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Intercultural competence of first year students of English at the Faculty of Education, Masaryk University: a report of research

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Abstract

The article presents the initial stage of research conducted at the Department of English Language and Literature at the Faculty of Education, Masaryk University in Brno. The aim of the research is to examine the departmental students' intercultural competence (IC) at the beginning of their studies (autumn 2011), compare it with their level of IC at the end of their studies (autumn 2016) and investigate the influences that played a role in their IC development. In this paper, only the initial stage of the research is presented, i.e. examining the students' IC at the beginning of the studies. The Intercultural Development Inventory®, version 3, was used for the purposes of the research. Since this instrument is not currently being used for academic or corporate purposes in the Czech (or Slovak) Republic, a secondary aim of the article is to introduce it to the wider academic community. The results indicate that students tend to overestimate their level of IC, and find themselves in ethnocentric stages of intercultural development at the beginning of their university studies.

Key words: intercultural competence, assessment tools of intercultural competence, Intercultural Development Inventory®, The IDI®, version 3, students of English, first year students

Introduction

The initial stage of research conducted at the Department of English Language and Literature at the Faculty of Education, Masaryk University in Brno is presented in this paper. The aims of the research are to examine the departmental students' intercultural competence (IC) at the beginning of their studies (autumn 2011), compare it with their level of IC at the end of their studies (autumn 2016) and investigate the influences that played a role in their IC development. This paper introduces the results of the initial stage of the research, i.e. examining the students' IC at the beginning of the studies.

This endeavour necessarily opens the question of which research instrument is the most suitable for these purposes. Therefore, the choice of the instrument is described first, followed by a description of the sample, the methodology and selected preliminary results of the initial stage of the research.

The description of the selected research instrument – The IDI®, version 3 (Hammer 2009a; see subchapter 1.2), and an introduction of what it can offer to the wider academic community being a secondary aim of the article, necessitates the use of multiple graphs and tables in the article, which may distract some readers; however, they are needed to provide a faithful demonstration of what the research instrument can offer.

1. Assessment tools of intercultural competence

1.1 Assessment tools available in English

The number of assessment tools available in English is vast. An extensive overview of assessment tools of intercultural communicative competence was published by Fantini (2006) and a more detailed description of many of these by Landis et al. (2004) and Fantini (2009). Among the most influential models of intercultural competence is Deardorff's (2004) *Pyramid Model of Intercultural Competence* and *Process Model of Intercultural Competence*. The most important idea underlying these two models is that the foundation of intercultural competence is with the individual's attitudes which the study identified as openness, respect and curiosity.

Knowledge (cultural self-awareness, deep understanding and knowledge of culture, culture-specific information, sociolinguistic awareness) and skills (to listen, observe, and interpret, to analyze, evaluate, and relate) further build upon these to arrive at the desired internal (informed frame of reference shift – adaptability, flexibility, ethnorelative view, empathy) and external (effective and appropriate communication and behaviour in an intercultural situation) outcomes. A tool which can be used in developing one's skills in intercultural competence is the OSEE tool (Deardorff 2009), which starts with the basics of observation and moves on to stating objectively what is happening, exploring different explanations of what is happening and evaluating which explanation is the most likely one.

Another major theory is represented by Bennett's (1986) *Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS)*. Based on this model the *Intercultural Development Inventory, v.3.* (Hammer, 2009a), used worldwide to assess the developmental stage of an individual's or group's IC, was developed. Since this tool is available in Czech it is described in more detail below in a subchapter devoted to assessment tools available in Czech (subchapter 1.2).

Fantini's *YOGA Form* ("Your Objectives, Guidelines, and Assessment") for assessing IC (Fantini, 1995, 1999), based on his *A+ASK model*, represents another widely used tool and concept. In this construct of intercultural communicative competence, there are five dimensions – awareness, attitudes, skills, knowledge and proficiency in the target language. The assessment approach is normative, formative, as well as summative, and the completion of the form – contrary to most of the other tools available for assessing IC – is based on both observations and performance (Fantini, 1999).

Another one of the widely used assessment instruments is the *Sociocultural Adaptation Scale* (Searle & Ward 1990; Ward & Kennedy 1999 as cited in Landis et al. 2004) with 29 Likert-style items, designed to measure the cognitive and behavioural dimensions of sociocultural adaptation. The choices range from "no difficulty" to "extreme difficulty". Sample items include making yourself understood, understanding jokes and humour, or communicating with people of a different ethnic group.

Another assessment instrument is represented by the *Intercultural Sensitivity Inventory* (ICSI, Bhawuk & Brislin 1992 as cited in Landis et al. 2004), which measures the cultural constructs of three variables: individualism, collectivism and flexibility and open-mindedness. It is a 46-item self-report instrument suitable for exploring cultural identity through the examination of one's cultural value orientations and flexibility in adapting to new cultures and people. The respondents score the 46 items using a 7-point response set ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The items include for example the following statements: "I prefer to be direct when dealing with other people", or "While living abroad, I spend most of my personal time with people from my own country."

1.2 Assessment tools available in Czech

Since neither a model of IC nor an assessment tool of IC designed in and for the Czech context exists and because using an assessment tool in English might influence the results due to the low level of English of some of the students at the beginning of their studies, the assessment tools available in Czech, although they have not been designed specifically for the Czech context, were examined to decide which would be the most suitable ones for the purposes of assessing the intercultural competence of English language students (and future teachers). The process of development of a model and an assessment tool in and for the Czech context, being a complex and long-term endeavour, remains a task for the future.

1.2.1 INCA project – Intercultural Competence Assessment

The INCA project, funded by Leonardo da Vinci II, has developed a framework and a suite of assessment tools for the assessment of IC linked to language and subject knowledge competence. The tools were developed and tested first in the engineering sector. The project partners and contributors were experts from Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany and the United Kingdom. Six competences and three strands of IC were defined (see Table 1).

Table 1: Six competences and three strands of IC as defined by the INCA project

Six competences	Three strands of IC
empathy	openness
respect for otherness	knowledge
knowledge discovery	flexibility
communicative awareness	
tolerance for ambiguity	
behavioural flexibility	

The project aimed to link Byram's (1997) *Framework for Intercultural Competence Learning* to the needs of industry, and produce thereby a framework for delivery and assessment suitable for use in promoting intercultural awareness and understanding as part of a vocational languages programme. Therefore, the target audience are young engineers, employees, apprentices and trainees, engineering sector employers and other professionals from the field, who have been offered postings abroad or who are interested in how effectively their staff can work with people from other countries or cultures. Due to the characteristics, aims and target audience mentioned above, it seems that the INCA assessment tools are not suitable for assessing language teachers' and students' IC.

1.2.2 Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory (CCAI)

This inventory (Kelley & Meyers 1995 as cited in Landis et al. 2004) helps individuals gain insight into their likely ability to adjust to a new culture and the potential stressors they might encounter. It is a 50-item questionnaire, specifically designed to develop an individual's readiness for travel and relocation abroad. It measures an individual's potential for cross-cultural adaptability regardless of experience with and knowledge of another language or culture and uses four measurement scales (see Table 2). The CCAI integrates individual self-assessment, observe feedback, skill-building exercises and action planning. A Czech version – Inventář Interkulturní Adaptability – is available in Institut pedagogicko-psychologického poradenství.

Table 2: The CCAI measurement scales

The CCAI measurement scales	
Emotional Resilience	the degree to which an individual can rebound from and react positively to new experiences
Flexibility/Openness	the extent to which a person enjoys different ways of thinking and behaving
Perceptual Acuity	the extent to which a person pays attention to and accurately perceives various aspects of the environment
Personal Autonomy	the extent to which an individual has evolved a personal system of values and beliefs while at the same time respecting the value systems of others

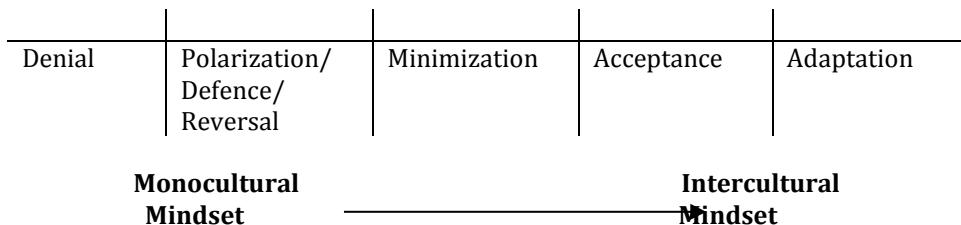
The CCAI assessment tool is a suitable one to help both students and teachers identify their strengths and weaknesses in the context of intercultural communication. However, only a limited amount of the inventories is available in Czech from the Institut pedagogicko-psychologického poradenství, which restricts its use for isolated random groups of respondents and hinders the development of a large-scale research and training programmes.

1.2.3 Intercultural Development Inventory® (The IDI®, version 3)

The IDI®, version 3 (Hammer 2009a) is a statistically reliable, cross-culturally valid psychometric assessment tool of an individual's or group's intercultural competence. It is based on the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) originated by Bennett (1986). It has been used worldwide in a number of settings (corporate, academic, military, church, medical, etc.) for research and training. It is a 50-item paper-and-pencil (in English and other languages) and online (in English, Czech and other languages) questionnaire. Back translation procedures were followed in translating the IDI into the other languages. The respondents score the 50 statements using a 5-point response set ranging from "agree" to "disagree". The items include for example the following statements: "People are the same despite outward differences in appearances", or "I often act as a cultural mediator in disagreements between people from different cultures". Once completed, the IDI generates an individual (or group) graphic profile of the respondent's overall position on the Intercultural development continuum®. This continuum (Figure 1) identifies specific orientations toward cultural differences that range from more monocultural perspectives to more intercultural mindsets. The continuum begins with the

more monocultural orientations of *Denial* and *Polarization* (*Defence/Reversal*) and moves on through a more transitional mindset of *Minimization* to the more intercultural or global mindsets of *Acceptance* and *Adaptation* (see Hammer, 2009a, 2009b; Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003).

Figure 1: Intercultural Development Continuum (see Hammer, 2009b)



Denial represents a stage in which an individual is typically not able to recognize cultural differences, is disinterested and can even avoid cultural diversity.

Polarization can take two forms – the form of a *Defence* or *Reversal* orientation. In *Defence* the individual sees the ways of his or her own community as superior to those of other cultural communities. Cultural differences are seen as an obstacle to be overcome. *Reversal* can be characterized by the opposite view – the ways of the other cultural group are viewed as superior to one's own culture, which leads to stereotypical evaluations of the other culture and little deeper understanding of the other cultural community.

In *Minimization* an individual is able to recognize some cultural differences but focuses on more unifying frameworks, which leads him or her into viewing the other culture from the perspective of his or her own. Underlying differences stay masked.

Acceptance represents a stage in which an individual begins to explore cultural differences more deeply and recognizes that these cultural patterns need to be understood from the perspective of the other culture. What stays unclear, however, is how to appropriately adapt to cultural difference.

Adaptation involves the ability to shift perspective to another culture and adapt behaviour to a cultural context. An individual in this stage is able to at least partially take the perspective of one or more cultures, bridge between different cultures, and change behaviour in culturally appropriate and authentic ways (cf, Hammer, 2009a, 2009b).

An intercultural mindset then is represented by the capability to shift cultural perspective and adapt behaviour to a different cultural context. The IDI

assesses a respondent's (or group's) primary orientation toward cultural differences and indicates key "developmental" or "leading" issues that directly face the respondent which, when systematically addressed, can result in further progression along the continuum. It further identifies "trailing" issues (unresolved aspects associated with an earlier orientation) that are currently "holding back" the respondent (or group) from moving further along the developmental continuum. The IDI also assesses, as a separate and distinct dimension from those orientations placed along the developmental continuum, the degree of *Cultural Disengagement* an individual (or group) possesses. Cultural Disengagement reflects a sense of being disconnected and not feeling fully part of one's cultural group (Hammer, 2009a, 2009b) and is not a core orientation developmentally (cf. Hammer, 2009a, 2009b).

The individual profile report the IDI generates provides the reader with summary orientation descriptions in the following way (see Table 3).

Apart from the IDI Individual Profile, the IDI also generates the Intercultural Development Plan™ (IDP), which is supposed to help the respondent systematically increase their intercultural competence by working through the tasks included in it. The Plan is specifically customized to the particular IDI Profile results. After completing the suggested activities in the IDP, the respondent should again take the IDI to determine their progress in increasing their intercultural competence. Accompanying this new IDI profile report is another customized and different Intercultural Development Plan that can help them further increase their skills in shifting cultural perspective and adapting behaviour.

Apart from the IDI Individual Profile, the IDI also generates the Intercultural Development Plan™ (IDP), which is supposed to help the respondent systematically increase their intercultural competence by working through the tasks included in it. The Plan is specifically customized to the particular IDI Profile results. After completing the suggested activities in the IDP, the respondent should again take the IDI to determine their progress in increasing their intercultural competence. Accompanying this new IDI profile report is another customized and different Intercultural Development Plan that can help them further increase their skills in shifting cultural perspective and adapting behaviour.

Table 3: Summary Orientation Descriptions as given by the IDI (Hammer, 2009a)

<i>Denial</i>	An orientation that likely recognizes more observable cultural differences (e.g., food) but may not notice deeper cultural differences (e.g., conflict resolution styles) and may avoid or withdraw from cultural differences.
<i>Polarization</i>	A judgmental orientation that views cultural differences in terms of "us" and "them". There are two forms it can take: <i>Defence</i> : An uncritical view towards one's own cultural values and practices and an overly critical view towards other cultural values and practices. <i>Reversal</i> : An overly critical orientation towards one's own cultural values and practices and an uncritical view towards other cultural values and practices.
<i>Minimization</i>	An orientation that highlights cultural commonality and universal values and principles that may also mask deeper recognition and appreciation of cultural differences.
<i>Acceptance</i>	An orientation that recognizes and appreciates patterns of cultural difference and commonality in one's own and other cultures.
<i>Adaptation</i>	An orientation that is capable of shifting cultural perspective and changing behaviour in culturally appropriate and authentic ways.
<i>Cultural Disengagement</i>	A sense of disconnection or detachment from a primary cultural group.

Since this assessment tool is available in Czech and because of its qualities described above, it seems particularly suitable for measuring language teachers' and students' intercultural competence. It seems desirable that (future) language teachers find themselves in the stages of *Acceptance* or *Adaptation*. Unless they find themselves in the global mindsets stages, it seems unlikely the IC of language students/pupils can be effectively developed (although there are a number of

other factors influencing the teaching process – e.g. teaching methods, it seems that the IC of teachers themselves represents the cornerstone and starting point of the whole process). A training programme aimed at the specific needs of language teachers uncovered by the IDI can be successfully developed. Therefore, this particular assessment instrument was chosen for the purposes of the presented research.

2. Research sample and methodology

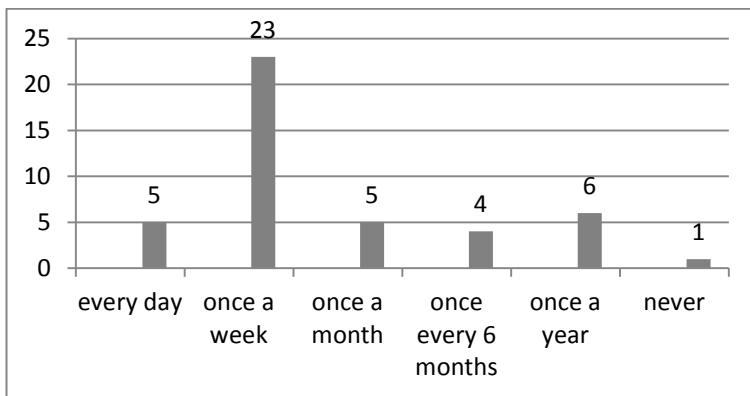
The research sample comprised 50 randomly selected first year students enrolled in the Lower Secondary School Teacher Training in English Language and Literature study programme at the Department of English Language and Literature at Masaryk University in Brno and represented 50% of the total amount of students enrolled in this daily study programme in the autumn semester 2011 (the number of students was limited due to financial reasons). These 50 students were asked to fill in the Intercultural Development Inventory (Hammer, 2009a) in Czech and offered a follow-up interview, which none of them expressed an interest in. 44 students, however, did fill in the IDI. Those students who graduate from their master's studies in spring/autumn 2016 will be asked to fill in the IDI once more and the results will be compared, with additional questions added to investigate the influences that played a major role in their IC development.

There were 4 men and 40 women in the sample, 38 of them between 18 and 21 years old and 6 of them between 22 and 30 years old. The students were asked to indicate the country that they consider their primary country of citizenship as well as to describe what their nationality and/or ethnical background is. There was one Slovak person included in the sample – the remaining 43 students were all Czech.

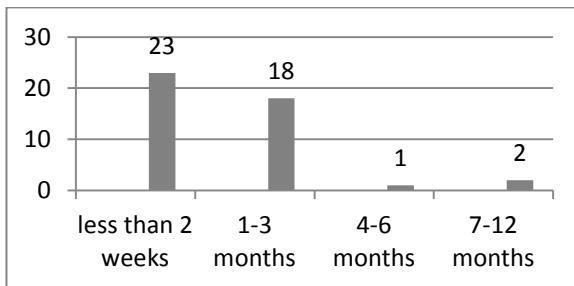
The students were asked to answer some other demographic questions as well. I was mainly interested in how often they were in touch with people of a different nationality (Graph 1 indicates the number of students in each category) and how long their longest stay abroad was (Graph 2) as these two main factors were likely to have influenced their level of IC the most so far. 63% of the students were in touch with people of a different nationality at least once a week, while 25% of them claimed they were in touch with them once or twice a year only (one person actually indicating it never happened) – see Graph 1.

As to the second question (see Graph 2), 52% of the students had never spent a period of time longer than 2 weeks abroad, 40% of them had spent one to three months abroad, just one student (2%) had spent four to six months and two students (siblings) lived abroad for a longer period of time (7-12 months).

Graph 1: How often are you in touch with people of a different nationality?



Graph 2: How long was your longest stay abroad?



It is not surprising that the intercultural experience of the first year students as defined by these two questions is limited. These findings naturally lead to the following research questions:

- 1) Is there a relationship between the level of the students' IC and the frequency of their contact with people of a different nationality?
- 2) Does the level of the students' IC get higher provided they spent a longer period of time abroad?

To be able to determine this, I first wanted to find out:

- 1) what the *perceived orientation* (see below) of the individual students is and
- 2) what the *developmental orientation* (see below) of the individual students is and how it compares to their perceived orientation

To be able to understand the results and graphs in the following subchapter, a number of terms the IDI (Hammer, 2009a) uses need to be explained:

- One's *Perceived Orientation (PO)* reflects where a person places himself or herself along the intercultural development continuum.
- One's *Developmental Orientation (DO)* indicates one's primary orientation toward cultural differences and commonalities along the continuum as assessed by the IDI. The DO is a perspective a person most likely applies in those situations where cultural differences and commonalities need to be bridged.
- The *Orientation Gap (OG)* is the difference along the continuum between one's Perceived Orientation and Developmental Orientation. A gap score of seven points or higher indicates a meaningful difference between the Perceived Orientation and the assessed Developmental Orientation. A Perceived Orientation score that is seven points or higher than the Developmental Orientation score indicates an *overestimation* of one's intercultural competence. A Developmental Orientation score that is seven points or higher than the Perceived Orientation score indicates an *underestimation* of one's intercultural competence.
- *Trailing orientations* are those orientations that are "in back of" one's Developmental Orientation (DO) on the intercultural continuum *that are not "resolved"*. When an earlier orientation is not resolved, this "trailing" perspective may be used to make sense of cultural differences at particular times, around certain topics, or in specific situations. Trailing Orientations, when they arise, tend to "pull a person back" from his or her Developmental Orientation for dealing with cultural differences and commonalities. The IDI identifies the *level of resolution* a person has attained regarding possible Trailing Orientations. In cases when individuals have Trailing Orientations, they may respond to a specific situation from the perspective of this "earlier" orientation rather than the Developmental Orientation or mindset that characterizes their predominant way of dealing with cultural difference challenges. When this happens, there may be a sense at times of "going two steps forward and one step back." When individuals have trailing orientations, it is not uncommon for progress in building intercultural competence to have a "back and forth" quality in the school setting, when these earlier orientations arise. As you begin to "move past" or resolve the trailing orientations, a more consistent sense of progress and "shared focus" emerges.
- *Leading Orientations* are those orientations that are immediately "in front" of one's Developmental Orientation (DO). A Leading Orientation is the next step

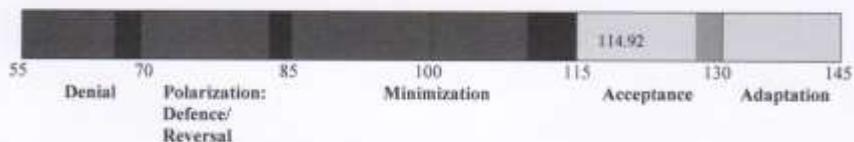
to take in further development of intercultural competence. For example, if one's Developmental Orientation is Minimization, then the Leading Orientations (LO) would be Acceptance and Adaptation.

3. Selected results

3.1 Perceived and Developmental Orientations

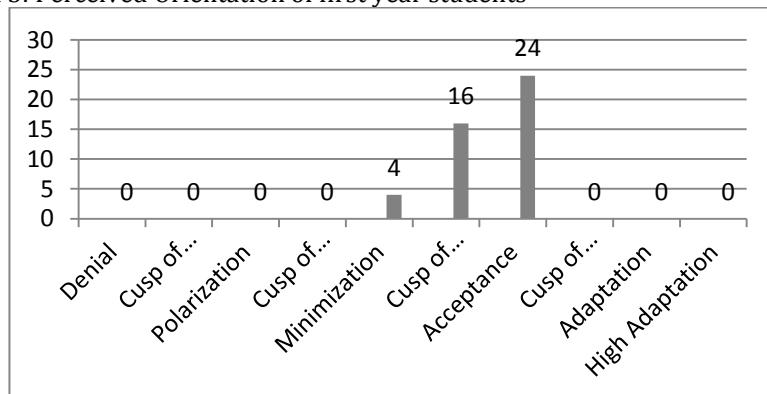
The Perceived Orientation Score of this group of first year students indicates that they rate their own capability in understanding and appropriately adapting to cultural differences at the cusp of Acceptance, reflecting a relatively early orientation that recognizes and appreciates patterns of cultural difference in one's own and other cultures in values, perceptions and behaviours (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Perceived Orientation of first year students



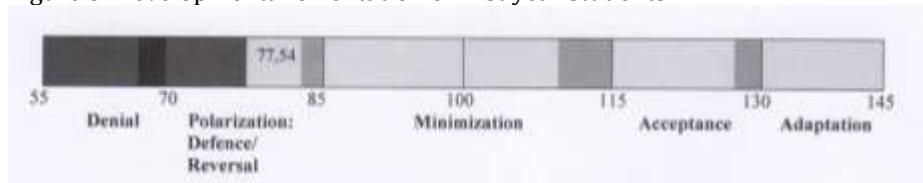
Graph 3 shows that 4 students' Perceived Orientation is Minimization, 16 students find themselves at the cusp of Acceptance and 24 students' Perceived Orientation is Acceptance. Table 5 below shows the results of the individual students in more detail.

Graph 3: Perceived Orientation of first year students

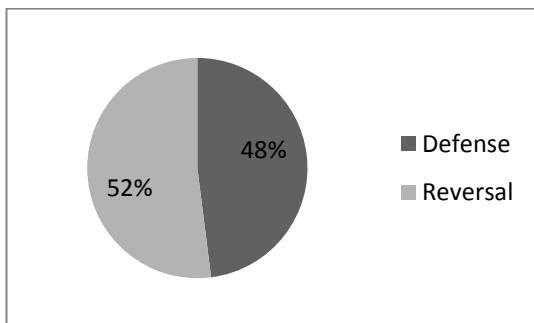


The students' Developmental Orientation Score indicates that their primary orientation toward cultural differences was within Polarization (see Figure 3), reflecting an "us and them" judgmental viewpoint toward cultural differences, that can take form of (1) Defence, in which different values, perceptions and behaviours associated with a culturally different group of people tend to be evaluated negatively and values, perceptions and behaviours of "my" group are judged more favourably, or (2) Reversal, in which other cultural practices are less critically evaluated and cultural practices within one's own group are likely to be judged from an overly critical standpoint. More specifically, their responses to the IDI indicated that 48 percent of their resolution of Polarization perspective was more from a Defence view and 52 percent was from a Reversal Orientation (see Graph 4).

Figure 3: Developmental Orientation of first year students



Graph 4: Percent of Resolution of Polarization (Cusp of Polarization, Polarization) from defence and reversal

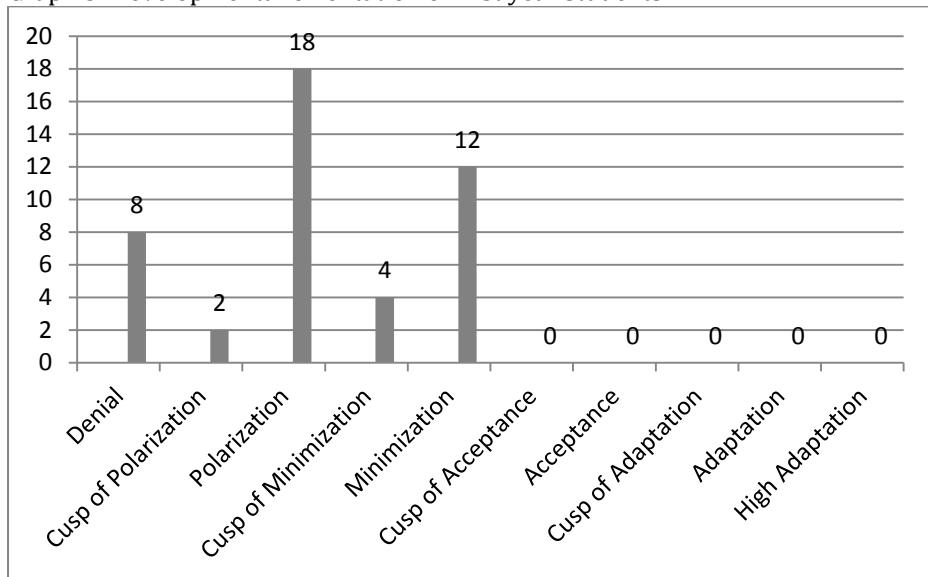


Because they are aware of challenges that can arise around cultural difference, they may overemphasize certain differences without fully understanding them. Their developmental opportunity is to search for commonalities as well as develop a less negatively evaluative understanding of

specific differences that seem to be leading to the greatest barriers in their work and personal interactions.

Graph 5 shows how many students find themselves in Denial (8 students), at the cusp of Polarization (2 students), Polarization (18 students), at the cusp of Minimization (4 students), and in Minimization (12 students).

Graph 5: Developmental Orientation of first year students



The Orientation Gap between their Perceived Orientation score and Developmental Orientation score was 37.38 points (see Graph 6 and Table 4). A gap score of 7 points or higher can be considered a meaningful difference between where they perceive "they are" on the developmental continuum and where the IDI places their level of intercultural competence. The IDI indicates that they overestimated their level of intercultural competence and may be surprised their DO score was not higher.

Graph 6: Orientation Gap between the Perceived and Developmental Orientation of first year students

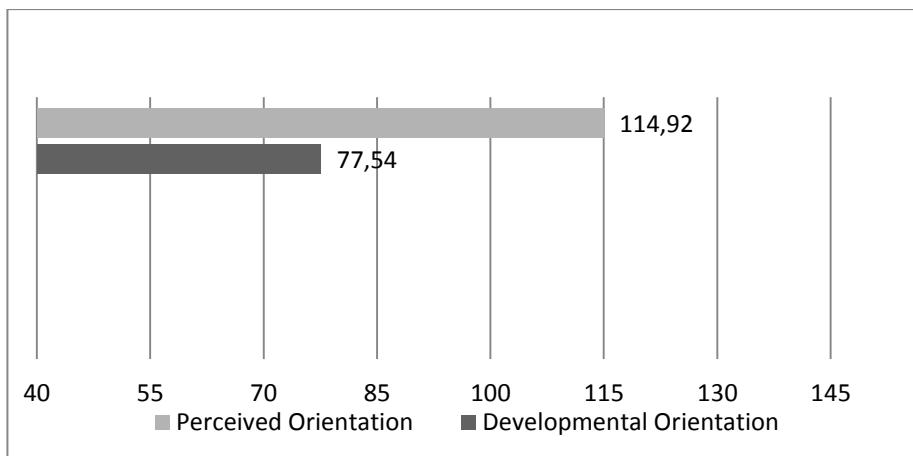


Table 4: Perceived and Developmental Orientation of first year students

	# of Respondents	Mean Score	Standard deviation
Perceived Orientation (PO)	44	114.92	5.27
Developmental Orientation (DO)	44	77.54	13.27
Orientation Gap Score	44	37.38	8.29

Table 5 shows the Perceived and Developmental Orientations of the individual students. There are students to be found whose PO is Acceptance, but whose DO falls into Polarization (e.g. student no 1), while in others the difference is smaller (e.g. student no 11 with their PO in Minimization and DO in Denial).

Table 5: Perceived and Developmental Orientation of the individual first year students

1 st year students: Autumn 2011 (beginning of studies)		
<i>Stu dent</i>	<i>Perceived Orientation</i>	<i>Developmental Orientation</i>
1	Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 47 % resolved)
2	Acceptance	Minimization
3	Minimization/Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 45 % resolved)
4	Acceptance	Polarization (Defence; 44 % resolved)
5	Acceptance	Polarization/Minimization
6	Minimization/Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 49 % resolved)
7	Minimization/Acceptance	Denial
8	Minimization/Acceptance	Denial
9	Minimization/Acceptance	Denial
10	Acceptance	Minimization
11	Minimization	Denial
12	Acceptance	Minimization
13	Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 48 % resolved)
14	Minimization/Acceptance	Denial/Polarization (Reversal; 45 % resolved)
15	Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 40 % resolved)
16	Minimization/Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 48 % resolved)
17	Acceptance	Minimization
18	Minimization	Denial
19	Minimization/Acceptance	Denial/Polarization (Reversal; 39 % resolved)
20	Acceptance	Minimization
21	Minimization/Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 41 % resolved)
22	Acceptance	Minimization
23	Acceptance	Minimization
24	Acceptance	Minimization
25	Minimization/Acceptance	Denial
26	Acceptance	Minimization
27	Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 48 % resolved)
28	Acceptance	Polarization/Minimization
29	Minimization/Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 45 % resolved)
30	Minimization/Acceptance	Polarization (Defence; 48 % resolved)

31	Acceptance	Minimization
32	Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 48 % resolved)
33	Acceptance	Minimization
34	Minimization/Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 43 % resolved)
35	Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 37 % resolved)
36	Minimization/Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 49 % resolved)
37	Acceptance	Minimization
38	Minimization	Denial
39	Minimization	Denial
40	Minimization/Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 49 % resolved)
41	Acceptance	Polarization/Minimization
42	Acceptance	Polarization/Minimization
43	Minimization/Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 47 % resolved)
44	Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 46 % resolved)

3.2 Trailing and Leading Orientations

Figures 4 and 5 show Trailing Orientations – orientations that come before the DO of this particular group of students and remain unresolved. Scores of less than 4.00 indicate a Trailing Orientation because they are not “resolved”. Trailing or secondary orientations for this group were Denial TO and Disinterest in Culture Difference TO.

Figure 4: Denial Trailing Orientation



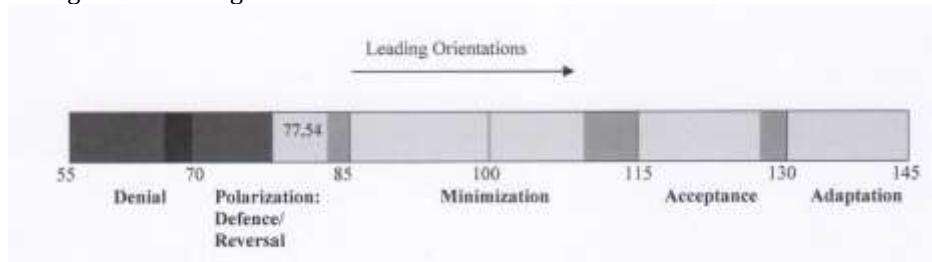
Figure 5: Disinterest in Culture Difference Trailing Orientation



The Leading Orientations (see Figure 6) for this group were Minimization through Acceptance. Elimination of Polarization as a response to cultural differences is supported by a focus on the commonalities they and their own

culture group has with other cultural communities. Identifying similarities in underlying needs, values, goals and practices reduces the "us vs. them" tendency and leads to a greater recognition of the common humanity people share with one another. In addition, a focus on increasing cultural self-awareness also helps eliminate an "us vs. them" tendency for dealing with cultural differences. Also, as commonalities are examined from a framework of increased cultural self-awareness, they can also begin to focus on deeper cultural patterns of difference that may be overlooked.

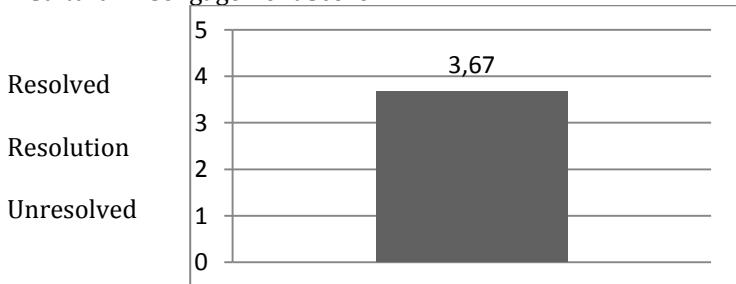
Figure 6: Leading Orientations



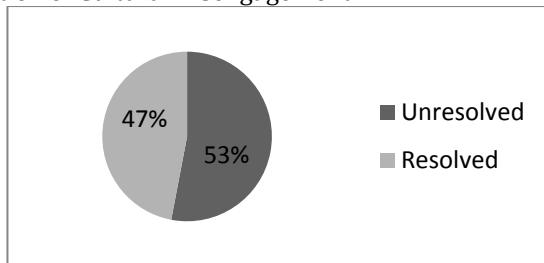
3.3 Cultural Disengagement

Cultural Disengagement is a sense of disconnection or detachment from one's cultural group. Scores of less than 4.00 indicate a person is not "resolved" and may be experiencing to some degree a lack of involvement in core aspects of being a member of a cultural community (53% of students in this particular group – see graph 8). Overall, the Cultural Disengagement score of this group of students was 3.67, indicating they are Unresolved (see Graph 7).

Graph 7: Cultural Disengagement Score



Graph 8: Resolution of Cultural Disengagement



3.4 Frequency of contact with foreigners and stays abroad in connection to IC

When looking for answers to research questions (see below) concerning the relationship between the level of the students' IC and the frequency of their contact with people of a different nationality and their stays abroad, ANOVA was used in both cases:

- 1) Is there a relationship between the level of the students' IC and the frequency of their contact with people of a different nationality?
- 2) Is the level of the students' IC higher provided they spent a longer period of time abroad?

There were no statistically significant differences between group means as determined by one-way ANOVA found in either case. Further, a post-hoc Fisher's LSD test was used to identify significant differences between the respective groups. Graphs 9 and 10 represent the mean scores and standard deviations for each of the groups and Tables 6 and 7 show the results of the post-hoc tests.

As can be seen from Table 7, a difference¹ was found (at the level of 0.05) between the first (24 students) and the second (17 students) group (second research question). The results, however, have limited value due to the small sample size and its distribution among the individual groups.

¹ italicised in Table 7

Table 6: Post-hoc Fisher's LSD test for research question 1

F = 0.09; p = 0.91; post-hoc			
	every day	once a week	once a month
every day		0,664867	0,766411
once a week	0,664867		0,869358
once a month	0,766411	0,869358	
every day	78,03571	4,204672	
once a week	75,91714	2,427568	
once a month	76,52813	2,781129	

Graph 9: A boxplot graph for research question 1

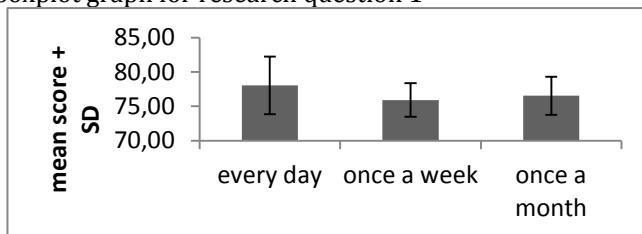


Table 7: Post-hoc Fisher's LSD test for research question 2

F = 2.92; p = 0.06; post-hoc			
	less than 2 weeks	1 - 3 months	4 - 6 and 7 - 12 months
less than 2 weeks		0,020658	0,761426
1 - 3 months	0,020658		0,363104
4 - 6, 7 - 12 months	0,761426	0,363104	
less than 2 weeks	73,26750	2,129415	
1 - 3 months	81,22824	2,530122	
4 - 6, 7 - 12 months	75,22000	6,022894	

Graph 10: A boxplot graph for research question 2

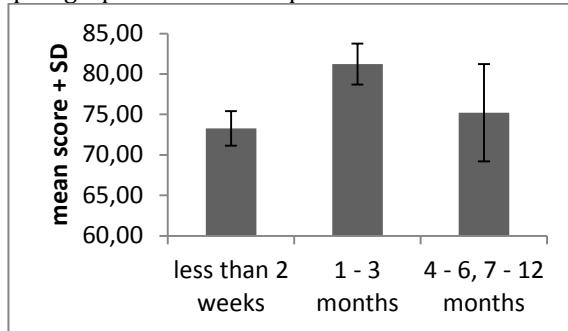


Table 8 shows Perceived and Developmental Orientations of students with daily contact with foreigners that represent a minor group in the sample. While their Perceived Orientations are homogeneous (ranking from Minimization/Acceptance to Acceptance), their Developmental Orientations differ more significantly. The results of students no 7 and 13 represent especially striking differences between their PO and DO.

Table 8: Perceived and Developmental Orientations of students with daily contact with foreigners

Student	Frequency of contact with foreigners	Perceived Orientation	Developmental Orientation
2	daily	Acceptance	Minimization
5	daily	Acceptance	Polarization/Minimization
7	daily	Minimization/Acceptance	Denial
13	daily	Acceptance	Polarization (Reversal; 48% resolved)
22	daily	Acceptance	Minimization

Table 9 shows the PO and DO of students with the longest stays abroad. It is interesting to observe that student no 11 finds herself in Denial even after a year-long stay abroad (a year spent at a high school in the USA), while student no 44 seems to overestimate her orientation significantly.

Table 9: Perceived and Developmental Orientations of students with the longest stays abroad

Student	The length of the longest stay abroad	Perceived Orientation	Developmental Orientation
11	7-12 months	Minimization	Denial
12	7-12 months	Acceptance	Minimization
44	4-6 months	Acceptance	Polarization (Defence; 46% resolved)

4. The IDI contexting questions

The students were also asked to respond to the IDI contexting questions. They provided most answers, although very brief, to the following IDI contexting question:

- 1) What is most challenging for you in working with people from other cultures (e.g., nationality, ethnicity)?

Language barrier was mentioned 7 times, followed by understanding different people's mentality, differences in their opinions, problem solving strategies, reactions to problems or behaviour, different view of life, different values, learning to accept the differences and being on good terms with people from other cultures, learning to cooperate, listening to them, tolerance and way of communication.

The three following IDI contexting questions (stated here because the secondary aim of this paper was to introduce the IDI) remained either unanswered or contained answers such as "I do not remember any situation like this", which seems consistent with the students' limited intercultural experience revealed by the IDI.

- 2) What are key goals, responsibilities or tasks you and/or your team have, if any, in which cultural differences need to be successfully navigated?
- 3) Please give examples of situations you were personally involved with or observed where cultural differences needed to be addressed within your organization, and the situation ended negatively –that is, was not successfully resolved. Please describe where and when the situation took place, who was involved (please do not use actual names), what happened and the final result.
- 4) The situation ended positively – that is, was successfully resolved. Please describe where and when the situation took place, who was involved (please do not use actual names), what happened and the final result.

Conclusion

The IDI group profile of the 50 first year students who took part in this research indicates that their intercultural experience is limited and that they rate their own capability in understanding and appropriately adapting to cultural differences higher (at the cusp of Acceptance) than the IDI shows it is (within Polarization). This difference can be considered a meaningful difference between where they perceive "they are" on the developmental continuum and where the IDI places their level of intercultural competence.

Considering the students' age and limited intercultural experience, it is not surprising they find themselves within the more monocultural orientation on the continuum. Since they are future-to-be teachers of English, intercultural training is desirable so that they can acquire their new role as autonomous intercultural speakers, learners and teachers and move on through a more transitional mindset of Minimization to the more intercultural or global mindsets of Acceptance and Adaptation. It is probable that mere contact with foreigners and stays abroad needn't bring about this change, and therefore these need to be supplemented by experiential intercultural training providing space for both solid theory and self-reflection.

Those who manage to graduate from their studies in the autumn semester 2016 will be asked to fill in the IDI once again, accompanied by questions related to their intercultural experience and influences on its development during the course of their studies, which may bring insight into the way of structuring the courses offered by the department and their contents, whose utmost goal is helping students become interculturally competent, able of self-reflection and constructive development of their students' intercultural competence without strengthening cultural stereotypes in them.

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Cultural responsiveness in EFL teaching: reflections from native instructors

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Abstract

In recent years, many international students from different parts of the world have been studying at Turkish universities, which creates a multicultural educational setting. Due to the multicultural educational setting, English has become the most widely used language for exchanging and sharing knowledge, therefore many international universities in Turkey put a great emphasis on English language education and offer English preparatory courses to students. In order to succeed at better language education, universities employ native English instructors to provide a richer language experience with cultural components embedded in language content. In this qualitative case study, cultural reflections of native English instructors at a Turkish university were investigated. Individual and focus group interviews were data sources for the study. Findings indicated that cultural responsiveness was considered to be constructed through time, and a necessity of orientation process was emphasized. However, the native instructors' presumptions cause intolerance and underestimation of the host culture. In addition, educational issues and students' misbehaviors, such as cheating and calling their instructors by their first name, were attributed to cultural background of the students.

Keywords: Cultural responsiveness, native instructors, EFL, and higher education

Introduction

English is becoming a dominant language (Crystal, 2003; Canagarajah, 2010), and there is a great increase on students' mobility from different parts of the world, therefore using English as a second or foreign language plays a vital role in exchanging and sharing information, culture and science. In addition, students' mobility leads higher education institutions to an internationalized educational environment. Having diverse students at higher education creates a multicultural educational setting, in which different ethnic and cultural groups are welcomed and represented.

Multicultural education has given increasing importance to cultural issues in relation with English language teaching in education (Porto, 2010). Multicultural

education stresses integration of culture and language because culture and language are inseparable (Prater & Devereaux, 2012), and language simultaneously reflects culture and is influenced and shaped by it (Jiang, 2000).

Cultural responsiveness in language teaching has been widely researched in countries where English is taught as an additional language such as United States, United Kingdom, Australia. However, it has recently gained attention of researchers in Turkey with the increased number of universities and native language teachers offering EFL instruction. Thus, it is essential for researchers to begin to explore reflections of native instructors about cultural responsiveness in different settings in terms of English language teaching.

Review of literature

In the last two decades in the United States, Canada, Australia, Europe and the other parts of the world, the ethnic and cultural structure of school communities has undergone rapid and radical changes (Leeman, 2008; Liddicoat & Diaz, 2008; Schmidt, 2010; Smyth, Darmody, McGinnity, & Byrne, 2009). These rapid changes in the ethnic and cultural make-up of school communities have called attention to the need for teacher education to prepare teachers for culturally diverse educational settings (Santoro & Major, 2012) since today's classrooms are filled with students who possess unique personalities and capabilities. Culturally responsive teaching first emerged as a set of evolving dispositions, knowledge, and practices to meet the needs of students who are often marginalized in K-12 mainstream schools in United States (Irvine, 2003). Later, in order to understand the demand to address racial/ethnic and cultural diversity in the classroom, educators and scholars tried to describe cultural responsiveness that improved education for diverse students. Gay (2002) defined cultural responsiveness as: "using the cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives of ethnically diverse students as conduits for teaching language them more effectively. It is based on the assumption that when academic knowledge and skills are situated within the lived experiences and frames of reference of students, they are more personally meaningful, have higher interest appeal, and are learned more easily and thoroughly" (p. 106).

Additionally, cultural responsiveness is tailored to empower children and youth by using meaningful cultural connections through language to produce academic and social knowledge and attitudes (Vavrus, 1997). It is argued that the teacher's challenge in today's current education climate is "to see each student as a growing, dynamic, developing, stretching being fellow human creature with specific needs and demands and hopes and desires and potentials" (Ayers, 1995, p. 2). These differences mean that teachers need to be able to work

productively with culturally diverse students, and be culturally aware (Santoro & Major, 2012).

Culturally responsive teachers actively engage students' learning by basing the curriculum on the local context and connecting it to language knowledge students bring to the classroom (Gay, 2010; Moll & Gonzalez, 2004). They are aware of the relationship between student learning and cultural variations in communications and are apt to enhance necessary supports for language learning (Vavrus, 1997).

However, being a culturally responsive teacher is not only a matter of applying instructional techniques, or it is primarily a matter of tailoring instruction to embody assumed traditions of particular cultural groups for language learning and teaching (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Approaching diversity in schools is a challenging and time-consuming process and it requires much dedication and energy (Muschell & Roberts, 2011) because teachers should work not only with students but also with parents, administrators, and policymakers in order to promote culturally responsive teaching and create culturally sensitive language learning environment in which differences students bring with themselves are welcomed and accepted (Muschell & Roberts, 2011). Unfortunately, many of the teachers have little or no experience in culturally sensitive settings and bring limited and inaccurate knowledge of their students' cultural backgrounds (Castro, 2010; Gay, 2010; Sleeter, 2008; Villegas & Lucas, 2002) and it creates great challenges and problems for both instructors and students.

In conclusion, dynamics of the language classrooms are changing and cultural diversity is ubiquitous. Culturally responsive teachers, who are respectful, sensitive and open to cultural differences, are key to addressing the needs of diverse learners and critical in preparing these learners for the 21st century (Garcia, Arias, Murri, & Serna, 2009) because lack of cultural responsiveness can increase challenges and problems in multicultural educational setting. Yet, cultural responsiveness has been emphasized in K-12 mainstream education and there is a lack of literature about descriptive studies of cultural responsive teaching at higher education. In addition, cultural responsiveness has been emphasized in the United States with teaching English to speakers of other languages (ESOL) setting with monolingual native instructors (Garcia et al., 2009). Theoretical aspects of cultural responsiveness have been discussed in the literature (Garcia et al., 2009; Villegas & Lucas, 2002; Santoro & Major, 2012) but applicability of cultural responsiveness in an EFL setting with monolingual native English language instructors has not been investigated. As a result, there is a

need to explore reflections of native English language instructors about cultural responsiveness in higher education

Method

The aim of this study was to explore the experiences of five native English language instructors in language preparatory school at a private international university. To do so, qualitative case study was selected as a research methodology.

Qualitative research methodologies have become increasingly important modes of inquiry for social sciences and applied fields (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p.1). Qualitative research is used to understand and explain the meanings made by participants in an activity or context (Morrow & Smith, 2000). More specifically, Creswell (1998) defines qualitative research as "an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting" (p.15). Thus, using qualitative research methodology will allow me to explore the experiences of five native English instructors at a private international university. This study will help us understand, interpret, make connections with, and illuminate the voices of participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2002; Silverman, 2000).

Qualitative methods also allow the researcher to collect data through a variety of formal and informal approaches such as observation, interviews, and participant writing. Patton (1990) states that "qualitative methods permit [the researcher] to study selected issues in depth and detail and approach fieldwork without being constrained by predetermined categories of analysis that contribute to the depth, opened and detail of the qualitative inquiry" (p. 13).

Qualitative research is appropriate for the study because when the researcher seeks: to understand, rather than to explain; and to assume a personal, rather than an impersonal role (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Stake, 1995). In addition, Strauss and Corbin (1998) claim that qualitative research methods are ideally suited for research that seeks to explore the nature of people's experiences

Case study approach

Stake (1994) defines case study as follows: "A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 13). A case study is identified then, not simply by its topic or

as a particular data collection method, but rather should be seen as a comprehensive research strategy (Yin, 2003).

A case study can bring about the discovery of new meanings, extend reader's experience, or confirm what is known. "Previously unknown relationships and variables can be expected to emerge from case studies leading a rethinking of the process in which phenomenon being studied (Stake, 1994, p. 47).

In order to guide this study, following research questions have been developed.

- What is the meaning of "culturally responsive teacher" for native English language instructors in an EFL context?
- What are the reflections of native English instructors while they are teaching their culture in an EFL context with culturally diverse students?
- How do native English language instructors construct "cultural responsiveness in an EFL setting at an international university?

Setting and participants

The setting in which this research was conducted is a private university in southeast Turkey. The university is an international one and students from more than 67 countries are enrolled in undergraduate programs. All students are required to complete one year of English language preparatory program unless they pass language proficiency exam. In addition, there are 20 students in a class at the language preparatory school and 20% of the students come from different countries.

In order to provide a good quality of language education, native English language instructors have been employed. Four female instructors and one male native instructor participated in the study. The participants are all from the United States and monolingual. In addition, the participants have TESOL certificates and they have been teaching in Turkey for at least two years. They teach mainly speaking and listening courses at the language preparatory school.

Data collection procedures

After receiving approval from ethical review board of the university, and the participants' consents, the researchers conducted individual and focus group interviews with five native English language instructors. The data were collected during the 2015 Spring Semester. First, the focus group interview was conducted at the beginning of the semester. Later, the participants were interviewed individually around mid-semester and member checking was conducted to assure accuracy, credibility, validity and trustworthiness of the data collected at the end of the semester. The interviews and the focus group interviews were audio-recorded. The interviews included semi-structured questions that allowed

for more flexibility and detailed discussion of the issues during the interviews. (Please see Appendices A & B for the interview and the focus group questions.)

Data analysis

The researchers draw upon qualitative methods of coding and categorizing in order to identify common themes across the data sources. The researchers transcribed the qualitative data verbatim. Later the researchers coded the data line by line, paragraph by paragraph and common categories and themes were identified. The codes that emerged from the transcriptions included cultural responsiveness, education, international students, multiculturalism, student attitudes, culture, understanding of cultures, clash of cultures, misunderstandings. The coded data were shared with the participants for accuracy. The findings that are presented in the next section are the result of central categories that appear frequently in the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Findings and discussion

This section presents the findings of this qualitative case study. The study explored the reflections of native English language instructors in terms of cultural responsiveness at a private international university in Turkey.

The participants specifically expressed their thoughts and concerns related to three different areas: characteristics of cultural responsiveness, educational issues in multicultural environment and students' behaviors and attitudes, and construction of cultural responsiveness.

Cultural responsiveness

The participants agreed that cultural responsiveness means "teachers should be sensitive and unprejudiced to their environment, and respectful to students' culture". They accepted students' culture is different than their culture [American culture], so they, as instructors, need to accommodate any cultural differences while they are teaching. Although literature suggest that one of the purpose of culturally responsive teaching is to empower students, the instructors does not include it in their definition of culturally responsive teacher.

Jane stated, "*not only we need to welcome their [students'] cultural differences, but also we should teach them other way around because there are students from different countries ... and we teach them language*" (Focus Group Interview transcript, 15/04/2015). As seen, the native instructors are aware of cultural differences and accept them as a part of their profession and they also expect that students accept their native instructors as culturally different. Plus, it can be inferred that the instructors assume the students are not culturally responsive,

and they need to be taught. Such an assumption refers to a prejudice perspective, which is contradictory with what they suggested for cultural responsiveness.

In addition, the participants agree that students, under influence of their culture, think in a different perspective and have their own reasoning so they need to be tolerant of students. Emily said, *"You know students have their own logic, maybe because of their culture, we can not undermine it. If we want to teach them English, we should have to know about it"* (Individual interview transcript, 24/04/2015). The way how students think should be taken into consideration while teaching is taking place but it could be deduced that students' logic require extra effort for the native instructors, and the effort to be given is seen obligatory.

Educational issues and students' behaviors toward native instructors in multicultural environment

It is interesting that the participants' reflections about the educational issues and students' behaviors are mostly negative. For example; the students can easily criticize their instructors during the class, and the participants suggested that it could be offensive for the instructors. Victoria said, *"in prep school you know students not the Turkish ones, they give comments in a polite way but Turkish students are talking about the class like it's boring and you cannot say such a thing in my culture"* (Focus Group Interview transcript, 15/04/2015). The way that students criticize refers to their culture, yet the instructors could not see it as a different way of expressing one's ideas. In addition, the instructors approach this issue with egocentric perspective because it is a kind of insult for them. To show it, they compared Turkish students with students with different nationalities.

Other issues that are considered to be problematic are classroom management and examination process. Victoria uttered: "classroom management is very different, I gave a midterm exam, everyone is talking" and Chuck added "some teachers open one eye and close the other one. I guess it is cultural and it is not something we do in the United States" (Focus Group Interview transcript, 15/04/2015). As understood, cheating is not taken seriously, and it frustrates the native instructors. Also, all the problems mentioned were attributed to Turkish culture. Comparing students' culture with their culture indicates that the instructors felt instinctively superior to students' culture.

It is unwelcoming for the participants that students call especially native instructors by their name. Even though it could be a sign of rapport, it is not sincerely welcomed by the native instructors. Emily stated, "normally in Turkey, as far as I know, people don't use people names, whom they respect but students call us with our first names. If the students follow their culture more strictly, it would be really satisfying to teach in here" (Focus Group Interview transcript,

15/04/2015). It is seen that the native instructors expect respect from students because they perceive themselves the ones who deserve respect, or socially and academically in a higher status.

Construction of cultural responsiveness

All participants emphasized the importance of cultural responsiveness in teaching. This awareness is not something predisposed, but constructed by time and experience. They become culturally responsive after some time of trial-and-error process. Jane suggested, "*we [the native instructors] are in need of some extra information, because what we know in theory may not be applicable for practice*" (Individual interview transcript, 24/04/2015).

Furthermore, Chuck added "*it is better to have some session of orientation so we can know what is what*" (Individual interview transcript, 24/04/2015). As understood, it is vital for the native instructors to know cultural issues before they start to teach so that they can adapt their teaching styles and strategies. In general, the native instructors try to be more sensitive about cultural issues such as politics, religious, and family in order not to offend their students.

Conclusion

The participants expressed their reflections and concerns about importance of cultural responsiveness in language teaching, educational issues in multicultural environment and construction of cultural responsiveness. The findings indicate that importance of cultural responsiveness is emphasized, and it is suggested that mutual responsiveness and understanding are essential for better language teaching, which is parallel with other studies (Prater & Devereaux, 2012; Santoro & Major, 2012). It can be concluded that native instructors see cultural diversity as a difference, which needs to be taken into consideration while developing language-teaching strategies in theory.

However, educational issues and students' behaviors could be seen problematic and offensive for the participants and the participants could become intolerant about cultural issues (Castro, 2010). Also, comparing students' culture with each other and with their culture [American culture] indicates that the instructors are not culturally responsive as they claim it, or they could not internalize the meaning of cultural responsiveness. Lastly, due to what is expected from students and how they act, construction of cultural responsiveness requires time and peer support. Necessity of orientation and cultural adaptation process is highlighted in order to construct cultural responsiveness.

In conclusion, cultural responsiveness is a recent topic in Turkey. There is a demand to investigate experiences of the instructors at educational institutions.

More descriptive studies are essential in order to have in-depth understanding of cultural responsiveness in Turkey. Also, longitudinal studies can reveal more information about the topic with the help of alternative and rich data collection procedures.

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

1. During the course of your teaching, have you felt that you had to adapt your personal culture?
 - a. If yes, why and how?
2. What are the students' behaviors towards native instructors from your perspective?
 - a. Do you feel you have to hold back (in terms of cultural issues)?
 3. How would you construct cultural responsiveness?
 4. How important is it to construct cultural understanding/cultural responsiveness in the foreign language classroom?

Appendix B: Focus Group Interview Questions

1. What does the term "culturally responsive teacher" mean to you?
2. What is the purpose of being culturally responsive?
3. What are cultural issues that you are faced with in the classrooms? How do you approach them?
4. What are the educational issues that are arising from students' culture?
5. How similar or different are the students' and the instructors' cultures?

Cyberbullying as a negative result of cyber-culture of Slovak children and adolescents: selected research findings

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Abstract

Cyber-culture points out the life in cyberspace and goes beyond national cultures. It is particularly attractive for the young people who use Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) to express their attitudes, values, beliefs and thinking. Those do not need to be necessarily in accordance with the standards of an individual society. Cyber-culture becomes dangerous. Great risk lies in cyberbullying that represents negative impact of cyber-culture on human behavior. The aim of the study is to detect cyberbullying as a negative impact of cyber-culture among of Slovak children and adolescents. The research was carried out on a sample of 1619 11-18-year old respondents (average age was 14.51). Results of cyberbullying research carried out using Latent Class Analysis (LCA) have proved the appropriateness of 3-latent-class module. Relative entropy of the module reached 0.915. It was demonstrated that 52.9% of respondents belonged to the group of uninvolved, 42.7% were victims and 4.4% were victims-aggressors. Being a negative consequence of cyber-culture, cyberbullying is a challenge that educators – including other assisting professions – face when educating children and adolescents to orientate in cyberspace, behave responsibly, express themselves in a way that would not interfere others' integrity and identity (personal and virtual). The study was written under VEGA MŠVVaŠ SR a SAV č. 1/0244/15: "Detekcia a riešenie kyberšikany".

Keywords: Adolescents, cyber-culture, cyber-aggression, cyberbullying, children, LCA, mMedia education, research

Introduction

Today's generation, also called 'digital' or Z Generation, is moving its meaning of life from the real world to the cyberspace. People's interactions in the cyberspace lead to the creation of global and unified cyber-culture. Cyber-culture is rooted in the hacker groups whose action in the cyberspace is based upon the

specific forms of behavior, i.e. preferring self-fulfillment in the virtual world. The term cyber-culture firstly appeared in 1990s. Bell (1999), Lévy (2000) and Manovich (2001) paid particular attention to this term, trying to introduce its definition and outline its concepts and characteristics. In the Czech Republic, Macek (2004), Sak et al. (2007), Soukup (2010), Hartmanová & Šmahaj (2015) studied the specifics of cyber-culture. Cyber-culture represents the new phenomenon of the digital age. Agreeing with Sak et al. (2007), the cyber-culture is considered a significant source of socialization of people in 21st century, especially of children and young people. Present-day generation finds cyberspace and cyber-culture framing within an attractive environment. Children and adolescents share their attitudes, values, beliefs, as well as their way of thinking by everyday usage of information and communications technologies. The extension of virtual world gives children and adolescents an opportunity to free themselves from the restrictions referring to their age, and provides them with the information and interactions far beyond the influence of their family and school. At the same time, the dynamic media development makes online communication more flexible and accelerates the access to the information. However, living in a cyberspace has its bright and dark sides. Lévy (2000) stresses the cyberspace and cyber-culture framing within could produce isolation of people, stress arising from cognitive stall, occurrence of addictions (non-chemical, non-substance addictions), new forms of conformability, etc.

Cyberbullying emerging as new (mostly hidden) form of aggression represents the negative consequence of cyber-culture. In a few years, cyberbullying has spread to the chat rooms, instant messaging, websites, etc. First studies focusing on cyberbullying emerged in the USA (Aftab, 2006, Hinduja, & Patchin, 2007, 2009, 2012; Willard, 2007; Kowalski et al., 2008). Cyberbullying is nowadays spread over the world and it is therefore internationally discussed as a global problem. In the last few years, several studies dealing with the scope, prevalence and measurement of cyberbullying in individual countries emerged (Kopecký, 2016; Brighi, & Melotti et al., 2012; Menesini, Nocentini, & Calussi, 2011). Intercultural researches such as the analyses of latent classes of cyberbullying done in six European countries – Poland, Spain, Italy, Great Britain, Germany and England (Schultze-Krumbholz et al., 2015); or the research of definition of cyberbullying done in another six European countries – Italy, Germany, Spain, Sweden, Estonia and France (Menesini et al., 2012) have been carried out in recent years. The important pan-European research was conducted by the EU Kids Online network focused on the online safety in Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway,

Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey and the UK. Now the network includes 33 countries, adding Croatia, Iceland, Latvia, Luxembourg, Malta, Russia, Slovakia and Switzerland (Haddon & Livingstone, 2012).

It is not the phenomenon concerning the American continent; unfortunately it penetrates to all the continents including the European. In relation to the researches and the real situations accompanying cyber bullying on the American continent, the team of investigators started to work on the project called The CyberTraining – Taking action against Cyber bullying (2008-2010). The partial reports released in 2009 presented the overview of the situation in the particular countries focused on country's description, socio-demographic aspects, use of ICT, system of education of particular country, prevalence and measures of bullying, studies and researches on cyber bullying and its prevention.

Cyberbullying represents behavior that includes harassment, threatening, stalking or humiliating or any other negative behavior of an individual or a group through the internet, interactive and digital technologies or mobile devices. This behavior is intended to hurt the victim (embarrass, humiliate, etc.) by means of general insults, homophobic, sexist, racist and other discriminating prejudices. S. Hinduja and Patchin (2009) define cyberbullying as an wilful and repeated harm inflicted via computers and other electronic devices. The authors admit that their definition is not perfect and could be extended with "repeated harms inflicted through the use of mobile phones" (Hinduja & Patchin, 2012, p. 33).

In relation to the use of information and communication technologies in the process of cyberbullying, the definition of the authors could be explicitly specified as repeated aggressive attacks via computers, mobile phones and other electronic devices.

Vandebosch and Cleemput (2008) claim it is necessary to shape a clear definition of cyberbullying that would comply with the view of students, since the lack of conceptual transparency could lead to the situation when the professionals' and respondents' view of the phenomenon would differ. Proceeding from the analysis of the particular definitions we explicate cyberbullying as "aggressive behaviour that includes torturing, threatening, stalking, humiliating and other negative children or adult behaviour against the victim(s) through the repeated attacks via computer, mobile phone or other electronic devices with the content causing emotional harm" (Hollá, 2013, p. 17).

Since the aggressor and the victim are unequally skilled in using ICT, the victim is exposed to the negative online material in a long term.

Based on literary references, traditional bullying is divided into four types of classes:

- a) uninvolved people,
- b) victims that are solely the target of bullying,
- c) aggressors that are solely perpetrators of bullying,
- d) victims-aggressors that become victims and perpetrators of bullying simultaneously (Schultze-Krumbholz et al., 2015).

Following researchers' claims of cyberbullying as the subtype, or extension of traditional bullying (e.g. Olweus, 2012), we can discuss the division of cyberbullying into four classes, as well. Results of empirical research made by Schultze-Krumbholz et al. (2015) point out that the structure of cyberbullying differs from traditional cyberbullying. Using LCA method on the sample of 6260 students from six European countries ($M = 14.8$ years; $SD = 1.6$; 49.1% boys) it was shown that cyberbullying can be divided into three classes.

Goals

The study was aiming to identify and classify the cyberbullying behavior of pupils into several categories using LCA method and characterize those categories (subtypes) by demographic variables (sex, age, type of school). Following pupils' division into three latent classes CB1 – CB3, sex, age and type of school, we studied if there were some differences among those 3 classes according to the above mentioned variables. The classification of a pupil in the latent class represents dependent variable, while CB3 represents reference category (uninvolved pupils). Independent variables are represented by sex (girls as reference category), type of school (grammar school as reference category) and age acting as a covariance, therefore it has no reference category.

Method and measures

The research was carried out using the questionnaire called Cyberbullying and Online Aggression Survey Instrument (2010 version, Hinduja & Patchin, 2012). Cyberbullying and Online Aggression Survey Instrument represents a survey instrument which maps the occurrence of cyberbullying and sexting through Likert scale (0 – never, 1 – once, 2 – sometimes, 3 – often, 4 – everyday). We created two multi-item scales while analyzing research data. First scale was designed to cyber-aggressive behavior while the second one to cyber-victim. In each scale, pupils had 8 items at their disposal to express how often they experienced different forms of behavior over last 30 days. Each item contained 5-point scale (0 – never, 1 – once, 2 – twice, 3 – three times, 4 – four times and more) which they had to use for stating if they were aggressors or victims of

cyberbullying. Statistical programs MPlus 7.0, Statistica 8, SPSS 21 were used to create the analyses. We transcoded pupils' responses into trichotomous variables: 0 = "never", 1 = "once or twice", 2 = "three times or more" for the purposes of this analysis and to compare the results with other studies (see Schultze-Krumbholz et al., 2015).

We analyzed the responses of pupils on 16 questionnaire items. First 8 items referred to aggressive behavior of pupils in cyberspace over last 30 days. Another 8 items reflected the first ones, however, they were intended to find out whether pupils were victims of other pupils' aggressive behavior.

Table 1: Cyberbullying questionnaire items titles

Cyber-aggressor	
B2	I posted mean or hurtful comments about someone online
B3	I posted mean or hurtful image (photograph) of someone online
B4	I posted mean or hurtful video of someone online
B5	I created mean or hurtful website about someone online
B6	I spread rumors about someone online
B7	I threatened to hurt someone via text messages
B8	I threatened to hurt someone online
B9	I pretended to be someone else online and acted in that way that was mean or hurtful to them
Cyberbullying victimization	
A2	Someone posted mean or hurtful comments about me online
A3	Someone posted mean or hurtful image (photograph) of me online
A4	Someone posted mean or hurtful video of me online
A5	Someone created mean or hurtful website about me online
A6	Someone spread rumors about me online
A7	Someone threatened to hurt me via text messages
A8	Someone threatened to hurt me online
A9	Someone pretended to be me online and acted in a way that was mean or hurtful

Participants

Research sample comprises 1619 elementary and high school students (boys – 43.1%, girls – 56.9%) representing all Slovak regions relatively equally. Participants were 11 – 18 years old, forming the average age 14.51. Elementary school pupils represented the majority (55.4%) while high school students represented 44.6%.

Table 2: Research sample structure

Region	N	Sex		Type of School			Age Mean (SD)
		Boys	Girls	ES	HS	GS	
Bratislava	205	102	103	131	70	4	14.55 (SD=2.31)
Trnava	202	62	140	108	81	13	14.50 (SD=2.30)
Trenčín	202	91	111	111	84	7	14.48 (SD=2.29)
Nitra	202	92	110	113	76	13	14.49 (SD=2.29)
Žilina	204	97	107	104	72	28	14.44 (SD=2.31)
Banská Bystrica	209	87	122	110	94	5	14.51 (SD=2.31)
Prešov	200	75	125	107	64	29	14.50 (SD=2.29)
Košice	195	93	102	113	53	29	14.60 (SD=2.26)
Total	1619	699	920	897	594	128	14.51 (SD=2.29)

Note: ES = elementary school, HS = high school, GS = grammar school, SD = standard deviation

Procedure

We use the Latent Class Analysis (LCA) to analyze subcategories of cyberbullying engagement. LCA is multi-dimensional statistical method of data analysis. LCA refers to a procedure of identifying categorical latent variable through the set of examined categorical variables. Population is thus considered a set of subpopulations – classes, while the examined variables provide incomplete information about the division of individual entities or people into the respective subpopulations. In the latent class model and in the case of one categorical variable, the latent variable is of categorical type. Population is divided into subpopulations in order to eliminate variable dependencies in there.

First, we identify the engagement in cyberbullying using LCA method and then analyze the influence of demographical variables (sex, age and school type) to divide the pupils into respective classes. For this purposes we use multinomial logit model. LCA was created using Mplus program. Based on pupils' responses on the items, we aimed to identify the appropriate number of latent classes using LCA method. We gradually analyzed various LCA models for increasing number of classes. We chose the appropriate model respecting statistical indicators of model quality and compliance with theoretical assumptions. Selection of the appropriate number of latent classes was based upon statistical criteria – Akaike

information criteria (AIC), Bayesian information criteria (BIC), Adjusted Bayesian information criteria (aBIC), log-likelihood and relative entropy. In case of the model with equal or very similar quality parameters it is more appropriate to prefer simple model.

Results

The same method was used to verify appropriateness of particular latent class on the sample of 1619 respondents ($M = 14.51$ years, $SD = 2.29$; 43.17% boys).

Table 3: Quality rates of different LCA models for cyberbullying (N = 1619)

No. of classes	AIC	BIC	aBIC	Log-likelihood	Relative entropy
2 classes	20639.7	20990.0	20783.5	-10254.9	0.866
3 classes	19203.3	19731.5	19420.1	-9503.6	0.915
4 classes	18770.2	19476.2	19060.0	-9254.1	0.885
5 classes	18614.9	19498.8	18977.8	-9143.4	0.877

Note. AIC = Akaike information criteria; BIC = Bayesian information criteria; aBIC = Adjusted BIC. Classes in bold indicate the most appropriate model.

Table 3 shows the information about quality of tested models (AIC, BIC, aBIC, log-likelihood, entropy) for different class numbers. Evaluating the quality of particular models demonstrates that 3-class LCA model is the most appropriate for the case of cyberbullying. Relative entropy of this model is 0.915 which is considered relatively high number.

Following their responses (0 = "never"; 1 = "once or twice"; 2 = "three or more times over 30 days") transcoded to items, the respondents were divided into 3 classes (groups).

The largest was the class of uninvolved pupils formed by 52.9% of all pupils. All the pupils in this class show very high probability (in each item at least 93%) to score 0 (Chart 1 – CB2). It means not to become victim or initiator of any form of cyberbullying (A2-A9; B2-B9).

Chart 1: Charts of probability profiles of particular latent-class items: CB2

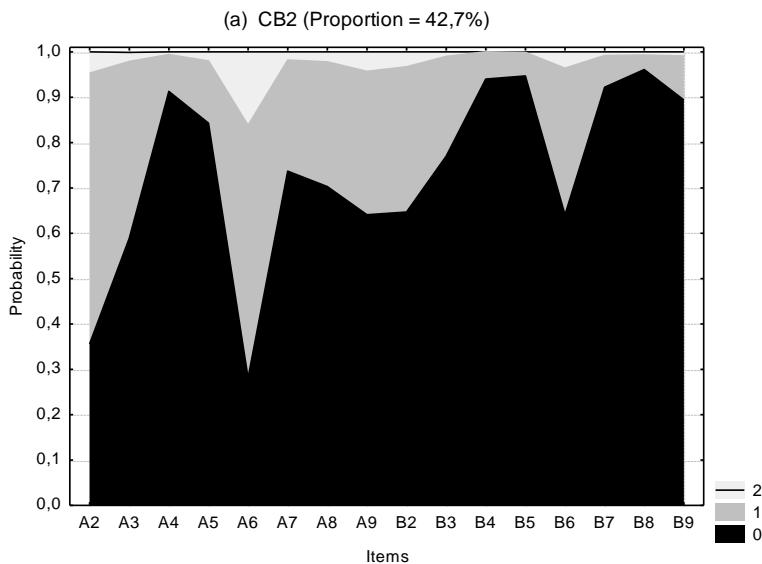


Chart 2: Charts of probability profiles of particular latent-class items: CB1

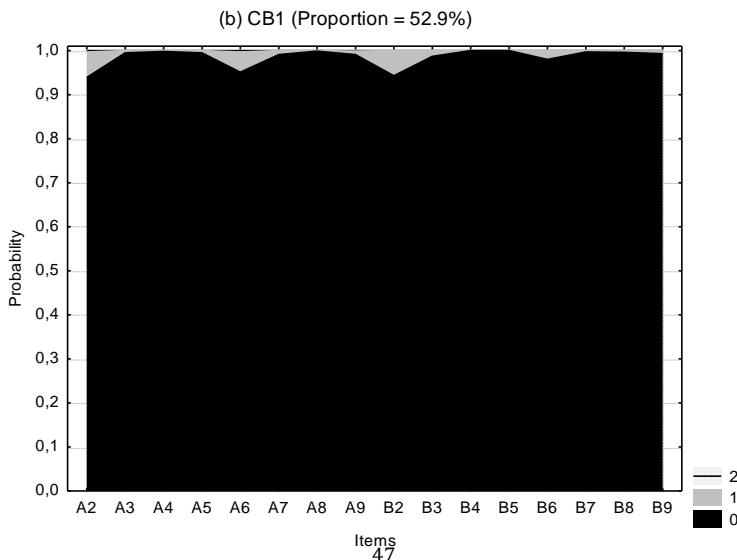
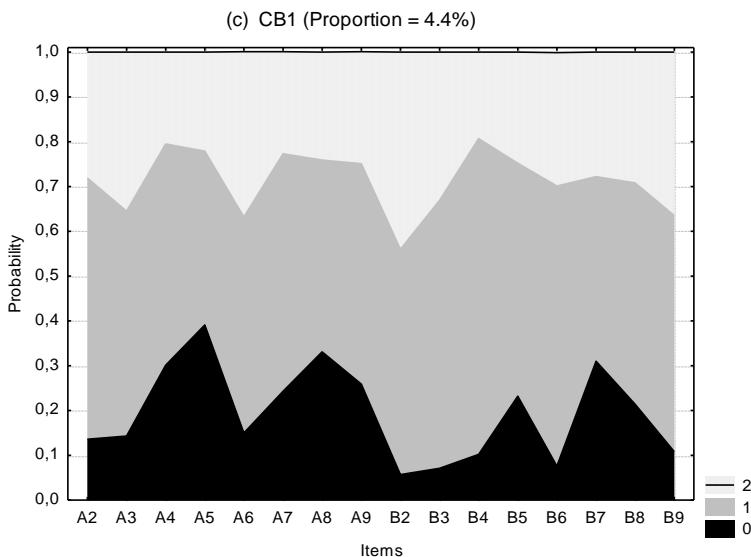


Chart 3: Charts of probability profiles of particular latent-class items: CB1



Another class comprises 42.7% of the total number of students who became victims and perpetrators of cyberbullying (Chart 2 – CB1). Pupils in this class are relatively very likely to become victims of false information on the internet (A6), offensive insults on the internet (A2) and the acts of impersonation (A9), more or less once or twice over past 30 days (Code 1). Pupils in this class become victims of cyber-aggression more frequently than aggressors.

The last 3rd class is the smallest in number (4.4% of research sample), however, it represents pupils that show considerably strong likelihood of committing cyber-aggression. Simultaneously, pupils also become frequent victims of cyber-aggression. We can observe strong likelihood of repeating such activity (Code 2), mainly through offensive insults on the internet (B2), insulting photographs on the internet (B3) and impersonation (B9).

Relations between class categorization

The results of multinomial logit model (Table 4) demonstrate that, compared to girls, boys are 7.37-times ($p < 0.001$) more likely to become perpetrators (CB1) than not to be involved in cyberbullying; and 1.11-times ($p = 0.298$) more likely to become victim-aggressor (CB2) than uninvolved participant of cyberbullying

(CB3). It could be observed that lowering the age of pupils, they are 0.761-times ($p = 0.008$) less likely to become perpetrators than to be in the class of uninvolved; and they are 0.97-times ($p = 0.415$) less likely (basically the same) to get into the class of victim-perpetrator than to get into the class uninvolved. According to the type of school, compared to grammar school students, elementary school pupils are 0.971-times ($p = 0.971$) less likely to become cyberbullying perpetrators than to be uninvolved; and they are 0.729-times ($p = 0.164$) less likely to be victim-aggressor than to be uninvolved. Compared to grammar students, high school students are 6.05-times ($p = 0.019$) more likely to be perpetrators than to be uninvolved; however, they are 0.79-times ($p = 0.258$) less likely to be victims-aggressors than to be uninvolved.

Table 4: Estimate of multinomial logit model parameters

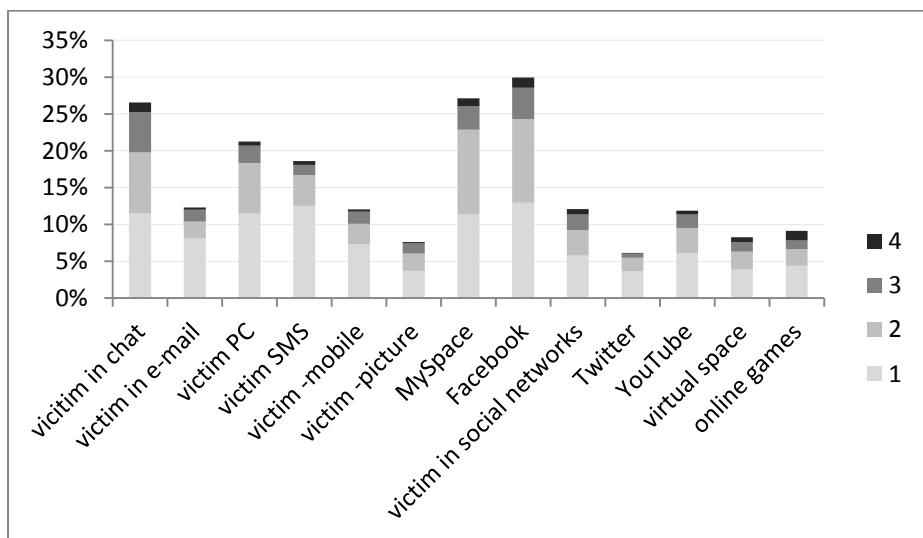
		B	SE	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% CI for Exp(B)	
								Min. limit	Max. limit
CB1	Intercept	-0.862	1.824	0.223	1	0.636			
	Age	-0.273	0.104	6.926	1	0.008	0.761	0.622	0.933
	[boys]	1.998	0.322	38.566	1	0.000	7.377	3.926	13.860
	[girls]	0 ^b			0				
	[ES]	-0.029	0.811	0.001	1	0.971	0.971	0.198	4.761
	[HS]	1.801	0.766	5.530	1	0.019	6.054	1.350	27.152
	[GS]	0 ^b			0				
CB2	Intercept	0.504	0.649	0.604	1	0.437			
	Age	-0.031	0.038	0.664	1	0.415	0.970	0.901	1.044
	[boys]	0.110	0.106	1.082	1	0.298	1.116	0.907	1.373
	[girls]	0 ^b			0				
	[ES]	-0.316	0.227	1.939	1	0.164	0.729	0.467	1.138
	[HS]	-0.232	0.205	1.279	1	0.258	0.793	0.531	1.185
	[GS]	0 ^b			0				

Note: ES = elementary school, HS = high school, GS = grammar school, B – estimate of model parameter, SE – standard deviation of model estimate, Wald – test statistics value, a. – reference category (CB3), b. – null (redundant) parameter (it is reference category)

Cyberbullying and cyberspace

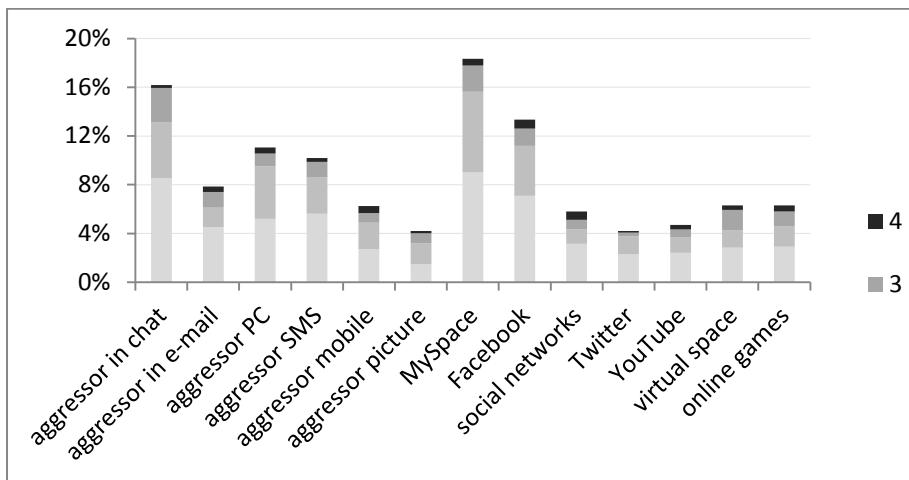
Being a consequence of cyberspace developing in cyberspace, cyberbullying has a negative impact on the individual and also on the society. In the following part, we monitor the occurrence of cyberbullying in individual sub-categories of virtual world. The following diagrams demonstrate the occurrence of cyber-victims and cyber-aggressors as per the environment and the choice of responses (1 – once, 2 – twice, 3 – three times, 4 – four times and more).

Graph 1: Victims of cyberbullying and cyberspace



The research has shown that most victims of cyberbullying happen to be on Facebook social network. Since Facebook is nowadays very popular cyberspace where the individuals create their own cyber identity and collaborate on creating cyberspace, it is clearly understandable that Facebook is a dominating network. Surprisingly, more than 25% of respondents became the victims of cyberbullying not only on Facebook but also on MySpace at least once in the referred period.

Graph 2: Aggressor cyberbullying and cyberspace



The case of cyber aggressors is similar to the case of cyber victims. An interesting comparison is demonstrated on the diagrams of cyber aggressor and cyber victim. The data of cyber aggressor's diagram are always lower. Almost 30% of respondents became the victims of cyberbullying on Facebook social network whereas only 13% of respondents declared themselves the aggressors on Facebook social network. The reason may be that the adolescents do not consider themselves or their behavior aggressive. Another reason also may be that they are not cyberbullied by students present in the target group but by other Facebook users. At the same time, it is surprising to see the aggressive attacks by Slovak respondents on MySpace social network. The above-mentioned fact indicates that today's digital generation uses social networks, as a part of the cyberspace, as much as the other sub-categories of the cyberspace.

Conclusions and discussion

The study is the first that discusses the latent class analysis of cyberbullying in Slovak Republic. The aim was to classify the behavior of the students in case of cyberbullying within particular classes using LCA method. Also, several foreign studies (Wang et al., 2012; Schultze-Krumbholz et al., 2015) discuss the latent class analysis of various forms of inappropriate behavior, including cyberbullying.

Remarkably, people in Perpetrator class could more likely witness frequent acts of violence than in Victim–Aggressor class that proves mid likelihood of verbal attacks (insulting, false information) and of relational aggression (excluding from online environment). The second, Victim–Aggressor class is characterized by higher range of victims than perpetrators. It is more likely for pupils in this class to become victims than to become perpetrators. It does not have to be necessarily truth since the self-evaluation of an individual's actions could mostly seem more moderate than other people's actions targeted against this individual.

Results from latent class analysis point out boys, compared to girls, become perpetrators more frequently. The results of existing foreign researches differ. Several studies show that girls become cyberbullying perpetrators more frequently (e.g. Kowalski et al., 2008) while other studies proved the opposite (Vandebosch et al., 2006; Hinduja & Patchin, 2012; Schultze-Krumholz et al., 2015). Based on the references, it is clear that girls use different forms of cyberbullying than boys. Boys use direct forms opposite to indirect forms of cyberbullying used by girls.

Studies about the research of cyberbullying do not provide appropriate gender differences of aggressors. The research process showed that boys reached more significant score of growing cyberbullying rate in the age of 13 to 17. Boys most frequently committed cyberbullying in the age of 17. Girls, on the other hand, proved slightly increasing cyberbullying rate in the age of 12 to 14 and subsequently in the age of 16. From the aspect of gender, statistically more significant score at cyber-aggressor level was proved in boys rather in girls. However, it does not necessarily mean that girls are not committing or suffering cyberbullying. Raskauskas and Stoltz (2007) pointed out that gender is not that significant indicator of involving in cyberbullying. Meta analysis carried out by Card et al. (2008) demonstrated that boys are physically more aggressive than girls and use also physical attacks when committing cyberbullying (e.g. threats of physical violence via online communication, happy slapping, etc.). Girls frequently have strong verbal skills and can attack using the form of electronic text. Several foreign studies drew the attention to the fact that girls commit cyberbullying more often (e.g. Kowalski et al. 2008; Hinduja & Patchin, 2009), while other studies proved the difference (Vandebosch et al., 2006).

Our research did not prove the differences in forms of cyberbullying as per gender. Most frequent form of cyberbullying committed by boys included sending offensive insults via internet (28.9%), sending false information (24.3%) and sharing controversial photographs via internet (19.6%). Similar forms have been reported by the victims of cyberbullying. Girls most often cyberbullied in a form

of posting false information (17.9%), sending insulting messages and comments (17.6%) and sharing controversial photographs via internet (11.1%).

Based on the results of the research, we can conclude that cyberbullying as a negative consequence of cyber-culture occurs also in Slovak Republic. It is necessary to draw the attention to this phenomenon and find the ways of prevention and to intervention of cyberbullying within school and after-school educational activities. Information platform forms the ground for sensitization of the public, particularly the people the prevention of cyberbullying is designed for (children, youth, parents, teachers, educators and other assisting professions). Significant importance in education process is laid on activities and tasks that help pupils to get information about inappropriate behavior, online threats, consequences, cyberbullying, and also to provide methods and solutions to eliminate this risk behavior.

As Sak et al. (2007) stresses, the society and government focus on ICT equipment and information competence. The task for educators is to prepare the new generation for the life in the information society, in the world of reality and cyberspace. It is necessary to find new ways of education of children and youth that would respect education trends of the society and help young people to orientate in new environment. This task is more complex due to the fact that teachers, educators and parents are learning to live with new phenomena – cyberspace and cyber-culture, as well as to react on the related online negative phenomena.

Media Education would be seen as a great help. The aim of Media Education is to “learn all age groups to get reliable approach to media and media content, to use new communication technologies and to protect underage children against illegal and inappropriate content” (2009). However, the issue may lie in inadequate expertise and skills of Media Education teachers. We suppose the role of Media Education is played similarly by Ethics Education and other subjects where students – as consumers and creators of new cyber-culture could learn about cyberspace threats and thus be led to a reliable use of ICT. We agree with the stimulus to create the culture of null tolerance of aggressive behavior (its forms and manifestations). However, it would involve the interest and cooperation of educators, psychologists, sociologists, lawyers, IT specialists, etc.

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A cross-cultural study of the smile in the Russian- and English-speaking world

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Abstract

Although the smile is a universal facial expression, the use of smiles in communication varies across cultures. This may lead to misunderstandings and miscommunication. Both Americans and Europeans experience the same frustration and communication failure when they do not find smiling faces in Russia. At the same time, it is common for Russian people to perceive the smiles of Westerners as artificial and insincere. What is the reason for such a difference in perception? Why don't Russians smile in some situations?

The study of the use of the smile as a non-verbal sign in a few chosen communicative contexts across Russian, European and American cultures showed the difference in its meaning and distribution according to the cultural tradition. The reason could stem from the difference of Russia's history when compared to that of Western Europe, as well as in the specific restrictions in Russian Orthodox Christianity and the traditions of laughter in Russia. All the meanings and specific cases of distribution are clearly retained and expressed in the languages. If we compare the Russian *улыбка* and *улыбаться* with the English *smile*, we can see both common and distinctive semantic elements and different connotations.

Key words: intercultural communication, smile, non-verbal sign, language, semantics, connotation

Introduction

A smile is a non-verbal sign that plays an important role in social interaction, where it is used to express a myriad of meanings. Although most of them are universal, people use and interpret smiles according to their national, culture specific system of non-verbal communication. Therefore, problems in communication between cultures arise when national traditions and cross-cultural varieties are neglected.

Numerous studies have been recently conducted on specific facial morphology of smiles, and their meanings and interpretations across cultures (Barrett, 2002; Caldara, 2010; Niedenthal, 2010; Patterson, 2011; Trumble,

2004). Szarota carried out an analysis of cross-cultural differences in preference for smiling self-images among the users of an instant messaging site, and claimed that "smiling is a complex social phenomenon which can be explained from different angles, in relation to political systems, economic conditions, well-being, self-presentation strategies, and, last but not least, as non-verbal behaviour guided by specific cultural scripts" (Szarota, 2010).

If we compare Western (namely British and American) and Russian behavioural patterns where one uses formal smiles directed to a stranger, some differences are evident. I argue that this discrepancy in non-verbal behaviour is due to the difference in the most common meanings and interpretations of smiles, as a result of the specific cultural traditions and the history of cultural development.

In the present work I compare the use of formal smiles and the messages they convey in British, American and Russian non-verbal traditions. The next step is to explore how the differences in meanings and attitudes toward smiles are reflected and expressed in both Russian and the two main variants of the English language, as far as language keeps and treasures cultural clues and national mindset. Taking into account the dictionary analysis and after reviewing the works that attempt to explain the attitudes toward smiles and smiling in the cultures under investigation, I am to speculate on the historical events and cultural elements that might shape specific Russian appreciation of smiles and typical Russian facial expressions.

Comparing patterns of behaviour

This study mainly deals with formal smiles to a stranger, as these smiles highlight the main differences between the cultures under investigation and cause a communicative failure. Most Russian authors investigating smiles (Sternin, 2000; Ter-Minasiva, 2004; Volkova, 2000; Kreidlin 2002) often state that the smile in Russia is personal, not social. Russians are quite friendly and often use the smile as a form of informal communication with friends and acquaintances. They openly show different shades of positive emotion, however, in the formal environment of a public place, smiles are rare. In Western Europe and the USA, formal or courteous smiles in public are prescribed by the rules of behaviour in order to create a comfortable environment for successful communication. The well-known 'American smile' is a semi-conscious, socially-expected mutual facial expression. Both Americans and Europeans experience the same frustration and indicate communication failure when they do not encounter smiles on people's faces in public places like streets, public transport and shops in Russia. It should be acknowledged, however, that smiles are

becoming more popular in Russian social communication. Despite this, foreigners continue perceiving Russians as sullen and gloomy people. On the other hand, Russians who travel to Europe or the United States wonder why strangers smile at them in situations where there is 'nothing to smile at' or no apparent reason for a close friendly interaction.

As a result of my studies conducted in 2006 and 2013, which include surveys among young European, American and Russian participants and a short analysis of examples from fiction and the press, I have identified four basic communicative contexts where the difference between the national behavioural patterns concerning the use of smiles is obvious. These are namely: a short interaction between strangers in public places (e.g. in the street, on public transport, etc.); greetings and communication between a citizen and a public officer in public places (e.g. at customs, personnel departments, visa offices, civil registry offices, etc.); public presentation when a person applies for or has a high position in business or politics; and greetings and offer of services in trade (commerce).

What I mean by 'communicative context' is a particular behaviour setting, which, according to Patterson, is a specific physical environment with associated social norms that constrain individuals in a relatively predictable programme of events (Patterson, 2014).

In the first context of a brief interaction between strangers in the street, both in Britain and the USA, it is common for people to smile while making short eye contact. The Russian behavioural pattern in this case also consists of eye contact, which could be a bit longer than the average American one. The smile is optional and still a fairly rare sign, despite the new emerging trend in Russia to appreciate smiles between strangers especially among the young generation.

The meaning of this pattern is positive social intentions, the lack of aggressiveness and the sense of belonging to the same community. Niedenthal calls it 'affiliative' (Niedenthal, 2010). While its basic meaning is the same among British, American and Russian cultures, the forms of expression differ, i.e. smiles in one cultures and eye contacts in the other.

For centuries, in Western Europe and North America, a smile to a stranger in a situation of minimal contact in public places has been used as social identification and meant: 'I'm like you, I'm not dangerous, I belong here'. Literature gives good examples of this function of smiles, as for example in Galsworthy's 'The Country House': "...a friendly smile became fixed upon her face, and of those who saw it - shop-girls, women of fashion, coachmen, clubmen, policemen - most felt a little warmth about their hearts" (Galsworthy, 1995). Ter-Minasova calls the smile an integral feature of British non-verbal communication, which is a sign of the lack

of aggressiveness towards other people (Ter-Minasova, 2004). Larina mentions unfailing cheerful smiles as one of the conventional means (linguistic and paralinguistic) that help to realise special British strategies of positive politeness: "pay special attention to the interlocutor, exaggerate your interest and liking, be optimistic" (Larina, 2003). Jobes and Guerrero (Jobes, Guerrero 2001) regard occasional smiles or nods and expressions of interest as elements of polite behavioural patterns, typically reflecting moderate levels of non-verbal immediacy and verbal person centeredness in situations where people have little or no information about each other. As for the American smile, Lapeyrouse calls it a social mask which helps to hide feelings and therefore isolate and separate people in America (Lapeyrouse, 1997). According to Ter-Minasova (Ter-Minasova, 2004), another meaning of smiles in American culture is an ideological one: "It inspires people of the USA to believe in the great good fortune and luck to be citizens of this country". Lapeyrouse also tends to explain "standard daily social American smiles" through the American creed of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" that makes American people often believe and assume in their daily life that they should be 'happy' and enjoy life, even if in reality they are not and don't know why (Lapeyrouse, 1997). Nowadays, such a smile has the same meaning in Britain and America, but it is not necessarily used in socialising between strangers and depends largely on the gender and age of the participants of this communication. The following example from an Internet site demonstrates this clearly:

"It's a risk game - I could smile at someone and they'll smile back, and we'll have a nice little moment of human contact (30%). Or, I'll get no response (50%). Or a random sexual come on, hey baby, you wanna come out with me? (15%) Or he'll come after me into a damn Blockbuster and I will have to spend fifteen minutes doing safety calculations and trying to figure out if there's a rock or something I can grab, and glancing behind me as I walk home in the dark (5%). But you know what? That 5% does a whole lot to negate the 30% tiny happy feelings, and the 15% of random crap isn't much fun either" (Ampersand, 2004).

Communicative failure occurs when the members of one culture do not find the element of their behavioural pattern in the other culture and misread the situation. Thus, Americans and Europeans suspect Russians of moodiness and even hostility when the latter do not smile in public places. Moreover, the long-lasting Russian eye contact seems alarming to them. Russians in turn do not understand why a stranger would smile at them, and look for a meaningful explanation to that smile, such as 'the person is in good spirits', 'they like me and want to get acquainted', 'they confused me with someone else who they know' or 'they know me but I don't remember them'. Russians mostly use smiles in

personal communication. A smile to a stranger could be considered as a sign of special favour to the addressee or willingness to switch to a more personal relationship. Pavlovskaya advises foreigners in Russia to be more attentive and cautious when smiling to strangers in public places, especially if the stranger is of the other gender (Pavlovskaya, 2003). The other possible meaning behind smiling to strangers in Russian communicative tradition could be a sort of mild criticism, because laughter and smiles in Russia have often had ironic or even satirical value. A smiling or laughing person in Russia could be interpreted as making fun of something or someone, and people often sense mockery rather than greetings in smiles. Sternin supports the claim denoting unclear, fuzzy distinction between smiles and laughter to be characteristic of Russians (Sternin, 2000). He gives the examples of rhetoric often addressed to smiling people, like, for instance, 'What's so funny?' or 'Have I said anything funny?' Nonetheless, Russians, especially after travelling to Europe and/or the US, appreciate smiles in this setting rather positively, as a sign of friendliness and usually smile back. We can speak about the obvious changes in the attitude toward smiles in a short contact with a stranger among the younger generation of Russians.

Greeting and communication between a citizen and a public officer in public places is the other situation where Russians do not expect smiles, while Americans and Europeans feel that smiling could give them a sense of confidence and security. In European and American cultures, public officers being representative of the state or an institution feel socially equal to all the citizens. Their behavioural pattern means that they are ready to help, to carry out their duty. Smiles help to create a general atmosphere of peace and stability particularly needed in such public places where citizens meet the state, which the public officers represent. It means that nerves are tense and people need special communicative strategies to cope with the situation. Smiles of British and American policemen, and customs and security officers give the impression of safety and order, create the congruent atmosphere and are appreciated as conventional signs of politeness and willingness to carry out duties. We can see this clearly in the following examples:

“There you will see the sign, a big board... that's where...’ - he smiled his big smile again as he tore off the piece of paper and handed it over to me. I started getting confused halfway through, but I was determined not to ask anyone else. I didn't want another negative response to spoil the childlike happiness that the policeman's courtesy had brought to my otherwise unrewarding day. I finally managed to get to where the directions led me”. (Reflections of a Statesman: The Selected Writings and Speeches of J. Enoch Powel, selected by Rex Collings).

This fact is also evident in this excerpt of American fiction:

"This time as I walked towards the customs gate, the officer smiled and just waved me through, barely glancing at my passport and wishing me a nice trip. I felt the 'power' with me" (Tammy Tillotson "My Twenty-Third Psalm").

In Russia, public officers acting on behalf of the state or representing an institution feel that their social status is higher than that of a private citizen. Consequently, the meaning of their behavioural pattern is an emphasis of seriousness and importance of their work and position. It reflects the power of the state over an individual, characteristic of Russian mentality. This behavioural pattern is due to high Power Distance Index of Russian culture. At the same time an individual under this pressure of the state may use an ingratiating smile to interact with representatives of power, which is supported by Russian literature illustrating the context. Such ingratiating smiles reflect the usual awe of a superior, a wish to make contact and to please. As it was described by Russian writer Vladimdir Sologub in one of his short story, "laughing means familiarity, smiling apropos is quite another thing. Such a smile means I understand, I rejoice, I can feel, I agree, I feel grateful, but do not dare put myself on a par with you" (Vladimir Sologub "An Old Lady", 1850).

For the purpose of creating a successful public image, people in Great Britain and North America deliberately use smiles. Business executives as well as politicians and celebrities usually smile while giving interviews and speaking in public. They mostly use a broad smile, showing teeth, the so-called dominance smile (Niedenthal, 2010). In Russia until recently there has been a trend to keep a serious facial expression in the situation of public self-presentation, especially when the person occupies a high position. The situation has changed a little from the time of Perestroika. A smile appeared on the faces of Russian leaders, starting with Mikhail Gorbachev, whose smile won over Europe in 1984 (Ottawa Citizen, 1984; Ter-Minasova, 2004).

When describing the dominance smile, many authors denote the meaning of social prosperity and success. It shows that the person is self-confident and has achieved a lot in life. Such dominance smiles reflect social status and control, and display a sense of leadership and dominance in human societies (Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2008; Senior et al., 1999). Tony Blair and Bill Clinton have been known to be "skilled proponents of the dominant smile" (Senior et al., 1999). To be a powerful attribute, such a smile should demonstrate beautiful, smooth, well-kept teeth — "big white teeth like luxury hotels on the Florida coastline" (Aldersly, 1996). Nowadays, the British public mostly considers smiles of politicians to be a false courtly mask. Interesting studies showing changes in the attitude towards public smiling were done in the UK in 2005. Some results were presented in 'The

Scotsman' (Alastair, 2005) and claimed that receiving a smile generates much higher levels of stimulation to the brain and the heart than being given money or having a cigarette, however, the amount of pleasure depends on who is smiling. Thus, a child's smile or that of a celebrity have a much stronger effect than that of a politician or a member of the Royal family. "Political smiles were voted the worst, particularly for trust, followed by royalty. In contrast to loved ones, the fake smiles of royalty and politicians are detected and have the opposite effect, giving the person an untrustworthy and hypocritical image" — said Dr David Lewis, the psychologist who analysed the tests (Alastair, 2005).

A serious facial expression in the Russian tradition of self-presentation of politicians or business leaders implies their serious intentions, validity and reliability, since smiles in Russian non-verbal communication most notably display a cheerful mood. So everything connected with a state affair, business and any important social events justly does not involve a smile. People in important positions should demonstrate that they understand the importance of their tasks and the seriousness of the problems to be solved. Smiles in this case would indicate that the person is careless and irresponsible, and therefore not credible. When smiles are used in Russian self-presentation, there should be some specific reason for it. This is illustrated by the episodes 'War and Peace' by Leo Tolstoy, where Emperor Alexander I uses the smile to maintain the fighting spirit of the troops as well as to create an atmosphere of confidence and well-being.

Commercial smiles have been used in Great Britain and in the United states for centuries. They mean that the seller is interested in the customers' loyalty, in communication and collaboration with the customer, and is ready to provide the service. It is directly related to respect and complaisance.

In Russia, the seller should make eye contact and offer help - smiles are optional. This pattern means that the seller noticed the client and is ready to provide the service. This Russian pattern could be explained as a soviet-era holdover, when the fixed wage of service workers and shop assistants did not depend on the sale of goods or the number of clients served. Sellers or shop assistants who possessed a deficit felt their power over a buyer eager to the deficit, so they didn't need to smile in order to win their customer's loyalty. It was the customer who could smile ingratiatingly in this situation. Since Perestroika, a new commercial behaviour style and new behavioural patterns in the service sector have emerged in Russia. Nowadays, Russian staff working in the service industry is taught to smile at every client.

It should be stated though that some new trends concerning the more frequent use of smiles in Russian behavioural patterns have arisen recently. Some Russian politicians and public leaders have begun to use the smile. There

are new public service ads (PSAs) calling everyone to smile: "Smile and the world will smile at you in return!" or "A smile is an affordable way to look better". Service personnel who are trained by Western partners and are interested in customers use smiles more often. The Internet culture has established a particular style of communication. Thus, Smileys (emoticons) have become largely widespread.

Studying languages

As a constituent part of every culture, a language displays the mentality and the world outlook of the nation. By studying a language, one can find reliable information regarding the concept of a smile, its appreciation and the attitude toward this phenomenon in the national mindset. The corpus-based approach, with reference to The Corpus of Global Web-Based English and the Russian National Corpus, would help to reach this goal. But even the investigation of dictionaries can provide some interesting material, at least initially. So in this article I shall confine myself to the analysis of the dictionary definitions of the key words *smile* (n/v) and улыбка/улыбаться [smile/to smile], then compare the synonyms and analyse phraseological units of this semantic field. (Refer to the list of the dictionaries used for the purpose of this study in the appendix).

The simple comparison of dictionary entries defining the concept of a smile gives some insight into the subject matter. The keywords representing the concept of a smile coincide in their meaning in Russian and the two variants of the English language. Examples of these include expressing amusement, pleasure, approval, and sometimes bitter feelings, emotions and attitudes, ranging from pleasure to derision. However, there are still some specific definitions and examples in the entries that reveal thought-provoking facts. For example, Russian dictionaries (Dictionary of Russian language by Dal, 1882; Dictionary of Russian language by Ozhegov, 1988), among the other more common definitions of a smile start by pointing out the willingness to laugh: 'smile means to laugh silently' (Dictionary of Russian language by Dal, 1882). This is in contrast to British and American dictionaries which do not mention laughter. One could regard this fact as the manifestation of a closer connection between the laugh and the smile in the minds of Russian people.

It was also found out that the English verb *to smile* has wider syntactical and lexical compatibility when compared to the Russian *улыбаться* [to smile]. Some combinations like phrasal verbs reveal semantic elements of affective emotional impact. For instance, when combined with the preposition *away*, smile acquires a specific meaning: *smile away* means to drive away a person's vexation, like fears, tears, and grief, bringing the person into or out of a mood by smiling (Cambridge

International Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs, 1997). *Smile away* – drive away or get rid of something bad by smiling or a smile, for example, ‘as the child smiled away his tears’ (Webster’s New World Dictionary of American Language, 1957). Both in the Russian and in the two variants of the English language there is an expression *smile through one’s tears* (улыбаться сквозь слезы). However, there might be a difference in context when this expression is used in speech in the Russian and the English-speaking world. The metaphorical meaning of the phrasal verb *smile on* is also specific in English. It refers to accepting behaviour that is slightly bad because you do not consider it important and because you like the person who is responsible for it, as in the example ‘Americans tended to smile on misdemeanours of their presidents’ (Cambridge International Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs, 1997).

In transitive and metaphorical meanings both Russian and English verbs *улыбаться* and *to smile* have semantic elements of benevolence and bright aspects, like in the example ‘*судьба улыбалась ему*’ [Fate smiled on him]. Meanwhile this Russian verb can express rather specific metaphorical meaning of fraud and failed expectations. The following phrase is a good illustration of the last: ‘*Чувствую улыбнется мне мой отпуск в это лето*’ [I feel like my vacation will smile at me this summer] meaning that I will not have any vacations this summer (Dictionary of Russian language in 4 volumes, 1999).

By studying the synonyms that express different types of smiles and smiling, one can find that the Russian words denoting broad smile teeth bared [*оскал*, *осклабиться*, *скалиться*] mostly have negative connotation, while the English word *grin* is neutral. It might be due to the fact that Russian words maintain an association with their origin - the aggressive expression of animals’ grin. At the same time, both in Russian and in the two variants of the English language, one can find the words which convey the meaning of an arrogant smile of supremacy or unpleasant smile of rudeness with evident negative connotations: *leer*, *simper*, *sneer*, *скалиться*, *щериться*, *осклабиться*. It shows that the feeling and manifestation of disdain and self-satisfaction is judged negatively in all three cultures.

An inquiry into phraseological units is of special interest in this case. It reveals unique elements of the national mind and creativity. According to Ter-Minasova, idioms, proverbs and sayings illustrate the way of life, geographical position, history and traditions of a nation (Ter-Minasova, 2004). Using these creative linguistic means, people express their moral regard for various phenomena. Such nationally specific forms of expression are also of great interest.

In the Russian language, one can find much less phraseological units with the words representing the concept of smile, than in both variants of the English

language. Russians seem to use the word *смех* [laughter] in idiomatic expressions and phraseology more willingly than *улыбка* [smile]. There are still several examples of Russian proverbs and idiomatic expression that could be analysed and compared with the English phraseology. The two Russian idioms '*улыбка до ушей*' [a smile from ear to ear] and '*пом до ушей*' [a mouth from ear to ear] (informal.) have no negative connotation connected with the aggressive demonstration of teeth, but on the contrary, a shade of positive benevolent playfulness (Dictionary of Russian idioms and phrases by Fedorov, 2008). These expressions are very similar to the English phrase '*be all smiles*', having the same meaning of a sincere, cheerful, happy look with the additional meaning of unexpectedness: 'She spent the whole yesterday shouting at people and yet this morning she's all smiles' (Cambridge International dictionary of Idioms, 1998).

The negative view of a permanent, perpetual smile is expressed in English and Russian phraseology. An old British proverb '*a smiling boy is a bad servant*' (The Wordsworth Dictionary of Proverbs, 1993) is close to the Russian idiom '*набъём и улыбка оскомину*' [even a smile may become boring/annoying] (Dictionary of Russian language by V. Dal, 1882) in its suspicious attitude toward such smiles. There is a hint of criticism to inappropriate smiles in the English expression '*to take / wipe ... etc. the smile off someone's face*', which can be illustrated by the following example: 'Wipe that grin off your face, this is a serious matter!' (Longman dictionary of English Language and Culture, 1992).

The American slang expression '*smiling faces*' (Cassell's Dictionary of Slang, 2000) meaning false friends and deceivers, together with the British proverb '*The smiler with a knife under his cloak*', condemn the use of smile as a mask that hides dislike and even aggression. The ability to use smiles in this function is often presented in British and American dictionaries.

However, in some American and British phraseological units, a flattering smile worn as a mask has no negative connotation or criticism. Thus, the idiomatic expression '*to grin and bear*', which is well-illustrated in the following example 'I hate having my wife's parents to stay, but I suppose I'll just have to grin and bear it' (Longman dictionary of English Language and Culture, 1992) shows that the mask of a smiling face might be very useful and in some cases even expected, reflecting a social necessity of a polite behaviour. The same necessity is presented in the American idiom '*smile and smirk*' with the meaning '*to work*' (Cassell's Dictionary of Slang, 2000).

There are many expressions in both British and American English that render the use of smiles as an active and positive tool to moderate and encourage the communicants and communication itself, like '*keep smiling!*' (br./am.); '*come up smiling*' (br./am.); '*smile through one's tears*' (br.); '*smile when you say that*', e.g.

'That's pretty rude. You'd better smile when you say that' (Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms, 1998). It reveals the long tradition of English-speaking cultures to use courteous smiles for public social purposes.

Speculating on the historical and cultural impact

Some possible reasons behind the difference in appreciation and attitude towards smiling in Russia and the English-speaking world could be found in the historical context that had a noticeable impact on the development of culture-specific rules of communication.

Among the authors studying smiles and smiling traditions in different cultures from a historical perspective, there are those who have the following mutual ideas concerning the topic.

First of all, in different studies the authors point out the influence of Christian attitude toward smiles and laughter over the appreciation of these phenomena. In his book 'The philosophy of the laugh', Karasev reflects on the mournful and stern image of Christ and the question regarding the smile of the Savior (Karasev, 1996). In the Christian antithesis of the laugh and tears, the former is associated with the world of evil presented in the image of the laughing devil, while the latter is considered positive, by bringing a man closer to the world of goodness, putting him off the mortal life and showing him the heavenly world. By experiencing grief and sympathy a man can come closer to heaven. The question about the smiling Christ stirs up disputes. It is the core question of Umberto Eco's detective novel 'The name of the Rose' that tells a story of a medieval monastery where the two contrasting opinions on laughter clash in a battle between an old Benedictine monk and a Franciscan. In fact, the positive attitude toward the smile and laughter has also existed in Christian discourse. In investigating the role of humour and laughter in religion, Geybels writes: "Humour is an integral dish on the table of God's creation and so it should be on the Christian menu" (Geybels, 2011). He backs this idea with examples from the scriptures.

Most of the studies claim the important distinction between smiles and laughter in Christianity (both in the Western Catholic and the Russian Orthodox churches), where the laugh is considered to be the sin of intemperance and impropriety, while the smile is appreciated as the expression of harmony and quiet joy. In Russian churches one can still find the preaching of texts that condemn merrymaking and laughter. The authors of some Russian studies about the topic in question claim that there is less distinction between smiles and laughter in Russian mentality compared to the Western one (Sternin, 2000; Ter-Minasova, 2004; Tokareva 2005). Moreover, laughing is considered to be more popular than smiling in Russia. Volokova has an interesting explanation for this

phenomenon, speaking about Russian extremity and a very little sense of balance: "being the balanced expression of kindness and golden measure, a smile can't be a characteristic Russian trait" (Volkova, 2000). The study of the emotional concepts of 'Smile' and 'Laugh' in British and American English (corpus analysis) made by Gabrielyan leads to the conclusion, that as opposed to the laugh, the smile is more characteristic of the British mentality, as an attribute of good manners and higher status (Gabrielyan, 2015).

Some Russian authors (Gachev, 1997; Volkova, 2000) compare the images of Russia and North America. They highlight the symbolical meaning assigned to smiles and teeth in American culture, representing the idea of festivity, openness, self-assurance and materialism. The main feature of the Russian face is said to be the eyes. Since Russian Orthodox Christianity and Russian culture in general consider suffering to be the way to heaven (to the absolution from sins), the Russian archetypical image is sad and not smiling.

Traditions of laughter could also have some impact on the attitude toward the image of smiling faces and the use of the smile in social interaction. Comparing the laughing traditions in Western Europe and in Russia, one can see some major differences. Mikhail Bakhtin, who created one of the best Laughter theories, wrote about the central role that different carnivals and vulgar festivals played in medieval Europe creating a kind of the second world, the other side of the official life (Bakhtin, 1965). There were lots of Feasts of Fools, street performances, rural feasts and carnivals throughout the year in European countries. One of the distinctive features of that 'vulgar laughter' was its democratic, public and general character. Carnivals helped to maintain contact between people who had almost nothing in common in the hierarchically divided society of medieval feudal Europe. So the unceremonious, free and easy contact between all the people at the feasts was a crucial part of the carnival, especially since the socially created distance between people disappeared for that time. Meanwhile, in Russian rural entertainment and feasts, one cannot find such democratic, nationwide atmosphere of unity and free contact between different social strata. Furthermore, many authors point out that such a specific phenomenon in Russian history as persecution against skomorokhs (travelling minstrels, fools) existed in the 17th century. The church persecuted minstrels, actors, fools who entertained people and somehow were associated with anything merry or cheerful.

It should also be mentioned that the process of rehabilitation of laughter and entertainment started in Russia shortly after the reforms of Peter the Great, who regularly organised festivals and various entertaining and merrymaking events full of jokes, tricks and carnivalesque jolly atmosphere. Since that time, the

Western tradition of courtly smiling had influenced the Russian etiquette of high society. Samples from Russian literature of the 19th century show that a courteous smile at a stranger was accepted in Russian high society before the socialist revolution. A special content analysis of 'Anna Karenina' by Leo Tolstoy carried out by Stefanenko revealed the wide spread popularity of the smile as an element of non-verbal communication among aristocrats as well as the other classes (Stefanenko, 2014). Among the smiles registered in the novel there were a number of formal, courteous smiles, used for social purposes. The examples of ingratiating smiles, addressed to a person of higher social status have also been found in Russian classical literature. Taking into account Russian fiction and non-fiction texts, we can suppose that formal smiles were adopted in Romanov's Russia by the educated society, as well as by servants and salesmen, who used them for commercial purposes. It is difficult to figure out whether Russian farmers and peasants practised formal, affiliative smiles for social purposes, but they definitely used them in personal settings.

One can argue that today, the symbolical image of Russia does not include a smile. Most Russian authors agree that there cannot be a smile on the Russian face after the harsh experience of the 20th century which included two devastating wars, the Communist regime and the hard times of the recent reforms and experiments. Stefanenko claims that some negative attitude towards social and formal smiles is not the distinctive feature of Russian culture, but rather of soviet and post-soviet culture, when "social smiles just disappeared during the times of communist regime and people grew out of the habit to smile in public" (Stefanenko, 2014).

Conclusion

National manners and customs, and culturally conditioned social demeanour including non-verbal signs matter in inter-cultural communication as much as spoken languages. A universal human facial gesture 'the smile' is used and appreciated according to national culturally embedded non-verbal traditions. Thus, in Russia people widely apply smiles in personal interaction in order to convey a wide variety of meanings, but do not usually use them in several socially important contexts of formal communication. This should be taken into account in case of contacts between Russians and the representatives from other nations, where formal, courteous smiles play an important role in social interaction, being an element of the corresponding behavioural pattern. The fact is that very often the meaning of such social smiles is denoted in Russia by other non-verbal elements. At the same time there are situations where smiles are considered to be redundant in Russian tradition, whereas they would be quite appropriate in

the English-speaking world. It can happen because of the divergence between the most common meanings of the non-verbal sign in the cultures, as well as because of some cultural characteristics. Different norms of etiquette and social system also matter a lot.

Incongruity of the behavioural patterns might in some cases reveal the variety in the national attitude and appreciation of some phenomenon. Language is a wonderful treasurer of the national history and mentality, where one can find a lot of facts testifying to the national system of values. Thus, lexical compatibility with the English verb 'to smile' as well as British and American phraseology reveal the semantic elements, which are absent in Russian. First of all, the smile has the meaning of an effective measure that influences people's behaviour, and encourages both parties in communication. The other important thing found in the English phraseology is the appreciation of the smile as a social mask useful and necessary in polite communication. The Russian verb *улыбаться* [to smile] in turn has the implication of fraud in its meaning. There are also several synonyms of Russian and English '*улыбка*' and 'smile' having negative connotations.

Essentially, the historical development of a nation shapes and influences customs and traditions including specific communicative patterns and rules. As was mentioned by Steven Laperouse, "a history of the facial expression and their 'language' of various nations would surely be an interesting work to read – though probably difficult to research, determine and write" (Laperouse, 1997). However, it is a good guess that the Russian Orthodox Church with its appreciation of suffering and tears, and historical periods of persecutions against laughter (skomorokhs, fools...) as well as wide spread traditions of various carnival laughter in Western Europe had an impact on the general attitude toward smiles in Russian and English-speaking cultures, respectively.

In conclusion, one can argue that like verbal language, non-verbal signs are deeply embedded within a complex cultural system. Hence, even a simple gesture such as a smile could have various implications and interpretations across different cultures.

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The Exotic Other: representations of Latina tropicalism in U.S. popular culture

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Abstract

U.S. Latina/o identity is a complex and panethnic construction. One of the most enduring tropes surrounding Latina women in US culture is that of tropicalism, which by erasing ethnic specificity helps construct homogenous stereotypes such as bright colours, rhythmic music, and brown skin that are represented in visual texts. Tropicalization helps position the Latina body as oversexed as well as sexually available; all that is identified with seductive clothing, curvaceous hips and breasts, long blonde hair or extravagant jewellery. The article concerns Latina images in US media and popular culture and focuses on such stars as Jennifer Lopez and Salma Hayek in order to explore the gendered signifiers surrounding Latinidad and Latina iconicity. The female ethnicity is depicted as other through its categorization and marginalization in relation to dominant constructions of Whiteness and femininity. The article bridges the approaches of gender studies and Latina/o studies with recent research on hybridity and transnational identities.

Keywords: Latina, tropicalism, popular culture, Jennifer Lopez, Salma Hayek

Introduction

The USA has been experiencing demographic changes with a rapid growth of the Latina/o population originating in the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries of Central America, South America, and the Caribbean. Latino immigrants are changing and diversifying the ethnic landscape of the United States. Although this is a highly heterogeneous group, the US Latina/os are often represented as sharing a common identity which gave rise to the concept of 'Latinidad', defined by Valdivia as "the process of being, becoming, and/or performing belonging within a Latina/o diaspora" (Valdivia, 2011, p. 53). Latinidad and Latino/as have become vital issues in U.S. popular culture. This article examines representations of Latina tropicalism in U.S media and popular culture and focuses on "the visual and narrative tropes associated with female Latinidad" (Guzmán & Valdivia, 2004, p. 205-206). The analysis focuses on two Latina icons: Jennifer Lopez, who became widely recognizable after starring in

Selena (Nava, 1997), and Salma Hayek, who gained international acclaim after her role in *Frida* (Taymor, 2002).

Films with Latina protagonists present a double construction of femininity and Otherness. Ethnic females are othered and marginalized in relation to the dominant construction of Whiteness. "In other words, Latinos are generally devalued and feminized, and Latinas fall beyond the margins of socially acceptable femininity and beauty" (Guzmán & Valdivia, 2004, p. 206). This article bridges the approaches of gender studies and Latina/o studies with recent research on hybridity and transnational identities. It explores their gendered signifiers of femininity and sexuality of US iconic Latinas in terms of their ethnic authenticity and tropes of tropicalization.

Hollywood productions have started to target Latino audiences of different ethnic, gender and class backgrounds. Films and television shows featuring Latina/o protagonists have been successful with both Latina/o and general audiences. Some portrayals of Latina artists conform to the dominant thin ideal, whereas others display the curvy shapes, specifically valued in Latino/a culture. This complexity is visible in the portrayals of mainstream Latina icons such as Christina Aguilera, Salma Hayek, Jennifer Lopez and Shakira. "Whereas many representations of these artists highlight their Latina identity and accentuate their curvy figures, following emergence in mainstream U.S. markets, media representations of these women became increasingly anglicized, with figures that became slimmer and slimmer and hair that became blonder or straighter" (Schooler, 2008, p. 136).

Latina hybridity and tropicalism

US mainstream popular culture tends to homogenize the constructions of Latina ethnicity, and not care about the real origin of Latina actresses. In fact, Latinas present a diverse panethnic background. Hybridity contradicts pure ethnic identity and results from mixed cultural and ethnic heritage. Latina/o hybrid identity arises from its transnational and transcultural exchanges between members of different communities, regions and nations. Latinas exist between the margins of American mainstream Whiteness and the borders of Blackness. Whereas Afro American actresses usually occupy a fixed discourse of Blackness in American cinema, the case of Latino Americans is more problematic.

Film images of Latinos exist as a part of a larger discourse on Otherness in the USA. The mainstream attitudes about Otherness can be understood via examining ethnic stereotypes. Latina stars present an exotic look and sexuality creating a strong visual and erotic impact. Women seen in Hispanic and Anglo television can be grouped into three categories. The first one is a *cantina girl* who

is represented as an easily available, often dancing, sexual object. The second type concerns a faithful, self-sacrificing *señorita* who is usually a good one at the beginning of the film but then she goes bad. The third category is represented by a *vamp* of devious nature who uses intellect to drive men to violence. Each of those stereotypes has some common characteristics such as physical beauty, passion and manipulation. At the same time each of those stereotypes are coded with particular types of clothing, behaviour and motivation (Merskin, 2011, 328).

One of the most enduring tropes surrounding Latina women in US culture is that of tropicalism, which by erasing ethnic specificity helps construct homogenous stereotypes such as bright colours, rhythmic music, and brown skin that are represented in visual texts. "The Latina body is presented as ethnically undifferentiated" (Esposito, 2012, p. 329). Tropicalization homogenizes Latinidad and helps position the Latina body as oversexed as well as sexually available; all that is identified with seductive clothing, curvaceous hips and breasts, long brunette hair or extravagant jewellery. Latina beauty and sexuality is marked as desirable and Other. The Latina tropicalized bodies have been excessively presented as exotic in US mainstream culture in which "Whiteness is associated with a disembodied intellectual tradition free from the everyday desires of the body to consume food, excrete waste, and reproduce sexually" (Guzmán & Valdivia, 2004, p. 211). Popular Latina representation emphasizes female breasts, hips and buttocks to indicate sexual desire and fertility. The tropes of tropicalism also involve expressive dancing, especially involving movement below the waist, which is linked to the popular construction of Latinidad and marked as Other. Latina is othered to "the extent that her body will always be a source of curiosity and fascination as an exotic object" (Esposito, 2012, p. 329). In other words Latinas are depicted with exotic Otherness which signifies them as beautiful, sexy and desirable.

The Hollywood industry recognizes actors according to their box office successes and create a special category of ethnic actresses with Latina and African American ones. This unique circle includes: Jennifer Lopez, Salma Hayek, Michelle Rodriguez, Penélope Cruz, Halle Berry, Angela Bassett and Vanessa Williams. Jennifer Lopez and Salma Hayek possess physical markers that enable them to be cast in roles in which their ethnic identity is ambiguous to determine and the film narrative merely signifies their Otherness by the characters' names or short Spanish dialogues. Both actresses have long brown hair, brown eyes, and somatically light skin. Although they have European facial features to some degree, their bodies suggest some exotic Otherness. Sometimes they play characters whose ethnic identity is ambiguous, e.g. Hayek's Serendipity in *Dogma* (Smith, 1999) or Lopez's Karen Sisco in *Out of Sight* (Soderbergh, 1998). In these

movies “racial Otherness is visually displaced and replaced within an exotic connotation of ethnic otherness” (Guzmán & Valdivia, 2010, p. 219). Lopez and Hayek have been competing for the roles reserved for Latina actresses. Although Lopez presents herself as Puerto Rican American, she was born in the USA. This fact allows Hayek to present herself as a more authentic Latina, having been born in Mexico. When Lopez managed to get the role of Selena, she was criticized as not being a true Latina. While Hayek’s strong accent has resulted in her being cast in more traditional Latina roles, both actresses have very attractive facial features but they differ widely in terms of body shape.

Latina icon: Jennifer Lopez

Jennifer Lopez has achieved wide recognition in a number of fields, especially film, music and dance, as well as new perfume and fashion lines. She also started her own production company, *Nuyorican Films*. Even her spectacular romances seem to be designed to guarantee her celebrity position and a permanent place on magazine covers. Lopez is famous not only for her acting achievements but primarily for her celebrated body emphasizing her sexy hyper-buttocks. “This is not to say that Jennifer’s face is excluded, but rather that the image works to guide one’s vision toward the butt” (Valdivia, 2005, p. 70). Lopez is characterized as a “sex goddess” which is itself an indication of tropicalization. Magazine covers present her Latina image, focusing on her exotic Otherness which is so different from the Anglo-Saxon norm. Despite that, Lopez is occasionally seen in “white” roles. Her fair skin allows her more ethnic mobility to perform roles to which darker women do not have access (Vargas, 2010, p. 124). Her body is sometimes portrayed as dangerous to the Anglo male characters. The viewer often sees the visual close-ups of her eyes, lips, breasts and buttocks. She reforms “the ideal of beauty through the marketing of her ‘shapely,’ or ‘womanly’ or ‘posterior’ beauty” (Guzmán & Valdivia, 2010, p. 213).

J Lo speaks classic Niuyorican, a second generation, Bronx inflected Spanish. Her fluency in English and ability to speak without a Spanish accent allows her to get roles which are reserved for Anglo American actresses and she often crosses over into mainstream representations. “Lopez’s ability to perform racial and ethnic ambiguity and multiplicity allows her to occupy more easily the privileged space and acceptable White sexuality ... Lopez has effectively tapped into her ability to perform the hybrid Latina body to meet Hollywood’s demand for the commodified exotic Other” (Guzmán & Valdivia, 2010, p. 224).

Lopez has been marketed as a generic Latina popular culture icon. However, her Puerto Rican ancestry was most emphasized when she was cast in the role of a Mexican (Genova & Ramos-Zayas, 2003, p. 86-87). There was a lot of criticism

about Lopez playing Selena Quintanilla, the famous Mexican American artist who was successful in Tejano music. Playing this role allowed Lopez to present her dancing abilities. She rehearsed extensively because “Dance as a performance of cultural identity has played a central role in the career development of both J Lo and of Selena” (Aparicio, 2010, p. 211). At first J Lo was supposed to lip-synch the lyrics but she was singing in some longer sequences. Moreover, tanning and make-up made her skin look like Selena’s. Lopez was very convincing in her performance as she looked and moved like the Mexican artist. Eventually, her role in *Selena* received excellent reviews and the film was also a box office success. Lopez treated this role as a way to reconnect with her ethnicity. “This realization of her ethnic identity through the music and dance of another ethnic star thus has allowed Lopez to perform her own ‘Latinness’ ” (Lockhart, 2007, p. 150).

In *Maid in Manhattan* (Wang, 2002) Lopez was cast as a Puerto Rican American from the Bronx where a multicultural fantasy takes place. Her role was a success, partly due to the time of its release – during the Christmas season. It is a Cinderella story about a Latina single mother named Marisa Ventura who works as a hotel maid. She sacrifices happiness and struggles to give her son a better life than in their home country. Racial and ethnic issues, together with immigrant status and single motherhood, complicate Marisa’s situation. The film evokes the desire for upward mobility to change the immigrant Other. At the same time it is a traditional fairy-tale romance in which the lower-status maid is rescued by a higher-status male confirming notions of white patriarchal power in American society. The message in popular culture is that women should look like models to gain a fulfilling relationship (Rios & Reyes, 2009, p. 102). In one scene the Anglo Saxon Marshall is unable to perceive the Latin American Marisa’s attractiveness in her work uniform, which proves that social position still plays an important role in enhancing women’s desirability. Moreover, it is the white man who first approaches and finally accepts the ethnic woman, not the other way round. Besides, Marisa’s character, as played by J Lo, must have a controlled sexuality that is not too dangerous for the white man. Thus, Marisa is only slightly sexualized (Haase, 2008, p. 209).

Although the narrative reflects the Cinderella love story, there is another meaning concerning a shifting of U.S. politics of race, class and gender multiculturalism. Lopez’s character speaks with Nuyorican accent and has brown skin. She is meant to evoke racial feelings when one day she meets a guest who is an upper-class Anglo Saxon man. The movie depicts “intersubjectivity between racially marked fantasy Latina bodies with their white other” (Nava, 2011, p. 102).

Latina icon: Salma Hayek

Salma Hayek got her first success starring in Mexican soap operas, and then she crossed the border and moved to Hollywood where in 1993 she was seen just for 30 seconds in the famous movie *Mi Vida Loca* (Anders, 1994). Hayek's characters in *Desperado* (Rodriguez, 1995) and *From Dusk Till Dawn* (Rodriguez, 1996) have been presented as hot. In the second movie Hayek plays a dangerous temptress whose sexuality brings destruction, similar to the case of the femme fatale from film noir. *From Dusk till Dawn* is a story of a pair of bank robbers who travel through the Southwest towards the Mexican border. The plot unexpectedly switches from an action to a vampire movie when the fugitives reach a roadhouse, the *Titty Twister*, where the bartenders and female strippers are vampires. Hayek plays the character of Satanico Pandemonium who performs a striptease with a white snake wrapped around her. Her solo dance and position above everyone in the audience indicates the strength and power of the vampire queen.

Hayek had a role in the first season of the popular *Ugly Betty* series (Gaitán, 2006-2010). Her character of Sofia Reyes reinforces the stereotype of the bombshell Latina through her sensual body, long, dark hair and mysterious accent. Sofia's exotica, eroticism and sexuality are further reinforced by the flamenco and Latin rhythms playing in the background. *Ugly Betty* depicts Hayek's Sofia as a manipulative person who gets what she wants, e.g. when the main male character, Daniel, refuses to fall in love with her she says: "You can call me a bitch, you can call me whatever you want, but it's how I've gotten where I am today. Otherwise I would still be dusting houses in Mexico with my mother" (Katzew, 2011, p. 306).

Hayek starred in the leading role of *Frida* (2002) as the avant-garde artist Frida Kahlo. After earning an Oscar nomination for this role Hayek has become widely recognized for her skill and talent and her pictures can be often seen on the covers of U.S. magazines. The life history of Frida Kahlo allowed Hayek to promote Mexican national identity and notions of the authentic Latina. Hayek's Kahlo is presented as a vibrant, erotic, determined and sensual Latina.

Despite her talent, Hayek cannot subvert her Spanish accent and this fact limits the roles available to her. On the other hand, her accent helps Hayek to get roles in films aiming to assert authenticity, like *Frida*. Consequently, she promotes herself as "the real" Latina, born in Mexico and only living in Hollywood, who speaks fluent Spanish with an authentic accent. In order to get more roles Hayek founded her own production company which produced *In the*

Time of the Butterflies (Barroso, 2001) and directed *El Maldonado Miracle* (2003) for Showtime Television.

Media images of Salma Hayek focus on her petite ethnic shape, emphasizing her breasts, small waist and curly hair. "Sexualized representations of Hayek center on her body as the stereotyped performance of Latina femininity" (Guzmán & Valdivia, 2004, p. 212). Hayek is often depicted dancing with the characteristic movement below the waist which immediately brings associations with the dynamic construction of Latinidad. With time Hayek has become less ethnic, more "Anglo"- looking and her hair has become much straighter. This new image proved to be a good strategy in Hollywood as Salma started to be more frequently seen in both supporting and leading roles.

Conclusion

Latinidad has become a permanent feature of American popular culture, starting with magazines, television programs and cinematic discourses. Although Latina actresses are presented as exotic Other, positioned on the margins of American Whiteness, what we can observe at the moment is the process of incorporating the diasporic Latina/o elements into the American mainstream culture. Their exotic Otherness has proved to be of commercial value helping to sell products, such as movie tickets, designed for the American mainstream audience.

Cinematic representations of the two analysed Latina actresses – Jennifer Lopez and Salma Hayek – focus on their sensual bodies and sexuality. Although both of them have followed different geographic trajectories, they have a lot in common. Firstly, they are both treated as Latinas, both emphasize their exotic look and fit into the stereotype of Latinas in U.S. popular culture. Both of them are neither too white nor too brown, so they can be considered for roles reserved for American mainstream actresses. What distinguishes them is the fact that Lopez is more often seen in ethnically undifferentiated roles, which is an indication of homogenizing Latinidad tropicalism, and Hayek is more likely to get roles of dangerous temptresses who use their exotic Otherness to manipulate men. Although Jennifer Lopez and Salma Hayek achieved wide recognition due to great roles in biographical films about Selena Quintanilla and Frida Kahlo, proving that both actresses are talented, popular culture depictions focus mainly on their sensual bodies.

The popular images of Latina bodies revolve around racialization, sexualisation, exoticization and tropicalization. The Latina icons challenge the Eurocentric standards of racial purity and present their hybrid identities with markers of tropicalism as new notions of authenticity in the USA. The Latinas

depicted in U.S. popular culture are transnational, bicultural, and bilingual characters building bridges between Latino heritage and American mainstream culture.

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In search of a common language: teacher and student in educational space

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Abstract

In my paper I would like to present the student and the teacher in educational space. I'd like to say about difficulties in communication between them and the search for a common language for dialogue. The context for this discussion will be the current socio-cultural space and the expectations of both the teacher and the student. The purpose of the text is to show the conditions through which the agreement between the student and the teacher is possible and identify a cultural experience of a common language. Considerations will be conducted from the perspective of the anthropological concept of education and subjective view of the student and the teacher.

Key words: education, teacher, student, language of education

Introduction

Dialogue is the foundation for education understood as subjective. It is the only thing which makes it possible to share thoughts, experiences and the possibility to create the common ground to seek answers to the most important questions about a man and the world surrounding him, which define thought regarding existence. At the same time, it limits indoctrination, instrumentalisation of education process and behavior influence. It unleashes creativity of both the student and the teacher, decides about their emotional and intellectual growth and, at the same time, it is the element which shapes the relationship between them. The dialogue builds the understanding for seeking knowledge together and then shaping relationships which go beyond classes and school walls. If it is authentic, based on the fundamental value of truth, supported by pursuit of particular good (teacher's, student's or common one), it can become the guarantor of communication, common understanding of both the teacher and the student and the space for building mutual respect. The dialogue can create specific language between education subjects i.e. a code, sign system which facilitates the emergence of mental and spiritual closeness, can unleash the student's need to strive for knowledge and development of skills. Due to the

dialogue, the teacher can feel the need to be a wise and responsible guide, humble and conscious and the same time, aware of his limitations and to be the master devoting himself and his time to ensure his student's growth using his own knowledge and competence. The effect that takes place simultaneously is the development of the teacher himself who improves his skills, becomes a more accomplished person for himself and others and builds his personality for himself and others, especially students he looks after, and is responsible for.

The aforementioned intention of school communication based on dialogue between subjects – teacher's and student's, demands explanation of few key definitions for such a vision of education and elaboration of notions mentioned above.

Teacher and student – transformed images?

We need to begin from apparent obviousness i.e. the thought about the most important subjects for education – the teacher and the student. Contemporary concept of the student, seen by people who are brought up in the time of postfigurative culture (Mead, 2000), can be totally different from reality. The student today is not the man of Gutenberg period, who was brought up among words and by them, but the child of new media, especially internet, and educated in the world of screens and interactive reality. His relationship with knowledge (available at all times due to internet in iPhone or tablet) and his way of perceiving the world - conditioned by hypertextuality (Janusiewicz, 2009, Branny, 2009) are different, and the perception similar to web navigation. At the same time, these reception conditions determine his personality – the level of concentration, the way to find information and its organization, selection and verification. Those conditions influence student's attitude towards the culture represented by the generation of adults (parents and teachers) as well as everyday life formed in their eyes and by them through being active in cyberspace, which is the new way of shaping human relationships (Bauman, 2000, p. 24-27). Those "new students" do not develop anymore in relation to traditional narration, key cultural signs which, in the past, ensured the transfer of values and cross-generational communication, bonding grandparents, parents and children into system of commonly-recognized meanings and strengthening maintained order of things. The substitute function is taken over by hybrid popular culture which makes the message and tastes homogeneous. It gets into spaces reserved for art through media and escalates consumption mechanisms organizes the sector of public functioning and determines the shape of policy and forms of ideological messages. The result of these influences shapes, especially for younger people, postmodern identity that takes different forms and

variations. The most essential and most common ones would be the identities defined as "transparent identities" and "supermarket" type (Melosik, Szkudlarek, 2009, p. 59-64). They both share severance from all forms of belonging, instability, decontextualization, superficiality of relationships and functioning in socio-cultural space, as well as the extreme consumptionism and hedonism leading not only to collecting things but experiencing and drinking in all the impressions and even momentary pleasures. The students developing in such a way, gently speaking, do not resemble the pupils who would be sitting in identical uniforms and whose area of experiencing the world would be limited to books passed on by older generation. They also are unwilling and passive receivers of universal content, which older generation i.e. parents and teachers would like to pass on to them. They are characterized by programmatic mistrust towards the knowledge of past generations, which is often considered by young people as unbefitting a different, technological world. What is more, its communicators when facing the new world seem to be lost and limited by being unable to use modern technology, which automatically makes them unreliable as mentors and guides for the maturing generation. Also, the recognition in the world which is done by the youth seem to deny the experience passed on by the elderly. It turns out that "solid knowledge" is becoming more and more useless and the narration of the role of education for the future of a growing man cannot stand against the reality where being feisty, recognized and possessing the ability to "sell" one's own are better promises of success than information gained during different stages of education. At the same time, the students function in the culture of omnipresent narcissism i.e. the cult of body and youth which demands constant creation and formation of one's image (Melosik, 2013, p. 239-254) and, while the value and meaning of old age is being discredited, old age is eliminated from the official media where the myth of happiness equals the myth of eternal youth (Brocki, 2003, p. 61-63). Those conditions, to a higher or lesser degree, influence the formation of contemporary students' behavior. That is why, if we think about school, we have to demand totally different didactic solutions than the ones which were successfully used thirty or forty years ago.

Transformed image of the student requires the new image of the teacher. Meanwhile, this expectation clearly departs from reality. Above all, the vast majority of teachers working at schools mentally and perceptively belong to Gutenberg's era. It does not necessarily mean that they deny the new, screen and interactive reception of reality (Książek-Szczepanikowa, 1996, Sporek, 2010) or that they stand against digitalization and multimedia but it influences the way of perceiving the world surrounding them. They are also defined by a different attitude towards knowledge (theoretical and unpractical) which was the

foundation for their own education. In a certain way, without apparent postmodern burdens, during the time of them becoming adults, the knowledge was the foundation of old age sense, as well as the form of cross-generational and multicultural continuity. They are often attached to "solid knowledge" which enabled them not only to become educated but also was enough to find themselves on clearly profiled job markets. Their story is the proof of that. The conviction that e.g. the book is superior to media and new media (Manovich, 2006), the feel of higher credibility towards printed word than less permanent electronic message emerges from that fact. They also have a different approach towards the process of gaining knowledge and skills. The people who are educated through knowledge transmission model and accustomed to being given the knowledge, often believe in the efficiency of such an educational process. They consider it to be less time consuming and supporting the authority of the people who know and pass on the wisdom to the next generation. That positivistic – enlightened message influences their vision of school and learning (Kłakówna, 2003, p. 29-32). Such understanding presents the school as the place where knowledge is given, passed on, introduced, made aware of and shaped, so many activities are done around the student and somewhat with him, obviously for his own good. That kind of language completely identifies the idea of thinking about the student not as a subject. In such reality, the student is the receiver (passive?), the person who undergoes many processes and manipulations and who is eager to absorb the things which teachers try to write and print into him. There is no place for independent knowledge gain, world exploration and understanding it in different meanings than before, as well as for negation and criticism of different messages. This solidification of passiveness not only causes denial from rebellious young people who consider such actions to be against their own nature, shaped in digital and postmodern reality, but also supports negative habits such as passiveness, stagnation, lack of criticism. The development of those habits causes only educational harm, it weakens students' defensive mechanisms against popular culture messages, advertising corporate actions which use media as means of making money and manipulating clients who are unaware of such mechanisms. Placing teachers around postfigurative culture strengthens the dissonance between their own expectations and expectations of their students. The key element strengthening the sense of strangeness between teachers and the new generation of students is also a different cultural experience understood here as the area forming personality and referring to symbolical signs emerging from the area of high culture. That is why, a conversation about common issues, which should be interesting to all people at all times and everywhere, can lead nowhere due to different

possibilities of contextual reference. It turns out that, together with breaking a traditional cultural model of transmission mechanism, the possibility of communication between teachers and their students has been destroyed. The cultural decontextualization, typical for the new identity of young people, becomes complemented with additional meanings emerging from cultural surrounding of a young person (Melosík, Szkudlarek, 2009, p. 58). The student who faces literary and cultural texts which represent elite culture receives them in a way which is typical for him – he refers them to his own experiences or looks for context to understand them in his cultural experience. He tries to explain them in relation to all that which is offered by the media and pop culture – computer games, advertising messages, new language typical for him and his peers formed in virtual reality, as well as the image of the world which is defined by the media product to be sold.

This long addition to the image of contemporary student seems to be essential here in order to highlight communicative dissonance which takes place on the grounds of cultural considerations initiated by the teacher. His understanding of culture, built on a different educational foundation and finally a different from the student's level of cultural competence, especially literary and language one, mentally limits him in the contact with student, very often closing him for dialogue. Of course, the ascertainment that the teacher, especially one formed in the frames of modern culture influence, is not affected by new reality is false and does not find the natural confirmation. Homogeneous message of popular culture, the spread of computer technology and its omnipresence in every area of life is also teachers' experience. Going further, it is probable that they too use the tools of progress and very often consider them superior to traditional forms of contact with the world of knowledge, entertainment and finally everyday practicality. This obviousness does not translate into school – bound by tradition, eternal beliefs and myths, unleashing the attachment to things of the past. Naturally, it is caused by the responsibility of the school – seen as an institution which guarantees the survival of tradition, cherishing the statues of national and world culture, the foundation of axiological order involved in various educational responsibilities (Janus-Sitarz, 2009, p. 63). This placing, true in many aspects, underpins the conservatism of thought and traditionalism of didactic solutions. At the same time, there is the mistrust towards the new, less known, threatening the met order, which is pragmatic against the premises. It shows that changes are possible and needed by school. The consequences can be curious. For example, the teacher who reads books using e-book reader could force his students to use paper version of books during his classes. Such way of thinking has its consequences in the way of perceiving teachers by their students. On the one

hand, such teachers can be considered hypocrites who solidify fictional order of things that denies common sense and everyday obviousness. On the other hand, they can be perceived as people detached from the real world who deny the actual image of the world together with its most characteristic and typical elements. Without a real answer of the school as an institution to the new reality, building authentic dialogue between the teacher and new students seem to be impossible to do.

New image of the teacher

The situation described above, as well as presented image of the student and teacher demands asking the question of the teacher's image, who could be a teacher of new, modern times. It also encourages to consider a number of competences which the teacher should possess in order to be somebody who is important for the students in their own development. The teacher should allow his students to accurately prepare themselves for life in its different areas, and he should be credible and efficient in his own actions. At the same time, it is the question of the teacher's personal qualities, his skills concerning his native subject, as well as the pedagogical and psychological knowledge and moral value which is fundamental due to the profession he has. It is worth beginning from substantive factor. The basis is the knowledge of the subject which is firm, extensive and, above all, constantly updated, completed, verified according to the development of the that subject and its growth. It verifies the foundations – thanks to it, the education process will have subjective characteristic and will find its outlet a concrete thing. Of course, the functionality of subject knowledge depends on different factors which go beyond the teacher's knowledge of e.g. literature and film. The lesson usefulness of the teacher's erudition depends on pedagogical – psychological awareness. It has to include being familiar with existing educational concepts, especially views on upbringing from the past, as well as the present ones, and it has to be ordered by critical thought and value various pedagogical attitudes. This has to be connected with the awareness of various socio-cultural conditions as well as historical, political and even economic ones as they influence the way of life, shape of society and due to that they are the element which conditions efficiency or the lack of efficient educational vision. Pedagogical knowledge together with the awareness of the conditions mentioned above has to be completed on the ground of subject recognitions connected with the student and the teacher (Khakowna, 2003, p. 75-108). The teacher should possess the knowledge of psychology, especially developmental psychology which defines the human's maturity level throughout different stages of his life. The key element here would be the awareness of

shaping up the thinking of a child depending on his age, as well as the question of the child's emotions. The knowledge of memory mechanisms, different types of intelligence, as well as of different types of disorders which can occur in development of the human is fundamental. Another important type of knowledge is the one of cognitive ways which the teacher possesses while organizing the educational process – hence the necessity to recognize the cognitive characteristics of humans and awareness of their differences. We have to assume that the teacher gains such competences not only by acquiring available knowledge but also by practice. These resources of information concerning different disciplines of science have to be connected to one another and combine the awareness of socio-cultural reality in which the contemporary human exists.

The areas of knowledge and skills mentioned above have to be bound and unified by the area of attitudes which is a derivative of teacher's axiological formation. We can also take risk and claim that the teacher's disability in that area makes the competences mentioned above unimportant. The ethical level does not only influence the shape of and character of knowledge and skills which the student is confronted with, but also the meaning of role played by the teacher. Writing about his moral level, we have to include the area of axiological declarations i.e. the preferred and preached values and, above all, the scope of their practical implementations expressed by particular attitudes, actions and even the smallest types of behavior (Sporek, 2011). The notion itself is very difficult because it assumes that the teacher has a particular ethical form and can influence his students. Such case is ambiguous due to respect for different ways of life and differences in views on the world, as well as the differences emerging from religious assumptions. Hence, the difficulty occurs among such notions as **bringing up – indoctrination – autonomy of views and values** represented by the teacher and his students.

We can answer the question of indoctrination and claim that there is no place for it in education. Firstly, the historical experience still shows its limitations as means of shaping individuals through different doctrines and religions (Sienko, 2002). Secondly, it is a form of rape on human personality and the expression of enslaving the mind and emotionality. Furthermore, it completely depreciates the subjectivity of man – the student's and the teacher's as well. The first one is the subject of particular processes, devoid of possibility of independent and critical thinking, and the second one is enslaved by the doctrine itself – he plays the role of a disciple who undergoes the process of objectification in the same way as his pupil. Indoctrination often equates upbringing, although the synonym of it would be ideology or, using different terminology, training. Upbringing itself is something totally different. As an integral element of education, it has to be based

on respecting freedom, dignity and independence of the other person, especially young one, who is still building himself in the student's area of axiology and views on life (Gadacz, 2005, p. 144-159). It is based on bringing out what is best from the student (Łobocki, 2002). This can build his still forming axiological system. Different ways of upbringing are possible. The two most important ones are connected with affirmative and dramatic upbringing (Wojnar, 1995, p. 234-244). The first one is based on propaganda of ready-made role models by showing unambiguous and honorable attitudes and deeds. It can be implemented in reading of written works which are unambiguous and which show polarization of characters' attitudes limiting the dilemmas to clearly formed categories of good and evil. The second one emerges from the conviction of complexity and ambiguity of the world. It assumes the existence of difficult choices, reveals the human drama placed between good and evil and who sometimes makes good and bad choices. The dramatic model is full of difficult questions which do not give unambiguous answers and surround various decisions with additional conditions which make the unambiguous moral choices more complex. From the educational view, both concepts can be utilized at school, the second one being more required there. It assumes that there are not only attitudes worth copying (as in affirmative upbringing) but also that a young person can critically consider various attitudes, make independent difficult choices and he can understand the complexity and ambiguity of the human and the world. The second model of upbringing also clearly highlights the subjectivity of the student - it confronts him with various constructs of attitudes, establishes their value and independent exploration of conscious choices and values. The question of independent views and values expressed by educational subjects occurs on the basis of those choices, so here we have the third question connected with demanded image of the teacher. The limitation of ideological actions, elimination of indoctrination does not mean axiological indifference and transparency of the teacher. The lack of clearly visible ethical rules disqualifies the teacher. Nobody apart from him functions in axiological void. How should the teacher behave taking into account the plurality of values, a large number of views and cross-culturalism taking place at school? What should he do when the students' views and their parents' clearly differ from the world of his values? Finally, what attitude should he take concerning the existence of value ambiguity understood in the spirit of objectivity, subjectivity and relativity when all the theories of values ontologically and epistemologically deny the two remaining ones? Also, how to talk and think about axiology in postmodern reality which denies all stability that hits the classical understanding of notions and that distrustfully asks about the definition of particular values? Obviously, accepting the perspective where the

teacher represents a particular axiological attitude and points it as the only true view on the world cannot stand. It hits the widely understood subjectivity of the pupil and is a form of intellectual limitation and denies the right to the student's freedom of thought. The choice of the right solution, especially its particular implementation in the education process is very difficult. It is also very difficult to measure because the scale of educational influence cannot be verified during various types of examinations, especially external ones organized by formal institutions in education system. Also, it does not find the reflection on the school certificate. This case is also complicated because of the assumption that axiological consistence in the system of values of the teacher himself can also be a matter of contractual issue. As all the people, even the teacher looks for his own way and is, at the same time, forced to be lost in the world of values (Tischner, 2001, p. 115-193). What in this case can be offered school or the teacher as a person who takes responsibility for a particular form or student? It seems that no solution is free from flaws and will always be criticized. Nevertheless, while searching for the golden mean, it makes sense to base axiological education on basic moral laws which function in all religions, are respected by law systems and regulate life of major and minor communities and guarantee understanding within families. Respect for life, ownership right, freedom of speech and beliefs, honesty and social justice, as well as respect for otherness could constitute a foundation for demanded values regardless of different religious beliefs and life views. They could be complemented with values important to different individuals. Obviously, such a way of thinking about values is a thing to be demanded and relatively common and should not be limited to propagating knowledge of those axiological qualities. The key here would be the evidence of their realization. Hence, the upbringing would concentrate around these values and would be required from students and from the teacher, whose personal testimony should constitute the most important lesson about upbringing to realize such values. The question of the role of the teacher brings up the last element required in the demanded image of the teacher. It is about his personality which integrates his knowledge, skills, and declared attitudes and values. We have to think about his personality as a consistent structure or, at least not contradictory, which harmonizes intellectual and emotional element with world view area. This is not a new issue in pedagogy and has been described in various psychological works. For the use of this text which is directed to practical knowledge, it is worth mentioning a few features which are the key to teacher's personality and which in contemporary socio-cultural reality are essential to work effectively and have a chance to build authentic dialogue with students representing new formations. What kind of personal features should be

expected from the teacher who meets the requirements of new times? Naturally, the list of such features would be long. However, from my perspective, my academic experience supported by longstanding reflection and observation of socio-cultural reality, we should include such features as:

- authenticity in relationship with children and teenagers which emerges from the richness of experiences; the credibility which is the result of being involved in the native area of knowledge as well as students' everyday life – their problems, joys, interests and passions;
- independence of thought and autonomy concerning world views and choices made; its foundation would be the belief in one's powers, the stability of characterological dispositions which would result in courage to express and defend particular views;
- creativity and originality in taken actions connected with openness to new solutions as well as new ideas and inspirations, which also come from students;
- faith in students' potential connected with the conviction that the essence of teaching job is not the implementation of tiny guidelines found in ministry documents but supporting versatile student development, creative response to their intellectual and emotional needs, as well as the attachment to the value of existential dilemmas;
- care of students' ethical development which is the most essential element of education and which is treated as imperative in the development of competences and cognitive area understood in relation to knowledge of a particular area; it is connected with an unambiguous relation to good and evil being fundamental axiological qualities;
- criticism of existing social and political views, own relation to national matters and issues connected with widely-understood culture which is connected with current knowledge of civilizational context;
- openness to "the new world" of technology and civilizational changes; creative use of benefits of technology and its functionality to ensure more efficient communication with students brought up in the reality of new media domination (Manovich, 2006) which represent, in terms of perception, screen and interactive reception of surrounded reality, as well as works of culture and popular culture;
- finally, the distance towards oneself (awareness of one's own flaws and imperfection) and the world connected and understanding definitions such as teacher and student in categories of social roles where the foundations are the authentic relationships between human (teacher) – human (student), which

are definitely more important than having a particular function resulting from roles played by the teacher and the student.

The set of features presented above, resulting from various additions, maybe too large and devoid of terminological clarity, seems to have the key meaning for building proper relationships between the teacher and the student. Regardless of knowledge, which in the functional and practical way, has to be distributed by the teacher, the key factors seem to be his personal qualities and his moral attitude.

Dialogue – terminological ambiguities, the richness of meanings

An important and fashionable notion with relation to school is dialogue. Overusing it and using it in the context of various philosophical, social and political arrangements, as well as using it commonly can lead to imprecision which causes ambiguity. For the purpose of this text, the subject to think about will be the educational dialogue emerging from Socratic dialogue (Myrdzik, 2006, p. 212) as well as personal philosophy, especially the philosophy of dialogue (Mikoś, 2001, p. 16, Myrdzik, 2006, p. 213). Such theoretical support of educational dialogue goes beyond understanding it only as conversation. From the humanistic perspective, it is “the category that merges the meeting of two subjects – the teacher and the student: “me” and “you” (Myrdzik, 2006, p. 18). Elżbieta Mikoś in the work about the notion suggests that the dialogue on the ground of educational activity should be understood as:

- the essence of educational process and upbringing;
- method of interpersonal communication (its aim being mutual understanding, approach and cooperation which conditions educational success);
- the way of being in the situation of meeting “me” and “you” (the teacher – master and the student who are partners in the educational process);
- a particular attitude which means being constantly ready to seek understanding and emotional closeness with the other person by using conversation;
- the aim, the method and the condition of achieving success in education;
- form of learning;
- the way which conditions efficient achievement of aims of subject education;
- the way of preparing students to live in freedom and democracy (Mikoś, 2001, p. 18).

It seems that the extensive meaning of educational dialogue properly defines the field of mutual reactions in the space of communication of both subjects, the teacher and the student. It is not only the way of achieving aims resulting from subjective responsibilities, but also the way to shorten the distance between the

people and, at the same time, spiritual growth of the teacher and the student. We can add that education built on educational dialogue can extend beyond the world of school walls. It can be the form of communicating with people in different circumstances, can become the way of life, shape the relationships within the family, places of work and rest, long-term, short-term and temporary contacts.

At school, the teacher is the subject responsible for dialogue. He, due to his maturity, competences, life experience and his place in the educational process, should inspire students to dialogue, encourage them to it, limit all the actions that suppress independent thought and student emotionality. Barbara Myrdzik writes about it in such a way: "The quality of educational dialogue depends on, above all, the teacher's attitude who monitors the direction of the conversation taking place and, at the same time, suspends his right to omniscience and the exclusiveness to ask questions. The class dialogue should form such skills as: listening to other people, expressing opinion on a particular issue, presenting arguments and defending them, consideration towards arguments of other people, expressing oneself in a responsible way" (Myrdzik, 2006, p. 212).

The opinion presented above ennobles the value of conversation – the foundation of dialogue, which allows to update remaining situational meanings found in the meaningful area of educational dialogue. It also doubts the traditionally conducted education process – based on knowledge transmission, its reproduction which is closed in the form of answers easy to predict and limited by factual material. That is why, the positive offer could be open conversation where the student finds out the problems, names them, questions his own ideas and concepts, confronts with the ideas of both his peers and the teacher and considers himself a competent dialogue participant. In the dialogue designed in such a way, pupil's independence, his intellectual and emotional involvement, as well as the conviction that the authentic conversation about important matters, up-to-date in terms of their universality, becomes the key element. The same can be said about the conviction that this kind of conversation has its own value, facilitates his development as a person building their own personality, forming themselves and their individual system of values. The development of cultural competence resulting from the characteristics of learnt subject happens in the same way.

The space of school communication

The dialogue, the basic category for school communication, is found in specific spatial reality. That space is the key category for contemporary scientific thought. This definition, eagerly used in various sciences and humanities, clearly, in the

modern meaning reflects in itself the shape of postmodern reality. It becomes detached from the place, physical limitations and opens itself to semantics, which allows to describe itself using various metaphors and causing symbolical thinking (Myrdzik 2009, p.11-12). Due to the shape of considerations present in this paper, it is worth noticing that the widely-understood cultural space consists of this educational value, integrating material, mental and spiritual things and being heritage of the past, the image of present and the project of some kind of future. It combines institutionalism, the apparatus of extensive bureaucracy and the human which goes beyond its physicality, forms the area of experience, assumes the development and maturity designed in the centrally planned educational policy. At the same time, it integrates the richness of meanings emerging from subjectivity of participants of educational process – it reveals the communal perspective built through the prism of development of particular collectivities (society, nation), as well as the individual perspective which concerns personal development of the students and the teachers.

School dialogue, taken into account around educational area, is placed near school communication (being also its form) which is determined by human and institutional factor. The first one can be found, above all, in record area despite being encumbered by the system of meanings found in educational tradition. The school itself is a semantical structure. It somewhat opens the first level of meanings essential for school communication. By being the place that educates people, it is on the one hand, at least in assumption, the medium of tradition, and on the other hand, an institution which prepares to live in changeable geopolitical and socio-cultural conditions. Also, the figures of the teacher and student are important. I tried to explain and comment on it in previous subchapters. The forms connected with school such as knowledge, skills, education and upbringing are also semantically encumbered. I mentioned that above as well. The element which determines the image of school the most and which influences educational practice are the documents describing and pointing the areas of organization of functioning of educational institutions (Walker, Soltis, 2000). The most important thing in the Polish system for its substantive shape is the core curriculum. This document designs aims and tasks of school, aims and tasks for teachers of particular subjects and describes teaching material and content, as well as the conditions and ways of implementation into the lesson. It governs particular syllabuses. Together with independent documents such as school statute, preventive and educational programs they describe the space of meanings governed by law - by the state and the schools as well with relation to ministerial directives. The documents mentioned above describe the second level of meanings that are the part of school communication. The whole

thing is closed by the most important factor – the human factor. It constitutes the third level of meanings, which, apart from its own semantical quality, integrates in itself two levels mentioned before. From the teacher's perspective, the key here would be his personality and moral attitude he represents and the system of values resulting from it, as well as widely-understood competences. This has been described earlier. From the student's point of view, we should include various conditions influencing his personal development and contemporary image of the pupil, which is the derivative of changes that took place in the world, especially in terms of technological development. The communication or its lack takes place between educational subjects taking into account complex and complicated contexts. It can be genuine – in this way it could be found in the meaningful areas of the dialogue described above or it can be ingenuine, then it becomes a pseudo-dialogue, limits the possibility of relationship building, authenticity changes into lies, which from the axiological perspective causes the feeling of rejection, erects the space of denial and closes to the other person (Tischner, 2001, p. 9 and 234-239).

The ingenuine and genuine communication – in the direction of educational projects of the classes

Ingenuine and genuine communication, pseudo-dialogue and dialogue constitute the educational concrete. They condition the shape and character of the whole education process, they influence the architecture of particular classes. For the purpose of this text, these phenomena have to be related to the examples of solutions which illustrate the negative and positive tendencies during Polish lessons (integrating literary-cultural material and language notions). They will be taken under consideration in relation to such notions as: 1) choice and character of lesson materials; 2) choice of educational strategies, teaching methods and organizational forms; 3) the style of conducting classes; 4) the way of asking questions; 5) possible teacher's reactions to students' actions; 6) lesson contact – interactions between the teacher and the students; 7) forming the topics of written works and homework; 8) correction of longer written works and homework. The examples will be order according to categories of "good and bad practices":

1. Choice and character of materials:

Bad practice – the materials irrelevant to students' experience, not understood by them in terms of language and used to illustrate historical development of literature and culture, they represent particular periods and styles, shown as texts illustrating specific tendencies, devoid of masterpiece qualities as well as difficult to read and lacking universality, bringing contexts

which students are unable to understand, without any relation to cultural timelessness; the choice of works is unambiguous in its meaning, they lack the discursive element, present simplified axiology; they are ordered according to historical-literary or genealogical criteria, as well as according to order typical of disciplines found in scientific works of academic order; attachment to traditional texts, no modern works included.

Good practice: the choice of various materials, masterpieces and forms directly referring to students' cultural experience; texts with language easy to understand, related to psychological stage of development they student is on; the works updating universal perspective which could be understood in different contexts, as well as when detached from the native one, arranged in problem blocks around which the texts "talk" with one another allowing to extract new meanings which update themselves from the "here and now" perspective.

2. The choice of educational strategies, teaching methods and organizational forms:

Bad practice: using association strategy (Okoń, 1998, p. 320, Chrząstowska, 1979, p. 117-118), expository methods (e.g. lecture, storytelling, work with a book) and their modern modifications (e.g. multimedia presentations functioning in the same way as a lecture); traditional organizational forms which make students sit at the desk, eliminating or using vestigial student cooperation and their mutual learning from one another.

Good practice: using emotional, operational and problem strategy (Okoń, 1998, p. 321-324, Chrząstowska, 1979, p. 117-122); using active methods to solve problems and causing students to act; using not only scientific benefits of general teaching but also methods typical of particular subject e.g. language developing methods (Dyduch, 2004, 2005) or literary education (Uryga, 1996) or, more extensive, literary-cultural; using various organizational forms – individual or group work, pair work, organizing work outside the classroom, not at the desks, using various theatrical stagings etc.

3. The style of conducting classes:

Bad practice: authoritarianism, excessive teacher's activity and limiting students' creativity, lack of trust towards the skills and abilities of the students, excessive control during the classes, limiting spontaneity and students' behavior, no possibility to ask questions, no consent to criticism, comments and additions from the students.

Good practice: actions towards democratic form control – inspiring to independent and critical thinking, making students face particular problems and, at the same time, consent to creative search of possible solutions of the problems; discursiveness in both student and teacher approach; opening areas of free

speech for the students, discussing proposed solution ideas, substantive and friendly criticism based on reality, the atmosphere of common work not to investigate made-up dilemmas but to solve real problems found in the drama of the human world, which allow to investigate understanding of self and surrounding world.

4. The way of asking questions:

Bad practice: numerous questions containing suggested answers, closed questions – conclusive, which start with the word "if", assuming in their structure the answer "yes" or "no" without additional justification; excessive number of detailed questions which do not need general thought and limit students' creative search; too many questions requiring justification of ready-made statements usually emerging from solidified possibilities of interpreting given works, those questions are not the answer to independent thinking; too many questions about details, trivia (e.g. unimportant details in the book) at the expense of open questions that support the process of interpretation.

Good practice: making students ask their own questions about the problem or a particular work; general questions which are later complemented with details (question gradation) in order to give the possibility to form interpretational hypotheses; the possibility to ask the teacher problem questions; questions about students' opinions their thoughts; creating such conditions that the students who ask questions and answer them could feel safe and have the possibility to ask questions to one another; the questions concerning summary of the lesson which enables students to order their thoughts and require deepening of the problem, as well as can open the new perspective to see the analyzed material.

5. Possible teacher's reaction to the students' actions:

Bad practice: rigor; criticism of statements which are not consistent with the way the teacher takes to understand the works of art and literature (sometimes connected with criticism of the person); limiting longer statements which go beyond the accepted thought outline; fixed shape of classes without allowing longer digressions, student updates not fitting the context area designed by the teacher; limitation or exclusion of pop cultural associations made by the students; attachment to the pre-designed course of the lesson without the possibility of adjusting it to the situation resulting from the students' attitude; elimination of the devices such as laptops, tablets, iPhones as well as electronic versions of literature and culture.

Good practice: respect for students' statements, even ones that do not fit the interpretational outline of the lesson; pliability and flexibility – adjusting the course of the lesson to changeable situation resulting from the students' activity,

their way of thinking; verification of students' statements – their factual and language correction but with the respect for student subjectivity who express their own statements and provides arguments; contrasting students' opinions with teacher's and experts' thoughts; forming methodology of reaching to and understanding the meanings hidden in the analyzed works; highlighting the attitudes of students who distinguish themselves by being non-stereotypical, exceptionally creative, insightful, using those attitudes in substantive discussion in the classroom; motivating students to emotional involvement, reveling own feelings, experiences, sharing own experiences with students whose experiences are treated at the same level as teacher's; allowing students to use information technology to improve the classes.

6. Lesson contact - interactions between the teacher and the students:

Bad practice: criticism of the students' worldview which results from being different from the statement of others or teacher's opinions; highlighting the inequality of roles of the teacher and the student; taking advantage of his own position in the disputes based on argument exchange, discrediting the student due to his age, lack of experience, deprecating relationship to student's intellectual abilities; fierceness of statements and opinions expressed by the teacher; lack of respect for student's thought and worldview independence, eliminating student's personal experience and feelings from the discussion; deciding possible disputes from the perspective of own position without substantive justification; negative body language which influences distance building.

Good practice: respect for student's worldview by his peers and the teacher; partnership of thought and the right to take part in discussion, expressing own opinions by all the participants of education process; kindness, openness to students' opinions, substantive discussion about different attitudes towards the problem or a particular work; gentle assessing comments; addition of students' experiences in the thinking process, using their emotional involvement in the matter; positive body language; finally, building friendly relationships based on trust and mutual sympathy.

7. Forming the topics of written works and homework:

Bad practice: forming topics that require uncreative knowledge, which are detached from experiences and needs of the pupil; giving topics which are irrelevant to modern socio-cultural reality and which formalize student's way of thinking; giving trite topics which are described in detail in internet and function in the form of ready-made papers; giving tasks which are devoid of internal logic – contradictory to common sense and not consistent with factual reality, rules of

probability (such tasks, contradictory to the world depicted can be found in relation to e.g. fantasy genres).

Good practice: giving topics which motivate to work, fire up creativity and independence of students, encouraging to seek knowledge, eliminating the search for ready-made knowledge which can be used without processing; topics which involve students emotionally, requiring the expression of their own opinions and justifications, which allow to exhibit originality; tasks requiring different perspectives of reception and transmission so the ones that assume taking the attitude of distance, playing the role, thinking about the meaning of attitudes and motivations of literary characters.

8. Correction of longer written works and homework:

Bad practice: giving only marks for written works; lack of written and oral comments; lack of feedback for the student regarding things he did correct and incorrect, possibly substituted by listing the flaws of the work; giving low marks for homework which has been done incorrectly in terms of the way of thinking , ignoring some students while marking; not checking shorter and longer homework; lack of reaction to works copied from internet sources.

Good practice: making more extensive comments for longer written works which point out advantages and disadvantages and which help the student to eliminate mistakes; taking into account personal relationship with the student in the comment (the name, current knowledge about the student, previous works, possible progress); group and individual discussion about longer written works; matching written works with students' individual needs and taking into account students who have problems with writing or ones who excel at it; striving toward systematic correctness of all homework, limiting it so that their correctness is possible for the teacher.

Conclusion

The school in the postmodern reality does not feel well at all. Common education cannot catch up with the world and is not the result of a conscious choice but it is the anachronism of structure and entanglements where it has to function somewhat against the modern world. Its institutionalism, reforms and changes that cannot catch up with changes in socio-cultural context and civilizational changes that condition the development of next generations of students, do not facilitate the search for understanding between the most important subjects at school – the teacher and the student. Especially, the first one is entangled in institutional constraint, responsibilities emerging from curriculum, form of examinations, and is torn between the past that forms him and present where his students exist. The student is a part of a powerful

mechanism whose function is not clear and it stands against students' everyday life. Hence the generation of children approaches the school with a greater distance – they see it as detached from real life, think of it as the place that offers impractical and non-functional knowledge. Communication problems taking place between the teacher and the students are largely the derivative of conditions described in this paper. This negative image, which seems to be general, does not exclude the possibility of understanding between the school and the student and, more precisely, a particular teacher and student. Nevertheless, the key here seems to be, above all, the attitude of the teacher himself, his professional competences and personal qualities described above. The teacher equipped with those qualities will be conscious of the fact that in order to find the understanding, he has to use student's own language, update contexts a young person is familiar with, open to things which are new and difficult to understand for him. The entrance in the "student world" is the only way to break the communicational impasse, the chance of "grassroots change" which can transform the image of school in the way which is not institutional. Getting to know the ways of communication used by young people, understanding the mechanisms behind those processes gives teacher the chance to exchange opinions and discuss different worldviews. At the same time, it can help the teacher to get the student closer to the matters that are valuable and important, which are not accessible to the student because they are placed in the area of meanings functioning in the world he is not familiar with, difficult, forming fundamental obstacles of reception, severing him from the semantic area. Maybe such a task could be summarized in the following formula defining the space of relationship of communication between the teacher – Me and the student – You: *I will get to know you and your language, I will understand the way you think, I will get to know what is important to you. Maybe then you would like to listen to my story, the things I want to show and tell you so that you could discover the value, the meaning of it to yourself. In order for that to happen, I will try to talk about it using your own language...*

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A Longitudinal study of language learners' images about Russia

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Abstract

Several studies in the field of applied linguistics have explored images held by language learners about a target language country. However, for the most part, these studies focused on learners of modern European languages, such as German, Spanish and French and they were conducted in Western educational contexts. Besides, none of the previous investigations attempted to conduct a systematic classification of the language learners' images. The present longitudinal study addressed these gaps in the research literature. It explored images about Russia held by Malaysian learners of the Russian language in a large university in East Malaysia. This article reports the findings of three questionnaire surveys conducted in 2004, 2007 and 2010. It was found that the images about Russia held by the participants were diverse and clustered around eight country-related aspects. Content of some categories of images was stable and changed little over time. Other categories were more fluid and more prone to change. The paper concludes with a discussion of pedagogical implications that can be derived from the findings.

Keywords: country images, stereotypes, Russian language learning, longitudinal research

Introduction

Educational researchers and applied linguists have noted a fact that students who begin learning a foreign language already possess an array of stable images, stereotypes and cultural beliefs about a target language (TL) country (Allen, 2004; Drewelow, 2013; Houghton, 2010; Nikitina, Zuraidah & Loh, 2014; Schultz & Haerle, 1995). As Steele and Suozzo (1994, cited in Allen, 2004, p. 235) maintained, "Unless students are encountering an absolutely exotic culture, they already reach the classroom with an array of stereotypes". While stereotypes are recognized as an important cognitive device (Lippmann, 1925/1966; McGarty, Yzerbyt & Spears, 2002), a problem with this particular type of mental images is that they are rigid, inflexible and are often inaccurate notions about the surrounding world (Lippmann, 1925/1966; Schultz & Haerle, 1995).

The importance of exploring language learners' stereotypes about a target language country is widely acknowledged (Byram & Kramsch, 2008; Schultz & Haerle, 1995; Storme & Derakhshani, 2002). Moreover, scholars and educators realize that language learners' images and beliefs about a target language country and culture do influence the outcome of the language learning process (Castellotti & Moore, 2002; Gardner & Lambert, 1972). In a recent empirical study, Nikitina (2015) demonstrated that there exists a link between country stereotypes held by language learners and their language learning motivation.

Several studies have explored country images held by language learners in the context of foreign language education. For the most part, these studies were conducted among the students learning German, Spanish and French (Drewelow, 2013; Schultz & Haerle, 1995; Vande Berg, 1990). Some of the studies have made attempts to classify these country images according to their favourability and theme (Schulz & Haerle, 1995; Taylor, 1977). However, no systematic longitudinal analysis of representational structures of country stereotypes held by language learners has been carried out thus far. The current study addresses these gaps; its prime aim is to examine temporal trends and patterns in language learners' perceptions of Russia. To achieve this aim, the study addresses the following research questions:

- 1) What is the internal structure of the language learners' country images about Russia?
- 2) What are the temporal trends in the representational structure of stereotypes about Russia?

In this study, the terms "images", "representations" and "stereotypes" are used interchangeably because of a close link between these three psychological constructs. Thus, "mental images" are "representations of objects in our mind" (Gardini, Cornoldi & De Beni, 2006, 41). Stereotypes can be true or false, positive or negative, individually-held or commonly shared representations of reality. However, as reflected in the etymology of this word (being a combination of the Greek words "*stereo-s*" for "solid" and "*typos*" for "a model"), the main problem is that stereotypes are rigid and inflexible mental representation of reality.

Images and stereotypes that people have about other countries, cultures, ethnic or cultural groups have been widely explored in various academic disciplines ranging from psychology to linguistics, marketing and tourism. Studies in psychology, where the main bulk of research on stereotypes is done, have contributed to the body of knowledge about this psychological phenomenon by deliberating on the definitions and advancing the methodology of stereotype research (Banaji, 2001). While psychologists have been mainly interested in

stereotypes about various groups of people and in the mental processes involved in stereotyping, researchers in tourism and marketing have focused on country stereotypes and have proposed some useful classifications and taxonomies of these stereotypes. For example, Brijs, Bloemer and Kasper (2011) argued that images about a country tend to cluster around nine country-related aspects, which include "cultural identity, political climate, language, history, climate, landscape, economic and technological development, religion and people" (p. 1260). The current study divided the students' images about Russia into categories based on the taxonomy proposed by Brijs, Bloemer and Kasper (2011). A more detailed description of the research design and analytical approach adopted by this empirical investigation are explained in the following sections.

Longitudinal research in applied linguistics

Generally, longitudinal research concerns itself with development and change and its main aims are either to describe and analyse the patterns of change or to explain causal relationships among variables that are involved in the processes under observation (Menard, 2002). Several researchers have noted that longitudinal studies are comparatively rare in the field of applied linguistics despite the obvious suitability of longitudinal approaches to studying processes involved in learning an additional language (Dörnyei, 2007; Ortega & Iberri-Shea, 2005). Therefore, the current study has potential to contribute to the methodological diversity of the applied linguistics research.

As Dörnyei (2007) pointed out, in order to achieve its purposes, a longitudinal study must focus on an "ongoing examination of people or phenomena over time" as well as fulfil several other criteria (p.78). Thus, the data for the study has to be collected at two or more points in time; the cases or participants must be the same or comparable; the analysis has to include some comparisons of the data collected at different points of time. In their important review of literature on longitudinal research in applied linguistics, Ortega and Iberri-Shea (2005) observed that longitudinal studies in the field had mostly focused on linguistic variables, such as the acquisition of morphological or grammatical structures or the learning rate concerning lexical terms. The most popular research design adopted in such studies is a descriptive-quantitative approach where data are analysed by means of descriptive statistics, such as frequencies and percentages. As Ortega and Iberri-Shea (2005) noted, non-linguistic variables had rarely been included in longitudinal applied linguistics research. Such studies mainly focused on the language learners' personal experiences (i.e., micro-perspectives) and

employed purely qualitative research designs, including autobiographical or ethnographical methodologies.

The present study's variable of interest—language learners' country images—is non-linguistic and the current investigation is different from earlier studies because it considers the macro perspective or the change in cultural beliefs of a group of people, such as the language learners. This study explores and describes patterns and trends in the structure of images about the target language country—Russia—that had occurred within the population of beginner learners of Russian over a span of seven years.

Method

Research design

Commenting on a variety of possible longitudinal research paradigms, Ortega and Iberri-Shea (2005) encouraged investigators to more fully utilize the potential of mixed-methods research design. The current study was implemented within the mixed-methods research paradigm, which acknowledges the reality that researchers have to make pragmatic choices in their investigative endeavours. The pragmatic choice for the mixed-methods approach in the current study was dictated by two considerations. First of all, the respondents had not been the same individuals, rather, they represented the same population—the learners of Russian in a Malaysian university. This means that the current longitudinal investigation can be identified as a 'trend study'. In trend studies, the population remains the same (i.e., beginner learners of Russian in this particular research study) but the data are collected at different points in time from different (i.e., not the same) samples of respondents (Cresswell, 2012; Dörnyei, 2007; Fraenkel, Wallen & Hyun, 2012). Because the longitudinal data presented here were at the aggregate level, it was not viable to employ a micro perspective, an approach associated with purely qualitative research.

Secondly, the current study's variable of interest was non-linguistic: it dealt with Russian language learners' images and cultural representations of Russia. Therefore, unlike the earlier studies that operated with distinctly linguistic variables and adopted the descriptive-quantitative longitudinal design, the present research project was based on the data in the form of language learners' answers to an open-ended question that sought the students' images about Russia. These data were first analysed using a qualitative (QUAL) approach where, based on their thematic unity, the images were separated in the course of thematic analysis into categories (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Following this, the data were quantified to enable the frequency analysis (QUAN). The type of mixed-methods design in this study could be expressed by the formula QUAL→QUAN.

The capital letters in the formula indicate that the qualitative (QUAL) and quantitative (QUAN) strands have equal importance; the direction of the arrow indicates the sequence in the analytical procedures.

Participants, data collection and research instrument

A total of 143 students learning Russian in *Universiti Malaysia Sabah* (UMS) participated in this study between the years 2004 and 2010. All the participants were learning Russian *ab initio*, and none of them had travelled to Russia before. The data were collected by repeated questionnaire surveys administered among different groups of respondents in the years 2004 (69 students), 2007 (32 students) and 2010 (42 students).

It is important to note that the data were collected in the very first language class that the respondents attended. This was done in order to obtain endogenous images about Russia held by the students before these perceptions could be changed or modified in the course of the language program. The students were asked to write all images that the words "Russia" or "Russian" bring to their mind. They could provide any number of words, short phrases or sentences written either in English or Malay. In order to elicit sincere responses from the participants the researcher decided to ensure maximum anonymity, therefore, the respondents were not asked to provide any demographic information about themselves.

Data analysis

Prior to data analysis, all responses were typed *ad verbatim* and the data were cleansed. For example, double-loaded answers, such as "Russia is a big country with its own culture", were separated into two images, namely, "Russia is a big country" and "(it) has its own culture". After this, the data were analysed by thematic analysis, which is a qualitative analytic method for "identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.79). First of all, images that were mentioned more than once were grouped into subcategories. Idiosyncratic images or the images mentioned only once and those that could not form a logical unit with the other representations (e.g., "my friend Mugu"), were removed. Then, considering the type of images they contained, the smaller subcategories were joined into larger categories based on the taxonomy adopted from Brijs, Bloemer and Kasper (2011). This step in the analysis enabled the researcher to examine the internal structure of the students' images about Russia.

Some minor modifications to the original taxonomy by Brijs et al. (2011) were done in order to reflect the content of images collected during the three

questionnaire surveys. These changes did not alter the essence of the relevant country-related aspects and representative structure of country images in the taxonomy proposed by Brijs and his colleagues. To be more specific, the category "Landscape" in the original taxonomy by Brijs et al. was renamed in this study as "Country size and sites". Also, since very few references had been made by the respondents to economic condition in Russia and, instead, many images referred to technology and education, the category "Technology and education" was introduced in lieu of the thematic label "Economic and technological development" proposed in Brijs et al.'s study.

Results

Findings of Study 1: 2004

The students provided 222 images about Russia. Of them, 168 were retained for further analysis. Table 1 demonstrates the study's findings. As can be seen from the table, the images about Russia corresponded to eight out of nine thematic categories; none of the images related to the label "Religion". The biggest category of images was "Language", which is not surprising considering that the study had been carried out among learners of Russian during their language class. It contained references to various aspects of the target language. The majority of the images related to the difficulty of Russian (e.g., "very difficult language to learn"). Some students commented on the novelty and uniqueness of the target language (e.g., "Russian has unique spelling that looks like Greek"). Several respondents considered Russian as a language that is "popular in the world" and "spread in Asia" while some students wrote that Russian is "not a popular language".

The second in the size category was "History". Typical images here were "former USSR" and "communist country". Several images in this cluster referred to the "cold war". One student indicated a deeper knowledge of history by providing the image "Russo-Japanese war". The third largest group of images concerned Russia's territorial vastness (e.g., "Russia is a big country") and included some geographical areas and cities ("Siberia", "the capital Moscow"). It was named accordingly "Country size and sites". Two images in this group identified Russia's location as "a country next to China"; there were some erroneous beliefs as well (e.g., "Romania").

An important position in the representational structure occupied the images concerning Russia's advanced status in the areas of technology and education. Many students mentioned Russia as a popular destination to study medicine (e.g., "Russia has many medical schools"). Several references were made to the military and aerospace technology (e.g., "military jets MIG and Sukhoi",

“aerospace technology”). Following in size was the category “Political situation”. There were several outdated images in this group which described Russia as a “communist” and a “Marxist” country. Other representations were “strong country”, “republic” and “veto holder in the United Nations”.

Table 1: Students' images about Russia (2004)

<i>Country aspects</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Culture (n=3)*	Historical culture; unique culture
Political situation (n=22)	Communist country; republic; strong country; veto holder in the UN; war; ethnic problem
Language (n=37)	Difficult language; unique language; interesting language; beautiful language; new language; good language to learn; popular in the world / not popular in the world; sounds strange / sounds cool
History (n=28)	Former USSR; former communist country; Cold war; Russo-Japanese War; Karl Marx; Anastasia; Peter the Great; Tsar Nicholas; Lenin; Stalin
Climate (n=10)	Cold weather; winter
Country size and sites (n=27)	Large territory; country next to China; Moscow; Saint Petersburg; Ural; Siberia; Crimea; Ukraine; Romania
Technology and education (n=23)	Medical schools; high tech; military technology; great inventions; Sputnik; K-19 submarine; aerospace technology
Religion (n=0)	----
People (n=18)	Good-looking people; people with white skin; people with yellow hair; warm-hearted people; hard working people; people not wealthy; Vladimir Putin; Alexander Popov; Marat Safin

* Note: n indicates number of images in a category

Images in the category “People” contained references to physical appearance (e.g., “people with white skin and yellow hair”), to the perceived behaviour (“people are hardworking”) and the character (“they are nice and warm hearted”) of Russian people as well as their economic status (“people are not wealthy”). Several images mentioned contemporary political figures (e.g., “Vladimir Putin”) and sportsmen (“Marat Safin” and “Alexander Popov”). One student wrote that “Putin is a cool guy”. There were considerably fewer images in the categories “Climate” (e.g., “cold climate”) and “Culture” (e.g., “unique

culture"). None of the respondents provided any image that could be placed under the heading "Religion".

Findings of Study 2: 2007

The data collected during the second survey contained 176 images about Russia. After the data were cleaned, 138 images were retained for further analysis. Table 2 demonstrates the findings from this survey. As the table shows, the greatest number of images were placed in the "Country size and sites" category. These images pertained to Russia's territorial vastness ("very big country"), to cities and geographical areas and to the country's geographical position. There were some interesting discrepancies in the students' perceptions. Thus, several respondents wrote that Russia was "located in Asia" or "situated near China" while others provided the image "Europe".

Table 2: Students' images about Russia (2007)

<i>Country aspects</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Culture (n=16)*	Different culture from Malaysia; T.A.T.U. (pop singers); European culture; Russian dance
Political situation (n=11)	Military power; USSR; communist country
Language (n=12)	Different language; difficult language; funny language
History (n=10)	Former USSR; Russian royal family; World War I; Cold war; revolution in the 1990s
Climate (n=19)	Cold country; four seasons
Country size and sites (n=30)	Big country; the biggest country in the world; Moscow; Saint Petersburg; Kursk; country in Asia / country in Europe; located near China; beautiful country; Ukraine
Technology and education (n=24)	medical courses; nuclear technology; aerospace technology
Religion (n=0)	---
People (n=16)	Good looking people; people with golden hair; friendly people; Vladimir Putin; Maria Sharapova; Yuri, the first man in space

* Note: n indicates number of images in a category

The second in the size group of images was labelled "Technology and education". The majority of answers in this category mentioned medical programs in Russia ("studies in medicine"). Some students wrote "aerospace technology" or "nuclear technology". The following category "Climate" contained

the answers "cold country" and "four seasons". The representations in the cluster labelled "Culture" included references to the once-famous duet T.A.T.U.; some students commented on the dissimilar nature of Malaysian and Russian cultures. As in the earlier survey, the category "People" contained references to the appearance and perceived character of Russian people (e.g., "good looking people", "friendly people"). The category "Language" mostly consisted of the images describing Russian as "different" from languages familiar to the respondents, such as Malay and English. Some students commented that Russian was a "difficult" or "funny" language. The smallest categories of images were "Political situation" and "History". It should be noted that some of the images in the cluster "Political situation" were outdated ("USSR", "communist country"). As in the previous study, there were no images that could be placed in the category "Religion".

Findings of Study 3: 2010

Out of 136 images collected from the respondents during this survey, 115 were retained for further analysis. Table 3 demonstrates the findings. The largest category "Country size and sites" contained references to Russia's geographical vastness ("a very big country"), "beautiful landscape" and the country's considerable distance from Malaysia ("a distant country"). Among cities, only "Moscow" and "Saint Petersburg" were mentioned.

In the category "Language", which was second in the size group of images, the majority of images referred to Russian as a "difficult language to learn", a "beautiful language" or a "language which is different from English". In the cluster labelled "Culture", the prevalent images included Russian architecture ("unique architecture", "Saint Basil's cathedral"); some students mentioned "music", "interesting fairy tales" and "unique costumes".

Similar to the findings from the two earlier surveys, images in the category "People" contained references to physical appearance ("white people") and perceived character ("friendly people", "people are not friendly") of Russians. Some students mentioned a famous tennis player, Maria Sharapova. The next in size cluster was "Technology and education". Analogous to the images gathered in the surveys conducted in 2004 and 2007, many answers in this category mentioned medical studies in Russia ("a place popular for medical studies"). Also, there were references to technological advancements ("a country famous for military technology") and one student mentioned "Moscow State University".

Table 3. Students' images about Russia (2010)

<i>Country aspects</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Culture (n=18)*	Old churches; famous architecture; Saint Basil's cathedral; music; unique culture; arts; fairy tales; different from Western culture
Political situation (n=12)	Communist country; war; republic; military country; strong country
Language (n=18)	Difficult language; different language; beautiful language
History (n=6)	Involved in wars; communist country; rich history
Climate (n=11)	Cold country
Country size and sites (n=22)	A very large country; distant country; beautiful country; Moscow; Saint Petersburg; Ukraine
Technology and education (n=13)	Medical colleges; advanced technology; aerospace technology; military technology; Moscow State University
Religion (n=0)	---
People (n=15)	Good looking people; white people; hard working people; people are friendly / not friendly; Maria Sharapova; different ethnic groups

* Note: *n* indicates number of images in a category

The category "Political situation" contained descriptions of Russia as a "communist country" and, rather inconsistently, as a "republic". As in the surveys conducted in 2004 and 2007, there were representations of Russia as a "strong country" and a military power; several students provided the answers "war" or "wars". Images in the cluster "Climate" referred solely to Russia being a "cold country" and a "place where it snows every time". Finally, the category "History" contained the references "Russian army" and "World War II". Several respondents were aware that Russia "was a communist country before" while some students described Russia as a country "full of history". As in the previous surveys, there were no images that could be placed in the "Religion" category.

Trend analysis of images about Russia

Regarding the first research question, which entailed exploration of the internal structure of language learners' images about Russia, the findings allowed for the conclusion that the structure of students' mental imagery about Russia was rich and multidimensional. Also, the mappings of images had, overall, concurred with the model proposed by Brijs et al. (2011). To be more specific, in

the course of three surveys conducted at three-year intervals (in 2004, 2007 and 2010) the students' representations about Russia consistently clustered around eight out of the nine country-related aspects identified by Brijs et al. (2011). The missing images about Russia in all three surveys related to the "Religion" aspect in this structure.

As to the second research question, which nudged the researcher to examine temporal trends and changes in the structural patterns of the students' images about Russia that occurred between the surveys, the findings provided several interesting insights. As Table 4 shows, the most stable categories of mental images about Russia were "Technology and education", "Country size and sites" and "People". Image content in these categories underwent minimal changes over the years, especially in the cluster "Technology and education". The findings also indicated that "Country size and sites" was the top category according to the number of images it contained in the surveys conducted in 2007 and 2010, and occupied the third position in size in the survey conducted in 2004. This finding indicates that some of the most prominent and enduring images about Russia held by the students were rooted in factual reality.

Table 4: Trend analysis of images about Russia (2004, 2007 and 2010)

Year	2004			2007			2010			
	Categories	n	%	rank	n	%	rank	n	%	rank
Culture	3	1.7%		8	16	11.5%	4	18	15.6%	2
Political situation	22	13.0%		5	11	7.9%	7	12	10.4%	6
Language	37	22.0%		1	12	8.6%	6	18	15.6%	2
History	28	16.6%		2	10	7.2%	8	6	5.2%	8
Climate	10	5.9%		7	19	13.7%	3	11	9.5%	7
Country size and sites	27	16.0%		3	30	21.7%	1	22	19.1%	1
Technology and education	23	13.6%		4	24	17.3%	2	13	11.3%	5
Religion	0	0%		9	0	0%	9	0	0%	9
People	18	10.7%		6	16	11.5%	4	15	13.0%	4
Total	168	100%		-	138	100%	-	115	100%	-

To attest to the universality and ubiquity of relating the image of Russia to the concept of spatial vastness, Google's "Ngram viewer" shows that among the common words to follow the string of words "Russia is a" are the adjectives "vast" (the third in rank) and "large" (ranked sixth). Moreover, the string of words "Russia is a vast country" has been continuously and uninterruptedly used in the corpus of millions of English language books since the year 1900.

The least stable categories in the students' representation structure of Russia were "Culture" and "History". These groups of images underwent noticeable changes in their prominence: the former category became more salient while the latter declined in importance over the years. The findings also revealed that the categories' rankings according to their salience (as reflected in their share of total images) were closely aligned in the two later surveys (i.e., 2007 and 2010).

Conclusions and pedagogical implications

Despite the sufficiently large numbers of images about Russia collected during each survey and notwithstanding the multidimensional structure of the language learners' mental imagery about the target language country, findings from the surveys indicated that the students' perceptions about Russia reflected the most ubiquitous and popular stereotypes. This fact concurs with conclusions reached in other investigations of language learners' representations of a TL country (Allen, 2004; Nikitina, Zuraidah & Loh, 2014; Schultz & Haerle, 1995; Vande Berg, 1990). A stereotypical nature of the students' imagery about Russia was revealed in the finding that almost the same images about Russia had been provided by the respondents in all three surveys. The fact that the images referring to Russia's history and political system tended to be outdated and highly erroneous (e.g., "communist country") indicated that some of these stereotypical representations have become greatly 'ossified'.

It has been recognized in research literature that an important role of foreign language education is to diminish language learners' stereotypical perceptions about a TL country, its culture and people, to develop the learners' cultural awareness and aptitude and to enhance their critical thinking (Houghton, 2010; Schulz & Haerle, 1995). Viable pedagogical approaches to achieving these objectives would be based on constructivist assumptions concerning learning and teaching and some studies have offered detailed descriptions and discussions of innovative pedagogical initiatives that utilize language learners' stereotypes in concrete educational settings (Allen, 2004; Drewelow, 2013; Houghton, 2010; Vande Berg, 1990).

The images about Russia collected from the students had informed the language instructor about the gaps in the students' cultural knowledge and

provided some ideas as to how the cultural component of the language program could be tailored according to the students' educational needs. Thus, a part of the course curriculum had been introduced where the students were required to search materials and prepare short reports about any aspect of Russian culture that interested them. Topics chosen by the students usually included biographies of famous Russian composers, writers, artists and scientists; other popular themes concerned Russian cities, geographical areas, historical events and personae as well as folk customs and national cuisine. While preparing their reports, the students normally worked in small groups and each group presented their findings to classmates at the end of the semester; a short question and answer session followed each presentation. Due to their limited knowledge of Russian, the reports were written and presented either in Malay or English. These classroom presentations provided a platform for holding discussions about various aspects of Russian culture and everyday reality.

As the duration of the Russian language program at the University was three semesters, the approaches to implementing the group projects varied. In the earlier stages of the language program, the students themselves chose a topic for their semester-long project. At more advanced levels, the topics had to be related to some central theme proposed by the language teacher. These themes usually concerned major historical or important cultural epochs in Russia. To help the students generate ideas, a video on the proposed theme was shown and discussed with them in the classroom in the beginning of the semester (see Nikitina & Furuoka, 2013). To conclude, pedagogical approaches that employ language learners' images and stereotypes about a TL country as a shared platform from where further explorations of the TL culture can be initiated is a promising direction for the teaching of culture in the foreign language classroom.

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Visual advertisements: a tool for English language teaching?

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Abstract

Advertising as one of the phenomena of modern times is often an inseparable, though undesirable part of our everyday lives. Current trends indicate that there are still more and more anglicisms, internationalisms, and particles of different cultures penetrating billboard advertisements in many towns and cities around the world, and Slovakia is no exception. The crucial question of this article is: How is it possible to use advertisements in English language teaching and learning? To answer this question, the examination is focused on: (1) defining the role and characteristic traits of advertisements; (2) searching for the linkage between the psychological principles of advertising and psychology of learning foreign languages; (3) the frequency of anglicisms and internationalisms in billboard advertisements in particular areas of selected Slovak cities; (4) concrete suggestions for teaching practice based on the previous findings.

Keywords: advertisements, English language teaching, anglicisms, culture

Introduction

Advertisement is a noun derived from French *avertir-avertissement* meaning “public notice” or a “written statement calling attention to” (Harper, 2001-2015). In the past, advertisements were used to reflect some important event of a particular era, today, they mirror “the society and the business environment that produced them” (Pope, 2003).

There are several types of advertising. The first type comprises *traditional advertising* represented by advertising on television, radio, newspapers, magazines, or billboards. The next type of advertising, connected with the achievements of modern technology, is *online advertising* using Internet as the world’s most powerful media (Tavor, 2011). Another categorization classifies billboards and posters on city buildings, along the streets, shopping centres, or pedestrian zones to *outdoor advertising*. The second category, *transport advertising*, comprises billboards located on various means of transport- busses, taxi, cars, trains, in train or bus stations, next to train lines, and motorways. The

last category is *ambient advertising*. It includes posters and signs on telephone kiosks, public toilets, or just on the shop floors (Cronin, 2006). Advertising like this can be really irritating, because it is aggressive, excessive, gaudy and tasteless; it often juxtaposes incompatible elements and overloads the observer with too many visual impulses. Moreover, it obscures the real character of a city or landscape (Heřmánková, Jarolímek, Kozarová, Pešek 2012, 2013; Bankole, 2013).

Billboard pollution, as it is often called, is aptly characterized by Bankole (2013, p. 7) as an "indiscriminate and proliferous erection of low quality sign-systems that inform, warn, identify corporate goods and services". From the above mentioned, it is clear that advertisements are an important means of communication between advertisers, usually traders or producers, and potential consumers.

According to Jakštiene, Susniene and Narbutas (2008, p. 50), it serves as a "channel of information dissemination and the presumption for the market feedback". It communicates through visual and text figures which are aimed to attract the attention of the observer. Abdulaziz and Abdullah (2012) recognize six key communicative figures of billboard advertisements: visual images, slogan, logo, text, colour and space. According to Balkafl, Akbulut and Kartopu (2005), these figures comprise: legibility and readability of the advertising text, text language, letter types and letter size, colour of the letters, spaces between letters and sentences, colours of the other visual elements and pictures evoking emotional and mental effects, focal point of the elements, their design, shape, and measure. Recent research indicates that man and woman sexualities are used as attracting elements in many billboards and advertisements (*ibid.*).

Intercultural elements and anglicisms in billboard advertisements

The communicative figures of billboards and posters often comprise many intercultural elements, anglicisms, and internationalisms which are directly or indirectly linked with the advertising products. *Anglicisms* are words and phrases which are loaned from the English language. As Fischer and Pulaczewska (2008) state, they need not be loaned only from standard British English, but from all varieties of English language. Since English is the international language, many anglicisms can acquire status of *internationalisms*, because they are "shared by a number of different languages", but within one language family (Witalisz, 2011, p. 2). The same author (*ibid.*) accentuates a new phenomenon coming to the forefront- phenomenon of *globalisms* indicating terms and expressions used globally, by people belonging to different language families. (Despite several

terminological possibilities, this article will operate mainly with the term *anglicisms*, since it fits the best to our further investigation.).

In this way, billboard advertising serves as a permeable membrane transmitting these elements and loans into cultural awareness and languages of the observers in different countries and cultural backgrounds. (The technical term "observer" is understood as a man who is in contact with bill, whether he or she is a potential customer or not). It stands at the beginning of the process of *institutionalization*, which means that an anglicism becomes a part of the domestic language and it is not recognized as anglicism anymore (Fischer & Pulaczewska, 2008).

In mass media, Slovakia is known as the "kingdom of billboards" (compare Krekovič, 2012) where the billboard boom burst just after the Velvet revolution in 1989. Since that time, infiltration of western intercultural elements into the indigenous culture and English vocabulary into Slovak language occurs on a daily basis. However, some of the used anglicisms have been already institutionalized and some have not; or they have been institutionalized only by certain social or age groups. Picture 1 and Picture 2 can serve as examples.



Picture 1: Billboard advertising Aquaterm Company, (photographed 09.07.2015 in Nitra)



Picture 2: Billboard advertising Coca-Cola, (photographed 09.07. 2015 in Nitra)

In Picture 1 (billboard 1), a visual image of the American king of rock 'n' roll, Elvis Presley, is used to advertise bathrooms. Obviously, bathrooms and Elvis Presley have nothing in common. However, the authors of this advertisement connected these two incompatible elements through the slogan "Be like a/the KING in your new BATHROOM" (author's translation). Since Elvis is not only a symbol of rock 'n' roll music, but also of so called "rock 'n' roll youth culture", the values of "freedom and individuality, romance and love, erotic gratification and

acceptance and belonging" (Kellner, 2015, p. 4), which arose in the USA in 1960s, are instantly radiating through the poster to Slovak culture.

Picture 2 (billboard 2) advertising Coca-Cola is directly connected to the promotion of this well known drink, but, on the other hand, Coca-Cola represents American consumer and mass culture. It is a symbol of Americanization, also well known as Coca-colonization (Wagnleitner, 2009). Moreover, this concrete advertisement aimed mainly at young consumers employs an English acronym BFF institutionalized mainly among teenagers. Its meaning is "best friend/s forever" (urbandictionary.com, 2012).

Implementation of field research

Looking at advertising from a utilitarian viewpoint, it does not need to be useful only in terms of marketing. Its intercultural elements together with anglicisms can be an interesting variant applied into English language teaching. However, before proceeding to methodical and didactical aspects explaining *how* advertisements can be used in English lessons, it is inevitable to find out whether there really are language elements which could be used in English language teaching. The fulfilment of this objective is accompanied by answering these questions:

- What is the frequency of anglicisms in advertisements in particular areas in chosen Slovak cities?
- What are the most frequent words used on billboards and posters in these city areas?
- Which proficiency levels do the detected words correspond with?

Answering these questions required implementation of field research mapping and analysing advertisements in particular areas. Practical reasons led us to map advertisements in Nitra thoroughfares (Chrenovská, Zlatomoravecká, Mostná, Napervillská, Tr. A. Hlinku, Štúrová) and corresponding side roads (Piaristická, Farská, B. Slančíkovej, Nécseyho, Dražovská). The reasons are listed below:

- The great Nitra thoroughfares pass directly through the city; they allow mapping billboards and posters on city buildings and block of flats.
- There are big shopping centres located just on the great Nitra thoroughfares (OC Max, Baumax, Centro Nitra, Galéria Mlyny, and Tesco). They are the arteries of outdoor advertising and potential customers of all age categories are cumulated in these places.
- At the same time, they provide a big space for transport advertising; we were interested in billboards next to motorways and posters on city bus stations.

The field research was realized on 9 – 11 July 2015. According to Googlemaps.com, the monitored area was approximately 8.5 kilometres long. All posters, billboards, advertisements, banners and signs situated in the monitored area was photographed. After the data collection, all billboards and posters were analyzed. The first phase of the analysis was aimed at recording all anglicisms present in advertisements. Whenever a new anglicism occurred, it was recorded in an MS Excel chart with a serial number. When the same anglicism occurred again, either in the same billboard or in another one, the frequency of occurrence was recorded too. This enabled us to monitor both quality and quantity of anglicisms in the collected data. The next phase of the analysis was oriented to determination of the most frequently used anglicisms in billboard advertisements.

Afterwards, we tried to detect proficiency categories of the monitored anglicisms. The norm for the classification was based on the wordlists in the textbook collection English Vocabulary in Use (Elementary, Pre-Intermediate & Intermediate, Upper-Intermediate and Advanced) written by McCarthy and O'Dell (1999). Each anglicism was classified in one of the 5 categories: [Elementary [E], Pre-Intermediate & Intermediate [P/I], Upper-Intermediate [UI], Advanced [A], and Uncategorized [?]) according to the textbook wordlist where it occurred for the first time. For example, the word "apple" occurred both in the elementary word list and pre-intermediate and intermediate wordlist. However, it was placed only in elementary vocabulary since we took into consideration the lowest proficiency level. If the word did not occur in any of the abovementioned textbook lists, it was marked as "uncategorized".

Results

In the monitored area, there were identified 271 particles of advertisements (containing posters, billboards, banners and promotion signs). If we take into account the length of the monitored area (8.5 km), on average, there was one advertising element approximately every thirty meters.

In qualitative terms, there were indicated 192 different anglicisms, English words and phrases in those 271 advertisements. They are listed in alphabetical order in Table 1.

In quantitative terms, altogether, the anglicisms occurred 357 times. Some of the monitored anglicisms occurred only once, but some of them even 9 times. It means that as a mathematical average, there was more than one anglicism (1.3) in each advertisement. The most frequently used anglicisms are listed in Table 2.

Table 1. Anglicisms detected in 271 advertisements

1	Air conditioned	49	Drive [E]	97	Magic [?]	145	Seven [E]
2	[UI]	50	Duty [P/I]	98	Man [E]	146	Shell [UI]
3	Ant [P/I]	51	Earl [A]	99	Market [P/I]	147	Shoes [E]
4	Anywhere [P/I]	52	Edge [UI]	100	Mobile phone	148	Shop [E]
5	Apple [E]	53	Edition [P/I]	101	[E]	149	Shopping [E]
6	Art [E]	54	Energy [P/I]	102	Mad [P/I]	150	Shopping
7	Baby [E]	55	Energy drink	103	Mode	151	centre [P/I]
8	Bags [E]	56	[P/I]	104	collection [A]	152	Silver [P/I]
9	Banana [E]	57	Espresso [?]	105	Monkeys [E]	153	Simply clever
10	Band [P/I]	58	Europe [E]	106	Motive [UI]	154	[P/I]
11	Bank [E]	59	Express [UI]	107	Nails [E]	155	Since [P/I]
12	Beer [E]	60	Farm [E]	108	Nature [E]	156	Ski [E]
13	Best for [E]	61	Fence [P/I]	109	No frost [?]	157	Sky [?]
14	Bet [?]	62	Fiber [?]	110	Nonstop [?]	158	Slovakia [?]
15	Bicycles [E]	63	Fitness [A]	111	Norm [?]	159	Smart [UI]
16	Bite [P/I]	64	Food [E]	112	Oldies [A]	160	Space [UI]
17	Block [P/I]	65	Fox [?]	113	Orange [E]	161	Sport [E]
18	Bluff [?]	66	Free [E]	114	Outdoor [?]	162	Star [UI]
19	Body [E]	67	Full [P/I]	115	Part of life	163	Steak [E]
20	Bonus [?]	68	Fun [E]	116	[P/I]	164	Store [P/I]
21	Boss [UI]	69	Future [E]	117	Pension [UI]	165	Strong [P/I]
22	Bottle [P/I]	70	Galaxy [?]	118	Phase [UI]	166	Style [UI]
23	Bow [UI]	71	Game [E]	119	Plant [E]	167	Surprise [E]
24	Brand [P/I]	72	Garden [E]	120	Play [E]	168	Television [E]
25	Bunny [?]	73	Generation	121	Point [P/I]	169	Terrestrial [?]
26	Cappuccino [?]	74	[UI]	122	Poker [?]	170	The best [E]
27	Car [E]	75	Go [E]	123	Port [UI]	171	The biggest
28	Cargo [A]	76	Golden [P/I]	124	Portal [UI]	172	[E]
29	Carp [?]	77	Grand [P/I]	125	Power [P/I]	173	The great [E]
30	Carrier [E]	78	Gym [A]	126	Production	174	Three [E]
31	Casinos [UI]	79	Halloween [?]	127	[P/I]	175	Thru [P/I]
32	Celtic [?]	80	Happy [E]	128	Professional	176	Ticket [E]
33	Century [E]	81	Heavy [P/I]	129	[P/I]	177	Time [E]
34	Cinema [E]	82	Home [E]	130	Professor [UI]	178	Top [E]
35	City [E]	83	Hotline [?]	131	Pub [E]	179	Tour [P/I]
36	Club [P/I]	84	House [E]	132	Quilt [A]	180	Towers [P/I]
37	Cocktail [?]	85	Human [P/I]	133	Raw [P/I]	181	Toys [E]
38	Colours [E]	86	Image [P/I]	134	Real estate	182	Trends [UI]
39	Comfort [P/I]	87	In [E]	135	[UI]	183	United [UI]
40	Company [UI]	88	In time [P/I]	136	Reality [P/I]	184	Uprising [A]

41	Cranberry [?]	89	Indoor [?]	137	Red [E]	185	Video tours
42	Cross fit [UI]	90	Industry [P/I]	138	Refugee [UI]	186	[UI]
43	Delivery [P/I]	91	Invest [P/I]	139	Register [P/I]	187	Village [E]
44	Denim [UI]	92	It's play time	140	Reserved [E]	188	Vision [UI]
45	Design [P/I]	93	[?]	141	Restaurant [E]	189	Visit [P/I]
46	Devil [?]	94	Jewellery [UI]	142	Rethink [P/I]	190	Wail [?]
47	Direct [P/I]	95	Line [P/I]	143	River [E]	191	Watches [P/I]
48	Download on [UI]	96	Link [UI]	144	Rock [UI]	192	Welcome to [P/I]
	Drinks [E]		Lion [E]		Royal [UI]		Well [E]
			Liquor [?]		Sale [E]		Wood [E]
			Lounge bar [P/I]		Scan [UI]		Wool [E]
					Sclerosis [?]		World [P/I]
					See more at [P/I]		
					Select [UI]		

Table 2: The most frequently used anglicisms

	Anglicism	Frequency of use		Anglicism	Frequency of use
1	Club [P/I]	9 x	10	City [E]	4 x
2	Orange [E]	9 x	11	Express [UI]	4 x
3	Power [P/I]	7 x	12	House [E]	4 x
4	Shop [E]	6 x	13	Market [P/I]	4 x
5	Shopping centre [P/I]	6 x	14	Mode collection [?]	4 x
6	Sport [E]	6 x	15	Nonstop [?]	4 x
7	Fitness [?]	5 x	16	Outdoor [?]	4 x
8	Fox [?]	5x	17	Slovakia [?]	4 x
9	Cinema [E]	4 x			

In Figure 1, it is possible to see the percentage of anglicisms belonging to particular proficiency categories. Most of the detected words (35%) belonged to elementary category. It was followed by pre-intermediate and intermediate category with 27%. Also the upper-intermediate category contained quite a rich list of words (18%), although it was almost half as long as the elementary one. A significant decrease of words was indicated in advanced category- only 4%. Uncategorized words represented 16% of the whole. In this category, there were mainly words creating a border between basic and specific vocabulary (for example, sclerosis, liquor, fitness, terrestrial, poker, bluff) or words which are internationally recognized (cappuccino, espresso, nonstop). It is important to

mention that if we used another norm and model for word classification, the results could be different. However, our main focus was not to do a deep linguistic and lexical analysis, but to find out whether there really are language elements that could be possibly used in English language teaching.

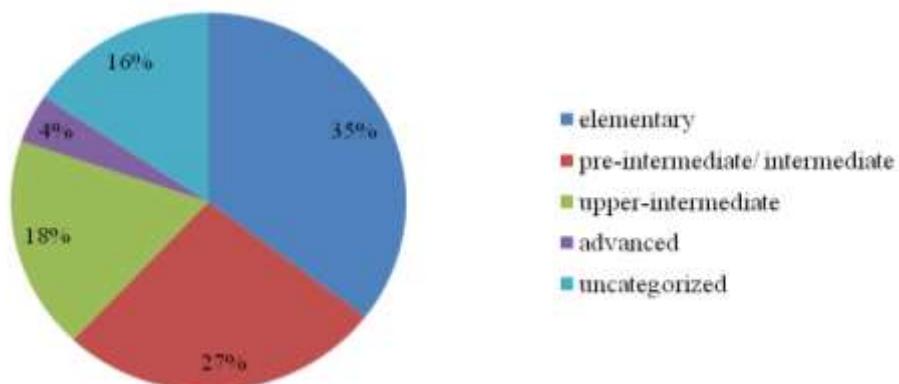


Figure 1: Proficiency categories of anglicisms detected in advertisements

From the abovementioned, it is clear that advertisements contain anglicisms falling within the target vocabulary of all English proficiency levels, though in various percentages of representation. This means that it could be used in English lessons, mainly for teaching vocabulary. But what aspects of learning does it comprise?

Ellis (1995) states that if somebody wants to learn a word, he or she must at least recognize the word as a word and insert it into his or her mental lexicon. In addition to these two processes, the word must be categorized and acquired in various subsections of one's mental lexicon. These subsections relate to several modes that a word can have and which are necessary for its recognition and production: (1) recognition of the sound of the word in speech; (2) recognition of the orthographic mode of the word- its written form; (3) correct spelling of the word; (4) correct pronunciation of the word, both separately and in combination with other words; (5) recognition of its syntactic, semantic, and lexical properties; (5) to know the word's meaning; (7) to know its connotations and idiosyncrasy (Ellis, 1995; Pokrivčáková, 2010).

Advertisements cannot be used for acquisition of all of the above listed modes of a word. They can be a helpful aid for learning the written form of the word,

correct spelling of the word and its meaning. It is based on the interface between the psychology of vocabulary learning and psychology of advertising.

A) Billboards, context and incidental vocabulary learning

The overall design of billboards and posters, as a product of modern marketing endeavours, is built on certain psychological factors influencing behaviour of potential customers. In general, it draws from the psychology of Gestalt based on holistic, parallel and analogue principles and operations of brain and mind. It means that as human brain grasps a message holistically, also the whole billboard or poster is aimed to communicate one coherent message rather than its individual parts (Abdulaziz, Abdullah, 2012).

Ellis (1995, p. 3) claims that "much of incidental vocabulary learning comes from context during reading." Also, the other authors and researchers (Laufer, Hulstijn, 2001, Yoshi, Flaitz, 2002, Rieder, 2002) stress the relevance of incidental vocabulary learning as a by-product of other message-focused activities.

While looking at a billboard or poster, the observer perceives its complex message created by all its visual and text figures. However, an anglicism, which could be the target English word, is present in this collage too. This means that all visual images, pictures, colours, slogans, and texts create a context for the target word. However, billboards and posters can be of different quality. It follows that some billboards can provide poor context for the target words and they can deceive the observers. Example: If the target word in Picture 3 (billboard 3 advertising ironmongery and hardware products) is "village", the context of the billboard does not correspond with the denotative meaning of the word at all. Rather, it is a pastiche of incompatible elements that can distract attention of the observer and obscure the meaning of this word.

Some other billboards or posters require the observer to have some previous knowledge on which the context is built. Example: In Picture 4 (billboard 4 advertising the shoe store CCC), the target words "shoes & bags" are not supported by any explicit visual or text elements. There are no shoes or bags portrayed on the billboard but a woman in a car. The context for the target words is created by the previous experience or knowledge of the observer- if he or she knows that CCC is a shoe store, then, naturally, he or she assumes that the meaning of "shoes & bags" has something to do with the goods sold in that store.



Picture 3: Billboard advertising Rawtech ironmongery, (photographed 09.07.2015 in Nitra)



Picture 4: Billboard advertising CCC Shoe store, (photographed 10.07.2015 in Nitra)

B) Billboards and implicit learning of vocabulary

The team of authors, Jakštienė, Susnienė and Narbutas (2008), made a concise synopsis of relevant psychological processes influenced by advertising. They are portrayed in Table 3.

Table 3 indicates that attention and perception are the gateways to the mind of the observer. Moreover, the authors (*ibid.*) claim that there should be at least one figure on any billboard affecting the observer subconsciously. These subconscious figures can evoke feelings- affective processes (how the observer is going to feel after buying the product), which can retain the advertisement in the observer's mind and recollect it even after longer time. This retention is reinforced by multiplication of the same advertisement in a small area.

Attention, perception together with affective figures in billboard advertisements relate to implicit learning of new vocabulary. Implicit learning is a subconscious and automatic process; the learning subject does not even know that learning takes place. It is characterized by a necessity of frequency impulses which are absorbed through our senses - a new word is recognised as a result of frequency of exposure (DeKeyser, 2010). Ellis (1999, p.6.) points out that simple attention and perception of the target word is sufficient, because it starts up all regularities and psychological processes responsible for implicit learning: "Our lexical systems become tuned to regularities in orthography (letter units and sequential letter probabilities), to regularities in phonology, to regular patterns of grapheme-phoneme and phoneme-grapheme correspondences, to high frequency words over low frequency ones" (shortened).

Table 3: The aspects of psychological impact of advertising (Jakštiene, Susniene & Narbutas, 2008, p. 52)

AIDA Model	DAGMAR Model	Four key psychological processes (Kotler, 2007)	Cognitive aspects (Jokubauskas, 2007)
Attention	Awareness	Motivation	Attention
Interest	Comprehension	Perception	Perception
Desire	Conviction	Learning	Emotions, senses, reasoning, thoughts, language
Action	Action	Memory	Assimilation, recognition

In terms of billboard advertisements, the more often the target word occurs on billboards and posters, the more it is perceived by the sight of the observer and the natural frequency impulses are higher. Moreover, the affective figures operating in the subconscious of the observer can evoke the recollection of the mental image of an advertisement and it can indirectly contribute to the frequency cues necessary for implicit learning. However, what is implicitly learned is just the orthographic *form* of the word; acquisition of *meaning* is the domain of explicit processes.

C) Billboards and explicit learning of vocabulary

Information processing, which includes vocabulary learning, "moves from a sensory level of analysis, through pattern recognition to semantic enrichment" (Ellis, 1999. p. 6). In foreign-language vocabulary development, the stages of pattern recognition and semantic enrichment are to a large extent results of explicit learning. Explicit learning is a conscious and deliberate intention to finding regularities and rules, to concept formation and concept linking (Dörney, 2009, Hulstijn 2002). This means that unlike the orthographic form of the target word, its meaning is not the result of a mere frequency of exposure, but the result of conscious processes called *explicit learning focus* (Rieder, 2002). The observer does not want to understand the entire meaning of the text, in our case billboard, poster or advertisement, but he or she is interested in the concrete word and its meaning. He or she uses different means to grasp the meaning of the unknown word, for example consultation with dictionaries, textbooks, peers, or guessing from context.

However, billboards and posters are very often just a blurred mixture of slogans, colours and images. As Cronin (2006) argues, they cease to be read and their messages cease to be noticed, because they have become a part of everyday

city scenery. Therefore, it is even less probable that the observers will look at the billboards with the intention to learn some unknown English words. According to Kotler (2002), one means that could bridge over this barrier of indifference is *motivation*. He (*ibid.*) exalts motivation above all other processes since he believes that just biogenic and psychogenic needs are the driving force of customer (observer) - advertisement (billboard) communication. They drive the selective attention and selective retention of the observer. This means that people notice, try to understand, and remember mainly information supporting their needs, wants, attitudes, interests, and beliefs. If the informative value of the target English word is directly connected with the motivation of the observer, then it is probable that the *explicit learning focus* will be on that word too.

Billboard advertisements in English language teaching- outline of practical activities

In this section, we present two methodically processed activities describing how to use billboard advertisements in teaching English vocabulary. It is based on the previous findings and theoretical background and it also employs basic principles of teaching vocabulary. The issue of using advertisements in English language education has been already discussed by several Slovak authors and researchers, for example, Homolová 2003, Kaizerová 2010, but the advertisements were construed as authentic materials or integrants of journalistic texts. From this perspective, the following activities can serve as an inspiration for teachers who would like to use some alternative ways for teaching English vocabulary.

ACTIVITY 1: "Mr. English's Treasure"

Focus: explicit leaning of vocabulary

Proficiency level: pre-intermediate and up

Age level: 10 and up

Organization: group work

Approximate time: 45 minutes

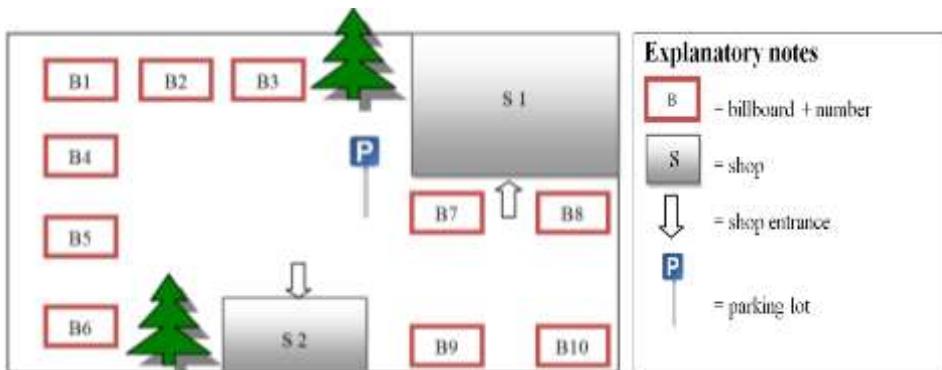
Preparation: short story about Mr. English's treasure, maps of an area with high density of billboards, for example, parking lot, shopping centre yard, pedestrian zone etc. (example in Picture 5) – one map goes to one group of learners; explanatory notes (can be a part of the map), preparation of task lists; treasure-stickers, books or sweets- it depends on the age level.

Procedure:

1. In the classroom, the teacher tells the learners a story about Mr. English who visited Slovakia (or another country) some time ago. Since he liked this

country very much, he decided to hide a treasure there. Only those who resolve three tasks can find the way to the treasure, because he enciphered it to billboards and posters in a particular area.

Picture 5: Map of an area with many billboards



2. The teacher divides the learners into groups of 3-4 members. The mixed ability groups are recommended; learners can use their individual potentials in the process of task solving. The groups can choose their leaders and a nickname.
3. The next part of the lesson is set outside- in the area with many billboards. The teacher distributes the maps of the area, explanatory notes and the first worksheet and he or she explains the task.

"Read the descriptions of 5 unknown English words below. Next to each description, there are numbers of billboards in which the words are enciphered. Find out the words and write them in the blank boxes".

Table 4: Example of worksheet 1 for pre-intermediate and intermediate learners

To cause someone to feel less worried, upset or frightened.	B2	comfort
The strength that allows you to do things.	B9	Energy
Typical of people.	B5	Human
A small, dark red berry or the plant that produces it.	B7	Cranberry
To think carefully about something again.	B8	Rethink ²

² All the word descriptions were found at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/>

-
4. After completing the first task, the teacher checks whether the words are correct and presents the pronunciation of the words. Then he or she assigns the next task. The learners have to put together the prescribed letters of each word to get a new one (word 1- the fourth letter; word 2- the first letter; word 3- the last letter; word 4- the first letter; word 5- the second letter; the newly created word = F-E-N-C-E). Then, the teacher instructs the learners to the billboard where this word occurs, for example billboard 3 (B3). They have to guess the meaning of the word "fence" from the billboard context (pictures, figures, text).
 5. The last task is oriented to the use of the words. The learners have to prepare and present a short story explaining why Mr. English left Slovakia. All the new words should be used in it.
 6. Finally, the teacher gives the students a map or a description of the place where the treasure is hidden. It can be somewhere outdoors or in the school building or classroom. The very last task is to find the treasure and enjoy it.

Remarks to Activity 1

This activity draws from explicit learning of the English vocabulary (explicit learning focus) since it employs extrinsic motivation of learners based on their need to know the word meaning, to solve the task and to reach the treasure. Lower the age level, stronger the extrinsic motivation. However, the teacher must bear in mind that understanding of the dictionary explanations can be problematic mainly for younger learners. Therefore, it is recommended to use pictures instead of verbal descriptions. This activity also employs some aspects of task-based learning, because while learners elaborate the tasks, they use the target language in a meaningful way (Willis, 2005). The necessity of group work during the task solving can be positively evaluated since it gives an opportunity for cooperation, team building, and scaffolding learning.

A drawback of this activity is its time consumption. The teacher has to check the terrain with billboards, hide the treasure and prepare all the maps and worksheets beforehand. It is not situated in the safe classroom environment, but in the real outdoors. It is based on teacher's creativity and his or her will to offer an alternative learning environment to his or her learners, what will be certainly appreciated. It can also happen that there will not be any suitable anglicisms (corresponding to age and proficiency level of the learners and the curriculum) in billboards at a given time and a given location. Instead of anglicisms, teachers can utilize intercultural elements. This activity can be modified in various ways corresponding to the needs and wants of the individual classes. At least, activity 1

can help learners to notice and observe the omnipresent phenomena of anglicisms in billboard advertisements in their own town or city.

ACTIVITY 2: "Designers"

Focus: implicit → explicit leaning of vocabulary

Proficiency level: elementary and up

Age level: 10 and up

Organization: individual work, pair work

Approximate time: 45 minutes

Preparation: Simulation of billboard advertisements in the classroom- teacher has to make pictures of billboards and posters from the outdoors, print them out, and stick them on the classroom walls. These billboards should contain already known vocabulary and also some new words (4-8) which are the target of the lesson. Preparation of "identification lists" containing the words from the billboards (already known ones and the target ones), plus some other words creating a background to the known and target ones (example in Picture 6). Old newspapers, pictures, color papers, pairs of scissors, glue sticks, markers, crayons.

Picture 6: Example of "identification list"

food	surprise	toys	image
body	style	well	drinks
car	top	link	world
oldies	art	direct	village
store	river	company	bite
watches	select	city	baby

Procedure:

1. If the activity is situated in the classroom, then the teacher has to stick the pictures of billboards on the walls before the lesson. If it is possible to go outdoors, this step can be skipped and real advertisements can be utilized.
2. At the very beginning, the teacher tells the learners that their classroom simulates the reality outside- they are not in the classroom, but in a street, motorway or a pedestrian zone. Learners are asked to walk around the classroom for 3-4 minutes and look at the billboards. To improve the simulated atmosphere, the teacher can play some street sounds or some outdoor background noises.

3. After this, the learners are seated and the teacher distributes the identification lists in which the learners have to circle as many words that they saw in the billboards as possible. For example, from the identification list in Picture 6, these words were available in billboards: *food, body, watches, top, river, toys, city, drinks, village, and baby*. Ideally, all these should be circled.
4. Learners check the words in pairs and decide which of the circled words they already know and which the new ones are. They sort them into two columns.

For example:

Already known words	New words
Body	Food
River	Watches
Toys	Top
Drinks	City
Baby	Village

5. Working with the new words: learners go back to the posters and billboards where the new words occur and try to guess their meaning from the billboard context. If this is possible, they note down what figures helped them grasp the meaning of the unknown word. If it is impossible to grasp the meaning, they can consult with their peers or look it up in a dictionary.
6. The pre-last stage of the activity is oriented to redesigning the vague contexts of the posters so that they correspond with the denotative meaning of the words better than the original ones. This is the creative part of the activity; learners act as designers and they can use any technique- drawing, colouring, sticking, modelling, text writing etc., but the target word must be in the centre of the redesigned poster or billboard.
7. Learners present their new billboards in the class.

Remarks to Activity 2

Activity 2 called "Designers" employs the designing techniques just in its final parts, where the learners have to redesign the billboard context and make it more suitable for the denotative meaning of the target words. This part is based on explicit learning of vocabulary, because the learners consciously work with the word meaning and its context. They employ creativity, sensual perception, hands and crafts enabling creation of deeper memory tracks. This is an inseparable follow-up of the previous part of activity 2 oriented to implicit vocabulary learning. Here, the learners were supposed to perceive just the orthographic form of the words with which they later worked in more detail.

The advantage of this activity is that it brings billboard advertisements to the classroom and the teacher can adjust the setting (billboard and poster types) according to the current conditions and needs. However, this activity is also time and material consuming; it requires rich advanced preparation. But as in the previous case, it can be modified in many ways; for example, the teacher can assign it as a project work and check the partial results during the lessons. In this way, the learners can experience responsibility for their own learning.

Conclusion

The area of English language teaching is very wide and it is only natural that there are many approaches to this phenomenon. In this article, we chose a somewhat unusual approach; we tried to find the linkage between English language teaching and advertisements and find out how they can be used in English classes. Already, the question mark in the title (Advertisements: A tool for English language teaching?) indicates the dual character of the article- both investigative and methodical. The investigative part embraces the first three sections- explanation of the main characteristic traits of advertising, investigation of frequency of anglicisms in billboard advertisements in chosen areas, and searching for interconnections between psychology of advertising and psychology of foreign-language learning. The field research showed that there were 192 different anglicisms used in 271 billboards. The frequency of their usage was even higher, they were used 357 times. This finding confirmed our presumption of possible use of billboard advertisements in English vocabulary teaching since they comprised a wide range of English words belonging to all proficiency categories. From the psychological perspective, psychology of advertising and psychology of foreign-language learning intersected at three points: implicit vocabulary learning, explicit vocabulary learning, and incidental vocabulary learning. All these pieces of information helped us elaborate a detailed methodical outline of two activities that can serve as a recipe for teachers who would like to use some alternative ways of teaching vocabulary.

All aspects of our research led us to positive answers to the question in the title: Is billboard advertising a tool for English language teaching? Yes, billboard advertisements can be one way leading to English vocabulary development, and certainly to the development of many other areas, for example, intercultural competence, reading skills, writing skills and creativity. However, these things will be the subjects of further research.

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Culture as a distinctive feature of an ethnic group (based on the example of translated handwritten literature of Polish-Lithuanian Tatar)

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Abstract

The article is focused on Tatar ethnic group. It tries to show on its example, how one can be open on other cultures without losing one's identity and how to persevere in a different cultural environment. It refers to Tatars' religious writings as the source helpful in maintaining cultural identity. An example of connection between Tatar translations and European tradition of translation, is used to characterize both permeation of cultures and features which served to build cultural separateness of Tatars living in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Key words: diachronic linguistics, cultural heritage, research of texts, translation and interpretation, Kitab studies, Koran, Tatar ethnic group

Introduction

The study belongs to the trend of Kitab Studies³, led in Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. Tatar translation manuscripts are an extremely interesting subject of interdisciplinary research. They originated in the multicultural and multilingual Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereinafter referred to as GDL) among Lithuanian and Polish Muslims who lived in a diaspora in Christian surroundings, which had influence on the multifaceted genetics of the Tatar literature, including chronologically and geographically diverse features of the language variety

³ Kitab Study is a subdiscipline which unites Polish and Slavic philology with Oriental studies (Arabic and Turkish studies) and also with cultural studies and religious studies. The matter of research is material and non-material cultural heritage of Tatars living in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, especially the original, handwritten religious literature. The Centre for Kitab Studies was established in the year 2015 (the web-site: http://www.fil.umk.pl/pl/static_41,210_313_Centrum_Badan_Kitabistycznych.html).

spoken at the Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian borderland, the connection between the literature of GDL Tartars and Renaissance translations of the Bible into the Polish language, and the Quranic translation tradition reflected in such works as Turkish *tafsirs*. Moreover, it is possible to indicate common features of Tatar writings and medieval Bible and Psalter literature. Tatars' relics are also a unique researchable material, serving, among other things, the complementary study of the Slavic-Oriental relations, especially based on the multilingual content of manuscripts (Oriental layer: Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages; Slavic layer: Polish and Belarusian languages) and identification of sources, from which Muslims drew their knowledge about faith, tradition, history or literature of their Christian environment.

The point of departure is a notion of the ethnic group, because Tatars of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania are considered as such by sociologists (among others, by Warmińska, 1999; Łyszczarz, 2013).

An ethnic group – in anthropological and social sense – is a community which is recognized by itself or by others as a distinct and specific group, because of one or more following features:

1. Culture (language, dialect, religion, customs and mores, etc.)
2. Genealogy (common fate, common history, common ancestors, etc.)
3. A sense of having own territory and rights to it
4. Distinct personality (stereotypes, auto stereotypes).

One of the most important features making an ethnic group something distinct is culture.

The literature discussing the topic (cf. Paleczny, 2008) singles out inclusive cultures, which are in principle developed in multiethnic structures, open on other cultural wholes. During the process of assimilation they enter an interaction, which leads to emergence of new civilizations, mixed both ethically and religiously. The opposite cultures are the exclusive ones, which tend to maintain separateness and autonomy of a group, thus closed on external cultural influence. They base their status on linguistic, ethnical and religious originality and uniqueness. So they locate themselves close to such an extreme as monoculture. According to sociologists their fate is extinction, or perseverance in their very particular, archaic cultural dens, which take form of territorial enclaves with ethnic and religious homogeneity, etc.

It is proved by a theory of transculturation, formulated by Welsch (1999) which claims that modern cultures are in a big measure characterized by merging, permeation and hybridization. Therefore, exclusive cultures sink into oblivion.

How one can be open on other cultures without losing one's identity?

The matter of reflection is Tatar ethnic group which survived due to combination of inclusive factors with exclusive ones.

1. Specific situation of Tatars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Tatar strangers were treated with great tolerance, which resulted in elimination of differences in customs and language between Tatars and indigenous inhabitants, especially because „Tatar settlers [...] originally presented an image of an ethnic, social and cultural complexity of the Golden Horde, whose ruler was a Turkish Mongol, and its population consisted of many Turkish tribes absorbed by Mongolian army during the conquests of Central Asia and Kipchak Plain” (cf. Łapicz 1986: 29). They also used different Kipchak dialects. They presented a type of inclusive culture, and as a result the process of their assimilation with indigenous inhabitants progressed amazingly fast. As early as in the second part of the 16th century Tatars of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were a homogeneous group of people. Text of *The Tract on Polish Tatars*, published in 1558 (produced in Turkish language by anonymous Tatar, a pilgrim to Mecca, for Rustem Pasha, son-in-law of Turkish sultan), proves that Tatars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania used Polish and Belorussian languages.

Therefore, Tatar followers of Islam lost their knowledge of their own ethnic (Turkish) dialects and – in condition of isolation from sources and roots of Islam – they also lost an active knowledge of liturgical Arabic language.

Arabic religious texts which they had to use because of doctrinal matters became unintelligible for them. Full linguistic assimilation and the difficulty involved in that, and in time, inability to know and understand the principles of Islam, belonged to main reasons leading to the rise of *Tatar literature* in Slavic languages.

Religious writings were provided in order to maintain ethnical separateness and cultural identity, which already in the 16th century were identified by Islam alone.

2. Tatar religious writings as the source keeping cultural identity

Probably in the second part of the 16th century Tatar religious literature was produced. There are several types of the old Tatar writings which remained to our times:

Manuscripts of Quran (ar. qur'ān 'reading, lecture'; 'Koran') – till the beginning of the 20th century the original, Arabic text of Quran was copied and transmitted from generation to generation as the one of the most precious goods of GDL Tatars,

however, printed copies of Quran, belonging to Lithuanian and Polish Muslims had their origin in Kazan or Bakhchysaray (second part of the 19th century);

sufry (ar. safar 'a book – especially the sacred one') – divided in 30 parts, known as dżuz [djuz] (from ar. ġuz 'part, share'; 'element, ingredient'), text of Quran;

tefsiry (ar. tafsīr 'explanation, interpretation, exposition, commentary – especially to Quran') – These are commentaries to Quran in Islam. Among GDL Tatars tefsiry were the manuscripts containing Arabic text of Quran with interlinear translation to Polish language of the northern border;

tedźwidy (ar. taḡwīd 'recitation') – handbooks helping to learn the recitation of Quran, explaining grammatical rules;

kitaby (ar. kitāb 'writing, letter, document, book', with the definite article Al-Kitāb 'Quran, Bible') – collections containing texts devoted to various topics: principles of Muslim religion, moralizing stories connected to the content of Quran and hadiths, translations of prayers and prayers for various circumstances, ritual principles, legends of prophets' life, apocrypha, etc.;

chamaity (ar. ḥamala 'to carry') – destined for home use, practical Muslim handbooks, prayer books of less official character than kitaby; they were written for clergymen, they were supplied with information helpful to imam to conduct religious rituals, e.g. marrying people, giving names, funerals and others;

short handbooks and dictionaries of Turkish language;

excerpts from kitabs containing mainly principles of religious practice;

daławyary (tur.-ar. du’alar 'prayers, collection of prayers'), **hramotki, duajki** – prayer scrolls and other written talismans, e.g. **nuski**.

3. Systematic similarities between Old Polish writings and manuscripts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's Tatars

Manuscripts from the oldest times till the half of the 16th century and the first printed texts till 1520 are recognized as Old Polish written relics by *Principles of publishing Old Polish texts. A Project (Zasady wydawania tekstów staropolskich. Projekt – 1955)*. According to the above criterion the manuscripts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's Tatars cannot be counted among Old Polish relics, however – as it becomes obvious – one can point to several features uniting them with medieval religious writings, including Biblical and Psalter literature, and also Renaissance humanistic translations.

These are the following:

a. Influence in the sphere of dialect

Slavic layer of Lithuanian and Polish Muslims' written relics is Polish language of the northern border or/and Belorussian language. A good illustration is *Kitab of Milkamanowicz* with a mixed, Belorussian and Polish linguistic character.

Mixed character is seen also in Tatar chamaīly. However, tefsiry are relics written in Polish language of the northern border, because they are translations of the sacred book of Islam – Quran and that is why they were treated with high esteem. Hierarchical order of the relics reflects social and linguistic relationships which dominated in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where Belorussian substrate was covered with Polish language as the language of the higher culture.

Graphs

Tatar authors and copyists, using Arabic alphabet, unsuitable to Slavic phonological system, had similar problems which accompanied writers of Old Polish texts, with that reservation that they already possessed sophisticated Polish spelling, based on two signs or many sings and diacritics.

Problems involved:

- writing of nasals *q*, *q* and other vowel phonemes,
- signing softness of consonants preceding a vowel,
- signing three line S-Ş-Ş and other consonant phonemes.

Some Slavic sounds were signed in text by several Arabic letters with parallel function, e.g. phoneme [z] by graphs ڇ and ڏ, and at the same time one letter served to write several sounds. Therefore, there was a problem of multifunctional use of letters. Also a record was in a big measure a reflection of the northern border pronunciation.

Difficulties in recording of the Slavic phonological system implicated a modification of Arabic alphabet by (among other things) a use of vocalization signs: *fathy*, *kasry* i *dammy* for graphical presentation of vowel phonemes, e.g. from Turkish or Persian – cf. ڦ as sign of [p], ڻ as sign of [č], ڙ as sign of [ž], ڢ as sign of [n] or ڦ to write [g] and forming new graphemes, e.g. ڦ [z] or ڦ [c], etc. So there is an analogy in adaptation of the Latin alphabet to the needs of phonological system of Polish language.

b. Handwritten documents and anonymous character of authors

Literature of GDL Tatars should be considered as almost entirely anonymous. The reason for that anonymity could be a religious motivation – aim to perform an ideal work to the glory of God, and also a handwritten message. So, it is difficult to establish names of certain translators, and also to establish if certain translation is a work of one or more translators. In that area we can rely only on historical and linguistic and social premises. We only know that:

The first creators of Tatar literature may be found among educated elite, proficient in Oriental languages [...] to that elite belonged the translators and „Arabic” writers who resided at the royal court. To that group belonged, among

others: Alej Kulzimanowicz Talkowski, who was granted in 1580 by Batory with Rodejkowicze estate in Trocki county, prince Chasień Dajko from Łosośny in Grodno county (writer in 1591-1595), Dawid Bachtyr – translator of Zygmunt III. From the circle of clergymen one can mention Derwisz-Czelebi Murzicz, from 1586 a religious judge (Drozd, 1995a, p. 37; cf. Konopacki, 2010, p. 158).

Artur Konopacki quotes names of two writers and copyists, namely „Hodyn” (kitab of 1645) and imam of Minsk Urjasz, the son of Ismail (tefsir dated at 1686)” (2010, p. 159). Research proves that they were also translators (cf. Antonowicz 1968; Drozd 2004).

Thus, both in Christianity and in Islam, the duty to promote faith was in the hands of moral and intellectual elite. (cf. Walczak, 1993, p. 36-37).

c. Mixture of archaic and innovative language qualities

Although the oldest GDL Tatars' writings known to researchers come from the first part of the 17th century, it is supposed that they were created much earlier, i.e. in the second half of the 16th century. It is confirmed by contemporary sources: a tract *Risāle-i Tātār-i Leh* (1558) and the work of Ottoman historian Ibrahim Peçevî (ob. 1642). Moreover, in the 16th century, Tatars, due to pilgrimages, diplomatic missions and trade expeditions, had an access to current religious literature, from which they could make translations. Also the text of translation itself, gives directions: nomenclature and threads referring to the reformation. Also linguistic analysis of the relics gives further proof. As a rule, researchers of Tatars' religious writings claim in their analyzed texts that intermixture of forms typical for the system of Polish or Belorussian language of the 16th and even 15th century with the newer forms of the 17th, 18th and 19th century. Common presence of older features with newer features may be a testimony of the modernization applied to those relics by subsequent generations of copyists. The problem seems to be even more complex not only because of the qualities of the northern border Polish, but also because of sacred dimension of the texts, which involved referring to certain sources (Psalters, Bible translations) and a conservative role of religious language. So there can be included a switch to a different code – a code of religious language.

d. Lost autograph. Possession of copies which vary both chronologically and geographically.

Relics of GDL Tatars' writings provide many various linguistic facts, characteristic for the northern border Polish in the period of the 16th to 20th century. Unfortunately, the originals were lost. Probably in the late 16th century the first Slavic translation of Quran was made, in the form of Tatar tefsir. Its Polish archetype, prototype, original did not remain to our times. There are

known only later copies and editions of Tatar translation. A. Konopacki states that Quran of 1682 remained and is kept in Pskov, and glosses containing Polish translations are present in the text. But tefsir of 1686 was found among collections of Central National Library of Belorussian Academy of Sciences in Minsk. Such are the oldest copies known to researchers.

So, the issue of the date and authorship of a copy of a manuscript should be treated differently than the matter of time when the text was written and by what author, because copyists often informed about the date and place of the completion of the work, about a surname of a copyist, and sometimes about a person who ordered that book. Copyists were usually mullahs, muezzins and healers, and also „older men who treated their work as one of godly deeds” (Borawski, Dubiński 1986: 250). Main places where Tatars’ religious literature was copied were: Minsk, Lachowicze, Śmiłowicze, Słonim, Nowogródek.

e. Presence of glosses

One feature of Tatars’ religious writings’ is a presence of glosses with different typology and functions. Taking into account a criterion of its placement in handwritings, Cz. Łapicz (cf. 2008, p. 71-77) divides them into: external glosses to the text (systematizing notes, e.g. numbers of Quran’s parts, known as dżuz, sur i ajats; supplementary, e.g. texts of prayers to say before or after reading Quran, prayer intentions, lists of prophets and people, for whom one should pray; chronicle and family information (also notes about authors, donations and ownership), which set large manuscripts in order at the technical side and supplying them with appendixes desired by other users, which were not directly connected to the text of Quran; and internal glosses to the (interpretative, expository, reference notes, corrective ones), which apply directly or indirectly to the text and Quran’s content.

4. Inclusion in the European tradition of translation. The use of sources and their modification.

Tatar translators translated directly from Arabic language, availing themselves of Turkish translations or translating directly from Turkish (cf. role of the Latin and Czech translations in Polish Psalter and Biblical tradition), using earlier developed methods of translation of sacred books to national languages, beginning with a choice of translation’s type through precise solutions in translation, and ending with adaptation of Old Polish lexis, especially the religious one, to terms and terminology of Islam.

Moreover, a characteristic feature of Muslim translation is – justified by Christian environment – referring to the Old Polish Biblical-Psalter literature and

to Polish translations of the Holy Scriptures, seen in using them in translation of Islamic source texts.

Research in that area is led in two directions: using in the translation process such a pattern as the Christian tradition of translation and inclusion of modified Christian sources in the Muslim religious writings (cf. Kulwicka-Kamińska 2013).

One can point to permeation of cultures and to features which helped to maintain cultural separateness and identity of Tatars of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which is illustrated by the connection of Tatar translations with European tradition of translation.

There are also marks of faithful translation in Tatar translations, expressed in strict preservation of the morphological, syntactical and even graphical (e.g. Arabic alphabet) structure of the original and also free translation, e.g. consisting of the following:

- Differentiation of words' meanings according to the context, e.g. ar. *rasūl* 'messenger, envoy' is *prōrōk pōslanec*;
- Adding explanations of some proper names and nominations with the foreign background, e.g. ar. *āya[t]* 'sign, feature; verse of Quran' is expressed by *ājet'ami rōzdzelami*;
- Adding various qualifications and epithets or contemporary titles to the names of the more important characters, e.g. prophets' names are principally preceded by a qualification *święty*;
- Supplementing translations with various added remarks and details helping to understand the meaning by: such a definition of subject or object that is stronger than in the original, e.g. ar. *ašraka* 'to draw someone to something (to participation in something)' to *s-tich ktōre bōgū spōlenčnik'i najdūq*; or by specification of the larger context, e.g. connecting ar. pronoun *mā* 'what' and ar. verb *anzala* 'to lower, to let down'; 'to reveal something (about God)', is rendered by a phrase *cō zesłał*, and afterwards certain books and prophets, who received revelation, are mentioned, namely: *cō zeslał nam korān i cō zeslał źwitkī prikezana dō abraháma i dō izma'ile i dō izika i dō je'kūba i dō prōrōkōw sinōw je'kūbōwic̄h jesusā i cōsmi dali mōjžešu t'ewrit' ā jezūsu ingil*, inclusion of suitable noun in the function of subject in sentences with the default subject, e.g. ar. *qawl* 'talk, speech'; 'words' from ar. [qāla] 'to speak, to say' – *rekl ibrahim* or *mowī muchemmed*;
- Inclusion of many explanations in the translation text, which are signaled by meta language discussion *to jest* (it is), *znači še* (to znaczy – it means), e.g. *furkan to jest kur'an* etc.

One can point to similar solutions in translations which were established in Bible translations, e.g.:

- Inclusion of headlines, announcing the contents of chapters, analogically as in *Biblia brzeska* and *Biblia Wujka*, which unites those translations with the older tradition of translation;
- Presence of certain lexical and phraseological borrows, especially from *Biblia nieświeska*, e.g. *jegova*, *trójcane* and *tróječník'i*, *jedinostwo*, *staršíj*, *kaplan*, *ōfarōwnik* and *ōfarnik* etc.;
- Use of medieval names of people performing activities with the suffix *-nik* and 16th century with formatives *-nik*, *-ciel*, *-ca*, and also names of abstract notions with the suffix *-ość*, or using certain word-forming models, e.g. *našmewca*, *wiglōndač* (formation having medieval origin, in 16th century used very infrequently), *činicel*, *newernik*, *tróječník*, *pričinca*, *'ubridliwuść*;
- reaching to colloquial vocabulary and phraseology (including also words with pejorative meaning, diminutives, augmentatives), making a message more easy to understand, more communicative and more expressive, e.g. *kadūk*, *glūpij*, *kölega*, *sinačkōwe* etc.;
- Use of polite expressions and symbolic titles, e.g. *brace džebra'íl*; *praroku*, *ej braće*; *džebra'íl jegō milošť' āngel itp.:*
- Using legal terminology, including Latin idioms, which is a proof of influence coming from the Western European tradition and a feature of translations produced in the period of reformation, e.g. replacement of ar. bāb m.in. 'chapter (of the book)' by *ārtikul*, ar. expression *āya[t]* by *peregraf*, and also *rōzdzsel* and *wirš*, rendering ar. al-lawh 'board' + al-mahfūz 'protected' as *matrika bōža*, interpreting ar. *hudan* 'right way, tru faith' as *direkcija*, *dekret boži*, ar. *umma[t]* 'nation, people' as *nacija* and others, e.g. *dekleracija*, *direktōr*, *fatiga*, *kōnwersacija*, *wiktōrija* etc.;
- Unified verbalizations (characteristic even to 14th and 15th century translations of Biblical-Psalter literature and widely practiced in the 16th century Bible translations) and creating synonymous sequences (mannerism in translation, having its source in the 15th century custom of adding glosses to the Latin texts), e.g. ar. *rabb* 'ruler, lord, owner, proprietor, God' – *pan* and *prōwizor*, ar. *nidd* 'equal, similar, the same' – *spōlenčník i tōwariš*, ar. *ilāh* 'idol' – *prōžnij bōg* and *balwan*, ar. *hudan* – *direkcija*, *priwodca*, *dekret boži* and other.

An internal feature of Tatar translations is an adaptation of the Old Polish lexis, especially the religious one, to the notions and terminology of Islam, e.g. in the area of terms expressing an idea of the one and only God: ar. *allāh* is *bōg*, *pan bōg*, *bōg jedin*, and even *jahūwā*, *būg jahūwā* (name used only in BN), ar. *rabb* is *pan bōg*,

ar. *aḥad* 'one' – *ōdīn bōg*, ar. *wahīd* 'the only, one, sole, unequalled, incomparable, unique, exceptional'; 'solitary, alone, single' – *jedinnij, jedin*, and ar. *tawḥīd* 'standardization, unification'; 'monotheism' is *božjo jedinostvo, jedinostvo, jedinostvo bošk'e*. Examples just quoted illustrate permeation of Biblical phraseology to Tatar writings.

Despite many similarities with Biblical translations – Tatar translated texts are marked also by high degree of originality and preservation of their own autonomy, e.g. in the sphere of established ways and methods of translation – they cannot be unequivocally categorized as verbal or free. They are heterogenic in that matter.

An attempt to keep autonomy is proved by the creative adaptation of Christian terminology to the canons and principles of Muslim faith – cf. application of a Christian term *przyczyńca* to Muhammad in Tatar writings: *pričinca do śebe za ummet'em* or *pričinca ušíx nas na sudni zen* and to Jesus in the Bible: *a jesliby kto zgrzeszył, przyczyńcę mamy u Ojca, Jezusa Krystusa sprawiedliwego.*

Separateness and individualism of Tatar translated texts is also proved by word-forming innovations, however, they are based on derivative models productive in the 16th century, already mentioned, e.g. substantive names of people performing certain activities, ending with *-ca*, as *dušejemca* 'one who takes souls', with *-ciel*, as *songicel* 'one who judges', with *-(al)nik*, as *pytالnik* 'one who asks', *wiršownik* 'one who writes poems', with *-acz*, e.g. *rōwnacz* 'one who levels (equalizes)' or *śidar* (only in Bielski's *Chronicle [Kronika Bielskiego]* of 1564, *szyderz* is present), and also substantive names of features, ending with *-ość*, e.g. *paxvalnaść* etc. and semantic innovations, e.g. names of heathen idols: *prijacele, spōlenčníki, tōwariše, zwodzicele* and other.

Tatar translations are also marked by high degree of frequency of translocated terms or terms changed to Slavic style. Translators were fully aware that specific Muslim terminology is untranslatable in case of Slavic languages. Therefore, they often left the religious terms of the foreign origin without translation; on the one hand, because of the lack of Slavic adequate counterparts, on the other hand, they had an assumption that they were clear for practicing Muslims.

They preserved terms which were important doctrinally and specific only for the Muslim religion, in their original form, especially proper names. One of researchers studying Tatar religious writings stated that *70 of them refer to the central notions of Islamic religion* (cf. Suter, 2004, p. 57-61). Moreover, he mentions ar. *ḥalāl i harām*, names of Quran's and other sacred books' parts. He counts among the most frequently used Arabic idioms the following: *fard, kāfir,*

šaytān, zakā, zālim and the formula of the confession of faith lā ilāha illā llāh and the term gāzī.

A philological problem is to resolve what was the Bible translation used by GDL Tatars. It is known that they made a wide use of heretical versions – *Biblia brzeska* i *Biblia nieświeska*, whose translators represented similar views like Lithuanian and Polish Muslims, in such vital issues as e.g. the dogma of the Holy Trinity, deity of Jesus Christ, common priesthood. They especially used a literature of reformation's Christianity, precisely religious writings of Arians. Besides, researchers point to the presence in Tatar manuscripts such works like *Historya barzo cudna...* (A very miraculous history) of 1543 by Krzysztof Pussman, (Adamczyk, 1980; Drozd, 1996), *Psalmы* (Psalms) translated by J. Kochanowski (Tarełka & Synkowa, 2009), *Psalmы* (Psalms) translated by bishop I. Krasicki (Radziszewska, 2010), excerpts of tragicomedy by G. B. Guarni, *Pastor Fido, albo Konterfekt Wierny Miłości* (The Faithful Shepherd), also translated by I. Krasicki (Radziszewska, 2010), *Legenda o św. Hiobie* (The legend of St. Job; Drozd, 1995b); *Legenda o św. Grzegorzu* (The legend of St. Gregory; Dufala, 2008-2009) and other sources coming from the circle of Christian culture.

At the same time, researchers emphasize the fact that Tatars did not always use original sources which can be correctly identified, because the larger part of them points to the use of religious polemics and debates, citing from memory, compilations, etc. Besides, they always adapted the used sources to the needs of Islam, their religion. Konopacki (2010, p. 155) formulated a thesis that theological writings of Tatars were composed as their own works on the basis of Christian religious writings from which they deleted contents incompatible with Islam. M. Tarełka and I. Synkowa (2009, p. 273-284) pointed to a kind and character of modifications applied by Tatars, as for example:

- changes motivated by religious and ideological reasons (eliminating or transforming citations incompatible with Islamic doctrine, e.g. teaching the deity of Jesus, Holy Trinity, or who may be counted as the offspring of Abraham – Isaac or Ishmael?, the person of the Holy Spirit, etc.) – cf. regular replacing in the words of Jesus the phrase *Oycze moy* (Matthew 26: 39) with *būža mōj*, omitting pronouns in phrases as *po prawicy twoiey* (Matthew 20:21), change of *Bog Izraelow* (1 Kings 11:31) to *būğ*, from *kościółā* (2 Kings 23:4) to *z dūmū*, adding to the proper name of God such epithets which emphasize His separateness, uniqueness, e.g. *ştwurical* (Mark 12:28) etc.;
- Exegetical changes, e.g. *skała* (2 Samuel 22:32) to *'ubruncā* or *cudne* (Genesis 6:2) to *bārzdu paqna* and other;

- Stylistic changes, e.g. omitting this what from the author's or copyist's viewpoint lacked serious meaning – cf. *Iehowo Bože nasz zbaw nas proszę* (2 Kings 19:19) to *jahūwā ȝbāw nāš*,
- Attempts of interpretation and explanation of the meaning – cf. *wszedł na gorę osobno modlić się* (Matthew 14:3) – *pān jazūş wšadł na ġūrā 'ūşūbnū mūdlicśa pānū būgu*, adding titles – cf. *qrūlā kidarlihāmā* (Genesis 14:17) or addition of proper name to a title – cf. *qrūl jūra[wa]hām* (1 Kings 13:4), replacing pronoun with certain subject, and also replacing proper name with pronoun, using abbreviations, simplifications and also amplifications – cf. *Co chcesz* (Matthew 20:21) to *cū hcaš čaǵu žūndāš čaǵu prūšiš* and other.

Borrowing whole *passages* from Christian texts could on the one hand, prove that there was a desire to show closeness of both religions, Islam and Christianity, but on the other hand, reaching to those texts was intended to prove their falsehood (falsifying the word of God). The greater part of that religious literature had the apologetic character and aim – proving the truthfulness of Islamic views, including extreme monotheism.

Religious literature of the Slavic believers in Allah illustrates both permeation of cultures and building one's own identity and ethnic separateness.

5. Many languages

In the old writings of GDL Tatars the Slavic layer (Polish and Belorussian) merges with Oriental layer (Arabic, Turkish – mainly Ottoman Turkish and Persian).

However, one cannot say that all the manuscripts are entirely a translation of Arabic and/or Turkish original. In Tatar religious writings one finds mixed texts, containing not only translations to Slavic languages, but also untranslated excerpts or the whole Turkish or Arabic works, sometimes only commented, and also texts written by GDL Tatars. Such relics are for example: *kitaby* and *chamaiły* (*kitabs* and *khamails*).

Conclusions

The Grand Duchy of Lithuania is an example of peaceful coexistence of many nations, cultures and religions which is unique in the history of Europe. Since the 14th century Tatar settlers shared their lot with the Duchy's land, and they represented the type of inclusive culture. Full assimilation with Christian environment found its expression in material and non-material cultural heritage of that ethnic group, including architectural objects, and also curious religious literature, for example the first European translation of Quran on Slavic language in the form of Tatar tefsir (cf. International project „TEFSIR”, led by the authors

Joanna Kulwicka-Kamińska and Czesław Łapicz, carried out as a part of the National Program of the Humanities Development, module 1.2 no. 12 H 12 0041 81). Writings of Tatars living in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is a priceless source for the study of heritage with special significance, namely the group of the Old Poland's relics and it also helps to lead the research on the scope encompassing translation of religious Muslim texts on languages beyond the circle of Islamic culture and tradition. It may also become a foundation for leading scholastic studies of many fields – including Oriental studies, cultural studies, religious studies, political science, history, ethnology, theology, etc.

Source materials

KK – *Kitab z Kazania* (transliteration: Miškinienė, G. (2001). *Sieniausi lietuvos totorių rankrašciai. Grafika. Transliteracija. Vertimas. Tekstų struktūra ir turinys*. Vilnius)

ChL – *Chamaił lipski* (transliteration: Miškinienė, G. (2001). *Sieniausi lietuvos totorių rankrašciai. Grafika. Transliteracija. Vertimas. Tekstų struktūra ir turinys*. Vilnius)

T1 – *Tefsir z 1725r.* (transliteration: Meredith-Owens, G.M., Nadson, A. (1970). The Byelorussian Tartars and their Writings. *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, 2. London, No. 2, 141–176; Suter, P. (2004). *Alfurkan Tatarski. Der litauisch-tatarische Koran-Tefsir*. Köln-Weimar-Wien, 374–446)

T2 – *Tefsir z 1788r.* (transliteration in manuscript form – Łapicz Cz.)

KL – *Kitab „londyński”* (transliteration: Akiner, S. (1973). The Vocabulary of a Byelorussian K'it'ab in the British Museum. *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, 3. London, No. 1, 55–84)

KŁ – *Kitab Łuckiewicza* (transliteration: Stankiewič, J. (1933-1934). Přispěvky k dějinám běloruského jazyka na základě rukopisu 'Al-Kitab'. *Slavia*, 12, 357–390 and: Miškinienė, G. (2009). *Ivano Luckevičiaus kitabas – Lietuvos totorių kultūros paminklas*. Vilnius)

KM – *Kitab Milkamanowicza* (transliteration: Łapicz, Cz. (1986). *Kitab Tatarów litewsko-polskich. (Paleografia. Grafia. Język)*. Toruń and in manuscript form – Łapicz Cz.)

BB – *Biblia brzeska* (1563), Clifton-Kraków 2003.

BN – *Biblia nieświeska* (1572), Nieśwież: antique book from the collection of a library of Warsaw university.

BW – *Biblia* in the translation by ks. Jakub Wujek (1599), transcription from 16th. century, Warszawa 2000.

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Mathematics and Liberature: Fajfer's *Ten Letters*

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Abstract

The article discusses liberature in the context of its mathematical qualities. In this trend which inextricably connects the textual and physical layer of the work, each element in the book is expected to be created according to a certain formula which should bring a holistic piece of literature. After 1999, a great number of mathematically-oriented works have appeared which are strictly liberary. In the presentation, I base on the theoretical idea behind liberature when discussing Zenon Fajfer's liberary work *Ten Letters* (Pol. *Dwadzieścia jeden liter*). This innovative piece is analysed mainly from the point of view of geometry and play with numbers, which is visible already in the title: the ten-letter phrase "ten letters." Mathematical qualities are indicated on various layers of the piece: the physical, the textual, and the visual, but especially in its form. The game of numbers is found not only where it is obviously visible and essential to understand the message, but also in places which might not have been intended. Liberature is analysed as literature but at the same time, it is shown *not* to be literature, and in this respect, to be mathematical at the core.

Keywords: form, book, literary text, game, numbers, geometry, defamiliarization

Introduction

The paper focuses on the recent literary phenomenon called liberature in the context of its mathematical qualities. In this artistic trend which inextricably connects the textual and physical layer of the work, each element is expected to be created according to a certain formula which, in turn, should bring a holistic piece of literature. After 1999, with the advent of theoretical and critical insights into liberature both in Poland and elsewhere, a great number of mathematically-oriented works have appeared which are strictly liberary. In the presentation, I will base on the theoretical idea behind liberature when discussing Zenon Fajfer's liberary work *Ten Letters* (2010). This innovative piece – which, according to my research, has been (very briefly) discussed only in one scholarly article as yet – will be analysed mainly from the point of view of geometry and

the intriguing play with numbers, which is visible already in the very title: the ten-letter phrase “ten letters.” As it will be presented, both of the mathematical elements enumerated – i.e., the game of numbers and geometry – are inextricably connected with the literary construction of the whole volume (including its strictly textual side) as well as of language in Fajfer’s literary work. In other words, mathematics is not only present here, but it is used to achieve certain artistic effects. Since literature is a subtype of literature, the first, most general section of the present article will discuss the connections between literature, mathematics, and literature.

From mathematics to literature and literature

It appears difficult to indicate the point at which literature and mathematics cross. After all, these two disciplines are widely considered separate, and their separation seems to be in conformity with common sense. That is to say, literature is generally regarded as a domain of free thought, in which artistic expression is not (or at least should not be) limited by rules as strict as the ones that prevail in mathematics. The scientific discourse of mathematics, on the other hand, is expected to be very clear, consistent, and logical, moving smoothly from a hypothesis put forward *expressis verbis* at the beginning of a work to various necessary calculations, and eventually to the proof and a justified conclusion – and not an unexpected twist or unfounded statement – at the end.⁴ Even though literature understood as *belles-lettres* might also be clear and logical, such a limiting structural frame is not – and could not be – put on the literature as we know it, since this field of human activity is supposed to be the epitome of imaginative and textual creativity and originality, or, in a word, a creative art. If it was limited by structural rules as strict as the ones in mathematics, it would probably lose its status of *belles-lettres*.

There are scientists and humanists, though, who believe that a connection between “exact sciences” (especially mathematics) and the literary discourse is not only possible to be established, but also quite clearly visible, even in the places that I listed above as characteristic of *either* one of them or the other. For

⁴ This clarity is often noticeable in mathematicians’ manner of academic writing: they usually stick strongly to the point and leave out all unnecessary digressions, and also assume that their reader is generally versed in the subfield with which their paper deals. Humanists, on the contrary, and especially literary scholars, tend to place numerous allusions and associations in the footnotes, even though those added elements may be utterly at odds with the main topic of their article. As a result, humanists’ papers are often full of elongated footnote references which might dim the main train of thought, and only in some cases make it more easily understood for the reader.

instance, Marcia Birken and Anne Coon observe that what ties the two disciplines together are the *patterns* to be found in both, patterns which, as the authors formulate it, “are implicit and explicit” in mathematics as well as in poetry, which Birken and Coon consider to be “two of the most familiar, and sometimes most mysterious, human endeavors ...” (Birken & Coon, 2008, p. 9). Masahiko Fujiwara, a renowned Japanese mathematician with a vested interest in literature, claims that what connects mathematics with the latter is particularly the *beauty of logic* present at the core of them both, a logic strived for and achieved for its pure, and necessarily impractical, beauty: “Mathematics has evolved purely for itself, with the greatest contributions to the field being those theories that put value on the beauty of the adopted logic,” he claims, while “the magnetic force that draws art – and therefore literature – to mathematics is the dignified beauty of its pure logic” (Fujiwara, 2015). A Catalan scholar Dolors Collellmir echoes this stance from her literature-oriented point of view when she claims that “literature, and specifically fiction, ... has a mathematical core, which sometimes is demonstrable and sometimes only suggested” (Collellmir, 2011, p. 22).⁵ Thus, a connection between mathematics and literature is found in what Collellmir calls a mathematical core and what Fujiwara identifies as striving for logic; both the researchers agree that literature is naturally “drawn” to mathematics (although a similar dependence does not occur in the other direction – apparently, mathematics does not base on literature). Birken and Coon add that there are observable patterns in mathematics as well as in literature, and those patterns also appear to be strongly connected to the logic of both the disciplines.

I myself have begun the discussion by pointing out an intersection point between mathematics and literature following certain logic as well, a logic which will enable me to discuss some of the mathematical qualities of literature. In order to begin this discussion, however, a short description of literature needs to be provided. Attempting to define this artistic trend and enumerate its major features, I have to stress that (1) *literature is literature*, and this essential fact is visible in the very name. As a result, most (or all) of the components of a literary piece should be regarded as textual, or at least influenced by the text and harmonizing with it. Secondly, being literature, (2) literature strives for a total unity of a work, and this is achieved by sticking to a certain pattern (e.g. in the so-called emanational poems, which will be analysed later on), and this pattern may be regarded as a limiting structure. The pattern is noticeable in the “total” unity

⁵ Translation mine – Ł. M. The original version reads: “La literatura, y en concreto la ficción, ... tiene un corazón matemático a veces probado, otras sugerido.”

of the liberry work and the mutually influencing connections between various elements of the piece. Katarzyna Bazarnik and Zenon Fajfer, the pioneers of liberature, point this out in a definition which states that:

"Liberature is a kind of literature in which the space of the book (Lat. liber), hitherto perceived by the author and the readers as if in the Newtonian framework, as semantically neutral and static, becomes integrated into the orbit of the word while simultaneously influencing it. Here the matter of the statement belongs to the space of the book, and the space of the book to the material of the statement: the text and the surface of the volume constitute an integral Whole, just as matter, energy, time and space constitute an inseparable wholeness. Liberature is total literature, 'a total expansion of the letter'" (Bazarnik, Fajfer, 2010, p. 125).

In other words, the main characteristic of liberature – and one which clearly distinguishes it from literature – is its holistic nature, based on the book as an object which is by no means transparent. A liberry work is a textual book and it is a "bookish" text. Beside this, the physical space is essential to the textual form and to the content expressed by both the text and all the extra-textual components of a work. This characteristic, however, gives rise to an issue which may be considered problematic as regards the first feature of liberature enumerated above.

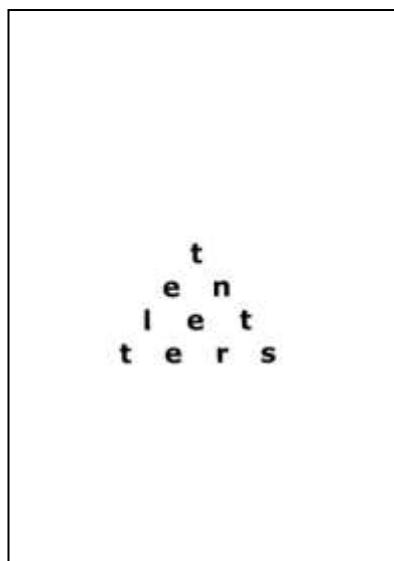
In the theoretical-artistic liberry manifesto *Liberature: Appendix to a Dictionary of Literary Terms* from 1999, Fajfer expresses his hope that "the whole world can be contained in one Book, expressed in one Equation, explained by one all-embracing Theory" (Fajfer, 2010b, p. 22). This mathematical unity of the perfect Book connects various elements of the literary work, typically dispersed, such as space, time, the body, materiality, and the visual layer. Although it might seem paradoxical and at odds with the first statement (that liberature is a subtype of literature), in this respect we have to claim that (3) *liberature is not literature*. Even though liberature is, in principle, more "liberal" – and therefore even more "creative" – than literature (Latin *liber* means not only "the book" but also "free"), I will argue that what liberature is instead of literature is, in a great part, pure mathematics which can appear on the spatial, temporal, bodily, material, and visual layers. In other words, in the places where liberature is not literary, it is often mathematical. Thanks to this characteristic of liberature, I was able to title this paper "Mathematics and Liberature" – because liberature is mathematical and mathematics in liberry, but (what is rather obvious) literature itself is *not* mathematics and mathematics is not literature. Although

mathematics and literature are similar in certain (often metaphorical) aspects, they build – and belong to – two different systems of signs. Literature, on the contrary, is convergent with mathematics in a major part, or rather, mathematics consists an essential part of its being.

At the beginning of the present discussion I ventured to state that literature is different from mathematics because literature is a creative art while mathematics is not. This does appear sensible: after all, mathematics cannot be overly *creative* since its area of operating and investigation is limited by very strict rules. Contrary to this statement, however, the renowned American mathematician Paul Halmos claims that mathematics “is a creative art because mathematicians create beautiful new concepts; it is a creative art because mathematicians live, act, and think like artists; and it is a creative art because mathematicians regard it so” (Halmos, 1973, p. 180). It would not be very sensible to disagree with a statement pertaining to mathematics made by a renowned mathematician. Moreover, another mathematician adds specificity to this claim, asserting that “[i]n the language of mathematics, equations are like poetry: They state truths with a unique precision, convey volumes of information in rather brief terms, and often are difficult for the uninitiated to comprehend” (Guillen, 1995, p. 2). Thus, there are clearly visible points where mathematics and literature cross. In fact, mathematics may be regarded as a discipline necessitating more imagination and creativity than poetry; a well-known anecdote states that the German mathematician David Hilbert, when told that one of his students gave up mathematics in order to become a poet, said “Good – he did not have enough imagination to become a mathematician” (Hoffman, 1998, p. 95). In the subsequent section, I will show that literature – as an extraordinarily *precise* type of literature, necessitating creative imagination and discipline – is founded on mathematics viewed in such a way.

Mathematics and Ten Letters

Fajfer’s *Ten Letters* (Pol. *Dwadzieścia jeden liter*, literally: *twenty-one letters*, translated by Katarzyna Bazarnik, 2010) is a collection of poems contained in the form of a *dos-á-dos* Polish and English book with a compact disk inside, on which we find an additional piece, entitled *Primum Mobile* (animated by Jakub Woynarowski). It is also a book in which rather simple geometry is well-visible, even in the front cover, with a black-and-white structure of a triangular ten-letter word. Quite obviously, there is a trinity of elements visible already in the title: the phrase “ten letters” contains ten elements and those elements are all letters.

Figure 2: Zenon Fajfer, *Ten Letters* (2010)

Form appears to be a key word in any discussion of this innovative piece. This unusual volume of poetry encourages its readers, through its formal structure, to act on it in one way or another. Moreover, *Ten Letters* is an aesthetically pleasing book whose structure is by no means transparent, even though at first sight the volume presents itself like a typical literary work (the only striking characteristic is that it does not have any numbers or barcodes on the covers). It is a book in which *patterns* are noticeable, and it is a literary piece which might be tentatively called “experimental,” in the sense that the volume as a whole does not fit in any current standards of literary publishing. An extraordinary pattern can be found in the text itself, the pages, and the volume as a whole. That is why one can claim that it is a book – or a book-like literary object – with a mathematical core, and this is clearly presented as such in the textual layer as well, both in its abstract meaning and in its pattern.

There is also a *pattern* in the form presented on the front cover. The form of the title phrase may be viewed as an equilateral triangle, a perfect though non-existent geometric figure, aspiring to form a figure of speech at the same time. It can be seen as a pyramid, the perfect shape which contains all the elements – paths, corners, and textual inscriptions – that are inside of the volume, in its

“space.” This pyramid-like shape is also an encapsulation of the idea of liberature as a genre in which text is the most important element, but contained in a certain form at the same time. As readers, we see the textual architecture on the cover and automatically know, in some sense, what is going to welcome us inside of the volume.

The pattern of liberyary poems often follows what Fajfer has devised (on the basis of anagrammatic poems, in which the initial letters of all lines together form a word or phrase) and identified as emanational poetry, in which “the text is derived from one ‘bottom’ word in such a way that each of its letters ‘issues’ a new word beginning with this letter. The resultant text ‘issues’ another text and the procedure is repeated several times” (Bazarnik, 2007, p. 197). Such a technique shows the unity of a piece of poetry on several layers. This method of writing poetry is to be found throughout Bazarnik and Fajfer’s model liberyary work *Oka-leczenie* (2010) or in Fajfer’s poem [*Ars poetica*] (translated by Bazarnik), published both in *Ten Letters* and on the compact disk *Primum Mobile*; in the latter, the “emanating” of the text is especially well visible.

As regards the form and the possibilities of reading that it presents to the reader, [*Ars poetica*] may be read in three ways: (1) word by word, like a typical poem; (2) by following the initial of each word (“Immortal naked space...”); and (3) vertically – by following the initials in every line (“Inside toward”), just as in anagrammatic poems. Finally, the reader gets to the “original” (or “bottom”) word “It,” formed of the initials of the two words “Inside toward.” This genetic, and somehow Biblical, “It” (a word which literally is “in the beginning” here) is presented as an encapsulation of at least two or three poems that are going to be shown to the reader (in the electronic version) or found by the reader herself (in the “analogue” version) as developing from this “bottom” word. Such an encapsulation may be viewed as a mathematical formula or a play with words and letters, similar to that in anagrams, but one also has to admit that there is a pattern (a frame), similar to a mathematical set of rules, which has restricted the poet and made him, in a sense, more of a craftsman than a poet, if such a differentiation is regarded as justified.

Figure 3: Zenon Fajfer, [Ars poetica] (part of *Primum Mobile*)

It's me?	Milky Oceans.	Read.	Trace astral letters.
Nothing.	Agni, kindle ekpyrosis.		Desire's
sweet potion.		A cup?	Empty.
Inside new screens		I'd drink.	Evil
desire?	Reset.	Eat avidly my initials.	Now, go:
either		you,	eye
[Ars poetica]			
there	I.		My eyesight
obscured.	Vast	expanses	reach
where		an intellectual	trap
arranges fate.	Toward Elsinore rocks?	Waves are running down,	
running		up.	New
days	or	wasted	nights.

One has to bear in mind, however, that a very similar restriction is placed on the author creating "typical" poetry as well. Here, limitation appears in the form of numerous grammar rules, possible combinations of words, patterns of fixed phrases and idioms, etc. (this restricting frame of each language is best noticeable in the process of translation). We can assert, however, that out of a set of possible restrictions, the limitation imposed by language is the most flexible one, while the restriction imposed by the form of anagrammatic poetry is much stronger, and the one in emanational literature – as a kind of a synthesis of typical poetry and anagrammatic poetry – is the strongest one, building the *third* level of difficulty. Such a level necessitates more than just a poetic craft, and that is why Fajfer was able to call this work [*Ars poetica*], i.e. "the poetic art." Indeed, the piece presents an art of *building* a meaningful poem out of components that have their own limitations, and it is an art of devising a poem with additional

restrictions placed on its textual and visual structure by the new, complicated form of emanational poetry.

What we see in Fajfer's poem, then, is the result of a process of attempting to create poetry limited by the letters "i" and "t." Out of their connection, a new "it" appears, and out of this word – a new phrase presents itself in front of our eyes: "immanent treatise." Then it furls again into another "it," which unfurls, in turn, into "it's the," and further into the phrase "it's the she, / the he, embodied," and then a whole new poem appears:

*it's their silent
touch. hearing everyone.
smelling him everywhere.
tasting her everyday.
hidden everything.
eye must be outside dreams, inside embo... died*

(Fajfer, 2010, no page numbers)

Liberature, represented by *Ten Letters*, is a poetry of unity not only thanks to the intricate connections between letters, words, phrases, and whole poems, but also because there are many places in which correspondences are provided with other works of Fajfer, whose pieces are supposed to form a whole. For instance, in *Primum Mobile*, we see the emanational line "DOWN," which then changes into "Detect Ozone Whole Nearby," and this is a clear reference to Fajfer's earlier (bottled) work entitled *But Eyeing Like Ozone Whole [sic!]* (2004).

Liberature is writing concerned with form – as we have already stated – and the form is content (as well as content may be form). This was presented earlier in *But Eyeing...*, where a bottle – a practical everyday object – was changed into an essential part of the liberry work, not as a container only but also as an object conveying a poetic message. Inside of this object, another poetic message is conveyed by a foil with a printed text, and on the foil there is yet another poetic message, presented as an emanational poem. In *Ten Letters*, Fajfer shows his disrespect for (or slight fear, or rejection of) form in yet another way: he abandons the very phrase "table of contents," and in his work he calls a list of his poems inside of the volume a "system of coordinates." Obviously enough, both names are only references, just as the existence of a table of contents is based on its being only a reference, not much more than a list of indices. It is, moreover, only a representation of the (inner) structure of a written book; a system of coordinates is also a representation, and nothing more, of points in an imaginary

mathematical space. Most of Fajfer's poems appear to be "imaginary" pieces, placed in brackets and proving their own non-existence and unimportance.

It is clearly visible that form is a fundamental component of any liberary work – and *Ten Letters* is the epitome of this – and that form itself conveys a certain message, one which sometimes can be interpreted in various ways, so the traditional literary division of form and content cannot be used in this context, but both should be analysed and interpreted. The triangular shape of the phrase "ten letters" – and also of Fajfer's first poem in the volume, which also has a triangular pattern – seems to allude to God (we can ask whether it may possibly be an allusion to the Godly position of the author or the editor, or maybe the looking reader himself) and to spirituality in general. There is no eye inside of the triangle, but there is a manifest liberary unity of at least three elements: (1) the text, (2) the shape of the text, and (3) the shape in which the text is placed, including both its spatial arrangement and geometry *and* the arrangement of pages. That is to say, the phrase "ten letters" is a ten-letter phrase contained in a triangular shape, which may yield associations with the Holy Trinity. I have enumerated two Biblical elements which are to be found in *Ten Letters*, and Łukasz Jeżyk finds the third one: alluding to a Biblical phrase stating that to see is to believe, he claims that to see is to know and to understand, and that it is especially so in the context of this liberary work, where "technology and its visual aspects introduce the order of the hermeneutics of suspicious overlooking" (Jeżyk, 2010, p. 175). This "suspicious overlooking" is allowed especially by the structure of pages in *Ten Letters*, some of which have to be "overlooked" or even cut open in order for the text inside to become visible.

In my view, literature situates itself in the domain of literature (as it incontrovertibly does) in a way similar to how geometry or algebra situate themselves in the field of mathematics. Bazarnik, a liberary author and theorist, indicates that her aim as an artist was never to create an artist's book, which would be placed in a gallery or on exhibition, but to make a *book*: "we wanted it to be read. Our priority in writing and designing it was not to make it visually appealing, but to find an appropriate form that would suit its subject..." (Bazarnik, 2009). Therefore, Wojciech Kalaga calls literature a trans-genre, "crossing the borders of literary genres and traversing through them..." (Kalaga, 2010, p. 76–77). Just as algebra is a trans-field of mathematics, then, which is used in various other subfields of the discipline, so literature also is a trans-genre, connected to various other genres. After our initial analyses, however, we might as well speak of a new trans-field genre of "liberatics," or liberary mathematics.

Liberature draws our attention to various aspects of a literary work that are normally either done according to a tradition (of printing, for instance, or of using a certain set of fonts) or utterly ignored. Acting in such a way is based on defamiliarization, a well-known concept devised by the Russian Formalist Victor Shklovsky in 1917, and neatly synthesized ten years ago by a Russian professor of literature: "Defamiliarization of that which is or has become familiar or taken for granted, hence automatically perceived, is the basic function of all devices. And with defamiliarization come both the slowing down and the increased difficulty (impeding) of the process of reading and comprehending and an awareness of the artistic procedures (devices) causing them" (Margolin, 2005). This theoretical assumption is reflected in Fajfer's poem entitled *[Ars numerandi]*, which bashfully proposes a new attitude to mathematics:

(*Maybe
there should be a new start to everything
from nought*)

(*for example, multiplying by nought*)

(*if you thought more deeply about it
 $7 \cdot 0 \neq 0 \cdot 7$*)

*seven
multiplied by nought
still remains seven
and nought
even multiplied by seven
doesn't cease to be
nought*)

(Fajfer, 2010, no page numbers)

Indeed, we can use the term defamiliarization here, as a literary concept employed for a discussion of mathematics. It is not pure (i.e. non-applied, or theoretical) mathematics though – since pure mathematics does not deal with such problems – but it is a phenomenon which we might call a “poetical mathematics.” In pure mathematics – which Halmos (1973) calls *mathology* – multiplying is alternating, obviously, but if one analyses the equation from a critical perspective, it really is not the same when inverted. Even though the result of multiplying seven by nought is zero, the “seven” itself is not erased, but the effect of multiplying seven by zero is a new zero, only genetically connected

with the former. It appears that the poem expresses an idea which may be formulated in words like "in fact, nothing is something," and not only in the sense of the possibility to make something *ex nihilo*, but also the other way around, nothing from something. The text of Fajfer's poem does not "wish" to be visible, it is hiding between brackets, and yet the message it conveys is as silly and timid (*vide*: "maybe" and brackets) as it is subversive, at least to our perception, very often based on learned mathematical axioms. Liberature, in other words, is a mathematically-oriented art of defamiliarization.

Liberature is also an art of playing with, and defamiliarizing, language, especially in its textual aspect. In the poem [*Ars lectoria*], the shape of the words is essential, though apparently impossible to render in English: "chwila ; która / mogłaby trwać wiecz / nie wstawaj" [literally: "a moment ; which / could last forever / don't stand up"]. What draws our attention here as an important visual and mathematical element is the word "nie." It has a double function in the poem – as a negation (*don't*) and as part of the word "wiecznie" (*forever*). It is a component joining two parts of the poem, a common denominator which glues together the whole of this poem in its textual and visual aspect. It is also an essential element of a textual game, which every liberry work offers its reader. A part of this game is pure mathematics, and another part is an implied mathematical basis of liberature.

Summary and conclusion

To sum up, we may claim that Fajfer's liberry volume *Ten Letters* is mathematical in various dimensions, and the position and workings of mathematics in the discourse of liberature has been presented on several levels. We have noticed especially the importance of form for the message that is conveyed by such a piece; moreover, we have discussed patterns noticeable on various levels (the text in its form and the message it conveys, the pages, and the volume of poetry as a whole). As it has been stated, there are various ways of reading this work, and it appears that none of them prevails; one of the "keys" to this poetry is the mathematical frame. In the formal aspect, we have noticed multiple restrictions which are placed on the author of liberature, and especially on the author of emanational poetry. Besides, it has been indicated that defamiliarization is one of the elements which, inextricably combined with mathematics, build the basis of the liberry discourse.

Zenon Fajfer's liberry piece *Ten Letters* has been analysed as a work in which mathematics plays an important role. Mathematical qualities have been indicated on various layers and levels of the piece: the physical, the textual, the visual, as well as all of them combined. The game of numbers has been found not only

where it is obviously visible and essential to understand the message of the work, but also in places in which such a game might not have been intended; in this respect, especially number three has been proven to have an elevated position in *Ten Letters* as a significant example of a literary work. There is much more mathematics in Fajfer's literary piece than it seems at first sight; mathematics here is abstract and logical, and more complex than it appears in the shapes and numbers presented to the reader on the cover.

Since mathematics in *Ten Letters* is also filtered through language, the work is close to what Halmos regards as "real" mathematics when he indicates that "[m]athematics is abstract thought, mathematics is pure logic, mathematics is creative art. All these statements are wrong, but they are all a little right, and they are all nearer the mark than 'mathematics is numbers' or 'mathematics is geometric shapes'" (Halmos, 1973, p. 177). In a similar manner, literature has been analysed as literature but at the same time, it has been shown *not* to be literature, and to be mathematical at the core in this respect. In fact, mathematics and poetry are interrelated and a human being needs both of them, since, as Michael Guillen diagnoses, "just as conventional poetry helps us to see deep *within* ourselves, mathematical poetry helps us to see far *beyond* ourselves – if not all the way up to heaven, then at least out to the brink of the visible universe" (Guillen, 1995, p. 2). That is why we need poetry, and that is why we all need literature: to see and to understand ourselves and the surrounding world.

Acknowledgment and permissions

Thank you, Justyna, for all your love and neverending patience.

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