which I admired the most, (was) seeing the performers, being Arabs, thinking and behaving as the characters, but as Arabs; an Arab woman delivering her lines of a western story, but delivered as an Arab woman; an Arab man talks to his fellow Arab men, delivering the Shakespearean story, but speaking as an Arab man; so the performers kept the authenticity of who they are culturally, and did not try to perform as Westerners, that just made it feel as an Arab story" (Bashar Atiyat interview).

Photograph by Zuzana Tassa

Concerning the language of the play, Shakespeare's text was kept largely intact. Primarily locations and titles were altered to more effectively fit the setting and assist in telling the story. For instance, in Act IV, scene 3, as Macduff learns about the supposed treacherous nature of the future king, Malcolm, he cries out, "O Scotland! Scotland!" This was effectively changed to, "O Blad Asham, Blad Asham!" This cry refers specifically to a traditional kingdom of the Arab world. Other changes included references to Masr as the home-base of the armies intended to liberate Blad Asham from Macbeth's grasp; also, specifically referring to location in the play as the Levant. These minor changes were enough to liberate the play from Scotland and entice it to the Arab World. Contextually, references to tribes and familial alliances were easily translated to an Arab setting, as much of the tribal structure, even today, is built upon such familial alliances.

As Macduff moved across the stage in Act V, he was pursued by the spirits of his murdered family. The pounding of the Arab drums increased, driving incessantly into the desert air. The rhythm incorporated was an Arab tribal

rhythm which called to mind impending war. The battle between Macbeth and Macduff was close, primitive, primal; the front row of the audience was not more than three feet from the action. With the final thrust of Macduff's sword into the usurper's body, the lights changed and a large hell-mouth opened. Macbeth awoke only to see the falcon-like coven hovering over him, head-witch Hecate beckoning for his soul, and he was dragged away kicking and screaming to vociferous sounds of the Arab desert. Malcolm presents his final speech, drums on a heavy downbeat, witches call for Fleance, Banquo's only son, to succumb to their art, lights fade to tableau, tableau fades, drums out.

At the play's opening, witches threw seashells onto an unraveled piece of cloth to read the fortune of their prey; during the introduction of Lady Macbeth, she had her hand adorned with henna by one servant, while another filled the room with *bakhoor* (incense); in one transition, the witches coven executed a style of dance done only by females on the Arabian

Peninsula; as Macbeth enlisted the murderers' assistance in eliminating Banquo, he performed old and secretive tea-oriented customs. These were just a few of the cultural elements pored over during the rehearsal process.

The opening dialogue of the play, Act I, scene 1, shows the three witches as they conclude their charm. They are preparing for their first meeting with Macbeth. As the dialogue starts with the first witch asking, "When shall we three meet again?" it informs the director and actors that something has already taken place. What have the witches been up to? In keeping with the Arabian theme it was decided that the witches would throw seashells to ascertain the fate of their prey. This demonstrates the connection to the sea in the Middle East. Although engulfed in desert lands, the coast is never far away. Seashells are easily found. They are noted to be the tools by which a fortune can be told by witches. Each toss of the shells reveals something about the primary target's destiny. In their reading of the shells, the witches understand the famous statements with which they are about to confront the warrior-chief, Macbeth.

The Bedouin tea ceremony was specifically utilized in Act III, scene 1, during which Macbeth enlists the services of two murderers to aid him in ridding the court of his loyal friend, Banquo.

"Tea and Coffee are always an essential part of any setting in real life of the Arab culture, not just as a drink, but in Bedouin Culture, drinking Coffee or Tea offered by the host, is the first sign of accepting the host's generosity, as generosity is the highest honor a Bedouin can gain in his life, and this is the first practice to break the ice, but also to signal that both sides are open to discuss and talk (about) whatever they came for.

While rejecting a drink from a host is very insulting, and immediately understood as a rejection to the host's generosity, this particular moment is very critical, and in Tribal Bedouin Culture, this act can easily result in a tribal war, or even in some cases resulted in the host killing the guest on the spot (knowing that the guest is from the same culture and understands it perfectly), as it is considered the most insulting thing to do to a Bedouin, which is rejecting his Generosity" (Bashar Atiyat interview).

There is a known process in Bedouin tradition. One should offer a guest a cup of tea. This tea should not be set down but remains in one's hand until finished. If a guest wishes to compliment his host the empty cup is shaken from side to side. The host will then refill the cup and the guest will consume the second cup in the same manner. The cup is then set down. Alternately, if the guest shakes the cup a second time requesting a third cup of tea, it means that he is seeking the protection of his host.

In *Macbeth Arabia,* Macbeth offers the two murderers tea. They accept. It is served by Macbeth's henchman, Seyton. The king then dismisses his servant and proceeds to enlist their services:

> MACBETH
> …Was it not yesterday we spoke together?
>
> First Murderer
> It was, so please your highness.
>
> MACBETH
> Well then, now
> Have you consider'd of my speeches? Know
> That it was he in the times past which held you
> So under fortune, which you thought had been
> Our innocent self: this I made good to you
> In our last conference…
> …and all things else that might
> To half a soul and to a notion crazed
> Say 'Thus did Banquo.'
>
> First Murderer
> You made it known to us.
>
> (*Macbeth Arabia*, Act III, Scene 1)

As the first cup is finished, the two murderers both shake their cups, requesting a second cup of tea, thus complimenting their host. Macbeth then serves a second cup of tea himself. He continues in his spirited portrayal of Banquo as a villain to the kingdom, requesting the assistance of the murderers. They finish their second cups and after a brief moment, shake their cups again. This signals to the king that they will indeed take on this mission, this task of murdering the king's formerly closest friend but they expect his protection in exchange. The scene concludes with Macbeth agreeing and sending them on their way.

Another layer of depth is added to this scene when one considers the characters involved. The murderers know they have been summoned to undertake an illicit act on behalf of the new king. "The murderers recruiting scene, the fact that tea was offered, it signals the question of whether you're willing to talk, or accept what the host is about to say, or not, so in a way, it was used as a tactic to add pressure on the murderers to accept, or else it can be easily taken as rejecting his generosity. This created quite a dilemma for the murderers. They know they are about to enter into an agreement which they might find distasteful.

"... (One) just immediately got excited and accepted, while another was a bit hesitant, then was pushed by his colleague to accept, otherwise, (it) might cause them (both) to be executed" (Bashar Atiyat interview).

In Act II, scene 3, the murderers complete their task, finalizing the treachery with the cutting of Banquo's throat. In order to amplify the King's duplicity, his servant, Seyton, who was playing the third murderer, then kills the first two murderers. This act, ordered by Macbeth, disrespects Bedouin custom. His agreement to offer them protection in exchange for their service is binding. His betrayal makes this action that much more pronounced and deceitful. It serves to amplify the darkness of Macbeth's soul as he takes action not only against his dearest friend, but against those with whom he has reached an agreement; he disrespects a long-honored Bedouin tradition. Macbeth has forsaken his own Honor.

This is not the only time the role of Macbeth's Honor is at stake. When he is mulling over the murder of King Duncan, he clearly states his concerns that:

> He's here in double trust;
> First, as I am his kinsman and his subject,
> Strong both against the deed; then, as his host,
> Who should against his murderer shut the door,
> Not bear the knife myself.
>
> (*Macbeth Arabia*, Act I, Scene 7)

In Bedouin culture, "the protection of the master of a home extends to all those who are legitimately within (Stewart 88)." One must also consider that in this instance Macbeth is also assassinating his own cousin. These dishonorable actions heighten the scene during which the discovery of the King's body is made.

The fact that King Duncan was murdered in Macbeth's castle also somewhat justifies Macbeth's murder of the two guards at the Kings' door. According to Bedouin codes of honor, he is required to take action against someone who has been injured in his own home. According to Frank Henderson Stewart in his book, *Honor*, if he does not taken action against the supposed perpetrators, he will lose face and as a result be shunned. So when Lady Macbeth, pretending to learn of the murder, cries out "What, in our home!" (*Macbeth Arabia*, Act II, scene 3), for the Bedouin it has an even deeper cultural connotation.

In addition to exploring the traditions and customs in the Arab world, particularly in Bedouin culture, images were pored over with great detail. The falcon plays an important role in Bedouin tradition. Falconry, being a sport which has thrived on the Arabian Peninsula and beyond, it was fully explored as an image in the production. The witches' costumes were designed to reflect the image of the falcon. They had long protruding winglets extended from their arms. The fabric was chosen to reflect in the light and provide the impression of their ability to take to the air. Some witches even wore the traditional Bedouin *Niqab*, which further implemented the falcon imagery.

The falcon image appeared again in silhouette during Act II, scene 4. As the Thane of Ross and an Old Man are describing unnatural events taking place within the kingdom since the murderer of King Duncan:

> Old Man
> 'Tis unnatural,
> Even like the deed that's done. On Tuesday last,
> A falcon, towering in her pride of place,
> Was by a mousing owl hawk'd at and kill'd.

ROSS
And Duncan's horses--a thing most strange and certain--
Beauteous and swift, the minions of their race,
Turn'd wild in nature, broke their stalls, flung out,
Contending 'gainst obedience, as they would make
War with mankind.

(*Macbeth Arabia*, Act II, Scene 4)

During this passage, falcons appeared above the stage. This reinforced the constant presence of the bird of prey, but also reminded the audience of the topsy-turvy state of the world as the falcon is brought down by an owl. Furthermore, it reminded the audience of the constant presence of the witches coven (which stayed on stage for the plays' entirety), now synonymous with the falcon, as they toil away at guiding Macbeth towards his impending doom.

The falcon image proved most useful a year after the production as students began work on *Macbeth Arabia Deconstructed*, a 20-minute version of *Macbeth Arabia* which primarily focused on the imagery of the original. In Lady Macbeth's final death scene, not appearing on stage in Shakespeare's original text, she lifted her body as though flinging herself from a rampart, then floated into her husband's waiting arms as he began the famous Act V, scene 5, "Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow…" speech. As he finished this soliloquy, her body lifted out of his arms and she became a falcon which then communed with the witches' coven.

In order to fully implement the concept, the costumes were designed to reflect Arab cultural traditions. Each actor wore a *Kondura* or robe as his base costume. The robe was held tightly in place with a belt of fabric which could contain a dagger placed in front. The costumes were then layered with a male *Abaya*, which is the customary dress of the Bedouin. Each outer garment reflects the particular tribe and status within the tribe of each individual character. The headdress was made up of an *Agal* and *Gatra,* the traditional headdress worn in the region. One practical purpose of these particular garments is to shield the face and body from the blistering sand and heat. "Bedouin clothing had to suit the desert conditions. In spite of the summer heat, they wore clothing that covered them from head to foot" (Peters, 1980, p. 30).

Photograph by Zuzana Tassa

For ladies a patterned dress was designed which would reflect the status of each character. Jewelry and henna was then adorned in keeping with the traditions of the culture. Lady Macbeth wore a patterned dress which was reflective of the Levant region. The colors of the dress were black and maroon to better reflect the character's own blood-lust as she inspired her husband to his deceitful acts. Her jewelry included a large gold-colored breastplate and dangling golden earrings. The choice of gold reinforced her status as royalty within the culture as "…only the wealthy could afford gold" (Peters, 1980, p. 31).

The palace of Macbeth was designed with a blend of Arabic domes and Islamic art. The patterns were reflective of this. The swirls of pattern painted on the scenery were designed to project the floating sands of the Arabian Desert. The ornate furniture which adorned the palace was chosen to reflect both the status of the king and regional elements of design. Wall sconces were deftly placed to give the impression of a candle-lit chamber. The colors of soft green and tan created an ambiance of comfort and majesty amidst the play's world of deceit.

> "…the physical and visible setting of the space, furniture, the
> interior design, it was just well well done" (Bashar Atiyat interview)

Even the very air of the production was layered with the scent of Arabian incense, as the *bakhoor* constantly filled the venue. Shakespeare's own text actually makes reference to scents of Arabia. As Lady Macbeth wanders the dimly palace passageways in her sleepwalking state, she laments:

> LADY MACBETH
> Here's the smell of the blood still: all the
> perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little
> hand. Oh, oh, oh!
> (*Macbeth Arabia*, Act V, Scene 1)

The witches' cauldron in Act IV, Scene 1, was filled with live flames as they danced in preparation for Macbeth's arrival. This cauldron also emanated the scent of traditional Frankincense. The dance was patterned after a ladies dance utilized in the Arabian Peninsula. This dance is rarely seen outside of female-only circles and involves a swaying of the head from side to side, a rolling of the hair in rhythmic motion, as the feet do a simple ball-change step, alternating from one foot to another.

The production met with loud approval from its packed audiences.

Antony and Cleopatra played to sold-out houses in November of 2014. It was the second production by the Theatre Program that explored layering cultural elements of the Middle East into a Shakespearean text. In contrast to *Macbeth Arabia*, the Directorial concept for this production was developed under the premise that actors were entering the space in order to tell the story of an ancient time. This concept had tremendous impact on every element of the piece. The primary focus was on images captured from Egypt and Rome in the ancient world, and how those images might readily adapt the play for a contemporary audience. It also included elements of contemporary Arab dance to further the story.

A major component was the development of a character not contained in the original text: the Sphynx. Long seen as a reflection of mysticism of ancient Egypt, this half-human, half-lion beast was essential to the development of the production.

Photograph by Ali G. Ahmed

The Sphynx served various functions throughout the production, sometimes seen by characters on the stage, and at other times unseen. She literally became a playmate for Cleopatra. In Act I, Scene 3, during the queen's first farewell to her lover Antony as he plans to return to Rome to confront a rebellion, Cleopatra plays catch with the animal. They calmly tossed a ball of twine back and forth as the dialogue progressed. This amplified the childlike nature of the Egyptian Queen for whom the entire world was nothing more than a game. She toyed with Antony, teasing and fawning, then spurning him in matter of seconds.

CLEOPATRA
I am sick and sullen.
She begins to play with the Sphynx, passing a ball of twine back and forth.

MARK ANTONY
I am sorry to give breathing to my purpose,--

CLEOPATRA
Help me away, dear Charmian; I shall fall:
It cannot be thus long, the sides of nature will not sustain it.

MARK ANTONY
Now, my dearest queen,--

CLEOPATRA
Pray you, stand further from me.

MARK ANTONY
What's the matter?

CLEOPATRA
I know, by that same eye, there's some good news.
What says the married woman? You may go:
Would she had never given you leave to come!
(*Antony and Cleopatra*, Act I, Scene 3)

The Sphynx also served as friend or foe of the various armies throughout the production. She weaved her way through the battle sequences as a representative of the spirit world, coaxing warriors to their deaths, or to victory. Driven by the rhythmic pounding of the music, in the sea battles between the navies of Octavius and Antony, she was in direct control of the ships of both.

"*Navies represented by ships upon a large map. A battle ensues by sea. Accompanied by battle music, the Sphynx moving in clear alignment with Egyptian forces carries each navy onto the map. The Sphynx dances around the ships, weaving the battle. She moves the Roman ship forward, lifts the Egyptian ship and flees with it. She then raises the Roman ship in triumph. The Sphynx laughs after Antony. Octavius is victorious. Antony and Eros break away as the scenes play out behind them in silhouette.*"
(*Antony and Cleopatra,* IV, Scene 12)

The Sphynx played additional physical roles in the real world of the play. During Act V, Scene 2, the Sphynx transformed into an asp. She began by escaping

from the basket of the Clown who brought the deadly snakes to the Egyptian Queen. She then seductively made her way up the steps of the stone pyramid and utilizing a snake-like lance, pierced the throats of each of her victims: the handmaidens of Cleopatra, and finally the Queen herself.

The Sphynx was also utilized as a harbinger of death. She fluidly caressed warriors to a death-sleep in various sequences, and then placed a red blood-cloth across each of the bodies. She also raised bodies from the dead by removing the cloth and caressing them as they arose and walked towards a light signifying the afterlife. The extensive use of this particular character allowed the mystical elements of the ancient Egyptian world to freely manifest themselves onto the stage.

As the world of the play needed to move seamlessly between Rome and Egypt, the setting of the space contained a fully realized stone pyramid which would serve as the base for all scenes in Egypt; conversely, there was a marble structure adorned with majestic Roman columns for the scenes in Rome. The setting immediately brought to life the two diverse worlds as created by the text. Rome: marble, order, structure, duty, loyalty; Egypt: stone, earthy, magical, decadent, passion. The battle sequences were played out in the open areas of the stage between these two polar opposites.

For costumes, to emphasize the concept that these were actors playing parts, the actors were uniformed in a black base costume. Onto this base were placed pieces from their respective cultures. Romans added a helmet or leather breastplate, sometimes a cape, or cloth to represent a toga. The Egyptians were layered with ornate headdresses and chest coverings. There were two additional rationales for these choices: one, each actor had to take on a multitude of characters. He might play a Roman soldier in one scene, then quickly have to transform into an Egyptian servant for the next. The other rationale was creating a movement friendly costume for use in the contemporary dance and Arab Dabke sequences, another cultural element of the production.

Utilizing modern scores with traditional melodic themes, or Arabic melodies, the actors performed dances to represent battle sequences, confrontations, or celebrations. For some of these sequences, the Egyptian form of the Dabke, traditional Arabic dance, was implemented.

Photograph by Ali G. Ahmed

In the battle between Antony's army from Egypt and Octavius' from Rome, the warriors met on stage and executed the traditional Dabke, then layered in a stick dance to signify the violence taking place.

For one arrival of Queen Cleopatra, she and her handmaidens executed a ladies dance, which was representative of traditional women's dances in Egypt. This augmented the brashness of the Queen's playful nature, but further emphasized her majesty and power as she literally controlled the moves of each of the other dancers.

With regard to acting style, the movement in *Antony and Cleopatra* was in stark contrast to that of *Macbeth Arabia*. While the latter relied heavily on a realistic portrayal of Arab culture, relationships, and physicality, the former focused primarily on ancient Egyptian human images. Often seen with sharp right angles, the actors explored Michael Chekhov's Psychological Gesture in developing their characters. The physical postures were reinforced with right angles and hard gestures, which in turn lead to a more heightened state of being. One could say an overtly dramatic portrayal of the Egyptian characters, but the basics of acting remained. The actors still had to answer the introductory questions regarding characterizations, and moreover had to effectively utilize Stanislavsky's *Magic IF.*

Additionally, in an effort to emphasize movement and make the piece more accessible, numerous passages of text were replaced by or enhanced with movements sequences. The first meeting between Antony and Cleopatra as related by Enobarbus was supported with a movement piece visual to assist in telling the story. The wedding between Antony and Octavia was told through movement. The face-off between the armies of the Triumvirate of Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus against Pompey was related through dance. The movement-dance elements were utilized in nearly every sequence as a means of spotlighting elements of the story and further enhancing the playwright's themes.

Conclusion

Macbeth Arabia and Antony and Cleopatra were both productions which sought to lure the heightened classical text of William Shakespeare into the modern world. Every aspect of conceptualization of both productions, from scenic design to costume and sound design, from acting style to movement, was carefully chosen to successfully present these pieces to a modern audience in the Middle East.

As the Theatre Program at the American University of Sharjah continues to grow and develop, production concepts will continuously seek to adapt or

augment classical texts so that they may be more accessible to a Middle Eastern audience. This approach will further strengthen the program's role as a leader in innovative approaches to theatrical productions, and serve to enhance the university's role in its delivery of a well-rounded liberal arts education.

References

Atiyat Bashar (2015). Personal Interview. 1 March 2015.

Boleslavsky, R. (1933). Acting: The First Six Lessons. In R. Blair (Ed.). London, UK; Routledge, 2010.

Peters, S. (1980). Bedouin. London, UK; Macdonald Educational.

Stewart, F. H. (1994). Honor. Chicago, Illinois; University of Chicago Press.

Tassa, A. Macbeth Arabia (2014). Edited from the original play by William Shakespeare (1606).

Tassa, A. (2014). Antony and Cleopatra. Edited from the original play by William Shakespeare (1607).

Contact

Anthony Tassa
Professor of Theatre
Performing Arts Coordinator
American University of Sharjah
PO Box 26666
Sharjah, United Arab Emirates
atassa@aus.edu

Navigating the treacherous seas of L2 pronunciation

Jela Kehoe
Catholic University in Ružomberok, Slovakia
jela.kehoe@ku.sk

Abstract

Most students eager to study English language and literature as a major at university level have typically studied the language for at least eight years. Nevertheless their skills vary between B1 and C2 of the CEFR, often showing unexpected weakness in the area of pronunciation accuracy. Since many of them wish to join the teaching profession, it is essential for them to master all aspects of the language they aspire to teach as perfectly as possible in order to become inspirational speech models for their future pupils. The proposed paper aims to explore the typology of the most common pronunciation inaccuracies made by Slovak speakers of English language, discuss their possible causes and suggest ways to correct them, while outlining a corrective course of English Phonetics and Phonology for university level.

Key words: mispronunciation, speech model, improving pronunciation, corrective course

Most learners of L2 (and indeed most teachers) view any given foreign language as having several fundamental, very much interconnected aspects without which even the most basic communication would be more than difficult. From the smallest to the largest, learners must first master words (where speech sounds are combined into meaningful sequences) complete with their three layer identity (phonemic, orthographic and semantic). Then the learners need to acquire the ability to string the words into utterances while observing grammatical rules in order to achieve their communicative and pragmatic goals.

Most learners who come to study an English language and literature programme at Slovak universities have been exposed to the English language in the classroom setting for at least eight years, sometimes even more. Having different educational backgrounds (some are graduates of grammar school, others are graduates of a variety of vocational schools) their command of English varies between B1 and C2 of the CEFR. At the beginning of their studies, the majority of them could be classified at least as Independent Users of English (B1 and B2), and some being even Proficient Users (C1 and C2, see CEFR). Nevertheless, all of them without fail show a certain degree of inconsistency in the area of pronunciation accuracy. Many of the first year students choose a teacher-training programme, which requires them to master all aspects of the

language they aspire to teach as perfectly as possible, including pronunciation, with the aim of becoming appropriate speech models for their future pupils. In the best possible scenario, even the students who study a non-teacher training programme, and will not function as speech models for next generations of Slovak English language speakers, might take a certain amount of pride in the proficiency and accuracy of their output, pronunciation and all, as it is ultimately a part of their future professional image.

The pronunciation inaccuracies easily observed in the speech of first-year English language university students have a lot to do with both the nature of the English language itself (the orthographic form of English words is a reflection of their developmental history rather than their phonological structure) and the experiential horizon of the Slovak speakers. Phonological inventories of English language and Slovak language do not overlap completely. When comparing English and Slovak, there are, of course, speech sounds which are similar in nature (though different in quality) and these sounds do not generate problems for the learners. Having said that, we must admit there is room for mispronunciation even among such sounds that are used in both languages. For example, because sound /æ/ is used only marginally in contemporary Slovak language, some Slovak learners (applying the strategy from L1 in their English output) substitute /æ/ with the easier /e/ (e.g. *landing* /ˈlændɪŋ/ ≠ *lending* /ˈlendɪŋ/; *salary* /ˈsælərɪ / ≠ *celery* /ˈselərɪ/; *marry* /ˈmærɪ ≠ *merry* /ˈmerɪ/), rendering the contrast inaudible, and inadvertently changing the meaning of the word. And then, there are speech sounds which are non-existent in Slovak language (/ə/, /ɜː/, /ð/, /θ/), some that are rather different in quality (English retroflex /r/ versus Slovak trilled /r/), those that have different distribution (/w/) (Pavlík, 2000), or those that function in English language as phonemes and in Slovak language as mere allophones /ŋ/. I shall not discuss the qualitative differences between the phonemic inventories of the two languages in great depth; neither shall I mention other problems that Slovak users of English language have when dealing with these differences. The aim of this paper is to focus on two types of mispronunciations. Those which are results of the incorrect assumptions of the speakers as far as the morphological structure and/or the etymological structure of words is concerned and those mispronunciations which are results of misplaced usage of L1 strategies in L2.

Studying English language nowadays, in the world of easily accessible mass media, one is always exposed to arrays of different pronunciation, be it geographical (e.g. Estuary English, Standard American English, Indian English, or even Yorkshire dialect) or social (e.g. Received Pronunciation, vernacular

varieties). To most Slovak students or experienced users of English language perception of different varieties of English language does not cause much trouble. Since they are not native speakers, most of them speak with Slovak accent and within the scope of Communicative Approach are encouraged to aim to be 'understood easily', being 'comprehensible', rather than to attempt to emulate a specific variety or even dialect at all times. Therefore, the examples of mispronunciations used in this paper are inaccuracies which could potentially cause misunderstanding or break-down in communication, regardless of variety or dialect. Moreover, I will present the mispronunciations that have been repeatedly observed during more than ten years of teaching in English language and literature programmes at university level.

Mispronunciations ensuing from the structural identity of words are quite widespread among the Slovak speakers of English. For example, assumption that words with similar spelling will have similar pronunciation is quite common. Take the minimal set where words end in the letters –ear: *dear* /dɪə or diːr/, *fear* /fɪə or fiːr/, *hear* /hɪə or hiːr/, *gear* /gɪə or giːr/ - in these examples as well as those that will follow, if there are two pronunciation forms in brackets, the first one will be British, the second one American (For better orientation, application Phonetizer will be used, available at: http://www.phonetizer.com/, which allows for British, first one in the brackets, as well as American transcription, second one in the brackets). So, based on orthography, one might suppose the words *pear* and *bear* will follow the "trend". Although these words are taught at lower elementary level, they belong to words commonly mispronounced by Slovak speakers, since the accurate pronunciation in any variety of English language is /peə or per/ and /beə or ber/, respectively, rather than /pɪə/ and /bɪə/ (which, of course, denote the words *peer* and *beer*). Double 'o' words get the long vowel sound treatment. Slovak speakers of English will often mistakenly presuppose that if *food, pool, moon, noon, roof* or *cool,* contain long peak /uː/; the words *wool* and *hood,* or even *flood* and *blood* will behave the same. A similar strategy is (as students readily admit) used on words such as *persuasion* /pəˈsweɪʒən or pərˈsweɪʒən /, where an assumption sometimes tells the students that it is connected to the word *pursue* / pəˈsjuː or pərˈsuː/, rather than *persuade* /pəˈsweɪd or pərˈsweɪd/; resulting in the words *persuade* and *persuasion* being mispronounced as /ˌpəsjuːˈeɪd/ and /ˌpəsjuːˈeɪʒən/ respectively. The words *focused, event, hallowed, vague* and *purpose* get similar treatment when many Slovak speakers of English deconstruct these words as containing the words or parts of the words *used, even, allowed, and argue* and *pose* respectively. Instead of the pronunciation /ˈfəʊkəst or ˈfoʊkəst / /ɪˈvent/ /ˈhæləʊd or həˈloʊd/, /veɪg/ and

/ˈpɜːpəs or ˈpɜːrpəs/, these words are often mispronounced as /ˈfɒkjuːst/, /ˈiːvənt/, /həˈlaʊd/, /ˈveɪgjuː/ and /pəˈpəʊs or pərˈpoʊs/. The compound *cupboard* is more often pronounced /kʌpbɔːd or kʌpbɔːrd/, rather than its more accurate /ˈkʌbəd or ˈkʌbərd/, and *preface* becomes /ˈprɪfeɪs/ in Slovak classrooms.

Words formed with affixes sometimes present a problem, though not as often as simple words (especially monosyllabic ones, which show the greatest variety of origin; whether Anglo-Saxon, Old-Norse, Latin, Greek or French). Derived words, partly because they are polysyllabic, are more regular in pronunciation, more predictable. Also, most of them belong to relatively advanced vocabulary, possibly being learned at the stage when the learner is more independent and able to follow and imitate authentic speech as found in genuine audio and audio-visual Anglophone mass media. Having said that, there are two particular suffixes that are commonly mispronounced by Slovak speakers of English. They are the suffix *-able* and the suffix *-ous*. Presumably because there is also an adjective *able* /ˈeɪbl/, the words derived by this adjectiviser (such as *acceptable, capable, despicable, invariable* and *comfortable*) are often mispronounced (/ˈeksepˌteɪbl̩/, /ˈkepeɪbl̩/, /ˈdespɪˌkeɪbl̩/, /ɪnˈveərɪˌeɪbl̩/, /ˈkʌmfəˌteɪbl̩/), even though they should all contain the unstressed ending /əbl̩/, which does not cause changes to the stress pattern: /əkˈseptəbl̩/, /ˈkeɪpəbl̩/, /deˈspɪkəbl̩/, /ɪnˈveərɪəbl̩/, /ˈkʌmfətəbl̩/.

The second, typologically separate, category of mispronunciations, which this paper will focus on are mispronunciations resulting out of misplaced usage of L1 strategies when dealing with L2; language interference. It is a generally acknowledged that such interference influences the acquisition and production of the second language speech sounds (as well as other phonological features) more than other levels of language, e.g. grammar (Kranke and Christison, 1983). English – Slovak false friends, in all probability because of their deceptive orthographic similarity, are frequently a source of semantic confusion as well as pronunciation inaccuracy. There are dozens of them[i] and I shall mention those that I have recorded over the years amongst the commonly mispronounced: *ambulance* /ˈæmbjʊləns/, *benzene* /ˈbenziːn/, *cartoon* /kɑːˈtuːn or ˈkɑːrˈtuːn /, *citron* /ˈsɪtrən/, *compass* /ˈkʌmpəs/, *cymbal* /ˈsɪmbəl/, *maturity* /məˈtjʊərɪtɪ/, *motor* /ˈməʊtə or ˈmoʊtər/, *receipt* /rɪˈsiːt/ and *wagon* /ˈwægən/. The mispronunciation of these words is more than likely caused by language interference, when the Slovak speakers of English use a more or less Slovak pronunciation: /ˈʌmbʊləns/, /ˈbenzeːn/, /ˈkʌrtuːn/, /ˈtsɪtrɒn/, /ˈkɒmpʌs/, /ˈtsɪmbʌl/, /ˈmʌtʊrɪtɪ/, /ˈmɒtɒr/, /ˈrɪsiːpt/ and /vʌgən/ respectively.

Standard written Slovak language has been codified for less than two hundred years. The relationship between the orthographic and the written form of the words is relatively straightforward and predictable. A large majority of words are possible to read/pronounce accurately (even without knowing the meaning), as long as the reader/speaker is aware of the sound values of the Slovak alphabet. This is not the case with English language. Due to, firstly, the historical development of English, secondly, a rather prolonged and sometimes haphazard and illogical process of standardisation and, last but not least, the fact that the English language has always been open to enriching its lexicon by taking vocabulary from other languages, the relationship between the orthographic and the written form of words in English is rather complicated. The handy rule applicable in dealing with Slovak 'write what you hear'. and conversely 'read/pronounce what you see', does not make for very practical advice in case of English language. The words *foreign, mountain, fountain* and (sadly) also *Britain* make the top of the list in terms of the frequency of their mispronunciation amongst Slovak speakers of English. The common mistake being the tail-end of these words being mispronounced as /-eɪn/, resulting in a very strong foreign accent (and sometimes communication break-down), whereas the more accurate pronunciation should incorporate one of the peaks typical for weak syllables: /ɪ/, /ə/ or a syllabic sound, in our case /ṇ/. Thus, the pronunciation should be /ˈfɒrɪn/, /ˈmaʊntɪn/, /ˈfaʊntɪn/ and /brɪtṇ /.

A culprit of a similar type arises when the Slovak speakers of English employ in their pronunciation phonemes which are non-existent in English. Slovak speakers of English are frequently overheard to pronounce the letter sequence –*ch* as /x/ instead of /k/ or /tʃ/, regardless of its origin and the fact that the voiceless velar fricative /x/ is only found in borrowed words, for example from Gaelic Scottish (e.g. the word *loch* /lɒx/). Though this /x/ speech sound is very rare in English and many native speakers of English are actually unable to articulate this particular sound properly, the mispronunciation of the words that contain the letter sequence –*ch* (*character* /ˈkærɪktə/, *chemical* /ˈkemɪkəl/, *Christmas* /ˈkrɪsməs/, *hierarchy* /ˈhaɪərɑːkɪ/ and even *school* /skuːl/) are recorded time and again in the speech of Slovak users of English language as /ˈxerɪktər/, /ˈxemɪkʌl/, /ˈxrɪstmʌs/, /ˈhɪərɑːxɪ/ and /sxuːl/.

Attempting to pronounce every single letter within a word goes against the very nature of English language. Quite the opposite is true for Slovak language, which means that many speakers for whom Slovak language is the mother tongue are often tempted to pronounce all the letters in English words, even though there are many contexts in which a number of letters (mainly consonants) would

not be realised in speech. Words with silent letters frequently end up being mispronounced when Slovak speakers of English apply the above mentioned L1 strategy to English words. The letters most likely to occur in a context where they become silent are: /b/ as in e.g. *climb, plumber* or *tomb*, /g/ as in e.g. *gnome, gnat* or *reign*, /h/ as in e.g. *heir, honour* or *rhyme*, /k/ as in e.g. *knit, knot* or *knuckle*, /l/ as in e.g. *half, calm* or *folk*, /p/ as in e.g. *pneumatic, psychic* or *pterodactyl*, /t/ as in e.g. *fasten, mortgage* or *apostle*, /w/ as in e.g. *wrestler, answer* or *wreck*.

L1 interference is the reason behind yet another type of very frequent pronunciation inaccuracy which is the mispronunciation of a word's final /v/ in the English language. This phoneme is very often devoiced in a word's final position, though it does not cease to maintain its quality of being a labiodental fricative. Examples of this distribution are words like *live* /lɪv/, *love* /lʌv/, *above* /əˈbʌv/, *improve* /ɪmˈpruːv/ or *figurative* /ˈfɪgjʊrətɪv/. The word final /v/, for example in such words as *páv, krv, žeriav, cirkev, bungalov*, is a very widespread type of distribution in Slovak language. The crucial difference lies in the way the two languages treat the words with the word final /v/ in terms of pronunciation. Whereas in English such a sound in such a position does not have any predictable allophonic variants (it remains a labiodental fricative), Slovak language employs a very regular and predictable allophonic variant to take the place of a word final /v/ phoneme: a bilabial approximant /w/. The Slovak words are then pronounced /pɑːw/, /krw/, /ʒerɪaw/, /tsirkew/ and /bʊngalɒw/. Applying this Slovak language strategy to pronunciation of a word final /v/ in English words results in inexact pronunciation, e.g. *live* /lɪw/, *love* /lʌw/, *above* /əˈbʌw/, *improve* /ɪmˈpruːw/ or *figurative* /ˈfɪgjʊrətɪw/.

Proper nouns are a particular foe for Slovak speakers of English. Words like *Graham* /ˈgreɪəm/, *Edinburg* /ˈedɪmbərə/, *Marlborough* /mɔːlbrə/ (a town in Wiltshire), *Greenwich* /grɪnɪʤ/, *Arkansas* /ɑːkənsɔː/, even *London* /lʌndən/, are recorded year after year as being marked by the following pronunciation imprecisions within the speech of many a first-year student of English language and literature arriving at university, e.g. /ˈgrehəm/, /ˈedɪmbɜːg/, /ˈmʌlbərəʊ/, /griːnwɪʤ/, /ɑːkənsəs/, /lɒndən/ respectively, even though Received Pronunciation does not allow such shifts in the spoken form of these words. Having said that, native speakers frequently find proper nouns, whether denoting the names of people or places, frustrating too. In their case, their educational background and general knowledge of the world influence their success rate when dealing with proper nouns.

Ultimately, the best prevention of any mispronunciations is to learn the accurate sound identity of a word at the same time as its orthographic form and

semantic content. Weeding out such errors and mistakes from speech takes a systematic and truly committed learner, and a well structured and focused study material to follow. With some exaggeration, I encourage our students to keep in mind the 'ABCs of a Successful Learner of English Pronunciation' (which are really reinterpreted 'ABCs of a Good Detective). 'A' is for 'assume nothing', which for us means that any assumptions about the pronunciation of English language based on previous knowledge or experience might well be corrupt and/or misleading. 'B' is for 'believe no one'. Even the most accomplished speech models, including native speakers, might make pronunciation mistakes. 'C' stands for 'check everything'. It is, after all, better to be sure than sorry and in this time and age of digital technology we have most the answers we need at our fingertips.

An integral part of university studies in an English language and literature programme is a course of Phonetics and Phonology of the English language. The course is traditionally taught in the first year of BA studies because sound level is considered the most basic level of any human language. The course consists of lectures, which focus on the theoretical aspects of the field of study, and seminars, which allow room for practical aspects of the subject, including the corrective exercises concentrating on pronunciation. I have designed the corrective line of the course to have three components which run parallel to each other. They are Listening, Speaking and Writing (and the similarity to basic language skills is only accidental).

The Listening component itself is again threefold. Firstly, the students are invited to listen to themselves. They are given the task to make two recordings of their own speech (both when reading a text and when speaking spontaneously in an informal setting), one at the beginning and one at the end of the course. During the course they are given the tools for the analysis of the recordings. This promotes self-awareness, self-evaluation and ultimately self-correction in the area of pronunciation. At the end of the course students submit two concise reports, the second one analysing the changes/improvements in their pronunciation. Secondly, the students are asked to listen as objectively and as critically as possible to each other and to other non-native speakers of English language in order to identify pronunciation inaccuracies. For this task they also submit a short report. Lastly, the students are exposed to recordings of different accents and varieties of the English language. The clues to their successful recognition are introduced and they learn to identify the differences between them.

The Speaking component of the corrective course of English pronunciation makes use of a number of structures and features of language to deepen students'

awareness of phonetical and phonological attributes of English language. Homophones and homographs are types of homonyms which Slovak language lacks. It is therefore not surprising that many Slovak speakers of English have only a basic knowledge of them, so researching and practising the use of homophones and homographs provides plenty of opportunities for the improvement of pronunciation. Phonetic humour, for example phonetic puns, such as 'Camping is intense. (in tents)' compels students to think outside the box when interpreting the ambiguous form into multiple meanings. Tongue twisters, whether traditional or modern ones, can be an interesting source of material to practice pronunciation, particularly of the problematic phonemes, in a truly focused way. The following tongue twister, for example, focuses on the mid-opened central neutral vowel sound /ɜ:/ which some students find difficult, especially when they are expected to emulate RP: *How much myrtle would a wood turtle hurdle if a wood turtle could hurdle myrtle?* /haʊ mʌtʃ 'mɜ:tl wʊd ə wʊd 'tɜ:tl 'hɜ:dl ɪf ə wʊd 'tɜ:tl kʊd 'hɜ:dl 'mɜ:tl/ (see English Tongue Twisters website). Shadow reading of nursery rhymes, children stories, poems or excerpts from plays, novels or newspaper articles (any text is exploitable) is a useful technique for practicing and improving pronunciation.

The writing component of the corrective course of English pronunciation involves the mastering of one tool that is very relevant for students' further speech improvement and which is necessary for those students who will chose to pursue the teaching profession: transcription, using the phonemic alphabet of English language. The process of becoming skilled at transcribing English words and texts has several phases. First, the students learn to read individual symbols in monosyllabic words. I use both actual English words and nonsense words, which force students to avoid guessing and to rely on their developing familiarity with the transcription. In the next stage the students are expected to practice reading transcribed texts, and at the same time to move onto transcribing polysyllabic words. The final stage in mastering the phonemic transcription is for students to transcribe coherent texts (including all the aspects of connected speech). The ability to use the phonemic alphabet (in reading and writing) enhances students' understanding of the phonological nature of the English language and gives them another tool when improving their pronunciation.

Knowing which speech sounds and which groups of words are most likely to present pronunciation difficulties for Slovak speakers of English allows instructors involved in teacher-training programmes at the university level to create tailor-made corrective courses of English pronunciation. This is particularly important when we realise that if we produce the graduates who

will, in turn, be decent speech models for their pupils and will devote enough time to teaching their pupils how to pronounce English accurately, one day the necessity to offer corrective course of English pronunciation will be no more, since our first year students will have no need of it.

References

CEFR (Common European Framework of References for Languages). 2002. [online]. [accessed 26. 7. 2015.] Available at: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/framework_en.pdf

Crystal, D. (2007). *How Language Works.* Penguin.

Derwing, T. M. (2010). Utopian goals for pronunciation teaching. In *Proceedings of the 1st Pronunciation in Second Language Learning and Teaching Conference* [online]. [accessed 26.7.2015.] Available at: http://apling.public.iastate.edu/PSLLT/2009/derwing.pdf

English Tongue Twisters [accessed 15.4.2015.] Available at: http://www.uebersetzung.at/twister/en.htm

Gilbert, J. B. (2008). *Teaching Pronunciation Using the Prosody Pyramid.* CUP.

Gimson, A.C. (1991). *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*. Hodder & Stoughton.

Hewings, M. (2007). *English Pronunciation in Use* (advanced). CUP .

Homolová, E. (Ed.) (2010). *Teória a prax prípravy učiteľov anglického jazyka 8.* Banská Bystrica: UMB.

Kenworthy, J. (1987) *Teaching English Pronunciation.* London: Longman.

Kranke, K., Christison, M. A. (1983). Recent language research and some language teaching principles. *TESOL Quarterly,* 17(4), 635-650.

Pavlík, R. (2000). *Phonetics and Phonology of English: A Theoretical Introduction.* Bratislava: PdF UK.

Roach, P. (1991) *English Phonetics and Phonology. A Practical course.* CUP.

Symbols for American English Vowel Sounds, [accessed 11.8.2015.] Available at: http://faculty.washington.edu/dillon/PhonResources/newstart.html

Trask, R. L. (2007) *Language and Linguistics.* Routledge

Contact

Jela Kehoe, PhD.
KAJL FF KU, Hrabovská cesta 1
034 01 Ružomberok, Slovakia
jela.kehoe@ku.sk

On the ecological transformation of English classroom teaching in senior high school under the background of the reform of college entrance examination

Yonggang Zhao
China West Normal University, China
zhyg007@163.com

Abstract

"The implementation opinions of State Council on deepening the reform of admissions-exam system" promulgated by the State Council will act as the "baton" for guiding the English education policy and eventually brings great effect to the English classroom teaching in senior high school. Yet this reform policy has just been promulgated a short time and its connotation is not very clear for many teachers in senior high school. And also it's unclear what the classroom teaching should go on. Based on this, this paper analyzes the purpose of this round of reform of college entrance examination, and points out it aims at developing the individual physical and mental health and overall development whose idea is highly consistent with the ecological education philosophy. On the basis of explaining what ecological teaching is and how the connotation of this reform is consistent with it, this paper also advocates English teaching in senior high school should realize ecological transformation.

Key words

transformation; English ecological classroom teaching; the reform of college entrance examination

Introduction

The State Council promulgated the "The implementation opinions of State Council on deepening the reform of admissions- exam system" in September 3 (hereinafter referred to as the "Opinions") and it put forward specifically and systematically the guiding opinions for the reform of the college entrance examination and enrollment from the "General requirements", "the main tasks and measures", "leadership" and other aspects of the entrance examination and enrollment reform whose promulgation will bring great effect to the English classroom teaching in senior high school because the college entrance examination policy acts as the "baton" for guiding the English education policy. In that way, in the new situation, how should senior high school English classroom teaching deal with it? Based on the summary of the limitations of English classroom teaching guided by the system of college entrance examination, this paper analyzes the purpose of the this round of reform of college entrance

examination, and points out that its reform in essence, is to develop the individual of physical and mental health and overall development whose idea is highly consistent with the ecological education philosophy. Therefore, in the background of college entrance examination reform, classroom English teaching should realize ecological transformation taking the concept of ecological teaching.

1. Requirements of college entrance examination reform of changing senior high school English classroom teaching

1.1 Defects in the English classroom teaching guided by the exam-oriented education system

The examination-oriented education is the biggest negative effect on the English education brought by the college entrance examination system. The so-called exam-oriented education is a series of educational and teaching activities around the college entrance examination taking the entrance examination as the fundamental purpose. Examination-oriented education takes the students' test scores as the standard to measure the level of teachers' teaching and students' learning effect. In order to get good grades, students must regard understanding and mastering all the knowledge in textbooks and the other knowledge related to it as the primary task, at the same time, knowledge which has nothing to do with them have often been overlooked. Therefore, the drawbacks it create are also very obvious.

First of all, it is one-sided emphasis on language knowledge and skills, and ignores the comprehensive development of the students. Under the guidance of the examination-oriented education, in order to cope with the college entrance examination, the goal of classroom teaching is set around the test, teaching activities are carried out around the examination and evaluation of teaching regards the test scores as the standard. Therefore, teaching the students language knowledge on the basis of textbooks or related materials has become the core concerns of teachers' classroom teaching. Specific to the middle school English classroom, teaching is more embodied in using English textbooks to teach vocabulary and grammatical knowledge which not only ignores the introduction that is not included in the textbook language and cultural background knowledge, but also ignores the cultivation of other language skills. Even worse, it ignores cultivating students' abilities of extracting and analyzing information and their abilities of information processing and solving problems.

Second, it focuses on the development of good students which is not conducive to the development of the overall level of the whole students group. In order to improve the enrollment rate, English classroom teaching under the guidance of the exam-oriented education attaches the importance of outstanding students and the design of teaching and classroom activities depend on the good students' level. In contrast, the teacher concerns less about the poor especially the very poor students which often make them learning more difficultly and it is difficult to stimulate their potential.

Third, it ignores that communication is the essence of language, not paying enough attention to oral English learning. The main purpose of learning English is to communicate and exchange with others. However, because the oral English test is not included in other subjects except English major in the college entrance, therefore, oral English teaching is not taken seriously. Teachers spend much time in the classroom teaching in teaching language items such as vocabulary yet ignore improving the students' ability of communication. This kind of boring "spoon feeding" method lets students fall into a passive position difficult to play their subjective initiative, and also hinders to stimulate their interest in learning, and even make students disengage. Even though some students can get good marks in the exam through the boring language project practice, they are also ones with high scores low abilities, even they cannot cope with the simple communication in life.

Fourth, because the teacher is the absolute authority of the class, there is less interaction between teachers and students and the dominant position of students cannot be highlighted. Effective English classroom requires students of active and creative participation and playing a role of the students' subjectivity. But under the guidance of the examination-oriented education, in order to maximize the pursuit of enrollment rate, improve the ability of test, students' initiative was killed. The teacher's industrious teaching, struggling explaining and students' strenuous listening, careful recording have became a common phenomenon in classroom teaching. Some teachers are willing to extend students' classroom learning time, and even take breaks to impart knowledge. In the boring teaching activities, in the state of mental fatigue and distraction of students, they even have no considering space, not to mention the analogy. In this way, not only can make the teacher himself a huge load, physically and mentally fatigued, but also obliterate the personality of the students, kill the creativity of students and curiosity, even make them bored of studying.

In short, the examination-oriented education forbids all school and all the students carry out the teaching of English classroom teaching in a textbook, a

schedule, a target and a requirement, which makes the English classroom teaching become dull without flexibility and diversity, difficult to meet the students' different needs and personality development and hinder the students' comprehensive and continuous development.

1.2 The connotation of "two tests in one year "in the English college entrance examination

The"Opinions"clearly points out, despite the college entrance examination system has made a great contribution for our country's selecting talents, it has some problems reflected by the society including mainly "emphasis only on scores affecting the overall development of students and a test for life bringing great burden on students' learning" and so on. Therefore, the promulgation of the "Opinions" is a direct result of the exam -oriented education and its deep purpose of promulgation is to promote the education return to its nature. It can be explained more specifically as the follows:

First of all, it makes English learning return to the nature of language learning. The policy of English exam is the "baton" of English education, which plays a guiding role for the English education. In the traditional examination-oriented education mode, English communication properties discounts greatly and has become the stepping-stone to enter a higher school or obtain employment to a great extent. Evidently, examination-oriented English teaching deviates from the original intention of English education. Therefore, the policy "two tests in one year" for English in the college entrance examination, will be helpful to separate English from test, return to communication function, and get out of the "dead end" of the exam-oriented education.

Second, it will force the English teaching mode and test mode to change. The reform of college entrance examination in English requires the relevant education departments and agencies of adapting to the adjustment on the teaching level in the course offered, the allocation of teachers, teaching content and teaching method, etc. and carrying out teaching and research actively exploring new teaching mode.

Third, the ultimate goal is to make people-oriented and student-oriented concept can be really carried out in teaching practice. The essential purpose of the policy of "two tests in one year" in foreign language college entrance exam year is to guide teachers to get rid of the shackles of "only emphasis on scores", provide educational environment for students' natural growth and spur their healthy and sustainable development on the basis of respecting their personalities.

2. Characteristics of ecological teaching

It is not difficult to see that from the above analysis the concept reflected in the "opinions" "letting the learners in a harmonious environment to realize the healthy and sustainable development" is in accordance with the concept "respecting for life and the student's personality and cultivating individual of physical and mental health and overall development" in the idea of ecological education.Therefore, using the theory of ecology of education to promote the ecological education system and establish the new educational system in accordance with the ecological law can realize the reform purpose correctly in practice of foreign language teaching.

2.1 Ecological teaching

Ecological teaching is a kind of teaching theory developed under guidance of the ecological theory. In other words, ecological teaching is the application of the theories and principles in ecology studying the relationship among all the teaching factors and between the factors and the teaching environment, thinking about and explaining the various phenomena and problems in teaching from the ecological point of view, so as to establish an ecological teaching concept and mode to carry out the teaching practice of ecological. Its main feature is reflected in the following aspects:

First of all, the fundamental characteristics of ecological teaching are embodied in the "life". It emphasizes the respect for life and the personality of students, cultivating individuals of physical and mental health and overall development. A student, as a natural person with integrity and knowledge is only one part of the development of life, so the teaching cannot be one-sided emphasis on the acquisition of knowledge, but should pay attention to students' healthy growth and sustainable development; each student is a unique life body different from other people's personality and characteristics. Based on the "diversity" point of view, "education for diversity" concept should be kept in teaching, carry out individualized teaching, respect and understand different students, and promote their personalized development and cultivate innovative spirits.

Second, "systematic and integrity" is the main feature of the ecological teaching. The system is determined by the interaction and interdependence of various parts of the specific function of the organic whole. Therefore, the system is not the simple addition of each component and its function is greater than the summed function of each part. Ecological teaching is one whole consists of interaction and interdependence of teaching environment and people according to the law. In the teaching system, the teachers and students with different

background and knowledge structure play different roles in different time, space and environment, together they constitute an organic whole.

Third, the "openness and self-organization" is the key feature of the ecological teaching. First of all, in the education system, teaching activities is a relatively independent subsystem which must have close relationship with other subsystems. Therefore, teaching subject, teaching process, teaching environment and teaching events all must be open to exchange materials and energy with other subsystems so as to achieve a teaching status of sustainable development by developing a complete and natural person. Secondly, a healthy ecological teaching system should be one self-organization. Self-organization theory thinks that the people as a natural biological has strong self-organizing ability, especially the ability of thinking and both students' creativity and unique come from the "self organization", instead of someone else. Based on this, one person should be open by self development to improve the rationality of self existence. Therefore, ecological teaching against the "authority" and "command", pay more attention to cultivate students' subjectivity and self organization ability. Fourth, "dynamic balance" is the goal of the ecological teaching. It is not a smooth development process that ecological teaching achieves material circulation, energy flowing and information transmission between teachers and students, teachers or students and the environment and the individuals and groups, but its realization should be in the state of constant motion and adjusting and only in the changing process, the "best" and "harmonious" sate between ecological teaching system and the environment can be achieved.

2.2 The main characteristics of the ecological classroom in foreign language teaching

Ecological classroom teaching is the practice and specific of ecological teaching concept. Ecological classroom of English teaching is like a micro ecological system where a dynamic balance and the harmonious relations are formed by the interacting and interdependent between the ecological environment of classroom. Teachers and students are the subjects of ecological classroom. By this, it makes the classroom English education be full of vitality, create an open, independent and harmonious classroom atmosphere which can ensure the whole teaching and learning activities be realized smoothly and efficiently. Its main characteristics are as follows:

First, it has a good ecological environment suitable for the subjects to improve themselves. Ecological environment of English classroom teaching is mainly composed of the ecological teaching content and teaching methods. On the one

hand, the teaching content of ecology is not only confined to textbooks, it includes the integrated processing of teachers and students by the course content, teaching materials and teaching practice and language knowledge on ontology level, culture consciousness instilling on the subject level and the whole person development on existence level all belong to its category. One the other hand, ecological English teaching method reflects the flexibility and practical teaching methods. That is to say, In different situation, using teaching methods can activate classroom atmosphere. The common teaching method including formal teaching, interactive teaching and demonstration teaching, whose difference mainly lies in the degree of participation of students' interaction. According to the characteristics of middle school students, formal teaching of teachers in senior high school English classroom teaching should be less than 30 minutes, leaving plenty of time for students to digest and absorb the teachers' teaching language knowledge content.

Second, It acknowledges that each element in the system has its unique value and recognizes they keep a "symbiotic" relationship in the internal ecosystem. On the one hand, it emphasizes that teachers and students learn together for the healthy growth. Teachers provide direction for students learning English, at the same time; teachers promote the improvement of their teaching level in the teaching process. On the contrary, the students' learning is the extension of teachers' teaching and teachers' value is reflected in the learning process. On the other hand, it emphasizes the healthy growth of every ecological subject. One particular attention should be paid is: because the growing environment and the innate intelligence factors are different, the students' intelligence and ability are not the same, therefore, they may not like one production from a factory assembly line, on the contrary, a huge difference exists between each individual. Thus, the students' individual differences should be respected and the language practice opportunities suitable for their own level should be provided.

Third, the benign interaction is the basic way of realizing ecological subjects' interests in ecological system of foreign language teaching and learning and whether can handle the relationship Correctly between teachers and students in the classroom teaching is the key factor of promoting the success of classroom teaching. Therefore, in the ecology teaching of English classroom , teachers' role must complete the change from the inculcation of knowledge to organize the classroom activities and guide education situation. Classroom activities should be able to attract students to actively participate in and as the ecological subjects equal to teachers, they dare to question and express their views to all kinds of problems. In conclusion, both teachers and students face up to the relationship

between each other with open attitudes and improve each other in the benign interaction and mutual development.

Fourth, diversified ecological evaluation system can provide comprehensive protection for the all-round development of students. The work of education and teaching focus on training the overall quality of students whose quality depends on whether they can get the ability of innovation and sustainable development. Therefore, evaluating foreign language teaching no longer simply depends on how much the students have grasped the knowledge, but also the ability of analyzing, solving and judging problems. In foreign language teaching, teachers should abandon measuring students' achievement by simple idea, by building up the scientific concept of sustainable development, they should cultivate students' ability of foreign language learning and help them establish correct values to promote all-round development of students as a natural person, and at last realize win-win situation between teachers and students.

3. The agreement between ecological concept of classroom teaching and college entrance examination reform

Because of the defects brought by the exam-oriented education system, the policy "two tests one year" in college entrance examination of English aims at easing the pressure of college entrance examination candidates and reducing their fear brought by it. On the one hand, by making examination-oriented education gradually withdrawn from the stage of history to provide educational environment for students' natural growth, on the basis of respecting students' personality, the policy aims at promoting the students' healthy growth and sustainable development. One the other hand, With respect to freedom and happiness of the subjects, it help learners to complete the "self realization". Evidently, this idea matches the idea of ecological education: "emphasizing the respect for life and the student's personality and cultivating individuals" physical and mental health and overall development. To be specific, it embodies in many aspects.

First of all, both of them take promoting the education returning to nature as the same starting point. On the one hand, because the examination acts as the "baton" of English education which plays a guiding role for it, the policy of "two tests in one year" can promote English education to return to nature. In the examination-oriented education mode, English communication properties are greatly weakened and the high score becomes a stepping-stone to success career to a great extent. If we see from this, English teaching of examination-oriented deviates from the original intention of English education. Therefore, the reform

of college entrance examination will be helpful for English returning to function of communication tool out of the "dead end" of exam education. One the other hand, the premise of ecological teaching English is to get rid of the shackles of the exam-oriented education and let students have a natural learning environment, promoting their language learning in respect of basic rules of language learning.

Second, their ultimate goal is the realization of free, healthy and sustainable development of people in the premise of meeting the development needs of people. Both "two tests in one year" and the ecological teaching are concerned about the natural and healthy development of the student and the "students-centered" concept are throughout the entire core part. On the one hand, the "Opinion" put forward clearly that "the reform should persist in the people-centered education, follow the law of education and take the healthy growth of students as the starting point and end point". On the other hand, the concept of "ecological education" comes from the natural ecology yet transcends natural ecology and it is based on the "view of life" whose ultimate goal is to promote people's development, let all life is blooming and make the ecological subjects show the best performance.

Third, both of them emphasize on respecting individual differences and promoting the overall progress of the group. The reform of college entrance examination advocates fair education and argues that all students have opportunities for talent which will create corresponding change guiding the classroom teaching, make teachers respect the students individual difference, teach students in accordance with their aptitude, treat the students following the principle of fairness, let all students, including poor students can get teacher's love, maximize to stimulate students' interest in learning, and tap the potential of their ability. All these agree with what ecological education insists on: every element in ecosystem is in the state of symbiosis benefit just as every grass has a piece of land for its healthy growth.

Fourth, the both pay attention to the all-round and sustainable development of students. The reform of college entrance examination put forward clearly students' abilities of independent thinking and using their knowledge to analyze and solve the problem should be examined particularly. This requirement will guide the classroom teaching to get away from the situation of "attaching importance to knowledge and light ability", pay more attention to the cultivation of comprehensive quality of students, stimulate their spirits of innovation, enhance their practice ability and make them become comprehensive and sustainable development of talents which just as what the concept of ecology

advocates: the key point of education is not to take a student as a piece of land for developing and digging, but cultivate mainly natural fertility of the soil.

Conclusion

The college entrance examination reform aims to eradicate the ills of exam-oriented education, get rid of the ruts only emphasizing the score and let the education return to its nature. All the series of policies concern much about the students' health and their comprehensive and sustainable development. All these require that correspondent changes should be made in English teaching, turn to ecological classroom teaching and make learning a language return to its nature of communication. And also students should become the main body of the classroom teaching, get free and healthy growth in the harmonious classroom environment and at last become round-development talents satisfying the society needs.

Acknowledgement

References

"Decision of the CPC Central Committee on deepening the overall reform on some issues". November 12, 2013

Guojin, L. (2008). A brief discussion on the meaning of ecological education for sustainable development. *Theory Monthly*, 11, 48-50.

Jianzhong, Li (2014). Ecological teaching theory. *Foreign language*, 2, 169-172.

Jie, S. (1999). Sustainable development and ecological education. *Journal of Shandong Normal University,* 9, 324-327.

Shumin, K. (2012). Design of foreign language teaching in the view of educational ecology. *Foreign Language Circle*, 5, 59-78.

"The implementation opinions of State Council on deepening the reform of admissions- exam system ". September 3, 2014.

"The national long-term education reform and development plan (2010-2020)". July 29, 2010.

Xiaoli, Z. (2002). The basic principles of ecological education. *Journal of Jiaxing University*, 7, 98-100.

Xuanlong, L. (2007). Returning to the original ecology :utopia education thoughts. *Jiangsu Education Research*, 7, 6-8.

Yingni, H. (2009). Foreign language classroom teaching from the perspective of ecological foreign language teaching. *Education and Occupation*, 6, 105-106.

Contact
Yonggang Zhao
School of Foreign Languages,
China West Normal University,
No. 1 Shi Da Road, Nanchong, 637009,
Sichuan, China

Story as a vehicle

Ivana Žemberová
Constantine the Philosopher University, Slovakia
izemberova@ukf.sk

Abstract

Stories form an inseparable part of people's life since their early childhood. There is no doubt about the significance of reading and listening to stories in the mother tongue. In relation to foreign language teaching and learning, many teachers are also aware of the benefits of using stories in the foreign language education. In this paper, the focus is on the use of stories as a material for the development and practice of reading, reading literacy and individual foreign language skills, as well as a means of the linguistic, cognitive and affective development of the foreign language learner. Stories will be thus looked upon as a useful source material and medium for various classroom activities.

Key words

reading literacy, reading comprehension, stories, foreign language teaching

1 Reading literacy – current state

One of the issues that have raised a discussion among teachers, professionals but also among the general public recently is the problem of falling level of reading literacy of Slovak students. The ability to read, understand and engage with a text in the mother tongue has a direct impact upon the performance of learners in all other subjects in school, including foreign languages. When we talk about promoting reading and reading comprehension either in a foreign language or other non-language subjects in school, it is necessary to realise that learners can hardly be competent readers in a foreign language or successfully complete tasks in other subjects if they have shortcomings in reading and understanding a text in their mother tongue.

The results of the PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) studies, which were conducted in 2009 and 2012, show that the level of literacy of 15 year old Slovak students in the context of the OECD countries is below average and is still declining. Changes in education that were implemented in the context of the education reform of 2008, not only did not bring the desired effect, but the results of measurements of 2012 as compared to 2009 are even worse. According to the findings from the 2009 PISA survey, which was primarily focused on reading and reading comprehension, more than 22% of 15 year old Slovak students had serious problems in understanding the text they were

reading. The level of reading comprehension of more than 77% of the students was average (Petková, 2011).

The changes carried out in the context of the school reform act of 2008 aiming to bring improvements in the performance of students have unfortunately not come up to expectations. From the graph 1, showing the average score achieved by the Slovak Republic and the OECD countries in reading literacy in individual cycles of PISA (PISA, 2012) it is obvious that the performance of Slovak students in comparison with other participating countries is declining in all tested areas - reading, mathematics and natural sciences.

In regard to the reading literacy: "In the cycle carried out in 2012, the students of the Slovak Republic took the 32nd place among the OECD countries and the 43rd place among all 65 participating countries when they achieved the performance level of 463 points. From the international study PISA 2012, and from the previous cycles alike, it is thus evident that the performance of Slovak students in reading literacy is below the average of all participating countries of the OECD" (PISA, 2012).
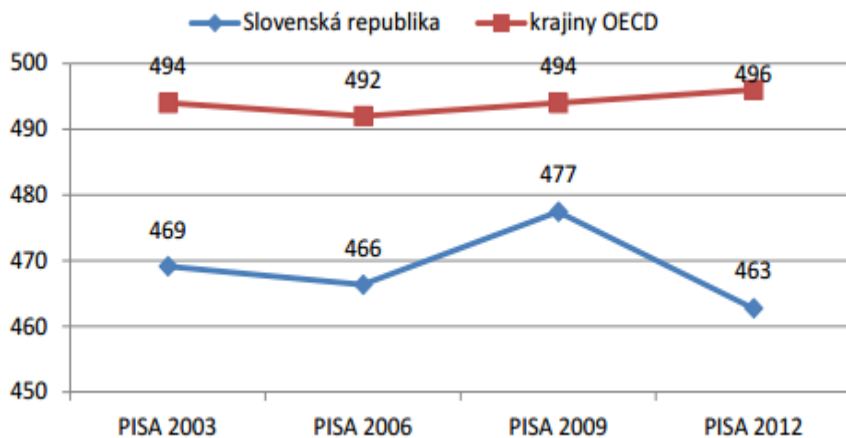
Graph 1: The average score achieved by the Slovak Republic and the OECD countries in reading literacy in individual cycles of PISA

I feel necessary to emphasize that in the above mentioned I did not mean to send the world a message that Slovak students are dull or uneducated. Slovak secondary school and university students not rarely win in international competitions or get international awards in various areas of scholarly work; and

there are also Slovak researchers that work on crucial positions in leading international companies. However, the fact that, despite the efforts to achieve improvement, the performance of Slovak new generation is on decline is alarming. However, this problem may have nothing to do with the aptitude of our students for learning. There has been a discussion among teachers who claim that the testing tools of the PISA do not correspond with the praxis of our education system (Mistrík, 2015). Mistrík, on the other hand, argues that the problem is the fact that our schools do not correspond with the nature of the present world. According to him, they focus more on offering ready to use knowledge and less on developing skills, and this may actually be the reason of the low performance of our students in international measurements. One of the objectives of the 2008 curricular reform was to give schools and teachers more freedom and flexibility in designing their own profile and preparing their students for the modern world, the reality has, however, shown that the changes were prepared and introduced too hastily and did not bring the desired effect. This is very complex issue, which would definitely require more space than it could be given in this paper. At this point I would only like to briefly mention one example from abroad, namely from Finland, where giving more freedom to teachers seems to be directly proportional to the higher performance of their students. Finland stands as one of the top performing countries in the context of PISA measurements. In the 2009 PISA scores Finland "came second in science, third in reading and sixth in math among nearly half a million students worldwide" (Hancock, 2011, p. 52). Also in the 2012 cycle, Finland defended its position among the high-performing countries. Hancock (2011) claims that "Finland has vastly improved in reading, math and science literacy over the past decade in large part because its teachers are trusted to do whatever it takes to turn young lives around."

My aim here is not to celebrate one education system and blame the other. I only want to point out that what seems to stand out as a significant aspect in the quote above, and what I personally believe to be of great importance, is the role of teachers in promoting their students' progress.

One of the moving forces in learning is the interest, the motivation to learn. And it is often the teacher's responsibility to raise the learners' interest. While learners often make preferences about their favourite subjects on the basis of the teacher's personality, especially at an early age, it is also WHAT and HOW they are taught that influences their attitude to studying. It would be daring to say that the teacher alone can influence whether the student will be a successful and efficient reader or not, there are many other factors that need to be taken into

consideration in this context. However, it is the teacher who can considerably influence the attitude and consequently raise the motivation of students to learn.

On the basis of further findings from the PISA testing in 2009, in all participating countries it was proven that the more pleasure the students have in reading and the more they are personally involved in reading, the higher their performance is. From the results of the survey in Slovakia it is evident that reading has a positive influence upon the performance of the student in terms of reading literacy, the prime influence being in the case of reading literary texts. While further results show that Slovak students have below-average knowledge and skills in the area of reading strategies encouraging higher cognitive processes, at the same time it was proven that these strategies have a significant positive effect on reading performance (Úspešná škola, 2010).

However, according to my own findings from talks and experience with teachers in practice, it is these strategies, promoting higher cognitive processes, to the development of which it is not given sufficient attention. Teachers definitely have the potential to make their students interested in what they are reading as well as in the activities related to the texts. In order to do so, however, teachers themselves need to have profound knowledge about reading in the classroom; in the context with this article about reading in the foreign language classroom. It is not only their attitude and aptitude that matters, but also their training and preparation in this area.

We at the department of Language Pedagogy and Intercultural Studies, Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, in the framework of their teacher training, prepare our students for work with literary texts with focus on children's and juvenile literature. In specialized courses they gain theoretical background and practical experience in this area. They learn how to use a story as a vehicle for development of reading and reading comprehension, as a means of linguistic, emotional, personal and cultural development and stimulation of higher cognitive thinking which is so important in improvement of reading literacy and thus of overall student's performance in school and real life. Further in this paper I want to deal with some theoretical aspects of reading and working with literary texts in an English language lesson and at the end I will give a practical example, in which two extracts from a classic of English literature will be used in their original version.

2 Reading in the foreign language classroom
2.1 Historical overview

Reading and working with literary texts in the foreign language classroom in not a new phenomenon, though it is necessary to say that recently this issue has gained on importance and popularity - the importance which these texts definitely deserve and which they were denied in the past, partly as a result of the opposing views against using them in one of the oldest traditional methods of teaching foreign languages – Grammar-translation method.

Mishan (2005, p. 1) differentiates 3 groups of approaches to using authentic texts (including literary stories– author's note) in language learning:

- <u>communicative</u> in which the communication is the objective of language learning and at the same time also the means through which the language is taught;
- <u>materials-focused</u> in which the learning is centred round the text (like in the Grammar- translation method which was used already in the 9th century England to teach Latin);
- and <u>humanistic</u> where the development of the "whole" learner is emphasized (starting from Comenius and continuing in the 20th century innovative methods like TPR, Suggestopaedia, Silent Way).

The literary texts as a part of foreign language teaching have undergone a long way from the Grammar-translation method up to the Communicative approach, where their role in teaching and learning has changed considerably. From the educational use of authentic texts, when they served as a means for teaching grammar rules, teachers and learners moved to a more purposeful, authentic interaction with the text.

2.2 Use of literary texts in TEFL

The Communicative approach, developed since, 1970s, considerably changed the role of literary texts as well as the way they are dealt with in teaching foreign languages. One of the features valued in regard to literary texts is their authenticity. Authentic texts are created by native speakers for native speakers for the use in a native environment, therefore they contain the authentic language and language functions in common situations. At the same time they are bearers of values and culture of the nation, which is hardly attainable in artificially created texts in textbooks the purpose of which is to achieve a pre-determined curricular goal. Gilmore (2007) in *Authentic materials and authenticity in foreign language learning* believes that "the language presented to learners in a textbook is a poor representation of 'real world'". Gilmore further

continues in enumerating the advantages of authentic texts in comparison to fabricated texts in textbooks, quoting Crystal & Davy (1975, p. 2): "...even the best materials we have seen are far away from that real, informal kind of English which is used very much more than any other during a normal speaking lifetime; and if one aim of the language-teaching exercise is to provide students with the linguistic expertise to be able to participate confidently and fluently in situations involving this kind of English, then it would generally be agreed that this aim is not being achieved at the present time."

Language teachers may argue that there are too many limitations that prevent them from using authentic, including literary texts in their classroom. Being limited by time, curriculum, and insufficient language proficiency of their students, they often prefer to rely on the fabricated texts provided in the textbook only. Also Guariento & Morley (2001, p. 348) claim that it is appropriate to start working with authentic materials at post-intermediate level: "At lower levels, however, even with quite simple tasks, unless they have been very carefully selected for lexical and syntactic simplicity and/or content familiarity/predictability, the use of authentic texts may not only prevent the learners from responding in meaningful ways but can also lead them to feel frustrated, confused, and, more importantly, demotivated. And this would seem to undermine one of the main reasons for using authentic texts in the first place."

I agree that when the text is high over the language level of the learner, one of the most important advantages of literary texts, which is their potential to raise the intrinsic motivation of the reader, is lost. However, I am convinced that there are many literary texts that could be used even with beginners and therefore I do not agree with the Guariento & Morley (ibid.) concerning the language level they recommend as suitable for starting with the use of authentic texts. Also according to CEFR scales, being able to understand some kinds of authentic texts, such as menus, schedules, or advertisements is one of the requirements for far lower level – A2. While Guariento & Morley may be right when it comes to dealing with more challenging literary texts, newspaper articles or informative texts, children's poems, songs and games can already be used with beginners in kindergartens.

Story, as a literary genre, definitely plays an important role in the foreign language teaching. It not only presents the language as it is commonly used in a native environment, but in regard to a learner oriented language teaching it can also contribute to the development of the learner's personality, emotions and values. Provided the work with the *story* is not limited only to answering close comprehension questions focusing just on finding specific information in the text,

the foreign language lesson can become an enjoyable place where the learners are personally involved in the work with a text they are interested in, a place where they learn to think critically and use their lower as well as higher cognitive skills, which in the end leads to the gradual improvement of their reading skills and literacy.

Working with stories in a foreign language classroom has numerous advantages, including the motivational aspect, the familiarity of some stories, especially folk and fairy tales, the eternal value of literary texts that rarely become outdated, and, of course, the advantages already mentioned above. On the other hand, it is necessary to admit that the preparatory phase may be rather challenging and time-consuming and requires a lot of background knowledge as well as creativity on the side of the teacher. Teaching foreign languages through stories is a very complex problem including a proper choice of methods, techniques and, of course, the text based on the age, interests, language proficiency, cultural background of the learners, objectives of the lesson and many others. (Žemberová, 2010) In regard to selecting an appropriate text, Nuttall in Berardo (2006, p. 62) mentions three main criteria - the suitability of content, exploitability and readability: "Nuttall gives three main criteria when choosing texts to be used in the classroom suitability of content, exploitability and readability. Suitability of content can be considered to be the most important of the three, in that the reading material should interest the students as well as be relevant to their needs. The texts should motivate as well as. Exploitability refers to how the text can be used to develop the students' competence as readers. A text that can not be exploited for teaching purposes has no use in the classroom. Just because it is in English does not mean that it can be useful. Readability is used to describe the combination of structural and lexical difficulty of a text, as well as referring to the amount of new vocabulary and any new grammatical forms present. It is important to assess the right level for the right students. Variety and presentation also influence the choice of authentic materials".

As important as the text are also the activities that need to be carefully prepared in advance to the lesson. Pokrivčáková in *Modern Teacher of English* (2012, p. 78-82 and 95) gives a long list of various pre-reading, while-reading and after-reading activities for the development of reading skills. *Teaching English through Children's Literature* (Žemberová, 2010) also provides theoretical information and lots of practical examples of activities for the work with stories in foreign language education.

Mishan in *Designing authenticity into language learning materials* (2005, p. 86-88) gives a set of 'Twelve Generalizable Procedures' based on Maley (1993). These are exercises which can be applied to any text, regardless the type and genre. Mishan further compares Maley's task typology with two other typologies and finds out that what they have most in common is tasks which involve various levels of cognitive processing, involving higher cognitive skills, like comparison, analysis, interpretation, creation, etc. These tasks can thus serve as a useful source of ideas for development of reading and reading literacy both in the mother tongue and foreign language.

3 Practical example of working with literary texts in the foreign language classroom
Workshop: Treasure seekers

The presented workshop was carried out during the International Conference on Language, Literature and Culture in Education 2015 that took place in Nitra, Slovakia. The participants were reading two extracts from J. R. R. Tolkien's children's book *The Hobbit* in their original and non-simplified version and consequently they had to complete text-related tasks. J. R. R. Tolkien's literary work has gained in popularity and revived the interest of film makers in the last decades resulting in producing film adaptations of the famous trilogy *The Lord of the Rings* followed by the adaptation of *The Hobbit*, which brought these works to the wide general public in many countries, including Slovakia. The activities performed during this workshop are very similar to those I do with my students in the children's literature course as a part of their pre-gradual teacher training at the Department of Language Pedagogy and Intercultural Studies, CPU in Nitra. It normally lasts 90 minutes with my university students (with younger language learners it should be divided into several sessions), however, because of the time limits at the conference, some of the activities were omitted and replaced by different ones. Depending upon the language proficiency of the language learners these texts and related activities are suitable for the age group 12+. The objectives of the workshop are following:

- to practise the reading techniques of skimming and scanning;
- to practise and develop different levels of higher cognitive skills (e.g. match, locate, complete, apply, create; the learners apply the knowledge and skill they acquired to complete a scheme and create a coded message);
- to raise and maintain the motivation;
- to practice the language skills of reading and writing;
- to learn new vocabulary;

- to acquire new cultural knowledge (Anglophone literature as a part of Anglophone culture; adapted Old English runes and their equivalents in the modern English alphabet).

Pre-reading activities:

The pre-reading activities serve as an introduction into the topic and as a means of raising the learners' motivation and making them personally involved.

1   Brainstorming

The learners are informed that they will look for and try to retrieve a lost treasure. In this regard they are asked the following question:

- Have you ever tried to find a treasure?
- What do you need when you go on a quest/ searching for a treasure?

The answers of the students and the participants of the workshop were following:

Map, compass, torch, food, knife....

2   Discussion

The learners are informed that they will deal with a book in which looking for a lost treasure is one of the main themes. Again they are asked a few questions:

- Do you know/have you read any books about treasure seekers?
- Have you read/ seen the film adaptation of *The Hobbit*?, etc.

While-reading activities:

3   Reading 1

Learners who are familiar with *The Hobbit* know that out of various things or clues in the book it is the map, Thror's map (Picture 1), that plays a crucial role in the quest for the lost treasure. The readers first learn about the map in Chapter 1 – *An Unexpected Party*. The students/workshop participants read an extract from this chapter. (see Picture 4 -Extract 1 in the Appendix) and answer the questions below.

- What can you see in the map? Can you identify the places mentioned in the text? (Students compare the text and provided copy of the map from the book. To help the comprehension of the text, the teacher can provide them with the Slovak or Czech translations of the geographical places from the map.)
- Is there any clue in the map that helps the dwarves "read" it and finally find the treasure?
- Do you know what runes are? (The teacher can use the explanation in the *Author's Note* at the beginning of the book.)

- What do these runes say? (*Five feet high the door and three may walk abreast*)

Picture 1 – A version of Thror's Map
(retrieved from http://www.aresgames.eu/12052)

4   Reading 2

The students/workshop participants read another extract from Chapter 3 – *A Short Rest* (see Picture 4 - Extract 2 in the Appendix) to learn about and identify the other set of runes from the map. (If practising the reading technique of scanning, the teacher tells the learners to go through it quickly and only look for and find the specific information about the runes.) The teacher can ask a few comprehension questions to check the comprehension and explain new vocabulary and then asks the following close questions the answer to which is essential for completing the after-reading activities.

- What kind of letters/runes are these? (moon letters)
- What are moon-letters?
- Do you know any other type of secret/invisible letters that are only visible under certain circumstances?
- What do these moon-letters say? (*Stand by the grey stone when the thrush knocks and the setting sun with the last light of Durin's Day will shine upon the key-hole.*)

After-reading activities:
5 Information gap activity

In the following information gap activity, the students/ workshop participants complete the rune/English letters scheme below matching the runes from the map with their transcription in the texts they read.

ᚠ		ᛒ		ᛕ	c	ᛝ	d
ᛗ	e	ᛈ	f	ᚷ	g	ᚻ	h
ᛁ	i	ᛁ	j	ᚻ	k	ᚱ	
ᛘ		ᛏ		ᛖ		ᛤ	p
ᚻᚱ	q (kw)	ᚱ		ᛡ	s	ᛏ	
ᚢ	u	ᚢ	v	ᛩ		ᛉ	x
ᛗ		ᛉ	z	ᛮ	ee	ᛠ	ea
ᚦ	th	ᛥ	st	ᛪ	ng	ᛟ	nd

Picture 2 – Example of an incomplete English runes-to-letters scheme

ᚠ	a	ᛒ	b	ᛕ	c	ᛝ	d
ᛗ	e	ᛈ	f	ᚷ	g	ᚻ	h
ᛁ	i	ᛁ	j	ᚻ	k	ᚱ	l
ᛘ	m	ᛏ	n	ᛖ	o	ᛤ	p
ᚻᚱ	q (kw)	ᚱ	r	ᛡ	s	ᛏ	t
ᚢ	u	ᚢ	v	ᛩ	w	ᛉ	x
ᛗ	y	ᛉ	z	ᛮ	ee	ᛠ	ea
ᚦ	th	ᛥ	st	ᛪ	ng	ᛟ	nd

Picture 3 – Complete English runes-to-letters scheme
(retrieved from https://www.pinterest.com/pin/518054763355987458/)

6 Coding/decoding a secret message. Looking for a treasure.

The teacher divides the class into groups (ideal is an even number of groups) and each group gets "a treasure" which they have to hide and the students in the other cooperating group have to find it. It can be anything the teachers finds suitable (sweets, pencils, etc.) If possible, a representative of each group should

be sent to "map the terrain" and find some suitable place in the corridor, school hall, etc. where they could hide the treasure. Then, each group writes a secret coded message about the position of the treasure in runes using the completed English runes-to-letters scheme. The other group decodes the message and goes on the quest to find the treasure. Should this activity cause problems with discipline, or for any other reason it is not possible for the students to move freely in the school grounds during the lesson, a simpler alternative can be carried out. In advance to the workshop, for example, I myself wrote a secret message in runes and gave a copy to each participant who had to decode it and read it in modern English.

Conclusion

The second section of the theoretical part as well as the practical example presented in this paper present stories as a valuable means of developing language skills with the focus on reading both in the mother tongue and foreign language. Although teachers are often aware of the numerous advantages of stories in teaching foreign languages, they may come across various difficulties while trying to include them into their lessons, which, however, may be overcome by some effort, ample knowledge, and lots of time and creativity. When the aim of the teacher is to "produce" an efficient and competent reader, they should stop relying solely on the textbooks, or as Pokrivčáková (2010) has it, teacher should not be a slave of textbook. Instead they should use stories, and not only because they can help develop the literacy but also because they definitely help develop the "whole learner". In this context I will conclude this paper by two quotes:

"We don't achieve literacy and then give children literature: we achieve literacy through literature." (Huck in Pokrivčáková, 2010, p. 93)

"People think that stories are shaped by people. In fact it's the other way round."
Terry Pratchett

References

BERARDO, S.A. (2006). The Use of Authentic Materials in the Teaching of reading. In *The Reading Matrix*. Vol.6, No.7. Retrieved from:
http://www.readingmatrix.com/articles/berardo/article.pdf

COUNCIL OF EUROPE (2002). *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment. Structured overview of all CEFR scales.* Retrieved from: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/elp/elp-reg/Source/Key_reference/Overview_CEFRscales_EN.pdf

CRYSTAL, D. & DAVY, D. (1975). *Advanced conversational English*. Longman: Harlow, Essex.

GILMORE, A. (2007). Authentic materials & Authenticity in Foreign Language Learning. In *Language Teaching.* Volume 40, Issue 02, pp 97-118. doi:10.1017/S0261444807004144. Retrieved from: http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Alex_Gilmore3/publication/231910134_Authentic_materials_and_authenticity_in_foreign_language_learning/links/548ba23f0cf2d1800d7db8f0.pdf

GUARIENTO, W, & MORLEY, J. (2001). *Text and Task Authenticity in the EFL Classroom.* Retrieved from: https://www.google.sk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0CDUQFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Ftereomaori.tki.org.nz%2Fcontent%2Fdownload%2F27255%2F162702%2Ffile%2FGuariento%2520and%2520Morley%2520on%2520authentic%2520texts%2520and%2520tasks.pdf&ei=tK2LVbq9H8nuUKeVn7AH&usg=AFQjCNFKbKBax7J8GVvrOvx-TeDSKayR-w&bvm=bv.96782255,d.ZGU

HANCOCK, L. (2011).*Why areFinland´s Schools Successful?* In *Smithsonian Magazine.* Retrieved from: http://www.smithsonianmag.com/innovation/why-are-finlands-schools-successful-49859555/?no-ist

MISHAN, F. (2005). *Designing Authenticity into Language Learning Materials.* Intellect Books, Bristol.

MISTRÍK, E. (2015). *Koho ešte dnes zaujíma PISA?* Retrieved from: http://mistrik.blog.sme.sk/c/381307/koho-este-dnes-zaujima-pisa.html

NÚCEM. *PISA 2012.* Retrieved from : http://www.nucem.sk/documents//27/medzinarodne_merania/pisa/publikacie_a_diseminacia/4_ine/PISA_2012.pdf

OECD (2014). PISA 2012 Results *in Focus.* Retrieved from: http://www.oecd.org/pisa/keyfindings/pisa-2012-results-overview.pdf

POKRIVČÁKOVÁ, S. (2010). *Modern Teacher of English*. ASPA, Nitra.

VRAŠTILOVÁ, O. (2014). *Dětská literatura a čtenářská gramotnost v cizím jazyce.* Gaudeamus, Hradec Králové.

PETKOVÁ, Z. (2011). *Veľa stredoškolákov nerozumie písanému textu.* In SME, 7.3.2011. [online] [quoted March 20, 2012]. Retrieved from: http://www.sme.sk/c/5796167/vela-stredoskolakov-nerozumiepisanemu-textu.html

Standardized Testing a Foreign Concept in Finland with World´s Top Students.
(November 2012). In *The Lessons from Abroad.* Retrieved from:
http://lessonsfromabroad.tumblr.com/post/35845971469/standardized-tests-a-
foreign-concept-in-finland

TOLKIEN, J. R. R. *The Hobbit.* Retrieved from:
http://esl-bits.net/ESL.English.Learning.Audiobooks/The.Hobbit/

ÚSPEŠNÁ ŠKOLA. (2010). *Zverejnenie výsledkov slovenskej republiky v medzinárodnej*
štúdii OECD PISA 2009 [online] [quoted March 20, 2012]. Available at:
http://www.uspesnaskola.sk/home?p_p_id=extAssetPublisher_INSTANCE_M5xA
&p_p_lifecycle=0&p_p_state=normal&p_p_mode=view&p_p_col_id=column-
2&p_p_col_pos=1&p_p_col_count=2&_extAssetPublisher_INSTANCE_M5xA_struts_
action=%2Fext%2Fasset_publisher%2Fview_content&_extAssetPublisher_INSTA
NCE_M5xA_assetId=50922&_extAssetPublisher_INSTANCE_M5xA_urlTitle=zverej
nenievysledkov-slovenskej-republiky-v-medzinarodnej-studii-oecd-pisa-
2009&_extAssetPublisher_INSTANCE_M5xA_type=content&redirect=%2Fhome%
3Fp_p_id%3D56_INSTANCE_US8z%26p_p_lifecycle%3D1%26p_p_state%3Dnorm
al.

VALE, D. & FEUNTEUN, A. (1995). *Teaching Children English*. Cambridge University
Press. 1995.

ŽEMBEROVÁ, I. (2010). *Teaching English through Children's Literature.* Nitra: ASPA.

Contact
Mgr. Ivana Žemberová, PhD.
Department of Language Pedagogy and Intercultural Studies
Faculty of Education
Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra
949 74 Nitra
Slovakia
e-mail: izemberova@ukf.sk

Appendices

Chapter 1 – An Unexpected Party

Now Bilbo, my boy, fetch the lamp, and let's have a little light on this!"

On the table in the light of a big lamp with a red shade he spread a piece of parchment rather like a map.

"This was made by Thror, your grandfather, Thorin," he said in answer to the dwarves' excited questions.

"It is a plan of the Mountain."

"I don't see that this will help us much," said Thorin disappointedly after a glance. "I remember the Mountain well enough and the lands about it. And I know where Mirkwood is, and the Withered Heath where the great dragons bred."

"There is a dragon marked in red on the Mountain, without that, if ever we arrive there."

"There is one point that you haven't noticed," sa that rune on the West side, and the hand pointing to it fr Lower Halls." (Look at the map at the beginning of this

"It may have been secret once," said Thorin, "b has lived there long enough now to find out anything

"He may—but he can't have used it for years

"Why?"

"Because it is too small. 'Five feet high th could not creep into a hole that size, not even v many of the dwarves and men of Dale."

"It seems a great big hole to me," squeak holes). He was getting excited and interested a in his hall there hung a large one of the Cou "How could such a large door be kept secret only a little hobbit you must remember.

"In lots of ways," said Gandalf. "Bu to see. From what it says on the map I sh like the side of the Mountain. That is the

"Quite right," said Thorin.

"Also," went on Gandalf. "I forg it is!" he said, and handed to Thorin a

Chapter 3 – A Short Rest

Elrond knew all about runes of every kind. That day he looked at the swords they had brought from the trolls' lair, and he said: "These are not troll-make. They are old swords, very old swords of the High Elves of the West, my kin. They were made in Gondolin for the Goblin-wars. They must have come from a dragon's hoard or goblin plunder, for dragons and goblins destroyed that city many ages ago.

....

"But show me now your map!"

He took it and gazed long at it, and he shook his head; for if he did not altogether approve of dwarves and their love of gold, he hated dragons and their cruel wickedness, and he grieved to remember the ruin of the town of Dale and its merry bells, and the burned banks of the bright River Running. The moon was shining in a broad silver crescent. He held up the map and the white light shone through it. "What is this?" he said. "There are moon-letters here, beside the plain runes which say 'five feet high the door and three may walk abreast.'"

"What are moon-letters?" asked the hobbit full of excitement. He loved maps, as I have told you before; and he also liked runes and letters and cunning handwriting, though when he wrote himself it was a bit thin and spidery.

"Moon-letters are rune-letters, but you cannot see them," said Elrond, "not when you look straight at them. They can only be seen when the moon shines behind them, and what is more, with the more cunning sort it must be a moon of the same shape and season as the day when they were written. The dwarves invented them and wrote them with silver pens, as your friends could tell you. These must have been written on a midsummer's eve in a crescent moon, a long while ago."

"What do they say?" asked Gandalf and Thorin together, a bit vexed perhaps that even Elrond should have found this out first, though really there had not been a chance before, and there would not have been another until goodness knows when.

"Stand by the grey stone when the thrush knocks," read Elrond, "and the setting sun with the last light of Durin's Day will shine upon the key-hole."

"Durin, Durin!" said Thorin. "He was the father of the fathers of the eldest race of Dwarves, the Longbeards, and my first ancestor: I am his heir."

"Then what is Durin's Day?" asked Elrond.

"The first day of the dwarves' New Year," said Thorin, "is as all should know the first day of the last moon of Autumn on the threshold of Winter. We still call it Durin's Day when the last moon of Autumn and the sun are in the sky together. But this will not help us much, I fear, for it passes our skill in these days to guess when such a time will come again."

"That remains to be seen," said Gandalf. "Is there any more writing?"

"None to be seen by this moon," said Elrond, and he gave the map back to Thorin; and then they went down to the water to see the elves dance and sing upon the midsummer's eve.

Picture 4: Extract 1 (Chapter 1) *An Unexpected Party &* Extract 2 (Chapter 3) *A Short Rest*

REVIEW

Children's Literature and Reading Literacy in the Foreign Language

VRAŠTILOVÁ, O. (2014). *Dětská literatura a čtenářská gramotnost v cizím jazyce.* Hradec Králové, Gaudeamus, 211 p. ISBN 978-80-7435-529-5

As suggested in the title of the monograph, the work deals with a complex problematics of using children's literary texts in teaching foreign languages, particularly English, on both the theoretical and practical level. In regard to the learner-oriented approach it is necessary to consider the learner's needs and interests in the learning process. From that point of view, the monograph provides an interesting and topical contribution to the academic debate in the above mentioned area.

In the first part, the author gives the theoretical background and frames the topic by defining the terminology, citing relevant Czech curricular documents and dealing, often too lengthily, with the methodological as well as literary aspects of teaching English through children's literature. No doubt it is important to make the readers of the monograph acquainted with all the necessary details in order to help them understand this complex issue, however, the abundance of definitions and needless repetition of the same piece of information in various parts of the monograph is what can be perceived as problematic. This might have been caused by the fact that the theoretical part is rather illogically structured, having the reader wander back and forth among the definitions, classifications and other aspects of children's literature, reading literacy, reading strategies and teaching foreign languages without clearly defined boundaries between the literary theory and language education. Chapter 2.1 would definitely read smoother after some revision. Nevertheless, the concluding chapter of the theoretical part which gives the reader an interesting overview of the position of Anglophone children's literature at the faculties in the Czech Republic creates a logical bridge between the theory and practice in this book.

Despite the above mentioned shortcomings the monograph provides a sound theoretical basis for the practical, empirical part. Here the author makes the reader acquainted with the methodology of her research, clearly stating the objectives, methods of collecting and analyzing data and finally summarizes and interprets the research results. When it comes to the structuring and logical

sequence of individual chapters, the empirical part is definitely more consistent that the theoretical one. A number of well-arranged tables also contribute to transparency and comprehensibility of the research results.

From the practical point of view it is necessary to point out that the author pays due attention to the evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the teaching lessons that she observed and subsequently offers useful recommendations for practice.

The extensive theoretical and detailed empirical parts make the monograph a suitable and useful publication for university students in the field of teaching English language and literature. In addition, it can no doubt serve as a helpful material for teachers in practice as they can use the provided ideas, tips and recommendations in their own foreign language lessons. Even though this book is focused on using literary texts in the Czech Republic and especially the practical part is geographically bounded, the theme is definitely universal and at present very topical. While in the first part the author studies and works with various Anglophone and Czech scholarly sources, the second part is based on her own research and findings. Therefore it could be of interest and serve as an inspiration for a number of students, teachers and scholars abroad, had it been written in English, which it is not. The fact it is written in Czech makes it therefore available only to a limited audience. To sum it up, regardless the language and the structural imperfections the monograph is a valuable contribution in the area of developing reading literacy in the foreign language education through children's literary texts and therefore deserves due attention among professionals in this field.

Ivana Žemberová
Constantine the Philosopher University, Slovakia
izemberova@ukf.sk

Journal of Language and Cultural Education (JoLaCE) is a double-blind peer-reviewed international journal promoting international scholarly exchange among researchers, academics, and professionals. The journal is published both in print and online three issues a year (in January, May, and September). The online version is free for access and download.

JoLaCE carries only original, previously unpublished full-length research and survey articles that reflect the latest research and developments in both theoretical and practical aspects of language and cultural education. Review studies, research-in-progress reports, short research notes, commentaries, and in-field publications reviews are invited to be published as well.

Scope
- Language Education
- Applied linguistics (including sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and neurolinguistics) in language education
- Literary scholarship & Literary education
- Cultural studies & Cultural Education. Intercultural education
- Translation studies and education
- Research methods in related fields

We especially welcome papers which re-examine existing theoretical frameworks and/or which highlight and apply new methodologies.

Call for papers
for the forthcoming issue (January 2016)
Submission deadline: 15 December 2015
Review process: 2-4 weeks
Submission address: slovakedu@gmail.com

Submission
Only original, previously unpublished research papers, review, survey and tutorial papers, application papers, plus case studies, short research notes and letters, on both applied and theoretical aspects, should be submitted. Submission implies that the manuscript has not been published previously, and is not currently submitted for publication elsewhere. Submission of a manuscript is interpreted as a statement of certification that no part of the manuscript is copyrighted by any other publisher nor is under review by any other formal publication. It also implies that the corresponding author has consent of all authors. It is the author´s responsibility to ensure that the manuscript does not cause any copyright infringements, defamation, and other problems.

Notes