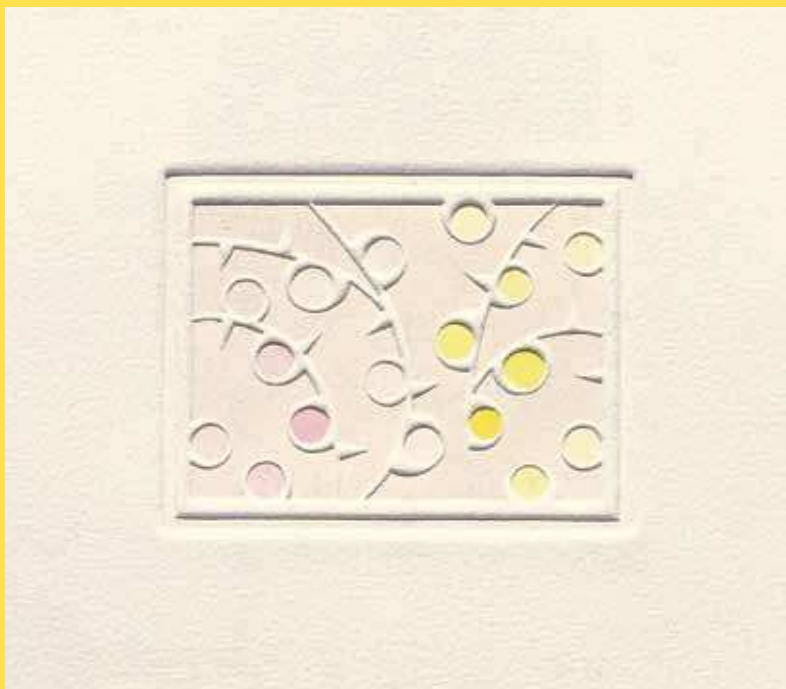# **E**nglish
Language
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Volume XI – Spring

Journal Editors: SMILJANA KOMAR and UROŠ MOZETIČ

Editors of Volume XI – Spring: TOMAŽ ONIČ and SIMON ZUPAN

The Play's the Thing: Eclectic Essays
in Memory of a Scholar and Drama Translator

English
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Volume XI – Spring

Editors: SMILJANA KOMAR and UROŠ MOZETIČ

Sdaš

The Play's the Thing:
Eclectic Essays in Memory of a Scholar
and Drama Translator

Editors of Volume XI – Spring: TOMAŽ ONIČ and SIMON ZUPAN

From Knowledge to Wisdom: The Arc of a Scholarly Life

Coincidence has it that this year's Spring issue of ELOPE will be published one year almost to the day since **Professor Darja Hribar**, a long-term member of the Slovenian branch of ESSE, passed away. Even though a sad anniversary in itself, this nevertheless is also an occasion that brings back many fond memories. Professor Hribar was one of the most popular and esteemed professors among generations of English and translation students at the University of Maribor; for those of us who worked with her, she was a competent scholar with human qualities that can only be wished for in a colleague; to those of us who knew her more intimately, Darja was a warm, gentle friend with that unique, indelible smile on her face, someone who was always prepared to help and with whom one could always engage in an intriguing conversation. She was graciously welcoming to newcomers when the department absorbed three new professors from abroad. That her name is regularly mentioned in conversation among us is just one indication of the lasting legacy of her personality.

Despite her noble personal and professional traits, life did not always treat her well. She lost a father to whom she was closely attached at a very young age; as a result, she had to find her own way in life and support herself from early on. After completing grammar school in Ptuj, she studied English and Italian at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, from which she graduated in 1975. After graduation, she first gained experience as an in-house translator for a company in Ljubljana, then worked as a librarian and translator at the University of Ljubljana's Faculty of Law, and served as a secretary for the International Sociological Association. In between, she was a freelance literary translator and an official court interpreter. For her own enjoyment, she occasionally worked as a tour-guide and spent time abroad, the longest stay being two years in London, which partly explains her cosmopolitan character. In between, her affinity for Romance languages and cultures led her to study Spanish part-time at the University of Zagreb (1978-82). Because of the same affinity, she was later invited to co-author the Slovene encyclopedic lexicon of world literature *Svetovna književnost* (World Literature; Hribar and Dolinar 1984), to which she contributed over 50 entries about Spanish literature.

In 1989 she became professor of English and American literature at the Faculty of Arts in Maribor, where she continued to work even past her official retirement in 2008. Her career at the University of Maribor unfortunately was often overshadowed by her health problems. She was first diagnosed with cancer in the mid-1990s. She successfully fought the illness and recovered from it, only to have it return a second time several years later. However, she beat it once again. She probably would not have been able to do so without her incredibly strong desire to live, combined with a healthy lifestyle and support from her partner Niko. Those who knew her better will also remember the importance of Bučko, the cat that was Darja's and Niko's companion and source of joy for 19 years. However, to everyone's concern, the cancer returned for a third time in 2012; this time Darja's body was already too weak to fight back and she succumbed in May 2013.

Although health concerns dogged her for most of her academic career, Darja's output was still considerable. As the only in-house professor of English and American literature at the University of Maribor in the early 1990s, in what was still a very young Department of Germanic Languages, she faced a demanding task: not only did she have to develop from scratch most of the literature courses in English, but she also had to teach them. Her teaching thus ranged from medieval to 20th-century literature. However, she was up to the task. Even though her teaching was versatile, throughout her career her main focus was drama, in particular the theatre of the absurd.

Her research into absurdist drama and its influence on contemporary Slovene playwrights was among the earliest in Slovenia. In her Master's thesis (1993), she analyzed the impact of absurdist philosophy and aesthetics on Peter Božič and Drago Jančar; she then revised and broadened her findings in a more recent article (2004), where she provided a macrostructural as well as stylistic analysis of Jančar's *Stakeout at Godot's* (*Zalezujoč Godota* (1988)). Her findings highlight a strong link between Jančar and Samuel Beckett in terms of structural and linguistic features; the former follows the latter in dramatic composition, monotonous plot development as well as the choice to merge emphatically philosophical modes of expression with the decidedly banal, a choice which we also find in Stoppard and Pinter.

She pursued the same topic in her Doctoral thesis (1999b) focusing on the dramatic opus of Harold Pinter, one of the greatest contemporary British playwrights, particularly his specific "Pinteresque" style, which – interestingly – entered the dictionary while he was still alive (Hribar and Onič 2011). It comes as no surprise that she became the Slovenian authority on this Nobel Prize winning playwright, particularly on the translation of his stylistic features (2004).

Her extensive, detailed knowledge of the conventions of modern drama allowed her research to broaden into the field of drama translation (e.g., 2005a). Not only was she a prolific literary translator with over 40 translations of prose, drama and radio plays from various languages, but she also dealt with approaches to the theory of literary translation (e.g., 1999a, 2002a). It is thanks to Darja Hribar that many of the most recent international theoretical approaches to drama translation (e.g., van Leuven-Zwart, Bassnet, Pavis, van den Broeck, Merino, and Lefevere, to name just a few) were introduced almost simultaneously into Slovene scholarship. Among other things, she drew attention to the phenomenon of adaptation, an integral part of practically every translation for the stage. She firmly believed – and also proved in both her research as well as translation practice (see, e.g., 2005b) – that the contemporary theoretical perception of drama translation cannot function properly without the translator's elaborate insight into all poetic elements as well as various other semiotic systems involved in the encoding and decoding of theatrical pieces.

Darja Hribar also dealt with non-verbal semantic theories and their application in theatre translation (2001, 2002b, 2007a). She constantly stressed the value of the translator's awareness of non-verbal phenomena in theatrical texts, since these possess a considerable meaning potential that is often overlooked in translation practice. Relying mainly on the theoretical foundations of Fernando Poyatos (1997) and Reba Gostand (1980), she claimed that non-verbal elements should receive as much attention by the translator as the verbal ones. The same applies to stylistic features, which in importance almost equal and overlap with the lexical ones. Professor Hribar was particularly interested in register, i.e., the varieties of language used in different language settings. She examined the levels of source and target languages in several articles and conference papers (2006, 2007b). She proved that even though lexical choices in translation allow considerable freedom, they are subject to a number of intratextual and extratextual factors defining the genre, the kind of translation, and specific features of individual plays.

Professor Hribar successfully implemented her practical and theoretical insights into her academic career. Starting in the early 1990s, she published over 30 papers in international publications or presented them at international conferences. She taught courses in drama, literary translation, stylistics and audiovisual translation and played a key role in the development of Translation Studies in Maribor at the turn of the century. As a dedicated teacher, whose main priority throughout her academic career remained students, Darja supervised independently or in collaboration several dozen diploma papers in literature and translation. She also supervised one PhD thesis. In

addition, she co-authored all the recent undergraduate and graduate study programs in English and translation at the University of Maribor. Besides being a founding member of SDAŠ, she was part of the editorial board of *ELOPE*.

Because of Professor Darja Hribar's contribution to English Studies in Slovenia, *ELOPE* has decided to dedicate this volume to her memory. The papers in it are a selection of papers that were submitted to the journal in response to a special call that was issued in 2013.

To open the linguistic section, **Katja Plemenitaš**'s paper deals with the contrastive approach to the concept of linguistic sexism in the English and Slovene cultural contexts. It analyses two manuals for non-sexist use of English and discusses the reasons for differences between the two languages regarding the linguistic expression of gender, as well as the cultural and historical context in which both languages have developed. The paper proceeds to the examination of various linguistic and social concepts that influence the debate on linguistic sexism.

Frančiška Lipovšek focuses on two significant aspects in which the prepositions *from* and *to* differ from other prepositions of movement. The reason for this difference is the existence of two place-functions in their conceptual structure: the first one is the same as that found in the conceptual structure of *at*, and the second one is not specified but can be lexicalized separately. The structure with two place-functions allows for a second preposition, but can at the same time account for the unacceptability of *from at* and *to at*. The paper proceeds to examine the reasons for this difference and problematizes the traditional definitions of *from* and *to*.

Rounding up the language section, **Klementina Jurančič Petek**'s paper addresses the issue of L1 dialect interference in the pronunciation of English as a foreign language. The author's own research completed in 2007 complements a previous study from 1991 by Wieden and Nemser, in which the researchers investigate the development of pronunciation of English as a foreign language in Austria. Jurančič Petek employs a contrastive analysis of Slovene Standard pronunciation and English as well as that of the sound systems of individual Slovene dialects and English.

In the literature section, **Michelle Gadpaille** analyzes an early German detective novel from the nineteenth century via its English translation. The story is set in the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the territory of today's Slovenia. Apart from seeing the novel as an example of the developing genres of crime and detective fiction, Gadpaille also explores the ethnic tensions on the frontiers of the Empire, which is reflected in the novel's depiction of intra-ethnic tension in the Slovenian village where the crime occurs. This study aims to rehabilitate an almost forgotten work of literature with a Slovene component.

Nursen Gömceli's paper focuses on Timberlake Wertenbaker's recent play *Credible Witness* and considers the ways in which the playwright shapes her multi-national characters to address the concepts of history, nationality and identity in modern society. The play is set in a London detention centre where the asylum-seeking immigrants from various Asian, African and European countries effectively open the issues of how human personality changes under the influence of losing or changing one's identity and what emotional consequences this entails.

The literature section concludes with a paper from the field of poetry. In his research, **Victor Kennedy** examines a selection of songs from Martin Simpson's 1976 debut album, *Golden Vanity*, and observes them through the lens of the traditional ballad genre. Apart from analyzing typical ballad characteristics like "leaping" and "lingering", Kennedy traces the historical origins

of individual ballads and argues that, despite their early origin, they are still relevant for the contemporary listener.

Also in the domain of literature, but from a perspective of language teaching, **Janez Skela**'s article addresses the question of using literary texts in the pedagogical process of learning English as a foreign language. The paper presents the results of research into the inclusion of literary texts or excerpts in EFL course books and attempts to explain the decline of literature in English language teaching.

Melita Kukovec starts her paper by addressing and evaluating the issue of cross-curricular and interdisciplinary teaching, which allows the teacher to activate more of the learners' senses and intelligences. The paper later focuses on a concrete literary text that can be used to join English and Mathematics, two school subjects from the opposite poles of preference of an average learner, i.e., Mark Haddon's *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time*. The final part of the paper demonstrates how the usage of this or a similar text in class can help learners to achieve the whole range of Bloom's levels of educational objectives.

Bringing together the fields of teaching and translation, **Primož Jurko's** article discusses the relatively modest inclusion of language corpora in the pedagogical process. After suggesting some possible reasons for this situation, the author presents the results of a survey conducted among Slovene university students of translation, which focused on the usage of a target language corpus in the course of Slovene-to-English translation in terms of English collocation. The results show that fewer collocation errors in translation are made if the translator uses an L2 corpus, which yields a translation with a higher level of idiomaticity.

In another contrastive translation study, **Simon Zupan** and **Marko Štefanič** analyze translation shifts between the original and the translation of the non-fiction novel *Hostile Waters*. Special attention is dedicated to technical jargon, which represents a salient feature of the novel's language. What is more, the authors report that most translation shifts arise from incorrect interpretation of jargon in the original, which results in a modified perception of the target-text readership.

To conclude the volume, **Tina Cupar** and **Alenka Valh Lopert**'s article deals with the process of characterization as achieved through linguistic means in an animated fairy tale. Their research into the speech of a cartoon character is based on a speech transcript and includes an analysis of the English original as well as the Slovene translation. Special care is given to the use of dialect in the target language. The analysis proceeds to a multi-layered contrastive comparison of the language varieties used, which serves for the qualitative evaluation of the impact of these shifts on the macrostructure of the text.

We believe that the articles in this issue are an appropriate homage to Darja for various reasons: their authors comprise not only her colleagues from the University of Ljubljana and the University of Maribor but also some who were her students; the issue also has an international, even a cosmopolitan character, similar to Darja's; last but not least, thematically, the papers cover all the areas that were of interest to her throughout her career: from literature and translation to teaching and stylistics.

Simon Zupan and Tomaž Onič

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I.

LANGUAGE

ELOPE

Katja Plemenitaš
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Gender Ideologies in English and Slovene: A Contrastive View

Summary

The article deals with the concept of linguistic sexism in the cross-cultural context. It compares the generally accepted guidelines for avoiding linguistic sexism in English and Slovene, exemplified by two guides on non-sexist use of English. It is argued that in English non-sexist language strives for gender neutrality, whereas in Slovene it strives for gender specificity. The reasons for the differences between the perceptions of sexism in English and Slovene are examined by taking into account the linguistic expression of gender and the cultural and historical context in which both languages have developed. The use of semantic gender in English, as opposed to the use of grammatical gender in Slovene, is treated as one of the factors influencing the approach to the non-sexist use of language in both languages. Strategies for non-sexist expression and their rebuttals are discussed in the context of predominant cultural ideologies about gender and presuppositions regarding the link between social change and linguistic reform.

Key words: sexism, language, gender, neseksistična raba jezika, English, Slovene

Ideologija spola v angleščini in slovenščini: kontrastivni pogled

Povzetek

Članek obravnava pojmovanje jezikovnega seksizma v medkulturnem kontekstu. Predstavljena je primerjava splošno sprejetih priporočil, kako se izogniti jezikovnemu seksizmu v angleščini in slovenščini na primeru dveh priročnikov o neseksistični rabi jezika. Postavljena je trditev, da v angleščini neseksistična jezikovna raba stremi k spolni dvoumnosti oz. nevtralnosti, v slovenščini pa k spolni specifičnosti. Razlogi za razliko v dojemanju seksizma v angleščini in slovenščini so postavljeni v kontekst jezikovnega izražanja spola in širšega kulturnega in zgodovinskega razvoja obeh jezikov. Raba semantičnega spola v angleščini v nasprotju z rabo slovničnega spola v slovenščini je obravnavana kot eden izmed dejavnikov, ki vpliva na pristop k neseksistični rabi jezika v obeh jezikih. Strategije za neseksistično izražanje in zavrnitev njihovih argumentov so postavljeni v kontekst predominantnih kulturnih ideologij o spolu in predpostavk o povezavi med družbenimi spremembami in jezikovno reformo.

Ključne besede: seksizem, jezik, spol, neseksistična jezikovna raba, angleščina, slovenščina

Gender Ideologies in English and Slovene: A Contrastive View

1. Introduction

The concept of linguistic sexism has long played an important part in discussions on the general nature of sexism as a form of prejudice and discrimination based on sex or gender. The fight against general sexism returned to the forefront of social movements in the so-called second wave of feminism, thus forming a part of the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s against discrimination of underprivileged groups. The concept of linguistic sexism, as one of the most prevalent forms of sexism, has thus always had strong historical ties to the political left, the feminism of the 1970s and the concept of political correctness. As Cameron (1992) has observed, an interest in the use of the English language as an essential part of sexist practice was revived in second wave feminism and linguistic issues were made central to the fight against gender-based discrimination.

There have always been strong links between the concept of linguistic sexism and political correctness. It is thus no coincidence that the first mention of the term "politically correct" is attributed to the African-American feminist Toni Cade Bambara (1970). Although, nowadays, the term political correctness is primarily used pejoratively, its dictionary definition still contains its original meaning, defining it as "the avoidance of forms of expression or action that are perceived to exclude, marginalize, or insult groups of people who are socially disadvantaged or discriminated against" (Oxford Dictionaries Online). Similarly, the concept of linguistic sexism has been subject to much criticism from the outset (cf. Blaubergs 1980) Guidelines for non-sexist language are often viewed as another form of political correctness and certain aspects of the fight against sexism in language thus face similar criticisms to those levelled at the general concept of political correctness. Some critics even accuse the proponents of non-sexist language of applying the argument of political correctness against any criticism of their ideas. For example, Ross complains that any criticism of the concept of sexist language "is usually strongly inhibited by quick charges of 'sexism' and by other intimidating tactics of political correctness" and calls the tendency to eliminate gender-specific references in the English language "an Orwellian goal" (Ross, Against the Theory of "Sexist Language", 1). Far from being resolved, the issue of sexist use of language and its non-sexist variants is thus still part of an ongoing debate.

The term sexism has gained international currency, at least in the western world, and has thus become an internationalism, accepted into the vocabulary of many languages, including the vocabulary of Slovene ('seksizem').

As opposed to the general term sexism, the concept of linguistic sexism and suggested non-sexist expressions seem to be more culturally diverse and shaped by a variety of factors.

The following comparative analysis of the concept of linguistic sexism and non-sexist language in English and Slovene draws attention to the above-mentioned assumption that the view of what constitutes linguistic sexism and the appropriate way to fight it is not culturally neutral and universally applicable; instead, it should be interpreted as a result of factors such as the specific cultural context in which it arose, including the relevant linguistic research paradigms, as well as the typological characteristics of the languages in question.

The second-wave feminist work on linguistic gender focused mainly on the English language (e.g.,

Lakoff 1975, Spender 1980), although other languages are also sometimes mentioned in passing. Cameron (1992), for example, acknowledges this by saying that "though I shall stick to talking about the English language here, the challenge could and still can be found among speakers of many languages, including French, German, Dutch, Italian and Japanese". Besides English, French is another language which has received much attention with regard to gender expression and sexism, inspired by the proponents and scholars of the French feminist movement (e.g., Simone de Beauvoir, Luce Iragaray). As Livia (2001, 5) notes, it is in English and French that the most daring experimental works have been produced. Nevertheless, most of the debate about sexism in language uses the English language as the implicit norm for the discussion. Thus, discussions focusing on linguistic sexism are often based on implicit assumptions about what linguistic sexism means and how it should be fought. In order to make these assumptions explicit, linguistic sexism should be conceptualized as part of an intellectual framework that relies on a particular view of the relationship between language and society and is also partly influenced by linguistic diversity, such as the morphosyntactic structure of particular languages. In this article we illustrate these dependencies by comparing the concept of linguistic sexism in English and Slovene, looking in particular at what constitutes non-sexist language in both languages.

2. Linguistic relativism and the concept of linguistic sexism

The concept of linguistic sexism, just like other types of linguistically expressed discrimination, implies at least some degree of linguistic relativism. Linguistic relativism is based on the postulate that certain properties of a language have consequences for patterns of thought about reality (cf. Lucy 1997). According to this theory, language embodies an interpretation of reality and can at the same time influence thought about that reality. The use of language considered demeaning to women is thus considered an interpretation of reality which itself is demeaning to women; moreover, it is also considered an influence on reality by reinforcing the values of the society in which we live. Cameron (1992) notes that feminists revived pre-war anthropology and its claims that language affects the world-view (such as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis). Kunst Gnamuš (1995) says that the question of the influence of grammar on reality cannot be answered since we do not know what the conscious and unconscious effects of linguistic rules are on the representation of reality and forming of concepts. More recent research (e.g., Boroditsky, Schmidt and Phillips 2003) shows that grammatical gender has some influence on the non-linguistic representations of reality. Some form of linguistic relativity is usually taken for granted in more sociologically-oriented Slovene writing on the subject of language and gender, which presupposes that language both reflects and constructs reality and has the power to reinforce values (e.g., Leskošek 2000). The main assumption on which the use of non-sexist language is based is that the use of language not only reflects the changing nature of society, but that it can also facilitate that change.

This view underlies the rationale for the use of non-sexist language, but similar to the concept of linguistic relativism, the concept of non-sexist language has not been universally accepted. The challenge to this view often comes in the form of citing examples of languages that have no grammatical gender, but there is gender inequality in the society itself. Ross, for example, mentions the example of Farsi, a language with no grammatical gender distinctions and no distinctions in the titles for married and unmarried women (Ross, Against the Theory of "Sexist Language", 4), pointing out that this gender neutrality does not reflect gender equality in society. Such counterarguments show that the correlation between language use and reality is a complex matter and cannot be reduced to simple determinism. However, they do not convincingly prove that changes of what is perceived as degrading use of grammatical forms in language are just

a matter of semantic trivia with no concrete effect on society. What such arguments do not consider is the question of perception and self-identity. Cameron and Culick (2003, 25) note that "politically correct" renaming challenges others' prejudices while at the same time having more 'inward-directed' objectives. New forms of expression can satisfy the desire of group members themselves for names, linguistic forms and self-descriptions that they can readily identify with. In the case of non-sexist language it is thus of secondary importance if linguistic relativity can be fully empirically proven or if the new non-sexist forms of expression can by themselves eliminate social disadvantage. What matters even more is that non-sexist alternatives offer symbolic representations of women that women themselves can perceive as fair and can identify with. Thus, it can be argued that the notion of linguistic sexism can be sustained even without invoking the concept of linguistic relativism, rendering counterarguments based on the dismissal of linguistic relativism insignificant.

3. The core beliefs of sexism underlying the concept of linguistic sexism

In order to understand the roots of and differences in the concept of linguistic sexism, we should first look at the reference of its superordinate term, i.e., sexism. As mentioned above, the word sexism has become an internationalism describing discrimination based on gender, most often discrimination against women. The dictionary definitions of the terms are very similar in English and Slovene. The term 'seksizem' in the Slovene language is defined in the dictionary part of the Slovene Orthography (2001) as "discrimination against the members of a certain gender, usually women" (in Slovene: "zapostavljanje pripadnikov določenega spola, navadno žensk"), whereas the English dictionary definition is "prejudice, stereotyping, or discrimination, typically against women, on the basis of sex" (Oxford Dictionaries Online).

When the meaning of sexism as the specificity of female oppression is discussed, it becomes clear that the definition of what constitutes sexism is very similar across cultures. Feminist theories are unified in their interpretation of the term sexism by interpreting it as the traditional belief, and practices based on such a belief, in the difference between the sexes whereby women are in some way inferior to men.

A very useful definition of sexism invokes two component core beliefs of sexism and the ethics to fight against it, which help to explain the cultural context, i.e., the traditions and beliefs that led to the current understanding of the linguistic sexism in different cultures, and which have also influenced the culture-specific guidelines for the use of non-sexist language. According to the second-wave feminist Jo Freeman (1971), traditional feminist theory about sexism recognizes at least two different concepts on which the belief of the inferiority of women is based: men are more significant or important than women, e.g., it is more important for a man to be paid well, to secure a promotion, etc. It is the basis for the belief that if women enter a particular occupation they will degrade it, often described as the "feminization of a profession". Men are then forced to leave such "feminized" professions or be themselves degraded, and women can only raise the prestige of their profession by recruiting men.

According to Freeman (ibid.), the second core concept of sexism is that women have a complementary role, meaning that they are here for the pleasure and assistance of men and that they should fulfill their natural "feminine" functions. Their identity and social value is defined solely by their relationship to men they are related to. The mentality of this second concept, which

puts women on a pedestal as long as they fulfill their natural complementary role is still present in modern society and is often defended by both men and women, especially by politicians who fight for the restoration of "natural" order in society.

These two principles are accepted by mainstream feminism as something that should be fought against; the approaches to fighting sexism can be, according to Freeman (ibid.), broadly divided into two ethics that have received a varying degree of emphasis across cultures: the egalitarian ethic and the liberation ethic. The egalitarian ethic proclaims that the sexes are equal; therefore, the sex roles should be completely eliminated. In practice this ethic can be interpreted to mean that women simply need to assume the same roles as men, so society should change accordingly to grant women the opportunities to act like men. The liberation ethic, on the other hand, proclaims that it is primarily the content of the roles assumed by men and women that must change. According to the liberation logic, a society that discriminates against women also forces men to fit a certain mold, thus oppressing men as well. The social institutions which oppress women thus also oppress people in general, so the social institutions themselves have to be changed. The application of both of these logics has undergone criticism. Certain feminists argue that pursuing the egalitarian ethic alone assumes that women want to be like men, and that they just need more opportunity in society, to get their piece of the pie, so to speak (ibid.). Real equality between the sexes, so the argument goes, will also inevitably lead to basic structural change. Conversely, criticism levelled against the liberation ethic suggests that when you try to liberate society as a whole, you cannot simply expect that the liberation of women will follow automatically. As Freeman notes (ibid.) a combination of elements from both these ethics is necessary to overcome sexism. Some of the cultural differences in the treatment of linguistic sexism have been influenced by a varying emphasis on them. We will specify these dependencies in the sections below.

4. Linguistic sexism in the context of culture

Although individual elements of the concept of sexism may have had varying influences on the fight against it, the view itself on what constitutes sexism is now accepted by the majority of feminist theories with roots in western tradition. Both of the above-mentioned ethics have played a role in the development of the concept of linguistic sexism and thus form a part of its cultural context. The view on what constitutes non-sexist language seems to be shaped by several factors, including the cultural context of feminist traditions with their own understanding of what sexism is and how it should be fought.

Theorists usually speak of three waves of feminism (cf. Krolokke and Sorensen 2006), which commonly refer to the development of feminism in English-speaking countries. The first wave was about achieving basic legal rights, while the second wave focused on the control of the human body, including issues such as the right to abortion, birth control, and other social rights (hence the slogan "the personal is political"). The current third-wave feminism stresses the heterogeneity of female identity, by giving voices to bisexual, lesbian and transgender women and by discussing racial and postcolonial issues. In terms of the proposed ethics used for fighting against sexism, the first wave focused on the egalitarian ethic of women's rights, while second-wave feminism also incorporated the liberation ethic in its more radical groups. The liberation ethic was associated with the activist environment of student politics and had connections with civil rights movement. The third-wave movement combines the two ethics, with some groups focusing more on the women's ability to choose what kind of role they want to assume in life by opening up further opportunities for them in an "equal" competition with men, while others fight to change the social institutions

and the content of the gender roles by stressing heterogeneity based on human traits other than the biological sex. A certain kind of stigma has been attached to the word feminism in the mainstream English-speaking media in the last two decades, with some media outlets even declaring feminism to be dead (e.g., Mumsnet). On the other hand, the younger generation of feminists such as Kat Baynard (2010) talk about the illusion of equality and turn their attention to social phenomena, such as the sex industry and violence against women, that have effects on the whole of society.

In Slovenia, on the other hand, feminist ideology is closely connected to the post-war socialist ideology which officially proclaimed sexual equality. After the second world war, when Slovenia was a federal state of socialist Yugoslavia, feminism was incorporated into the official ideological discourse. Boskovik (1999) notes that the feminist movements of the pre-war periods were rejected as something essentially elitist; Western feminism was viewed with suspicion as a potential threat to the official ideology, which supported social feminism. The oppression of women was seen as a part of a larger pattern that was inherent in the capitalist system and its patriarchal society, and the fight against this oppression as an issue of class struggle. The intellectual framework used by the most prominent feminists of this period, such as Maca Jogan, was thus based mainly on the liberation ethic. Feminist efforts were focused on changing society as a whole, which was also supposed to bring an end to the discrimination of women in particular. Certain positives were achieved in this period (day care, maternity leave, equal pay) but the problem of gender inequality did not disappear. Moreover, society in general remained dominated by the patriarchal legacy of Catholicism.

A younger generation of Slovene feminists, who became more prominent after the fall of socialism, took up issues similar to those dealt with in second-wave and third-wave western feminism. Institutionally, an important role was also played by the Office for Women's Policy, which was later renamed the Office for Equal Opportunity. More recent authors and activists working on feminist issues mainly come from the sociological and psychoanalytical traditions, or the lesbian movement (e.g., Darja Zaviršek, Renata Šribar, Renata Salecl, Suzana Tratnik). These feminists are associated with academia or the creative arts. Their views are heterogeneous and can be placed in the context of third-wave feminism. The positions assumed by these feminists range from the focus on gender differences to the desire for a complete elimination of sex roles. However, there are few women in the mainstream population who would willingly describe themselves as feminists, and there is a social and intellectual divide between feminist scholars and the "everyday" woman. This is probably one of the reasons preventing more women from participating in political-decision making.

5. In search of non-sexist linguistic alternatives

The theory of sexism that has its roots in the period of second-wave feminism produced important linguistic research into language and gender. Cameron (1992) notes that feminism has always focused on representations of femininity, so it is logical that it has also turned its attention to language as a symbolic system of representation. The seminal work by Robin Lakoff *Language and Woman's Place* (1975) challenged the ways in which women were talked about and the way in which women's speech was limited. Since the 1970s, the production of academic articles on connections between language and gender has vastly increased and linguistic discrimination based on gender has become a common topic in sociolinguistic and feminist studies. Not all studies in this area have confronted the problem of discrimination, focusing instead on the differences between female and male use of language, based on the supposedly different nature of men and women (e.g., Tannen 1990). However, linguistic sexism has always been at the forefront of the study of gender

in language. As a result, guidelines on non-sexist language are a common part of ethical codes of conduct in English-speaking countries at various institutions, including universities and colleges.

In Slovenia, it is the post-socialist feminists, mostly from the social sciences and psychoanalysis (e.g., Bahovec, 1992), who have drawn attention to the problems of terminology and gender. In the 1990s the main political force driving the linguistic debate on sexism in language was the Office for Women's Policy, which encouraged much of the more recent scholarly work on this topic. Slovene linguists focused on various aspects of linguistic sexism, treating it either as a lexical problem, i.e., as part of the broader concept of offensive speech (e.g., Gorjanc 2005) or as a grammatical problem, the solution to which is impractical because of the grammatical nature of the Slovene language (e.g., Stabej 1997). Purely linguistic accounts of the expression of gender in Slovene usually stress the grammatical nature of using masculine forms as unmarked forms in the case of Slovene dual gender nouns (e.g., Kunst Gnamuš 1995), or provide a word-formational inventory of possible feminine – masculine pairs (Vidovič Muha 1997).

The definition of linguistic sexism itself is broadly similar in both English and Slovene, i.e., the use of male-centred expressions for women or for generic terms including both genders, but there are considerable differences in solutions proposed for non-sexist language. While the non-sexist English language tends to achieve gender neutrality, the non-sexist Slovene language strives for gender specificity.

It can be assumed that the differences in solutions are primarily motivated by the linguistic typological differences between the two languages. It can also be argued that differences in the specific cultural context of the development of feminism also had some influence on the differences in the conceptualization of non-sexist language which underlies the guidelines on non-sexist language.

5.1 Semantic and formal gender in English and Slovene

There is a distinct typological difference in the expression of gender between English and Slovene. While in English the expression of gender is overt, dependent on the meaning of the word, i.e., the biological sex of the referent (cf. Biber et al. 1999), the main division within gender is thus based on the semantic content of words. Gender is divided into the following categories: human and non-human, with human further divided into masculine, feminine and dual gender. Gender in English can thus be called semantic gender. The semantic gender is grammatically reflected through the use of singular personal pronouns (he, she, it) and corresponding possessive and reflexive forms; the human v. non-human distinction is also reflected through certain relative and interrogative pronouns (human who v. non-human which), and indefinite pronouns (someone v. something). Nouns with dual gender have *who – he* or *she* pronoun coreference. The specification of semantic gender as feminine and masculine gender can be indicated in various ways: with lexical pairs (wife, husband), grammatical endings (actor – actress), gender premodification (female, male teacher) and gender-specific compounding (congressman, congresswoman). Some nouns can shift their gender category, for example, nouns denoting vehicles, countries, etc. can shift from the non-human category (it), to the human category (she). Nouns denoting animals also frequently shift from the non-human (it) into the human gender category (he, she). It is very rare for a human noun to shift into the non-human use – this usually happens in the case of derogatory use (it instead of he or she) and is also possible with nouns such as baby, infant (it instead of he or she). Gender is thus seen as a less important grammatical category in English than in many other languages (e.g., Biber et al. 1999).

Slovene belongs to languages in which gender is a more visible feature of the morphosyntactic structure. As opposed to semantic gender in English, the Slovene language has grammatical gender, which means that every noun grammatically expresses one of the following types of gender: masculine, feminine or neuter. Gender is not based on the semantic content of words in the same way as in English, because Slovene inanimate and non-human nouns are all ascribed feminine, masculine or neuter gender. However, there is partial overlap with semantic gender, insofar as the grammatical gender of Slovene human nouns usually agrees with the semantic gender of the word. This rule has exceptions, however, in particular when it comes to words with dual semantic gender, i.e., words that can refer to both females and males. Grammatical gender is expressed through grammatical suffixes, typical of each gender category. These suffixes, however, are not an absolute predictor of the gender of Slovene nouns. For example, while the suffix -*a* in the nominative case of singular nouns usually indicates feminine gender, it can also indicate masculine gender (e.g., vodja 'leader'). Gender is embedded into the morphosyntactic structure of Slovene to such a degree that it also affects the agreement between subject and predicator (i.e., the predicator agrees in gender with the subject), between the headword and the modifiers (i.e., certain types of modifiers agree in gender with the headword), and between the antecedent and the anaphor in coreference (i.e., anaphor agrees in gender with the antecedent). As Kunst Gnamuš (1995) notes, gender in Slovene is a morphosyntactic category which fulfills two roles: first it is an inherent morphosyntactic category which helps to express syntagmatic relations and textual cohesion, second it is a category that has representational semantic function. It marks the biological sex, the distinction between female and male as a feature of reference. Kunst Gnamuš (ibid.) mentions the clash between the morphosyntactic function and the representational (referential) function of gender in Slovene: there is a hierarchy of genders, meaning that masculine gender is used as the unmarked gender in the cases of words with dual semantic gender (e.g., generic reference). Conversely, it is marked or even ungrammatical to use feminine forms for words with dual semantic gender. Economy of expression is thus achieved at the expense of the feminine forms. This means that the semantic difference between males and females is neutralized in favour of nouns with masculine grammatical gender. Kunst-Gnamuš (ibid.) avoids the potential ideological implications of such grammatical rules by noting that she cannot answer the question about the influence of such grammatical rules on identity and possible social discrimination because it is still unknown what kind of conscious or subconscious effect the interfacing role of grammatical rules has on the representation of reality and in the formation of concepts.

Slovene uses grammatically masculine nouns to refer to mixed gender groups, either generic or specific. This means that plural masculine nouns are ambiguous in whether they refer exclusively to males or to a group of males and females (pisatelji ('writers'), prebivalci ('inhabitants')). The masculine gender is used even if the reference implies only one male in an otherwise female group. Moreover, singular masculine nouns can also be used generically to refer both to male and female referents (delavec mora biti bolje plačan ('the worker has to be paid better')). Additionally, singular masculine nouns can be used for non-referential designations even if they are ascribed to a female referent (Ona je arhitekt. 'She is an architect.'). In contrast, plural feminine nouns and singular feminine nouns by definition exclude male referents (pisateljice, prebivalke, pisateljica). Examples of grammatically feminine nouns with dual semantic gender are rare and, interestingly, such feminine nouns often have derogatory or negative meanings (e.g., baraba 'bastard', reva 'weakling', žrtev 'victim')), although there are also examples with a neutral meaning (e.g., priča 'witness', oseba 'person').

5.2 Non-sexist language in English and Slovene: a comparison of guidelines

We have argued above that there is one general distinction in the conceptualization of non-sexist language in English and Slovene, i.e., English tends towards gender neutralization, whereas Slovene tends towards gender specification. For illustration, we have examined two manuals on non-sexist language, one for the English language and one for the Slovene language.

In English-speaking universities, it is common for new students to be presented with guidelines on how to communicate and behave appropriately in their study environment. Below we present the content of a guide produced by the Committee on Equality of Opportunity by University College Cork (1994), entitled Non-sexist Language, which exemplifies guidelines on the use of English free from sexism.

The definition of non-sexist language as gender-neutral language is explicitly stated by the committee in the introduction explaining the policy of equality (1994, 1): "The use of non-sexist, gender-neutral language is an essential part of this policy." The authors of the guidelines are quick to point out that their intention is not to limit or censor language, but to include all people on an equal basis (ibid., 2).

The propositions on how to achieve language use free of sexism can be divided into three general categories: the use of dual gender forms instead of gender-specific forms, the avoidance of gender-related stereotypes, the use of parallel terms of address. In the first category, the generic use of the word man is considered a false generic and should be replaced by appropriate dual gender forms (humans, person, people, to staff etc.) (ibid., 2). This includes even somewhat revisionist modernized versions of proverbs and sayings (e.g.' one man's meat is another man's poison' rewritten as 'what is food to one is poison to another'; 'to each his own' rewritten as 'to each one's own') (ibid., 3). The gender neutralization of job titles regardless of the actual sex reference of the noun also belongs to this category (maintenance men – maintenance staff, cleaning woman – cleaner, female poet – poet, male nurse – nurse, poetess – poet, actress – actor, usherette – usher) (ibid., 7). Nouns of dual gender denoting professions are thus preferred to gender specific nouns even when the reference is not generic and the sex of the referent is known (e.g., chairperson instead of chairman or chairwoman). It is interesting that terms which were originally used as masculine nouns can be used as duals (e.g., actor) as long as they do not contain the word man.

When it comes to the neutralization of pronouns, it is suggested that the generic use of male pronouns is misleading and exclusive (ibid., 2). Therefore, simply stating that male pronouns should be understood to include females does not suffice. The alternatives 'she and he', 'she/he' or 's/he are recommended in addition to some other ways of avoiding the use of the singular he, such as the use of the plural, the use of the passive voice, the use of an indefinite pronoun, (each student must complete his essay on Friday – students must complete their essays on Friday; he must return it by the due date – it must be returned by the due date; a student who wants his essay returned – anyone who wants an essay returned) (ibid.). Interestingly, the dual gender pronoun 'they' with the singular meaning of 'he' or 'she', which is frequently mentioned as an alternative to male pronouns, is not recommended in this particular guide, perhaps because it causes grammatical disagreement in number between the antecedent and the pronoun. Similarly, the possibilities given in this section do not include the use of generic 'she' instead of 'he' (e.g., child – she), the use which has become more prominent in the last decade.

The category of gender-based stereotypes includes stereotyped assumptions (lecturers and their wives – lecturers and their partners, i.e., lecturers may be female, homosexual, single, cohabiting), patronizing expressions (the girls in the office – administrative assistants), and sex-role stereotyping (she is a tomboy – she is adventurous; he is a sissy – he is a sensitive boy). Here it is also recommended that a balance between male and female referents should be achieved, for example in textbooks (ibid., 8). Personification of inanimate objects is also rejected on the assumption that it reinforces stereotyped notions of femininity and masculinity (e.g., the sun as a 'he', the moon as a 'she') (ibid., 10). The guide also suggests varying the word order when listing pairs of female and male nouns and pronouns, so that the hierarchy of importance and status is challenged (ibid., 11).

The document concludes with the presentation of the Equality Committee, data about its establishment, and its main aim – committed to "equality of opportunity for men and women." (ibid., 14)

For the Slovene language, we present the guide entitled Nekaj izhodiščnih prizadevanj za odpravo seksistične rabe jezika 'Some basic efforts for the elimination of the sexist use of language' (Žagar and Milharčič Hladnik 1996). This is the first official document conceptualizing the use of sexist language in Slovene and offering guidelines on how to avoid it. It was drawn up at the instigation of the Office for Women's Policy, and was politically motivated by Slovenia becoming a member of the European Union and consequently, of various European institutions. The authors refer to the general recommendation by the Council of Europe that the national languages of member states should achieve equality in the grammatical expression of female and male forms and parallel designations for both genders. The member states were left to adapt the detailed guidelines to the individual languages in question. According to the document the elimination of sexist use is necessary for a change in cultural thought patterns (cf. Chapter 2), for the achievement of equality in social life and employment and for the elimination of gender-based prejudice and stereotypes. This can be achieved by treating both genders equally or at least neutrally (ibid., 3). The authors point to several ways in which this goal can be achieved. Generically used (dual gender) masculine terms or feminine terms excluding male referents should be avoided in designations for professions, and parallel feminine and masculine terms should be used instead (električar, električarka 'male electrician', 'female electrician', čistilka, čistilec 'female cleaner', 'male cleaner'). One of the reasons given for mentioning both forms is for women not to be the "invisible" half of the population: "If women are not present in language, they are much harder to notice and establish themselves in public life (ibid., 4)". At the same time the authors concede that the ideal of parallel feminine and masculine forms is easier to achieve for the Slovene language in comparison to languages such as English because of its different word-formation potential in the creation of feminine forms. The use of non-sexist forms can be achieved in various ways: the coordinated use of both forms (dijak/ dijakinja 'male student/female student', the use of neutral dual gender forms (oseba, ki je nosilka pravice 'the person who is the owner of this right'), the use of the creative method (variation of masculine and feminine forms throughout the text) and the use of the legal definition (a footnote stating that masculine grammatical forms are used for both genders). The authors (ibid.) find the use of legal definition the least satisfying, and at the same time point to the potential awkwardness of legal texts that consistently use parallel forms, which is further complicated by the required agreement in gender between the subject and verb.

Another area of sexist use mentioned in the document (ibid., 6) is the asymmetric use of terms of address where parallel terms of address should be used instead of non-parallel terms. For example, it is suggested that the asymmetric Janez Marolt, manager, in Sonja ('Janez Marolt, the manager, and Sonja'), should be replaced with the symmetric Janez Marolt, manager, in Sonja Horvat, knjigovodkinja

('Janez Marolt, the manager, and Sonja Horvat, the accountant'). Interestingly, the authors do not problematize the distinction between ga. ('Mrs.') and gpd. ('Miss') based on marital status.

The third area of sexist use of language mentioned in the document points to the stereotypical descriptions of men and women alongside their characteristics and typical role in society (lepi spol/šibki spol 'the fair sex/the weak sex', direktor in njegova šarmantna tajnica 'director and his charming secretary').

The document concludes by recommending further research in this area, the modification of administrative forms, and the establishment of a special work group to elaborate detailed guidelines for all areas of public life.

5.3 Gender neutrality v. gender specificity

A comparison of English and Slovene guidelines shows that there are similarities between the conceptualizations of sexist language based on the common ground of the similar social values reflected in both languages. For both languages, these social values are historically closely connected with a male-dominated and a male-centred society that has treated males as the unmarked norm. Very similar recommendations are thus given for the avoidance of biased and stereotyped assumptions, patronizing and demeaning expressions and sex-role stereotyping and terms of address. Here the English guidelines go even further than the Slovene guidelines in recommending changes to old sayings and proverbs. The differences in recommendations arise mainly in the area of dual gender nouns and parallel feminine and masculine expression, and can be attributed to the differences in the semantic and morphological expression of gender in the two languages. As we have seen above, English expresses gender primarily at the semantic level, while Slovene expresses gender grammatically. This means that the Slovene nouns which can be considered as dual gender on the semantic level are grammatically still gender-specific. Consequently, the English ideal of gender-free language is very difficult to achieve. Nouns with semantic dual-gender in Slovene, i.e., nouns which can be used to refer both to females and males, are expressed mainly through masculine grammatical gender. In Slovene, dual gender finds expression on the semantic level, but not on the grammatical level (e.g., priča 'witness'– feminine gender, otrok 'child'– masculine). The use of plural forms or semantically neutral forms does not solve the problem of male-biased language in Slovene. The only way to avoid the use of the masculine form for both genders is to use parallel gender-specific terms. This is similar to the problem of the non-existent neutral singular third person pronoun in English, but in the case of Slovene this problem extends over nouns in general. The word-formation potential of Slovene enables a relatively regular formation of feminine terms parallel to masculine terms through suffixation. Feminine forms, while avoided in non-sexist English in favour of dual gender forms (e.g., actor instead of actress), are actively encouraged in Slovene, even though they are usually formed from masculine terms. The consistent use of the existing feminine forms and the creation of new feminine forms is considered to fulfill the function of rendering women visible, even if we take into account that the created feminine forms for different professions do not necessarily coincide with real-life statistics (e.g., varilec 'welder' – varilka 'female welder').

Reference to inanimate nouns as masculine or feminine, which is seen as an example of sexist use of language in English, is not treated as such in Slovene. Masculine or feminine gender is ascribed to inanimate nouns as an inherent part of the grammatical system of the Slovene language. Consequently, this is not seen as a problem for the non-sexist use of language, because it does not involve personification, and moreover, there is no alternative expression.

Gender neutralization, on the other hand, is more in tune with the linguistic typology of gender expression in English. One of the main problems of sexist English is considered to be the dual gender use of nouns containing the word man or the pronoun he. The primarily semantic nature of gender expression in English allows the existence of truly dual gender nouns, although sometimes these nouns are an extension of an originally masculine noun (e.g., actor in reference to women). In addition to this, the word-formation potential of creating feminine forms is in English much more idiosyncratic than in Slovene.

However, it seems that the decision about which approach to adopt regarding the sexist use of language also has parallels with a particular approach to women's liberation. If we take into account the above-mentioned egalitarian ethic and liberation ethic in the feminist movement, the ideal of gender neutralization seems to be based on the assumption that women are not served by the practice of mentioning gender in each case. If women are not represented equally strongly among all occupations at all levels, the feminine forms could be seen as marginalized forms. This position reflects the egalitarian ethic, which strives to change the gender roles, encouraging women to assimilate and emulate male roles to achieve success and equality. The ideal of consistent feminization of forms, on the other hand, seems to stem from the liberation ethic, based on which the change of society as a whole will automatically bring about equality of the sexes and make both genders equally prominent.

6. Conclusion

The comparison of assumptions about linguistic sexism in various languages shows that the conceptualization of non-sexist use of language is a linguistic-cultural concept that has to be evaluated in its specific linguistic and cultural context. The ideals of non-sexist use of language in English and in Slovene differ to a certain extent. In English, the non-sexist use of language encourages gender-neutral language and strives for the elimination of specific use of feminine or masculine gender. In Slovene, on the other hand, semantic gender-neutrality clashes with grammatical gender, so the ideal of non-sexist language consists in the consistent use of feminine forms in reference to females.

However, in English there is also an opposite trend toward the feminization of nouns (song – songstress, murder – murderess, adventurer – adventuress), at least in some types of texts. This indicates a step away from gender invisibility towards a more explicit linguistic expression of feminine identity. Further research will show if this trend is more than simply an expressive style of popular writing, or if it can have any significance for the concept of the non-sexist use of language in English.

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ELOPE

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Defining the conceptual structure of *from* and *to*

Summary

From and *to* differ from other prepositions of movement in two significant respects: they entail point-apprehensibility and leave the actual trajector-landmark arrangement unspecified. The difference is due to the presence of two place-functions in their conceptual structure. The first place-function is the same as the one found in the conceptual structure of *at*. It triggers a point-like conceptualization and is lexicalized together with the path-function. The second place-function is not specified but can be lexicalized separately. The conceptual structure with two place-functions allows for a second preposition, but can at the same time account for the unacceptability of *from at* and *to at*. The paper highlights the vagueness of the traditional definitions of *from* and *to*, arguing that what is conceptualized as a point is not the landmark but the place of location.

Key words: prepositions, from, to, conceptual structure, path-function, place-function, landmark, trajector

Opredelitev konceptualne strukture predlogov *from* in *to*

Povzetek

From in *to* se od ostalih predlogov za izražanje premikanja razlikujeta v dveh bistvenih pogledih: implicirata točkovno konceptualizacijo in ne specificirata prostorskega razmerja med trajektorjem in orientacijsko točko. Omenjena razlika je posledica prisotnosti dveh funkcij lokacije v njuni konceptualni strukturi. Prva je enaka funkciji lokacije v konceptualni strukturi predloga *at*. Sproži točkovno konceptualizacijo in je leksikalizirana skupaj s funkcijo poti. Druga funkcija lokacije ni specificirana, lahko pa je leksikalizirana ločeno. Konceptualna struktura z dvema funkcijama lokacije omogoča rabo dodatnega predloga, vendar lahko še vedno utemelji nesprejemljivost kombinacij *from at* in *to at*. Članek med drugim izpostavi nenatančnost tradicionalnih definicij predlogov *from* in *to* z vidika konceptualizacije: predmet točkovne konceptualizacije namreč ni orientacijska točka, temveč mesto lokacije.

Ključne besede: predlogi, from, to, konceptualna struktura, funkcija poti, funkcija lokacije, orientacijska točka, trajektor

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1. Introduction

Spatial prepositions express static and dynamic relations that can be described schematically as geometric configurations between a TRAJECTOR (TR) and a LANDMARK (LM): the former is the primary focus and the carrier of the relation, and the latter a secondary focal participant viewed as the reference point for locating the TR (Langacker 1987, 217, 231-243; 2000, 171-174, 2008, 113). If movement is involved, the TR moves through a spatial trajectory determined by a specific relationship with the LM.

From and *to* belong to the spatial prepositions that express movement along a bounded path. The conceptualization involves not only a dynamic scene, with the TR moving away from or towards the LM, but also a static scene describing a specific TR-LM arrangement at the beginning or end of the path (for example, *out of* evokes the image of the TR located inside the LM). *From* and *to* are exceptions in this respect: they (i) remain vague about the actual TR-LM arrangement and (ii) evoke the image of the LM as a "point or blob" (Lindstromberg 2010, 31). It can be assumed that the reason lies in different conceptual structures. The aim of the paper is to identify the component(s) responsible for the two differences and propose a structure that accounts for both.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 discusses the role and lexicalization of functions in the conceptual structure of lative prepositions and identifies the problem of *from* and *to* in this respect. Section 2 focuses on the place-function AT and its lexicalization. Section 3 examines the occurrence of *from at* and *to at* to argue for a conceptual structure with two place-functions. A short discussion follows in section 4. The main points are summed up in the Conclusion.

2. Towards the conceptual structure of *from* and *to*

Arguing that "semantic structure is conceptual structure" (cf. also Heine 1997, Talmy 1983), Jackendoff (1983) refers to prepositions as FUNCTIONS and uses the following notations to represent their conceptual structure:

(1)

a. [Place PLACE-FUNCTION ([Thing THING])]
b. [Path PATH-FUNCTION ([Place PLACE-FUNCTION ([Thing THING])])]

For example:

(2)

a. The cat was hiding in the basket.
   [Place IN ([Thing BASKET])]
b. The cat jumped out of the basket.
   [Path FROM ([Place IN ([Thing BASKET])])]
c. The cat jumped into the basket.
   [Path TO ([Place IN ([Thing BASKET])])]

The preposition *in* in (2a) is the lexicalization of the place-function IN, which involves the conceptualization of the LM as some kind of container. In (2b) and (2c), the conceptual structure

of the preposition consists of a path-function (with FROM standing for the source-path-function and TO for the goal-path-function) and the place-function IN. The two functions are lexicalized together as *out of* and *into*, respectively.

Some prepositions express place- as well as path-functions. In the locative use, the conceptual structure of the preposition consists of a place function only; in the lative[1] use, its conceptual structure consists of a path-function and a place-function. For example:

(3)

a. The child was hiding in the closet/under the bed/behind the tree.
    [Place IN/UNDER/BEHIND ([Thing CLOSET/BED/TREE])]
b. The child hid in the closet/under the bed/behind the tree.
    [Path TO ([Place IN/UNDER/BEHIND ([Thing CLOSET/BED/TREE])])]

By contrast to locative-allative prepositions (i.e., those used for locations as well as goal-paths), locative-ablative prepositions (i.e., those used for locations as well as source-paths) are few in number. In fact, there are only two true representatives of the kind: *off* and *out of*. Furthermore, their primary function is not locative but ablative:[2]

(4)

a. The glider lifted off the ground.
    [Path FROM ([Place ON ([Thing GROUND])])]
b. The plane's nose is already off the ground.
    [Place OFF ([Thing GROUND])]
c. They drove out of town.
    [Path FROM ([Place IN ([Thing TOWN])])]
d. They're out of town.
    [Place OUT OF ([Thing TOWN])]

In their lative uses, the prepositions in (2–4) above share one significant property: their conceptual structure consists of a path-function and a place-function, which are lexicalized together as one lexical item. The two functions can also be lexicalized separately:

(5) The cat ran from under the sofa.

    [Path FROM ([Place UNDER ([Thing SOFA])])]

In example (5), the path-function is lexicalized as *from*, and the place-function as *under*. As pointed out by Keizer (2008), *from* combines with another preposition if the latter expresses a TR-LM relationship that differs from the expected, default one (as implied by the semantics of the TR and LM). For illustration (adapted from Lipovšek 2013):

(6)

a. I heard an angry voice coming from under the table/behind the closet/above the balcony.
b. *I heard an angry voice coming from at their table/in the closet/on the balcony.

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[1]   Used throughout the paper as the cover term for the *ablative* use (i.e. with the TR moving in a direction away from the LM) and the *allative* use (i.e. with the TR moving in a direction towards the LM).
[2]   Perhaps a more appropriate designation would be *ablative-locative*.

It appears that the lexicalization of each function separately occurs only with source-paths. With goal-paths, prepositions are used that can lexicalize both functions together:

(7)

a. All of a sudden, the cat jumped on/under/behind the sofa.
b. *All of a sudden, the cat jumped to on/under/behind the sofa.

By contrast to *from, to* is not normally followed by another preposition, irrespective of the TR-LM relationship. Moreover, *from* wihout the second preposition entails a default relationship, while *to* does nothing of the kind: if the apple in (8a) was most certainly IN the bag, the ball in (8b) did not end IN the hole:

(8)

a. The apple rolled from the bag.
b. The (golf) ball (bounced off the ground and) rolled to the hole.

The LM in (8a) is conceived of as a container, while the conceptualization of (8b) involves the LM as the endpoint of the TR's path, with the TR located within the LM's range. This difference suggests the following conceptual structures in (8):

(9)

a. [Path FROM ([Place IN ([Thing BAG])])]
b. [Path TO ([Thing HOLE])]

Notation (9a) implies that the path-function FROM and the place-function IN are lexicalized together as *from*. In other words, it implies that the conceptualization of the LM in (8a) as a container is evoked by *from*. The problem of this implication is that it makes *from* polysemic. Compare:

(10) The apple rolled from the table.

[Path FROM ([Place ON ([Thing TABLE])])]

Polysemy would suggest that the conceptual structures of *from* in (8a) and *from* in (10) contain the same place-functions as *out of* and *off,* respectively.[3] Nevertheless, the actual TR-LM arrangement is not contained in the meaning of *from* but must be derived from the semantics of the TR and LM and the context. The conceptual structure of *from* remains the same irrespective of the actual TR-LM arrangement:

(11) [Path FROM ([Place PLACE-FUNCTION ([Thing THING])])]

The source-path-function is lexicalized as *from*, while the place-function is lexicalized only if the TR-LM relationship differs from the expected one. If the place function is lexicalized, the TR-LM arrangement is implied by the conceptual structure of the second preposition. If the place-function is not lexicalized, the TR-LM arrangement is derived from the semantics of the TR and LM. The place-function in (12b-c) is printed in italics[4] to indicate that the specification of the TR-LM arrangement is not part of the conceptual structure of *from*.

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[3]   For their possible interchangeability, see Lipovšek 2013.
[4]   Proposed by the author for the sake of clarity.

(12)

a. The ball rolled from under the table.
    [Path FROM ([Place UNDER ([Thing TABLE])])]
b. The apple rolled from the table.
    [Path FROM ([Place *ON* ([Thing TABLE])])]
c. The apple rolled from the bag.
    [Path FROM ([Place *IN* ([Thing BAG])])]

With *to*, the place-function is not normally lexicalized. We used notation (9b) to illustrate the conceptual structure of *to* in (8b) above, repeated below as (13):

(13) The ball rolled to the hole.

    [Path TO ([Thing HOLE])]

The most likely interpretation of (13) is that the ball ended right on the edge of the hole, which means that the TR is located within the LM's range. This proximity relationship may turn into coincidence, especially if viewed from afar or if the path is foregrounded. That could explain the missing place-function in the notation under (13). Indeed, Jackendoff (1983, 163) states that the internal structure of lative prepositions often consists of a path-function and a reference OBJECT, as in *to the floor*. He continues by pointing out that the path-function can alternatively be followed by a reference PLACE, as in *from under the table*. He also states that the "path-function TO tends to combine with place-functions into a single lexical item" (ibid., 165), which suggests not only that the conceptualization of *to* involves a place-function, but also that the place-function and the path-function are lexicalized together.

The presence of the place-function in the conceptual structure of *to* becomes evident in cases where the LM clearly keeps its dimensionality. Nevertheless, it cannot be considered lexicalized because the specification of the TR-LM arrangement is not part of the semantics of *to*:

(14)

a. The cat jumped to the windowsill.
    [Path TO ([Place *ON* ([Thing WINDOWSILL])])]
b. I'm going to the kitchen to make some coffee.
    [Path TO ([Place *IN* ([Thing KITCHEN])])]

The recognition of the place-function with *to* calls for a revision of (13) above. With the LM conceptualized as a point on a line and the TR located in proximity to that point, the place-function is best represented by AT:

(15) The ball rolled to the hole.

    [Path TO ([Place *AT* ([Thing HOLE])])]

The point-apprehensibility of the LM is the key component of *at*. As stated by Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 654), the "core lexical meaning of *at* expresses location in a specific geographical position conceived as a point in the plane." *From* and *to* are traditionally viewed as dynamic counterparts of *at*. The conceptualization of the goal-path involves not only a dynamic scene with the TR traversing the path but also a static scene, with the TR located at the endpoint of

the path. Similarly, the conceptualization of the source-path involves a dynamic scene as well as a static scene, with the TR located at the beginning of the path. The use of *from ... to*, for example, foregrounds the path and evokes the image of a line between two points:

(16) We swam from one end of the pool to the other.

[Path FROM ([Place AT ([Thing POOL END])])] + [Path TO ([Place AT ([Thing POOL END])])]

Example (16) suggests that the point-like conceptualization of the LM is evoked by *from* and *to* and that their conceptual structures contain the place-function AT:

(17)

a. [Path FROM ([Place AT ([Thing THING])])]
b. [Path TO ([Place AT ([Thing THING])])]

Nevertheless, the notations in (17) are not unproblematic. The inclusion of AT in the conceptual structure of each preposition is in perfect accordance with the view that when *from* or *to* is used, the LM's dimensionality and physical properties are largely ignored (cf. Lindstromberg 2010, 31, 44); however, the question arises whether *from* and *to* actually ENTAIL point-apprehensibility. Cienki (1989, 134), for example, argues that *to* cannot be a "motional counterpart" of *at*. He points out that *Tom pushed Bill to the ground* does not entail that Bill is AT the ground. Another argument he provides is that humans as LMs readily combine with *to* (e.g., *Simon went home to his wife*) but not with *at* (e.g., **He was at Fred*), the reason being that humans are not point-apprehensible. He argues for a very general meaning of *to* without any further specification of the place function. This line of reasoning can be extended to *from*: the sentence *Peter fell from the tree* does not entail that Peter was AT the tree. The notations in (17) should be revised accordingly:

(18)

a. [Path FROM ([Place PLACE-FUNCTION ([Thing THING])])]
b. [Path TO ([Place PLACE-FUNCTION ([Thing THING])])]

The presence of the place-function in the structure of *from* is evident from cases where it is lexicalized separately (e.g., *He crawled from <u>under</u> the table*). With *to*, by contrast, the place-function is not normally lexicalized. Instead, a preposition that lexicalizes both functions together is used (e.g., *He jumped <u>into</u> the pool / climbed <u>behind</u> the sofa / hid <u>under</u> the table*). Nevertheless, actual usage shows that *to* is occasionally followed by a preposition as well. The following examples are taken from the BNC:

(19)

a. His dark eyes directed *to beyond* the window where the Expo lights sparkled colourfully into the distance.
b. An elderly woman does not want to take the risk, hastily glances at the sharp blades of the door, retreats back *to behind* the faded white line and waits for the next train.
c. It was a stretched Telecaster, using the same slab ash body with no contouring whatsoever, while its elongated top horn extended *to above* the twelfth fret and offered good balance for an instrument of its considerable weight.

d. A scar ran from the corner of his eye *to under* his jawbone, and his tattooed arms rested on the desk in front of him, which was covered with mementoes of his Legion career.

e. And then his hand moved *to under* her chin.

As can be inferred from the above sentences, a second preposition may be needed to specify the location of the TR with regard to the LM. There is a difference, for example, between reaching a point and reaching *beyond* that point. Alternatively, *to* may be needed to avoid misinterpreting the allative use as locative (cf. (19e)). With the second preposition lexicalizing a function of its own, this usage confirms the presence of the place-function in the conceptual structure of *to*.

One fact is indisputable: the conceptual structures of *from* and *to* contain a place-function that can be lexicalized. The key question is whether this function can be AT.

3. The place-function AT in the conceptual structure of *from* and *to*

The function of AT can best be explained by looking at its typical lexicalization, the preposition *at*. Lindstromberg (2010, 173-182) describes spatial *at* as imprecise about the TR-LM relationship, vague about possible physical contact between the two entities and neutral about their relative sizes. Keizer (2008) observes that, despite its vagueness, *at* has a narrower range of application than other prepositions, concluding that *at* must have a specific meaning of its own, namely, expressing location at some non-dimensional, geometric point in space. The point-like conceptualization of the LM and its indefiniteness regarding the exact TR-LM relationship make *at* unique not only among English prepositions but also crosslinguistically. In the title of his paper, Cuyckens (1984) refers to *at* as "a typically English preposition", while Cienki (1989, 128) comments on that, suggesting that an even more appropriate designation would be "a peculiarly English preposition" because it has no direct equivalent in other languages.

The point-apprehensibility entailed by *at* does not mean that the TR is necessarily COINCIDENT with the LM. According to Cuyckens (1984), the TR must be included in the REGION of the LM, which covers the area taken by the LM itself as well as the surrounding area outside the LM. It follows that the TR-LM relationship can be that of coincidence or that of proximity. Cuyckens argues that coincidence and proximity are not part of the semantics of *at*, but rather further specifications that are derived from the semantics of the sentence and the context. Coventry (2003, 255-6) states that the use and comprehension of *at* depends on the relative distance between objects and their possible interaction. Cienki (1989, 104) proposes a centrality condition that is based on the relative distance between the TR and the LM: the applicability of *at* decreases with distance because the TR should not move out of the LM's region. Furthermore, their distance from the observer also plays a role: the relationship may be that of proximity from a close-up view but will turn into coincidence from a more remote point of view because from a distance the whole LM region tends towards a point-like conceptualization. In other words, the TR and the LM will merge into a single point owing to the "mental act of 'zooming out'" (Lindstromberg 2010, 173).

If *at* evokes the picture of a zero-dimensional LM, its conceptual structure consists of a place-function that takes a point-like argument. This does not imply that the LM is actually a point but rather that it is APPREHENDED as a point, irrespective of its dimensions:

(20) [Place AT ([Thing POINT])]

As counterparts of *at,* the prepositions *from* and *to* should lexicalize the same place-function (together with the path-function):

(21)

a. [Path FROM ([Place AT ([Thing POINT])])]
b. [Path TO ([Place AT ([Thing POINT])])]

If *from* and *to* are used alone, the notations in (21) seem perfectly plausible. The path-function and the place-function are lexicalized together: FROM and AT as *from*, and TO and AT as *to*:

(22) We swam from one end of the pool to the other. (= 16)

[Path FROM ([Place AT ([Thing POINT: POOL END])])]
[Path TO ([Place AT ([Thing POINT: POOL END])])]

(23) The apple rolled from the table. (= 10)

[Path FROM ([Place AT ([Thing POINT: TABLE])])][5]

A problem arises when a second preposition follows:

(24) He crawled from under the table.

If we want to apply notation (21a) to (24), it looks as if the place-function AT was either lexicalized as *under* (25a) or supplanted by the place-function UNDER (25b):

(25)

a. ? [Path FROM ([Place AT ([Thing POINT: TABLE])])]
b. ? [Path FROM ([Place UNDER ([Thing TABLE])])]

Both are problematic: (25a) implies that *from* lexicalizes only the path-function and that the place-function AT can be lexicalized by prepositions other than *at*; (25b) implies that the place-function AT and its point-like argument are not part of the structure.

What, on the other hand, speaks in favour of (21) is the unacceptability of *from at* and *to at*: the place-function AT cannot be lexicalized as *at* because it is already lexicalized together with the path function as *from* or *to*. To put it simply, *at* is redundant because the point-like conceptualization is already entailed by *from* or *to*. The reasoning behind this argument, however, is challenged by the fact that combinations with *at* are not, in fact, non-existent. Keizer (2008), for example, provides several examples with *from at*, pointing out that although *from* and *at* are both grammatical prepositions and as such mutually exclusive,[6] the combination *from at* may not be entirely unacceptable. This could have important implications for the conceptual structures of *from* and *to*. For the purposes of the paper, the occurrence of *to at* and *from at* has been checked in the BNC and the ukWaC and is discussed briefly in the next section.

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[5]   The notation differs from that in (10). It implies point-apprehensibility and leaves the actual TR-LM arrangement unspecified.

[6]   Keizer draws on the theory of Functional Discourse Grammar and the classification of spatial prepositions as proposed by Mackenzie (1992), who distinguishes five grammatical prepositions: *at, from, via, to* and *towards* (cited in Keizer 2008).

4. Arguing for a second place-function

The corpora search has confirmed the supposed unacceptability of *to at*. At first sight, the search results might suggest that *to at* occurs in contexts of sending something to a specific address (referred to by the name of an institution/service, a web page or the noun *address*). All these occurrences of *to at*, however, are to be crossed out as insertion mistakes. For example:

(26)

a. *Full details of these arrangements are given in Annexes to this paper. General Enquiries on this area should be directed to at SCOTVEC. (BNC)

b. *These CDs can be ordered from Pinecastle at P.O. Box 456, Orlando Florida 32802 or write to at pinecast@inspace.net or http://pinecastle.com. Happy listening! (ukWaC)

c. *Orders for copies of the Licensed Software shall be communicated in writing, by telefax or by telex to at the above address. (BNC)

If *to at* is practically non-existent, the occurrence of *from at* ranges from purely spatial uses to temporal ones. As to the former, *from at* is found mainly with locations implying a part-whole relationship and with the noun *home*. For example:

(27)

a. The presenter, who was Brian Conley, came on at the beginning of the show from at the back of the stage instead of down the stairs and through the audience. (ukWaC)

b. New entries are added all of the time, so if you come across a word, acronym or phrase you would like Jargon Busted please let us know via the online contact from at the bottom of this page. (ukWaC)

c. Students can access the project from BOKU or from at home via Internet. (ukWaC)

As to temporal uses, *from at* occurs mainly with expressions telling the exact time or marking the beginning or end of a time period. For example:

(28)

a. We will also celebrate mass in Streatham Court LTE on Thursdays from at 6pm. (ukWaC)

b. Prices of essential foods were controlled from at the start of the war but this often meant subsidy. (ukWaC)

c. Hundreds of pedigree bitches can be kept on the same farm, producing a constant supply of puppies. They are often bred from at a very young age and on a frequent basis. (ukWaC)

It can be concluded that *from at* is "less unacceptable" than *to at*. The TR-LM relationship is that of proximity or coincidence (for example, the presenter in (27a) had been waiting AT the back of the stage; the mass in (28a) begins AT 6pm). What is relevant to the discusion is that *at* now behaves like any other preposition lexicalizing the place-function:

(29)

a. He came on from at the back of the stage. (cf. (27a))
[Path FROM ([Place AT ([Thing POINT: BACK-OF-STAGE])])]

b. He jumped from behind the wall.
   [Path FROM ([Place BEHIND ([Thing WALL])])]

Nevertheless, what makes uses like (29a) only marginally acceptable is the requirement that the place-function should not be lexicalized unless the TR-LM relationship differs from the expected, default one. For comparison:

(30)

a. He came on from the back of the stage.
   [Path FROM ([Place *AT* ([Thing POINT: BACK-OF-STAGE])])]
b. He jumped from the wall.
   [Path FROM ([Place *ON* ([Thing WALL])])]

The notations in (29) leave us with the same question as (24) above: How can the second preposition lexicalize the place-function if the latter is already lexicalized together with the path-function? The problem can be solved by recognizing a second place-function in the structure. The following notations are proposed:

(31)

a. [Path FROM ([Place AT ([Place POINT: PLACE-FUNCTION ([Thing THING])])])]
b. [Path TO ([Place AT ([Place POINT: PLACE-FUNCTION ([Thing THING])])])]

The first place-function is specified and lexicalized together with the path-function. The specification of the second place-function is not part of the semantics of *from* and *to* and can be lexicalized separately by a second preposition. It follows that *at* in *from at* (the same would, theoretically, hold for *to at*) occurs as a lexicalization of this second function.

5. Discussion

The notations in (31) are applicable irrespective of whether *from* and *to* are used alone or in combination with other prepositions:

(32)

a. He came on from the back of the stage. (= 30a)
   [Path FROM ([Place AT ([Place POINT: *AT* ([Thing POINT: BACK-OF-STAGE])])])]
b. He jumped from the wall. (= 30b)
   [Path FROM ([Place AT ([Place POINT: *ON* ([Thing WALL])])])]
c. He jumped from behind the wall. (= 29b)
   [Path FROM ([Place AT ([Place POINT: BEHIND ([Thing THING])])])]

(33)

a. The ball rolled to the hole. (= 15)
   [Path TO ([Place AT ([Place POINT: *AT* ([Thing POINT: HOLE])])])]
b. The scar ran to under his jawbone. (cf. (19d))
   [Path TO ([Place AT ([Place POINT: UNDER ([Thing JAWBONE])])])]

Furthermore, they can account for occasional occurrences of *at* as the second preposition, but

at the same time also for its unacceptability: *at* is precluded not because the place-function AT is already lexicalized but because *at* as a lexicalization of the SECOND place-function would be redundant or would clash with the intended meaning:

(34)

b. *The ball rolled to at the hole. (cf. (33a))

a. *He jumped from at the wall. (cf. (32b))

That *at* lexicalizes the second place-function is also evident from examples where the lexicalization is required by adverbial modification:

(35)

a. Pour the batter from *just above the pan.* (ukWaC)

b. This procedure is repeated but now the tip of the tongue moves further forward still, to *just behind the front teeth*, before the 'i' is sounded. (ukWaC)

c. I watched his speech from *right at the front*, among the photographers. (ukWaC)

d. You, with your million citizens in Birmingham and your 40,000 plus employees, delegating responsibility, still had to get the message down even to Handsworth. Can you share with us how that is best achieved, getting the message down to *right at the delivery point*? (ukWaC)

This use, too, is in perfect accordance with the conceptual structures proposed by (31). It confirms not only that the argument of AT is a place of location with its own place-function, but also that the place of location is conceptualized as a point. It occurs with adverbs that typically signal coincidence and, as Mackenzie (1992) puts it, indicate "that the spatial relation holds with more than normal geometrical precision" (quoted in Keizer 2008).

The last observation brings us to the most important part of the discussion. It is crucial to note that what is apprehended as a point is the PLACE OF LOCATION. Cienki (1989), for example, argues that the place-function in the structure of *to* cannot be specified as AT because *to* does not entail point-apprehensibility (cf. (18) in section 1). His argument, however, applies to the LANDMARK and the actual TR-LM arrangement, and the two approaches should be kept clearly apart. In (35b) above, for example, it is not the teeth that are conceptualized as a point, but rather the space behind the teeth.

The place of location comprises a multitude of possible locations of the TR with regard to the LM. For example, the place of location in (36) below refers to every single space under the sofa as a possible location. Owing to the place-function AT in the conceptual structure of *from*, this multitude of possible locations is apprehended as a point:

(36) The cat ran from under the sofa. (= 5)

[Path FROM ([Place AT ([Place POINT: UNDER ([Thing SOFA])])])]

The point-like conceptualization evoked by *from* and *to* should be understood in the following way. The path is conceptualized as a line that begins or ends with a point. That point is the place of location (*under the sofa* rather than *the sofa* in (36)). By the mental act of zooming out, however, the place of location can merge with the LM into a single point.

Last but not least, the notations in (31) apply only to *from* and *to*. The conceptual structures of other lative prepositions lack the place-function AT and evoke a conceptualization foregrounding the TR-LM arrangement specified by the second place-function. This difference can be relevant to the choice of the preposition, which depends on "the scale of our mental image" of the LM (Lindstromberg 2010, 31). For example (adapted from Lipovšek 2013):

(37)

a. Take the butter from the fridge and cut it into slices.
[Path FROM ([Place AT ([Place POINT: *IN* ([Thing FRIDGE])])])]
b. Take the butter out of the fridge and wait till it softens.
[Path FROM ([Place IN ([Thing FRIDGE])])]

6. Conclusion

What sets *from* and *to* apart from other lative prepositions is the conceptual structure with two place-functions, each responsible for one distinctive aspect of their meaning: the first place-function in the structure accounts for the point-apprehensibility, the second one for the vagueness regarding the TR-LM relationship. The second place-function is the same as the one found with other prepositions, but is not specified and can be lexicalized only separately. With other prepositions, this place-function is specified and lexicalized together with the path-function. It is the function that specifies the actual TR-LM arrangement. The first place-function, by contrast, is not found with other prepositions. It is specified as AT and lexicalized together with the path function. It is the same function as the one found in the conceptual structure of *at*, only that its point-like argument is the place of location rather than the LM. This appears to clash with traditional definitions; nevertheless, once the path is mentally viewed from a distance, the place of location, the TR and the LM will inevitably merge into a single point.

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The "Magnet Effect" – A Powerful Source of L1 Dialect Interference in the Pronunciation of English as a Foreign Language

Summary

Wieden and Nemser (1991) carried out a study investigating the development of pronunciation of English as a foreign language in Austria. One of the main issues in this research was L1 dialect interference. Individual studies have proven that the pronunciation of a second (L2) or foreign language (FL) is not influenced only by the standard variety of the first language (L1), but also by the L1 dialect of the speaker's place of origin (Karpf et al. 1980). Wieden and Nemser's study wished to prove this on a larger scale. A similar study was carried out also for Slovenia (Jurančič Petek 2007). Contrastive analysis (CA) of the Slovene Standard pronunciation and English was performed as well as that of the sound systems of individual Slovene dialects and the English one. Error analysis (EA) of the obtained results showed that L1 dialect interference did not occur in the instances predicted by contrastive analysis; however the study in itself did prove the existence of such influence ("magnet effect" in vowels).

Key words: "magnet effect", monophthongs, L1 dialect interference, pronunciation of English

»Magnetni učinek« – močan vir vpliva narečja materinščine na izgovorjavo angleščine kot tujega jezika

Povzetek

Wieden in Nemser (1991) sta v Avstriji izvedla nacionalno raziskavo o razvojnem značaju izgovorjave angleščine kot tujega jezika. Eden glavnih ciljev raziskave je bil vpliv prvega jezika (ali dialekta). Posamezne znanstvene raziskave so pokazale, da na izgovorjavo drugega ali tujega jezika (TJ) ne vpliva le standardna varianta materinščine, temveč tudi dialekt območja, iz katerega govorec/učenec izvira (Karpf et al. 1980). Raziskava, ki sta jo izvedla Wieden in Nemser naj bi to dokazala na vsej avstrijski populaciji. Podobna raziskava je nastala tudi za območje Slovenije (Jurančič Petek 2007). V njej je bila izvedena kontrastivna analiza slovenske knjižne izgovorjave in angleščine ter tudi analiza glasovnih sistemov slovenskih narečij v primerjavi z angleškim. Sledila je analiza napak, ki je pokazala, da se vpliv narečij materinščine ni pokazal tam, kjer ga je predvidela kontrastivna analiza, je pa raziskava dokazala, da takšen vpliv obstaja (»magnetni učinek« v samoglasnikih).

Ključne besede: »magnetni učinek«, monoftongi, vpliv narečja materinščine, izgovorjava angleščine

The "Magnet Effect" – A Powerful Source of L1 Dialect Interference in the Pronunciation of English as a Foreign Language

1. Introduction

Throughout the development of the study of speech (from de Courtney in the beginning of the 19th century onwards) it has been evident that first language (L1) varieties play an important role in L1 acquisition. But it was only in the early 1980s that the discussion of the role of language varieties shifted from the framework of first language acquisition to second language learning. Until then sociolinguists concentrated particularly on the heterogeneity of the target language rather than on the class and regional dialects of the first language in investigating second language learning.

Karpf et al. (1980) produced an extensive study comparing the Styrian dialect with Standard Austrian with the aim to find out to what extent one and the other are represented in the speaker's L2. The study was based on the assumption that L1 dialect interference can be proven only on examples of typical L1 dialect features showing in the pronunciation of a foreign language. Dialect phonology and foreign language acquisition was also the main topic in the 1983 volume of papers edited by James and Kettemann.

Later, a more nationwide approach, namely Wieden and Nemser's study of the pronunciation of English in Austria (1991), examined the pronunciation of English by Austrian school children. The research was designed to testify to the *developmental* character of foreign language learning (also discussed in Wode 1981, James 1990). The authors based their work on the claims that in the course of learning the learner employs three representational modes, expressing different approaches to the target elements: the "presystemic", "transfer", and "approximative" modes (Wieden and Nemser 1991, 228), that "naturalistic and FLT acquisition are basically identical processes" and that "whatever the acquisitional type, the learner actively rebuilds the target language for himself" (ibid.). They found that the "presystemic", "transfer", and "approximative" modes occur at different stages for different aspects of speech, namely for segments and for prosody. The separate study of segmental and prosodic elements resulted in the finding that in the case of the segmental elements, the presystemic and transfer stages overlap, followed by later approximation and consolidation, while in the case of prosodic features, transfer follows the presystemic stage reaching far into the approximation stage of segments, and is discontinuous in relation to the presystemic stage (ibid., 230).

Segments

presystemic/transfer	approximation	consolidation

Prosody

presystemic	transfer	approximation

Although this Austrian study intended to examine the amount to which L1 dialects influence the pronunciation of English as a foreign language, the research gave results failing to prove such influence. This was possibly due to the fact it was conducted in the four larger cities where the speech origin of the respondents tends to be vague. Also, the study itself concentrated on the

developmental character of learning L2 pronunciation rather than on individual factors causing interferences.

A similar research to the 1991 Austrian study was conducted by the present author for the whole of Slovenia (Jurančič Petek 2007). The main idea was to examine the state of the pronunciation of English in Slovenia, to study factors influencing foreign language learning, and to devise strategies which would aid foreign language acquisition and learning. Although the Austrian project did not give particularly conclusive results regarding L1 dialect interference we were cautious to choose respondents from places all over Slovenia rather than only those concentrated in larger cities. The research material gave results which enabled the classification into types of interference such as influence of the L1 in general, influence of orthography, influence of exposure to the most popular English variety, namely American English, and influence of the test situation resulting in speech errors. It seemed, however, that dialect interference would not show. Contrastive analysis predicted that most errors would occur in the case of consonants and diphthongs, as differences in these sounds were most pronounced across dialect regions. It should also be noted that it was at that time naturally assumed that due to insignificant traces of L1 dialect interference in individual pilot studies and due to a less distinct accent in the pronunciation of English by Slovene learners (than e.g. in the case of German or French learners), contrastive studies based on the comparison of both standard varieties (Slovene and English) were sufficient for the detection and study of potential pronunciation errors in English as a FL. So, if errors due to L1 dialect interference were expected to show in the pronunciation of English this would be in the case of consonants and diphthongs. At least this is what we thought.

The significant errors that did occur, however, did not occur in the case of consonants and diphthongs. Errors occurring in the case of consonants were consistent with general L1 interference or transfer, L1 dialect characteristics occurring only randomly, and errors in the case of vowel sounds, especially diphthongizations characteristic of a particular dialect region did not occur or they occurred in isolated instances. It was only when we compared the results between different regions that we noticed that there were significant differences in the quality of the monophthongal vowels, which might have remained undetected were it not for the comparison.

Why contrastive analysis could not predict the differences in monophthongal vowel quality in the pronunciation of English as a FL across different dialect regions in the first place can be explained by the fact that vowel systems of individual Slovene dialects are dealt with only from the quantitative point of view without particular specifications of differences in the quality of different vowels across various dialects. Slovene dialectology systematically defines the *quantitative* aspect of vowels, assigning the same quality to individual vowels for each region. Qualitative issues are dealt with only in notes (cf. 4.2. in this paper).

Why these differences in vowel quality actually did occur can to a certain extent be explained by the cognitive linguistic theory definition and interpretation of the so-called "magnet effect"

2. The native language magnet theory NLM

To acquire a language, the infant has to discover which phonetic distinctions are characteristic of the language of her culture, and she uses them accordingly. For example, English is different from Slovene in the use of aspiration. An English child will acquire this phonological characteristic with voiceless plosives in an English environment intuitively; a Slovene infant will learn to produce these same sounds unaspirated in a Slovene environment. The question that has always

puzzled linguists is at which point in life can infants perceptually differentiate between different phonological characteristics of different languages. Up to the 1980s the prevalent theory was that the infant does not distinguish between phonetic processes until the age of 1 year. Later studies (Kuhl 2008) have proven that the child has established the phonological repertory of her native language by the age of six months and is aware of the phonetic distinctions between languages even though the child's phonological development could up to then have developed along the lines of any world language. These observations not only stress the importance of the influence of the subject's early native language, culture and environment on language development but also argue against the universal nature of language being entirely independent of culture in its early development. They provide a basis on which to predict which features are potential sources of L1 interference in second or foreign language learning. If a six-month-old infant is capable of differentiating between phonological characteristics of different languages, this proves that distinct phonological characteristics pertaining to a particular language do exist. It is not a question of when further on in life and to what extent the infant is capable of suppressing native phonological characteristics in order to accommodate second or foreign language acquisition or learning, but rather if by this early distinction in phonological features we can claim that she has perceptually formed a native phonological system which serves as a potential source of interference in second or foreign language learning. The question which concerns us in this debate is whether the phonological repertory acquired in infancy is powerful enough to be considered the primary source of L1 interference in second language learning. The variety of the native tongue obtained in the infants' earliest years is usually the L1 dialect, since it is regionally conditioned (a child is born into a certain regional environment and exposed to its language variety) rather than socially or otherwise. The child is exposed to the standard variety only later in life and since language is transferred through the human rather than the non-human (Kuhl et al. 2008, 979) at least in the earliest phases of life, the exposure to the standard variety of the native language through the media (radio, television, the Internet) has little or no effect on the shaping of the infant's basic phonological inventory even when exposed to them in abundance. Regarding the question which elements in the native sound inventory will persist longer, vowels or consonants, the answer should be vowels. In their inherent nature, vowels are more susceptible to the magnet effect compared to consonants, since the transition between them is more gradual, whereas in the case of consonants there is a sharp shift in perception between two discrete categories which is known as categorical perception (Whitney 1998, 151). Interestingly enough, when differences in the pronunciation of English occurred across different Slovene dialect regions, it was the pure vowels that exhibited the effect of this phenomenon.

Taking into account the shifting of attention toward the local environment and early infancy, and observations made for vowel sounds in the pronunciation of English as a FL, the need should arise to revise the approach to identifying the basic L1 language structure which functions as the source of interference in the acquisition and learning of the second or foreign language. As mentioned in the introduction, it was the L1 standard variety that was until recently compared to/contrasted with the foreign language in order to predict types of interference. The present paper wishes to show that the standard L1 is not necessarily the sole source of transfer into the foreign or second language. The occurrence of L1 dialect features in the L2 pronunciation confirm that it is necessary to consider the L1 regional dialect in the search for sources of negative transfer in foreign language learning, at least partly if not in whole.

3. Dialect interference in second language learning in Slovenia

English as a FL was in the time of the research introduced to Slovene pupils in their 4th grade as an optional course and in the 5th grade as an obligatory one. It was assumed that by then pupils would have mastered enough of the standard Slovene language for the latter to serve as a basis for L2 or FL learning. L1 interference, be it that of the standard variety or the dialect, is in the case of the acquisition/learning of English by Slovene learners not as distinguishable as in the case of French, Spanish or Russian learners of English, where the native language accent can almost unmistakably be defined. Due to the fact that there are not very many points in which Slovene as L1 can influence the learning/acquisition of English as the L2/FL, this makes claims of the existence of dialect interference in such learning even less possible.

The Slovene school curriculum generally encourages the pupils already in elementary school to adopt the standard variety, even if this means sacrificing their native dialect. Usually the pupils try to acquire the features they are asked to, but never gain complete control of the entire standard variety. They merely end up no longer speaking pure dialect, but mixing it with features of Standard Slovene. This is a basis which makes it difficult to predict which features (if any) of the dialect could actually influence FL learning.

Despite the potentially slim chance of even detecting, let alone proving, dialect interference, we embark on a quest to examine the English spoken by Slovene learner across different dialect regions in order to arrive at results which would prove the existence of L1 dialect interference in the English spoken by Slovene learners.

4. Investigation of dialect interference in L2 pronunciation by Slovene learners

The research discussed in the present paper (Jurančič Petek 2007) involved 287 pupils and students from 35 primary and secondary schools throughout Slovenia and across all its eight dialect regions, namely Upper Carniola (UC), Lower Carniola (LC), Styria (Sty), Carinthia (Car), Prekmurje (Pan), the Littoral (Lit) and Rovte (Rov). Tests were designed to elicit errors caused by different types of interference, such as orthography, L2 varieties of English (British and American), psychological conditions causing speech errors (i.e. the test situation). Special attention was paid in the design of the test in order to elicit errors resulting from L1 standard and dialect interference. The KNN (Kohonen neural network) computer program was employed to obtain the most feasible results possible on the basis of a relatively moderate sample of participants from all Slovene dialect regions representing the situation of the whole of Slovenia. The contrastive analysis of the L1 dialects and Standard British English (the established variety of English taught in Slovene schools) gave results suggesting that the majority of responses resulting from dialect interference would pertain to consonant sounds and diphthongs rather than monophthongal vowels.

The results of the study, however, revealed that consonant sounds consequently did not offer conclusive results regarding dialect interference, which was due to the fact that consonants, with certain exceptions (e.g., the voiced glottal fricative replacing the voiced velar stop in Rovte, etc.) overlap in the dialects and the standard varieties. It is thus difficult to say whether the dialect consonant or the Standard Slovene (StSl) consonant (e.g., /p/ and /d/) is matched with the FL sound during FL learning. The situation was quite different in the case of vowel sounds. The

varieties that occurred, although not in an entirely expected way, proved to be specific of individual Slovene dialect regions, as will be explained in the following.

4.1 Comparison between the vowels of the Slovene dialect and the vowel system of Standard English

Over the past decades, several studies comparing the English sound system and the sound system of Standard Slovene have been carried out, in the field of consonant as well as vowel sounds. Due to their articulatory character, consonants seemed the obvious choice for investigation, in isolation, in mixed contexts and especially in consonant clusters (Srebot-Rejec 1988/89, 1992). On the other hand, vowels seemed elusive, being judged by auditory criteria, which is why they were not so readily investigated. One of the most useful tools, on the basis of which to contrast the Slovene vowel system and the English one, is the demonstration of Slovene vowels by Šuštaršič and Komar in *The Handbook of the International Phonetic Association* (1999). As opposed to the traditional Slovene demonstration of vowels with their quantitative distinctions, Šuštaršič and Komar give a qualitative presentation of the Slovene vowels, and provide examples of the contexts in which they occur. Such a presentation can be compared with the vowel system of Standard English more readily than the vowel systems produced by Slovene dialectologists. Vowel sounds for individual Slovene regions presented in such a way would prove most useful for the purpose of this research.

As mentioned, Slovene dialectology uses a typology which does not distinguish between vowel systems of individual Slovene regions in terms of the quality of individual vowel sounds, but determines the presence of particular sounds and gives qualitative descriptions and diphthongized varieties of sounds. Hence the expectation that the diphthongs present in most Slovene dialects in different varieties (cf. 4.2.1 – 4.2.6) would show as interference in learning English as a FL. In the following, the vowel systems of Slovene dialect groups will be presented.

4.2 The vowel systems of individual Slovene dialect regions

Tine Logar describes the vowel characteristics of individual Slovene dialect regions in *Slovenska narečja* (Slovene Dialects) from 1993. Accompanying the book are four audio cassettes which complete the theoretical analysis of the sounds with rich audio material from natural dialect speakers. The present paper makes use of the description of long vowels and diphthongs within the individual Slovene dialect group in order to accommodate assumptions made when contrasting the vowel system with the English vowel system and the English vowel system (mainly in relation to diphthongs) and results gained through error analysis (particularly relating to monophthongs).

4.2.1 The Upper Carniola vowel system

The Upper Carniola vowel system is characterized by long and short accented vowels (Logar 1993, 106). It has a monophthongal system of long vowels:

i: u:
    ẹ: ọ:
        e: o:
            ɑ:

4.2.2 The Lower Carniola vowel system

The Lower Carniola vowel system is generally monophthongal-diphthongal (ibid., 111).

  *i: u:

    ie   uo

      e: o:

        ɑ:

4.2.3 The Carinthia vowels system

Almost all Carinthian dialects (except the western part of Rož) have monophthongal-diphthongal systems of long vowels (ibid., 132):

   i: u:

    i: ə   u: ə

      ẹ: ọ:

        e: o:

          ɑ:

4.2.4 The Prlekija vowel system

The Prlekijan dialect is spoken in the eastern part of Slovenske gorice and is (alongside the Prekmurje dialect) one of the three dialects of the Pannonian group of Slovene dialects (ibid., 141). Accented vowels are either long or short. Most of the dialects of the Prlekija region have a monophthongal system of long vowels:

   i: ü u:

    ẹ: ọ:

      o:

4.2.5 The Littoral vowel system

The Littoral vowel system is characterized by a monophthongal-diphthongal system of long accented vowels (ibid., 129):

   i: u:

    ie   uo

      e: o:

        ɑ:

4.2.6 The Pannonian vowel system

The Pannonian vowel system is characterized by a monophthongal-diphthongal system of long accented vowels:

```
i:                    u: ü:
   ei              ou
      e:     o:
          ɑ:
```

In the system of short vowels, mid-close ẹ and ọ are also present.

The above descriptions of the vowel systems of different Slovene dialects show that the majority of Slovene dialects combine the monophthongal-diphthongal system of long vowels. The Upper Carniola dialect, with its singularly monophthongal system, is an exception. Since the Slovene standard variety developed on the basis of this Upper Carniola variety, it, too, maintained the monophthongal system, resulting in the fact that the most distinguishing feature between the vowels systems in Standard Slovene compared to Slovene dialects is in dialects having a diverse diphthongal character which the standard does not have. It is therefore not surprising if contrastive analysis between the standard variety and the dialects suggested diphthongs as the most promising sources of interference in the pronunciation of English as a foreign language.

4.3 Dialect vowels causing pronunciation difficulties in Standard Slovene

On the other hand there are those small observations that e.g. Toporišič mentions almost in passing as pronunciation difficulties relating to vowel quality in certain dialects. He begins with saying that the Slovene sounds /i/ and /u/ are least problematic. However, instead of central open standard /ɑ/, the more fronted variant is used in Prekmurje, almost approaching mid-open /æ/ (Toporišič 2004, 50). The broad and narrow /e/ and /o/ tend to be most problematic in realization across Slovenia. The standard is spoken only in Upper Cariniola, the Savinjska Valley, Inner Carniola, the Karst and the Littoral. The remaining dialects have broad /e/ and /o/ vowels, however, in the form of diphthongs (ibid., 51). The short equivalents are frequently inconsistent in quality compared to the central Slovene dialects. The fronting of /u/ towards /ü/ in Prekmurje is not even mentioned in the text, but referred to in a figure from Ramovš's Short History of the Slovene Language (Kratka zgodovina slovenskega jezika) in Toporišič (ibid., 50). And these neglected features of vowel sounds across Slovene dialect regions unexpectedly proved to have such a profound impact on the pronunciation of English by Slovene learners (cf. Tables 1-10 and also Tables 11-13).

5. The vowels of "Slovene English": the pronunciation of English vowels across different Slovene dialect regions

In the following, actual occurrences of vowel sounds in English as a FL will be discussed for reading and free speech test-types across different regions (in order to exclude the possibility of deviant responses resulting from orthographic interference). As mentioned, in the case of consonant sounds, deviant responses resulting from L1 interference occurred with relatively equal distribution across the whole of Slovenia. Whether they can truly be attributed to the influence of Slovene as a standard language, independent of dialect, is another question.

The diphthongizations, expected on the basis of the comparison between different Slovene dialects, most of which contain diphthongs (as observed above in 4.2.1 to 4.2.6), also, did not occur as much as expected. In this case CA, thus, failed to predict the potential major sources of L1 interference.

Not CA but pronunciation difficulties in the pronunciation of Standard Slovene due to dialect characteristics of vowels (cf. 4.3) would have anticipated the pronunciation errors that had occurred in the pronunciation of vowel sounds in English as a foreign language. The more powerful the difficulty the more it showed in the pronunciation. E.g. the RP /e/ and /æ/ proved to be the most interesting among the vowel sounds. There was a tendency to pronounce them with a variety which was too open or a variety which was too close. We could assume that the same was expected of the /ɒ/ and /ɔ/, but the results were contaminated with other types of interference (orthography, L2), which is why we offer an unbiased analysis of /ɔ/ in /ɔɪ/.

5.1 Responses for /e/ across different dialect regions

Table 1 shows that speakers of the Pannonian and Styrian dialects pronounced the English /e/ in most cases in the form of open-mid [ɛ] sometimes almost reaching [æ]. On the other hand, the speakers of the Upper Carniolan, Littoral and Prlekija dialects frequently pronounced the English /e/ with the close-mid variant or the one between open-mid and close-mid. The latter were considered closest to the target sound and thus not erroneous. The Lower Carniola and Carinthian dialect areas show an even distribution of the open and close variant. Diphthongized variants did occur, but not as much as expected. In the Pannonian region diphthongization toward /ɪ/ occurred both in reading and in free speech, which undoubtedly qualifies it as dialect interference. Its fairly scarce occurrence prevents us from qualifying it as a general tendency.

Responses for /e/ between two consonants across different dialect regions

region	/e/ **CeC** CeC	[e] %	[e̞] %	[ɛ̝] %	[ɛ] %	[ɛ/æ]%	[eɪ]%	[ɪ] %	[ə] %	other %
UC	**136**	**54.4**	**16.9**	15.4	7.4	0.7	2.9	2.2	0.0	0.0
	50	**62.0**	**6.0**	22.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
LC	**196**	17.9	5.6	29.1	**42.3**	3.1	0.0	1.5	0.5	0.0
	56	32.1	1.8	33.9	**32.1**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sty.	**173**	10.4	1.7	21.4	**45.1**	**15.6**	1.7	3.5	0.0	0.6
	59	6.8	0.0	25.4	**57.6**	**8.5**	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0
Pan.	**103**	12.6	3.9	15.5	**51.5**	9.7	3.9	1.9	0.0	1.0
	35	8.6	0.0	22.9	**54.3**	**11.4**	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Prl.	**63**	25.4	14.3	11.1	31.7	15.9	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0
	24	25.0	4.2	25.0	37.5	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Car.	**92**	16.3	3.3	33.7	37.0	4.3	3.3	2.2	0.0	0.0
	27	11.1	0.0	48.1	37.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Lit.	**128**	**51.6**	4.7	21.1	18.0	0.8	0.8	1.6	0.0	1.6
	45	**48.9**	4.4	40.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rov	**60**	**41.7**	10.0	23.3	20.0	1.7	0.0	1.7	0.0	1.7
	23	**43.5**	8.7	30.4	17.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

*Table 1: **Number of responses for /e/ in the structural position between two consonants in words red, head, beg, letter; bedroom, bed; scores (in %) for correct responses, scores for deviant responses due to dialect interference: narrow variety of /e/, /e/ open to [e], [ɛ], [ɛ/æ], diphthongized /e/, /e/ closed to [ɪ], centralized /e/ and "other" across different dialect regions (Upper Carniola (UC), Lower Carniola (LC), Styria (Sty), the Pannonian region (Pan.), Prlekija (Prl), …) and reading and free speech test types.***

The relatively high score for correct responses in Upper Carniola can be explained by the fact that the informants used the narrow variety of /e/ in their native dialect to their advantage. Experience, however, has shown that the problem which in this region usually occurs in later stages is that learners become aware of the fact that in colloquial English /e/ is pronounced with a slightly more open variety, and as they attempt to reach it, they usually overdo it by using an equivalent to the Slovene open-mid [ɛ]. In the age groups of respondents involved in this study, students have (fortunately) not yet reached this stage.

The Littoral dialect has a natural tendency to use an /e/ which is not as close as the Upper Carniolan one and not as open as the Styrian one. It strongly resembles the English between half-close and half-open /e/. Thus the high score for correct responses in this area.

5.2 Responses for /æ/ across different dialect regions

The highest scores for correct responses for RP /æ/, characterized by tongue position just below the half-open front position, were obtained by speakers from Styria, the Panonnian area and Carinthia (cf. Table 2), while the lowest scores were gained by learners from Upper and Lower Carniola. The most frequent type of deviant response in Upper Carniola was the closing of /æ/ to reach the StSl open-mid [ɛ] and even further, almost to Slovene close-mid /e/. Deviant responses of the [ɑ] type were most probably the result of orthographic interference, even though they did seem to be consistent in the Littoral area, possibly as a result of Italian influence.

Again (as in the case of /e/) we come across diphthongization, this time of /æ/ realized as /eɪ/. Despite the fact that such diphthongization more frequently occurs in regions with more pronounced dialect diphthongizations, its scarce occurrence again prevents us from considering this a general rule. A characteristic which could be considered dialect interference within this diphthongization is the centralizing of the starting point of the diphthong, namely /e/ to [ə], resulting in [əɪ] in the Upper Carniola region (9.4% for reading and 12.1% for free speech, cf. Table 2).

Responses for /æ/ in initial position across different dialect regions

region	/æ/ #æC #æC	[æ]%	[æ̠]%	[ɛ]%	[ɛ̝]%	[e]%	[eɪ]%	[ɑ]%	[əɪ]%	other%
UC	**32**	9.4	6.3	25.0	**40.6**	0.0	9.4	0.0	**9.4**	0.0
	33	6.1	6.1	27.3	**39.4**	0.0	9.1	0.0	**12.1**	0.0
LC	**47**	17.0	17.0	**46.8**	10.6	0.0	4.3	4.3	0.0	0.0
	47	25.5	29.8	**29.8**	12.8	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.0
Sty.	**39**	**76.9**	7.7	5.1	0.0	0.0	2.6	7.7	0.0	0.0
	39	**89.7**	5.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	2.6	0.0	0.0
Pan.	**24**	70.8	4.2	4.2	4.2	0.0	**16.7**	0.0	0.0	0.0
	24	**75.0**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**20.8**	4.2	0.0	0.0
Car.	**22**	**50.0**	9.1	9.1	13.6	0.0	18.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
	23	**73.9**	4.3	4.3	8.7	0.0	4.3	4.3	0.0	0.0
Lit.	**31**	19.4	6.5	19.4	22.6	0.0	19.4	12.9	0.0	0.0
	33	24.2	9.1	24.2	3.0	3.0	24.2	12.1	0.0	0.0
Rov.	**16**	18.8	37.5	0.0	**37.5**	0.0	6.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
	16	37.5	6.3	12.5	**37.5**	0.0	6.3	0.0	0.0	0.0

*Table 2: **Number of responses for /æ/ in initial position in words** apple; apple; scores (in %) for correct responses, scores for deviant responses due to dialect interference: narrower variety of /æ/, /æ̠/*

close to [ɛ], to [ε̧] and [e], diphthongized into [eɪ] and [əɪ], pronounced as [a] and "other" across different dialect regions and reading and free speech test types.

The results for /æ/ in the structural position between two consonants are similar to those for initial position (except in the case of diphthongization) (cf. Tables 2 and 3).

<u>*Responses for /æ/ between two consonants across different dialect regions*</u>

region	/æ/ #æC #æC	[æ]%	[æ̧]%	[ɛ]%	[ε̧]%	[e]%	[eɪ]%	[a]%	[əɪ]%	other%
UC	**192**	7.8	9.8	19.3	**48.4**	9.4	0.5	5.2	0.0	0.0
	<u>53</u>	5.7	22.6	24.5	**41.5**	5.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
LC	**291**	24.1	19.2	**33.3**	16.2	2.1	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.3
	<u>62</u>	22.6	19.4	**43.5**	14.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sty.	**242**	**71.1**	10.3	7.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	10.7	0.0	0.0
	<u>48</u>	**81.3**	8.3	4.2	4.2	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pan.	**128**	**65.6**	12.5	7.8	0.8	0.0	0.8	<u>12.5</u>	0.0	0.0
	39	**89.7**	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	<u>2.6</u>	0.0	0.0
Car.	**139**	52.5	14.4	12.9	12.9	0.0	2.2	5.0	0.0	0.0
	<u>35</u>	34.3	25.7	20.0	8.6	0.0	0.0	11.4	0.0	0.0
Lit.	**188**	26.1	10.6	25.5	18.1	3.7	0.0	16.0	0.0	0.0
	<u>42</u>	14.3	14.3	31.0	33.3	4.8	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0
Rov.	**84**	29.8	13.1	9.5	33.3	3.6	3.6	6.0	0.0	1.2
	<u>21</u>	23.8	28.6	14.3	19.0	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

*Table 3: **Number of responses for /æ/ in the structural position between two consonants in words: (cat, captain), matter, cab, cap, stab, man; <u>cat</u>, <u>have</u>; scores (in %) for correct responses, scores for deviant responses due to dialect interference: narrower variety of /æ/, /æ/ close to [ɛ], to [ε̧] and [e], diphthongized into [eɪ] and [əɪ], pronounced as [a] and "other" across different dialect regions and reading and free speech test types.***

5.3 Results specific to /ɑː/

In the central Slovene regions the RP long fully open vowel between centre and back is pronounced with a (slightly or strongly) fronted variant, corresponding to StSl *a*. In the eastern parts, and in some parts of the Coast and Carinthia, the StSl *a* is slightly rounded, which has proven to be an advantage in the pronunciation of RP /ɑː/. The Lower Carniola and Prekmurje (Panonnian dialect) have both variants, the front open [a] and the rounded [ɒ] in their systems, suggesting that both variants will show in the pronunciation of RP /ɑː/.

<u>*Responses for /ɑː/*</u>

region	Cɑ:C C ɑ:C	[ɑː]%	[ɑ]%	[ɒ]%	[ɒ/a]%	[a] %	[æ] %	[ɜ]%	[ɒ]%	[ɪ/e]%	[eɪ/ aɪ]%
UC	**32**	0.0	3.2	3.2	**45.2**	**32.3**	12.9	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0
	32	0.0	9.4	0.0	**53.1**	**21.9**	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.6	0.0
LC	**43**	16.3	7.0	2.3	**34.9**	**23.3**	16.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	37	18.9	18.9	2.7	**27.0**	**29.7**	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.0
Sty.	**38**	10.5	**31.6**	21.1	23.7	0.0	10.5	0.0	**2.6**	0.0	0.0
	37	8.1	**51.4**	**24.3**	16.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Pan.	**23**	13.0	13.0	**43.5**	0.0	0.0	8.7	0.0	**8.7**	8.6	4.3
	20	20.0	15.0	**35.0**	10.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	**5.0**	10.0	0.0
Car.	**20**	15.0	5.0	0.0	**60.0**	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	15	26.7	20.0	0.0	**53.3**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Lit.	**32**	12.5	15.6	3.1	**34.4**	9.4	21.9	0.0	0.0	3.1	0.0
	30	20.0	23.3	3.3	**46.7**	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0
Rov	**14**	7.1,	14.3	7.1	**35.7**	7.1	28.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	16	18.8	18.8	0.0	**43.8**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.8	0.0

*Table 4: Number of responses for /ɑ:/ in the words: **father**; <u>father</u>; scores (in %) for correct responses, scores for deviant responses due to L1 interference (reduction in length to [a], dialect interference: narrower variety of [a], fronting to [ạ] and fronting and opening to [ạ], influence of GA in reading in the [æ] type closing to [ɒ] and "other" (narrowing and fronting toward e and i and diphthongization) across different regional origin of speakers, and reading and free speech test types.*

Table 4 clearly shows the preference for the open fronted variety of /ɑ:/ in Upper and Lower Carniola, slightly less in the Littoral and Rovte, but not in Styria and Pannonia, where the more retracted and rounded variants are preferred. All regions display a reduction of the English long vowel, a characteristic influence of StSl. The Styrian pronunciation of RP /ɑ:/, however, shows greatest qualitative resemblance to the target and thus supports the positive transfer suggested in the description of Slovene dialects.

5.4 Results specific to /u:/ and /ʊ/

The RP long close back vowel is monophthongal in formal speech and diphthongal and slightly fronted in informal speech. The short /ʊ/ has a positioning of the tongue just above the half close position more to the centre than to the back. /ʊ/ is thus shortened and centralized when compared to /u:/.

Responses for /u:/

region	**Cu:C** <u>Cu:C</u>	[u:]%	[u̜]	[u̞]%	[u̠ʷ]%	[ü]%	[ɔ(ː)]%	[ə]%	other
UC	**32**	15.6	**68.8**	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	**3.1**	0.0
	29	10.3	**62.1**	24.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4
LC	**48**	25.0	31.3	**35.4**	0.0	2.1	0.0	4.2	2.1
	22	9.1	36.4	**54.6**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sty.	**40**	15.0	**47.5**	15.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	2.5	15.0
	38	2.6	**63.2**	10.5	5.2	5.3	0.0	2.6	10.5
Pan.	**27**	7.4	33.3	18.5	11.1	<u>18.5</u>	0.0	0.0	11.1
	22	18.2	36.4	18.2	9.1	<u>18.2</u>	0.0	0.0	0.0
Car.	**23**	17.4	39.1	21.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.7
	23	17.4	34.8	39.1	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3
Lit.	**32**	0.0	**53.1**	37.5	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.3
	25	0.0	**48.0**	48.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.0
Rov.	**16**	18.8	**56.3**	**0.0**	0.0	0.0	0.0	<u>12.5</u>	6.3
	15	0.0	33.3	**53.3**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.3

*Table 5: Number of responses for /u:/ in the words: **school**; <u>school</u>; scores (in %) for correct responses (monophthongal and retracted), scores for deviant responses due to L1 interference (reduction in length to [u̜] and backing to [u̞], dialect interference: fronting to [ü] and centring to [ə]),*

influence of informal style of English in fronting and diphthongization to [u̯ʷ] and "other" (with diphthongization of the [ʊə] type) across different regional origins of speakers, and reading and free speech test types.

Reduction of /u:/ to schwa was detected in Rovte (12.5% in reading) (cf. Table 5). The majority of responses were reduced and retracted variants of /u:/, namely [u̜] and [u̞], which is typically L1 interference and possibly, to a certain extent, the result of "ease of pronunciation". However, in the Pannonian region we can detect tendencies of fronting to the diphthongized variant (11.1% in reading and 9.1% in free speech). In other regions such results occurred from 0 to 5%. Further on there were exaggerations in fronting (18.5% for reading and 18.2% for free speech) reaching the Pannonian fronted [ü]. This is undoubtedly proof of dialect interference.

Responses for /ʊ/

region	**CʊC** CʊC	[ʊ̞]%	[ʊ̝]%	[u̜]%	[ʉ]%	[ü]%	[ʌ]%	[o/ɒ]%	[ə]%
UC	**63**	**33.3**	**44.4**	7.9	3.2	4.8	1.6	4.8	0.0
	10	**60.0**	**30.0**	0.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
LC	**98**	**41.8**	**35.7**	11.2	2.0	3.0	0.0	5.1	1.0
	31	**9.7**	**64.5**	3.2	6.5	9.7	0.0	6.5	0.0
Sty.	**90**	**30.0**	**27.8**	16.7	7.8	8.9	1.1	6.7	1.1
	22	**31.8**	**68.2**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pan.	**48**	**20.8**	**31.3**	0.0	10.4	**_25.1_**	0.0	12.5	0.0
	9	**33.3**	**33.3**	0.0	11.1	**_11.1_**	0.0	11.1	0.0
Car.	**46**	21.7	**50.0**	10.9	10.9	0.0	0.0	6.5	0.0
	21	33.3	**66.7**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Lit.	**60**	23.3	**41.7**	21.7	0.0	6.7	0.0	6.7	0.0
	15	33.3	**66.7**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rov.	**32**	34.4	**46.9**	3.1	3.1	9.4	0.0	0.0	**_3.1_**
	14	21.4	**50.0**	0.0	0.0	14.3	14.3	0.0	0.0

*Table 6: Number of responses for /ʊ/ in the words: **good, looked**; <u>sugar</u>, <u>put</u>..; scores (in %) for correct responses (slightly retracted), scores for deviant responses due to L1 interference (backing to [ʊ̝] and backing and lengthening to [u̜]; dialect interference: fronting to [ü] and centring to [ə], and orthographic interference in opening to [o/ɒ]) across the different regional origins of speakers, and for reading and free speech test types.*

L1 interference showed in the highest score of retracted variants for the /ʊ/ vowel (cf. Table 6). Traces of dialect interference were nevertheless detected in the excessive fronting of /ʊ/ toward [ü] for reading in all regions except Carinthia. The only region where this phenomenon occurred in both reading and free speech was the Pannonian region (25.1% in reading and 11.1% in free speech), undoubtedly the result of dialect interference. In Rovte, there was also a certain amount of centring toward schwa (3.1%).

5.5 Results specific to /ɪ/

RP short /ɪ/, articulated with the tongue just above the half-close position, more to the centre than to the front has no equivalent in quality in StSl, but certain regional variants, especially in the Rovte region, come fairly close to it (cf. description of Slovene dialects).

Response for /ɪ/

region	C₁C C₁C	[ɪ]%	[ḭ]%	[i]%	[i̯]%	[ə]%	[e]
UC	**64** _31_	**34.4** **67.7**	29.7 16.1	32.8 9.7	0.0 0.0	**1.6** **6.5**	**1.6**/0.0 0.0/0.0
LC	**93** _47_	37.6 42.6	30.1 6.4	**30.1** **44.7**	1.1 2.1	0.0 2.1	0.0/0.0 0.0/**2.1**
Sty.	**76** _39_	22.4 64.1	35.5 12.8	**40.8** **23.1**	0.0 0.0	1.3 0.0	0.0/0.0 0.0/0.0
Pan	**44** _24_	20.5 50.0	36.4 8.3	**43.2** **41.7**	0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0	0.0/0.0 0.0/0.0
Car.	**46** _22_	15.2 54.5	37.0 22.7	39.1 18.2	0.0 0.0	4.3 4.5	4.3/0.0 0.0/0.0
Lit.	**54** _32_	31.5 43.8	35.2 9.4	25.9 37.5	0.0 9.4	0.0 0.0	7.4/0.0 0.0/0.0
Rov.	**32** _16_	**46.9** **62.5**	21.9 12.5	18.8 12.5	0.0 0.0	**12.5** **12.5**	0.0/0.0 0.0/0.0

*Table 7: **Number of responses for /ɪ/ in the words: this, little, ship; milk; scores (in %) for correct responses, scores for deviant responses due to L1 interference (closing to [ḭ] and closing and lengthening [i] and [i̯]), to dialect interference: centring to [ə], opening and fronting to [e] across different regional origins of speakers and across reading and free speech test types.***

L1 interference was quite strong in the case of short /ɪ/ pronounced by Slovene learners, since the words "this", "little", "ship" and "milk" are words with a high frequency of occurrence. Nevertheless, we notice (cf. Table 7) that the score for correct responses is, as expected, highest in Upper Carniola and Rovte. Here the scores for deviant responses characterized by closing and fronting are the lowest, and besides Carinthia these are the only regions where the centralized variant schwa occurs both in reading and in free speech.

5.6 Results specific to /ə/

The schwa usually occurs as the reduced variant of short vowels in rapid speech. It is called the "weak form" or normal form. Bearing in mind that the eastern Slovene dialects tend to replace the schwa in words like "megla" and "pes", where StSl has it, with the open-mid /e/, this should also be a disadvantage for these dialects in the pronunciation of English schwa. The neutralization of Slovene short vowels in the central and western Slovene dialects should, on the other hand, prove advantageous. At this point we chose the definite article "the" as the subject of examination to eliminate any possibility of orthographic interference. Thus, as soon as the respondent identified the initial "th-" as /ð/ or [d], we would know he/she had identified the whole word and that the following /e/-like responses were not the result of orthographic interference.

Responses for /ə/

region	#Cə#C(vd) #Cə#V	[ə]%	[e̞]%	[ɛ]	[i]	Ø/other
UC	**64** **64**	**96.9** **73.4**	1.6 10.9	0.0 12.5	0.0 3.1	1.6/0.0 0.0/0.0

LC	**96**	**87.5**	6.3	5.2	1.0	0.0/0.0
	95	**55.8**	14.7	15.8	13.7	0.0/0.0
Sty.	**80**	78.8	3.8	**12.5**	3.8	0.0/1.3
	79	46.8	7.6	**36.7**	7.6	0.0/1.3
Pan.	**48**	83.3	2.1	**8.3**	4.2	0.0/2.1
	48	33.3	22.9	**39.6**	4.2	0.0/0.0
Car.	**46**	**91.3**	0.0	6.5	0.0	0.0/2.2
	45	**57.8**	8.9	20.0	11.1	0.0/2.2
Lit.	**64**	81.3	3.1	10.9	3.1	0.0/1.6
	65	56.9	10.8	18.5	10.8	0.0/3.0
Rov.	**24**	**87.5**	4.2	8.3	0.0	0.0/0.0
	24	**58.3**	8.3	33.3	0.0	0.0/0.0

*Table 8: **Number of responses for /ə/ in contexts: "the" garden, "the" little; scores (in %) for correct responses, scores for deviant responses due to L1 interference (fronting towards [ɛ] and [ɛ]), elision and other across different regional origins of speakers in reading, and for contexts: "the" able, "the" opera, where the correct responses should be of the /i:/ type.***

The best results for schwa were achieved in the Upper Carniola region, which was in accordance with expectations and can be considered positive transfer. The scores for Rovte, however, were not expected to be so low (cf. Table 8). As expected, respondents from the Styrian and Pannonian dialects to a large extent resorted to fronting toward /e/, and to confirm the above-mentioned predictions about the type of /e/, we should mention it was particularly the open-mid [ɛ].

5.7 RP diphthongs and results specific for /ɔɪ/

Diphthongs will in this paper be mentioned only as a control case; namely we will be observing the pronunciation of the first element in the diphthong /ɔɪ/. Since the results for RP /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/ turned out to be rather inconclusive due to interference of the written form of the test items and the potential influence of the target speech variant, we wish to demonstrate an unbiased case of the mid-open to mid-close back vowel, where dialect influence is quite evident.

Responses for /ɒ/ and /ɔɪ/ did not give the desired results, probably due to the fact that the speakers were quite competent in their English and had already acquired sounds close to the target ones. This, however, does not mean that we were unable to test dialect interference on the sounds of this type. For this we had to resort to the only diphthong containing the mid-open rounded back vowel, namely /ɔɪ/. Learners from the Eastern parts of Slovenia usually pronounce the first element with a quality of /ɔ/ which is too narrow. On the other hand learners from the north-western parts of Slovenia tend to produce it with a quality which is extremely open, almost approaching the quality of /a/ and overlapping the /aɪ/ diphthong. These results correspond to the fact that north-western dialects distinguish two /o/ sounds, the open-mid and the close-mid one, whereas the more eastern dialects use one /o/ for both StSl varieties, namely the close-mid variety. Table 9 shows to what extent the dialect variants can influence the pronunciation of the diphthong /ɔɪ/.

Responses for /ɔɪ/

region	**Cɔɪ(C)#** Cɔɪ#	[ɔɪ]%	[ɔ̞ɪ]	[ɔ̞ɪ]%	[ɒɪ]%	[ɒɪ]%	other
UC	**91**	2.2	22.0	6.6	**59.3**	8.8	1.1
	18	0.0	16.7	11.1	**72.2**	0.0	0.0

LC	**144**	11.1	20.5	9.7	**45.8**	11.8	1.4
	16	6.3	25.0	0.0	**50.0**	18.8	0.0
Sty.	**119**	3.4	**68.1**	10.9	16.8	0.0	0.8
	20	5.0	**60.0**	30.0	5.0	0.0	0.0
Pan.	**71**	0.0	**76.1**	14.1	8.5	0.0	1.4
	12	0.0	**91.7**	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Car.	**69**	0.0	59.4	8.7	27.5	1.4	2.9
	7	0.0	57.1	28.6	14.3	0.0	0.0
Lit.	**92**	6.5	35.9	21.7	31.5	3.3	1.1
	11	0.0	27.3	45.5	27.3	0.0	0.0
Rov.	**32**	0.0	46.9	12.5	**40.6**	0.0	0.0
	3	0.0	33.3	0.0	**66.7**	0.0	0.0

*Table 9: Number of responses for /ɔɪ/ in the words: **boys, boy, voices; <u>boy.</u>;** scores (in %) for correct responses, scores for deviant responses due to L1 interference (closing to [ɔ̜i] and opening to [ɔ̹i], [ɒi] and [ɒ̜i], to dialect interference: centring to [ə], opening and fronting to [e]) across different regional origins of speakers and across reading and free speech test types.*

The results in Table 9 confirm our predictions regarding the openness or closeness of the first element of /ɔɪ/ by Slovene learners of English from different regions. Respondents from the central north-western regions (UC, LC, and Rov.) produced it with an open variety, while in the eastern regions (Sty. and Pan.) learners mainly used the close variant, which was erroneous but consequently clearly a result of dialect interference.

5.8 Results specific for /eɪ/

The respondents from the north-western Slovene regions distinctly pronounced the diphthong /eɪ/ as [əɪ], centralising the first element. This, however, did not happen in the eastern parts of Slovenia and is one of the strongest indicators of dialect interference regarding diphthongs.

6. Expected replacements of English vowels by Slovene ones and the degree to which they were replaced

Srebot-Rejec (1988/89, 60) argues that the "human ear" (auditory phonetics) and not sophisticated equipment (acoustic phonetics) is capable of distinguishing the relevant quality of individual sounds from the personal features of the speaker. The spectrograph will "pick up" also features characteristic of the speaker, e.g. difference in size of vocal tract in a younger and an older speaker, even though they are both producing a "linguistically" same sound. The human ear can distinguish whether the seemingly same sounds (e.g., the close-mid /ẹ/ by two different speakers) really are linguistically the same. Our study involved respondents of different ages and of both sexes. Spectrographic images, even for the same sound, were bound to give different results.

Further research into the comparison between Slovene and English vowels was performed by Srebot-Rejec (1988/89, 61) as she makes an attempt to predict with which Slovene vowels the Slovene speaker will replace the English ones (cf. Table 10).

	p/iː/t	p/ɪ/t	p/e/t	p/æ/t	p/ɑː/t	p/ʌ/t	p/ɒ/t	p/ɔː/t	p/ʊ/t	p/uː/p	p/ɜː/t	b/ə/t
Slovene	i	ə	e̝	ɛ	a	ə	ɒ	o̝	ə	u	ə	
English	i	ɪ	e	æ	ɑ	ʌ	ɒ	ɔ	ʊ	u	ɜ	ə

Table 10: Expected replacements of English vowels with Slovene ones by speakers of English.

Srebot-Rejec's findings were more or less in line with the observations made in previous paragraphs (especially relating to pronunciation difficulties in Standard Slovene) which is why her table provided a fine grid which can be provided with information on the degree to which certain English vowel sounds were replaced with Slovene (dialect) ones.

Tables 11, 12 and 13 show Slovene substitutes for English vowels and the degree to which they occur.

Results for the whole of Slovenia

	peat	pit	pet	pat	part	putt	pot	port	put	poop	purse	but
Slovene score%	i 60.7	ə 0.5	e̯ 6.8	ɛ 17.2	a 40.2	ə 14.1	ɒ 35.3	o̯ 55.3	ə 4.0	u 52.0	ə 92.0	
English	i	ɪ	e	æ	a	ʌ	ɒ	ɔ	ʊ	u	ɜ	ə

Table 11: StSl Substitutes for English vowels as predicted by Sot (1988/89, 62) and the degree to which individual sounds occurred in the pronunciation of Slovene learners of English in the whole of Slovenia.

Results for Upper Carniola

	peat	pit	pet	pat	part	putt	pot	port	put	poop	purse	but
Slovene score%	i 51.3	ə **6.5**	e̯ **16.9**	ɛ **67.7**	a **79.6**	ə 10.3	ɒ 46.5	o̯ 63.9	ə 1.4	u 61.9	ə 98.6	
English	i	ɪ	e	æ	a	ʌ	ɒ	ɔ	ʊ	u	ɜ	ə

Table 12: StSl Substitutes for English vowels as predicted by Srebot-Rejec (1988/89, 62) and the degree to which individual sounds occurred in the pronunciation of Slovene learners of English in Upper Carniola.

Results for Pannonia

	peat	pit	pet	pat	part	putt	pot	port	put	poop	purse	but
Slovene score%	i 54.2	ə **0.0**	e̯ **3.9**	ɛ **0.8**	a **9.6**	ə 9.4	ɒ 35.0	o̯ 68.2	ə 6.3	u 45.8	ə 89.6	
English	i	ɪ	e	æ	a	ʌ	ɒ	ɔ	ʊ	u	ɜ	ə

Table 13: StSl Substitutes for English vowels as predicted by Srebot-Rejec (1988/89, 62) and the degree to which individual sounds occurred in the pronunciation of Slovene learners of English in the Pannonian region.

A comparison between the results for Upper Carniola and the Pannonian region show that those for Upper Carniola were much closer to the predictions made by Srebot-Rejec than those from the Pannonian region, and they also correspond to the predictions for the transfer of elements of StSl. Only the responses predicted by Srebot-Rejec were included, since other variants for both regions would obscure clarity of data presentation. We see, however, that the scores for responses of the [ɛ] type for /æ/ were much higher in Upper Carniola (67.7%) than in the Pannonian region (0.8%), as were also the [e̯] type responses (Upper Carniola with 16.9% and the Pannonian region with 3.9%). Dialect interference proved positive transfer in the case of Pannonia, since /æ/

scored a high amount of correct responses which are not included in Table 13, but can be seen in Tables 2 and 3. The most significant difference occurred regarding responses for [a], a fronted variant of /ɑː/ (79.6% in the case of Upper Carniola and 9.6% for the Pannonian region). It is also interesting to note that the sound /ɒ/ received a higher score of responses of this type in Upper Carniola (where it is also quite common) than in the Pannonian region (where in Slovene it is replaced by the close-mid /o/). Correspondingly the closer [o̞] occurred more frequently in the Pannonian region than in Upper Carniola. The influence of individual dialects and not only the StSl is quite evident.

7. Contrastive analysis, error analysis and the results

The error analysis (EA) which followed the initial contrastive analysis showed that in the case of consonants the L1 influence was more or less evenly distributed across the whole of Slovenia, which made them features which could not be said to be characteristic of some particular region and they were thus not presented in the tables of this paper. As regards vowel sounds, the diphthongizations predicted by the contrastive analysis did not take place. This could be explained by the fact that alongside diphthongal variants, the dialect also had monophthongal ones which could serve as replacements for the potential diphthongizations. Why they would be stronger than the diphthongs could only be explained by the deep-rootedness of the already existing L1 dialect vowel sound and the uninterrupted transition from one vowel sound to the other, which makes it almost impossible for the non-native speaker of English to produce the similar, but not exactly same English sound without falling into the pit of the L1 native sound.

The present study thus determined the influence of L1 dialect features mainly by contrasting the English sounds produced by Slovene learners across all Slovene dialect regions, as vowel quality is a relative notion and can only be described in relative terms. As the gathering of material during fieldwork developed from region to region, it became obvious that the quality of English vowels produced by Slovene learners differed significantly, more, however, in the case of some vowels (e.g. /e/ and /æ/, /ɔ/ and /ɒ/) than in the case of others (e.g., /ɪ/, /ʊ/ and /ɑ/). What was essential in this comparison was seeing contrasts between the features of individual regions. Once the typology was set, the remainder of the task was just a matter of statistics. One only needed to see the contrast.

8. Conclusion

Proving L1 dialect interference involves showing distinctly that features causing negative transfer in the foreign language differ from region to region considerably. The 2007 study of the pronunciation of English in Slovenia has proven that this is not an easy task not only due to the assumption that such differences might not exist, but also because it is just possible that they are masked by other types of interference, such as the influence of the orthographic image of the test items, influence of different varieties of the target language (in the case of English the British and American varieties) and pressure caused by the test situation as material is collected.

Despite everything, the 2007 study proved L1 dialect interference in the pronunciation of English as a foreign language does exist. It was due to the fact that a nation-wide Slovene study was carried out which allowed unexpected differences to show between different dialect regions which could only be explained as L1 dialect interference. They showed mainly in the area of monophthongal vowel sounds, particularly with half-close and half-open sounds, open sounds and less with closed ones. The most interesting were front open-mid and close-mid Slovene /e/ which substituted for

the English between half-open and half-close /e/. A similar situation was expected in the case of the English /o/, but the results were not as conclusive as for /e/ due to other potential forms of interference such as influence of the target variety, namely American English, and orthography. The closest to the pattern established for the English /e/ sound proving dialect interference was for the English /ɔ/ observed in the diphthong /ɔɪ/, which has no obvious peculiarities in the American variety and is orthographically relatively uniform, which prevents orthographic or L2 interference.

The Austrian study of the pronunciation of English as a FL (Wieden and Nemser 1991) examines the developmental character of foreign language learning and establishes that the "transfer" mode may be delayed into the "approximation" mode in the case of some aspects of language. The authors attribute the delay to prosodic features as opposed to segmentals which achieve "approximation" fairly quickly. On the basis of the results of the study on the pronunciation of English in Slovenia (2007) we might consider monophthongal vowels, like the prosodic features, as experiencing delayed transfer. On the scale from segmentals, which achieve "approximation" the fastest, to the prosodic features which linger in the "transfer" mode the longest, monophthongal vowels would classify after diphthongal vowels, which are closer to consonants and involve change in position of the vocal organs, and before intonation which entirely relies on perception and frequently does not even reach the "approximation" mode. The origin of these L1 dialect monophthongal sounds, however, is to be sought in the earliest childhood, namely before the age of one. Any related sound in any subsequent foreign language one is exposed to will for its existence have to overcome the so-called "magnet effect" of the native sound. Some learners may be completely successful in overcoming it, and some may come half way, but several will never overcome it. What distinguishes these L1 dialect monophthongal sounds from other sounds, such as diphthongs and consonants is that while the latter show distinct differences within the language and between languages and can be detected and corrected if necessary, differences in monophthongal quality are not distinct enough for recognition, which makes them difficult to detect and correct even though the learner wishes to do so.

Vowel quality in L1 dialect monophthongs characterized by the persistence of Wieden's "transfer" mode in the acquisition of English as a foreign language thus serves as proof enough that an individual's native language sound inventory, or at least an important part of it is formed very early in life under the influence of the natural environment and can survive through the exposure to other systems, native or non-native, intentional learning or acquisition. Not only can it resist change, it can also cause change in others through a process that is characteristic particularly of vowels, namely the "magnet effect", a process which in our case was powerful enough to make L1 interference become worthy of consideration.

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II.

LITERATURE

ELOPE

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Elementary Ratiocination: Anticipating Sherlock Holmes in a Slovene Setting

Summary

The paper reevaluates an obscure, German-language crime novel from the nineteenth century and its better-known English translation: Carl Adolf Streckfuss's *Das einsame Haus: nach den Tagebüchern des Herrn Professor Döllnitz: Roman* (1888), translated as *The Lonely House* (1907). Although written in German by an author from Berlin, the novel is set on the territory of Slovenia. The paper situates the novel geographically and historically, while considering its place in the developing genres of crime and later detective fiction. Moreover, the novel's depiction of intra-ethnic tension in the Slovenian village where the crime occurs will be shown to reflect the ethnic tensions on the frontiers of Austro-Hungarian territory, and to align with later trends in English detective fiction towards the use of ethnic taxonomies in constructing and solving crime.

Key words: Streckfuss, Carl Adolf; Doyle, Sir Arthur Conan, detective fiction, crime fiction

Osnove logičnega sklepanja: napoved Sherlocka Holmesa v slovenskem prostoru

Povzetek

Prispevek z nove perspektive obravnava manj znan kriminalni roman iz devetnajstega stoletja, *Das einsame Haus: nach den Tagebüchern des Herrn Professor Döllnitz: Roman* (1888), napisan v nemškem jeziku, in njegov bolj znan angleški prevod, *The Lonely House* (Samotna hiša, 1907). Čeprav je njegov avtor iz Berlina, se odvija v Sloveniji. Prispevek predstavi geografski in zgodovinski okvir romana in ga žanrsko umesti med nastajajoči kriminalni roman in kasnejšo detektivsko pripoved. Na podlagi zločina, opisanega v romanu, ki se zgodi v slovenski vasi, zaznamovani s spori znotraj iste etnične skupnosti, prikaže medetnične napetosti na robu avstro-ogrskega ozemlja, ki se ujemajo s kasnejšimi trendi v angleški detektivski pripovedi, kjer se zločini načrtujejo in razrešujejo s pomočjo etničnih taksonomij.

Ključne besede: Streckfuss, Carl Adolf; Doyle, Sir Arthur Conan, detektivska pripoved, kriminalni roman

Elementary Ratiocination: Anticipating Sherlock Holmes in a Slovene Setting

1. Introduction

At a time in the 19th century when detective fiction in the English-speaking world was just getting started, a remarkable German voice entered the genre: Carl Adolf Streckfuss (1823-1895). His achievements have recently been acknowledged in a volume titled *Early German and Austrian Detective Fiction* (2007). Here, Tannert and Kratz discuss Streckfuss's novella "The Star Tavern" (*Der Sternkrug*, 1870). In the present article, however, we will focus on his later and longer work *The Lonely House* (*Das einsame Haus* 1888) as an early entry in the genre of detective fiction and a timely depiction of life on the Slavic margins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This novel's deployment of ethnic and linguistic binaries aligns the work with similar features in British detective fiction; the final section of the paper will examine similarities between imperial discourse in the two distinct settings.

2. Genre Background: Crime and Detective Fiction

Before the achievement of this Prussian writer in the 1880s can be assessed, it is useful to survey the field of early detective fiction in Europe. Accounts of criminals and their crimes had been around in European literatures for a long time (Rzepka 2005, 51; Wiener 1994, 217-19). However, the presence of crime in a novel or short story does not automatically make it into detective fiction. Before the concept of deductive detection, the plot of crime stories unfolded differently. In earlier crime fiction, criminal investigation used to be the responsibility of the magistrate (Tannert 2007, 2), the representative of the state; moreover, the collection of evidence functioned primarily as corroboration, not as detection of the identity of the criminal (Rzepka 2005, 55-56). During the Regency period in Britain and well into the early Victorian period, popular crime writing focused on the criminal himself, as in the Newgate novel (Wiener 1994, 218; Pykett 2003, 19-20). Fiction that glorified the robber arose in close collaboration with journalism (Pykett 2003, 33) and was suspected by the middle-class reader of too great a fascination with deviant social behavior (Pykett 2003, 20).

The first shift towards making the detective into the hero is visible in the work of Edgar Allan Poe, and marks a "shift of focus from crime to detection" (Pykett 2003, 34) and from deviance to order. Poe placed the act of detection at the centre of the plot rather than its margins. With his stories, "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" (1841) and "The Purloined Letter" (1844), Poe created the heroic detective, pioneered the genre's combination of action and intellectual challenge (what Poe called 'ratiocination'), and set a high standard in style and suspense. Writing nearly 50 years before Streckfuss, Poe was an innovator in a genre that was still developing in Britain.

Crime stories in English began with ballad and broadsheet literature and matured into novels centered on bandits, highwaymen and general low-life. The genre came to be called the Newgate novel, after one of London's famous prisons. From the Newgate novel in the 1830s to 1840s, British crime stories moved into the sensation novel at mid-nineteenth century (Pykett 2003, 21-34): examples include successful novels such as Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* (1860), Ellen Wood's *East Lynne* (1861) and Mary Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862). These novels featured scandals in middle- and upper-class families and several had a crime mystery at the heart of the plot.

Wilkie Collins's The *Moonstone* (1868) is the best known sensation novel that centered on crime and its detection and featured named detectives (Sergeant Cuff). From this basis, the detective character and role began to develop in other mid- and late-Victorian literature, in parallel with the rise of professional police forces. Charles Dickens admired the new Detective Department of the Metropolitan Police in London (Wiener 1994, 218) and had already updated his plots to include admirable crime fighters such as Inspector Bucket of *Bleak House* (1852-53). With his advent in the 1850s, Bucket has a claim to be "the first police detective hero in English fiction." (Wiener 1994, 218-19). Unlike the bumbling street "Runners" in his earlier novel *Oliver Twist* (1838), Bucket is clever, capable and morally upright. He is also middle class and reflects the increasing professionalization of both real and fictional police forces in Britain (Wiener 1994, 218).

Despite the claims of Inspector Bucket and Sergeant Cuff, French literature has a strong candidate for the first real detective in fiction (Rzepka 2010, 17). Eugène François Vidocq (1775-1857) was a real Frenchman, who bridged the transition from criminal to detective, since he started as the former and passed through an informer stage to become a leading crime fighter (Schütt 2003, 60). His career on both sides of the law was written up in a set of lurid memoirs. As both real and fictional character, both state law enforcer and private detective, Vidocq embodies in one person the entire later history of the genre of crime writing. Subsequent French writers such as Emile Gaboriau and Maurice Leblanc created highly intelligent sleuths who worked against the background of the French state police force—the Sûreté Nationale.

Writers in German had no Vidocq, but Tannert and Kratz maintain that German writers were early entrants in the field of detection: "German-language detective fiction had reached an early maturity that was not to be England's or America's for another fifteen to twenty years" (Tannert and Kratz 2007, 3). In their anthology of early German and Austrian detective fiction, Tannert and Kratz include one work that pre-dates Poe, and two more that anticipate the work of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Streckfuss's first crime novella (1870), which appears in this anthology, clearly pre-dates even the first Sherlock Holmes story by 17 years.

Streckfuss first ventured into crime writing in the 1870s, with 4 crime novellas appearing under his name between 1870 and 1873 (*Deutsches Literatur-Lexicon*) and 12 before his death (Tannert and Kratz 2007, 118). This prolific author of "Trivialliteratur" later turned his attention to longer fiction, producing novels in three volumes, before writing *The Lonely House* in 1888. Longer than his earlier novellas, *The Lonely House* shows Streckfuss combining the characterization and attention to setting that one expects of the 'roman' with the sensational crime (a murder in this case) common in the shorter, trivial works. If the generic outline of *The Lonely House* appears confused, one must remember that in 1888 a formula for detective fiction did not yet exist. It is not until Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories appeared in the *Strand Magazine* after 1891 – and doubled its circulation – that the English detective pattern became firmly established (Wiener 1994, 477; Thompson 1993, 61). In France, Maurice Leblanc's Arsène Lupin would not begin to appear until 1907. Thus, when Streckfuss wrote *The Lonely House*, the pattern of detective fiction was still fluid; there was certainly no formula for writers – British, French or German – to follow. What Haynes describes as the "traditional puzzle mystery, with its circumscribed group of characters, mannered society, and emphasis on clues and brain power" (Haynes 2011, xii), was nonexistent in continental European literatures and embryonic in English literature. Even the subsequently popular stereotype of the amateur detective in opposition to the clumsy policeman had not yet crystallized in fiction, although the professional policeman or detective had already appeared in Dickens and Collins. This timing makes it all the more remarkable to find an exemplar of the genre from a German writer, only one

year after the appearance of Doyle's first Sherlock Holmes story "A Study in Scarlet" (1887). *The Lonely House* (*Das einsame Haus*, Streckfuss 1888) echoes motifs from its author's earlier work "The Star Tavern" (the isolated setting, the central inn and the detective/entomologist); unlike the earlier work, the detective/entomologist is not a professional, but an amateur detective in a context more like that of the realistic novel: a complex social and geographical setting, against a background of nationalist political sentiment of the second half of the 19th century.

A glance at the biography of Streckfuss will reveal the complexity of the life that went into the creation of *The Lonely House*. Carl Adolf Streckfuss came late to fiction, having changed his career many times, in a surprisingly modern biography, details of which are sparse[1]. Having started off as a student of agronomy, Carl Adolf took too close an interest in the revolutionary uprisings of 1848[2]. The consequences seem to have sidelined him from study and writing, and he went instead into business. He sold tobacco in Berlin between 1851 and 1858, and then became a newspaper editor (*Deutsches Literatur-Lexicon*). However, writing and editing were in the family, since his father Carl Streckfuss (1779-1844) had also been a writer--of poetry, novels, drama, political articles and translations from the Italian, especially Dante[3]. In 1863, the younger Streckfuss added to his political writing about the 1848 revolution with the publication in serial form of a ground-breaking history of his hometown of Berlin: *500 Jahre Berliner Geschichte: Vom Fischerdorf zur Weltstadt: Geschichte und Sage* (1863-65). His attachment to home ground as well as his growing respectability show in his position on Berlin City Council between 1872 and 1884. Somewhere in this time, Streckfuss[4], now a respectable conservative city politician, took up writing again, this time fiction. In 1870 the aforementioned crime novella "The Star Tavern" appeared (*Der Sternkrug*), featuring a salesman of tobacco products as a major character. Before his death in 1895, he would pen multiple popular novels and novellas, adding considerably to the emerging genre of crime fiction. Streckfuss's novels were translated into English and appear to have been popular in America, judging from their appearance in a series by Lippincott in Philadelphia[5].

For Slovene readers and scholars, the most curious feature of *The Lonely House* will be its setting: the Vipava valley and the neighbouring karst in what was then the territory of the Habsburg Empire but that now forms part of Slovenia. *The Lonely House* could thus be, in a sense, Slovenia's first crime novel.

It is initially puzzling to consider why Streckfuss chose a locale so distant from his home of Berlin (and one that was part of an enemy territory: the Austro-Hungarian empire). A murder in an

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[1] See the *Deutsches Literatur-Lexicon* for a brief life and a list of Streckfuss's publications, Tannert and Kratz (2007, 118-119) for a concise modern summary of Streckfuss's life and Dönitz (1895, 373-374) for a contemporary account written after Streckfuss's death. Dönitz's obituary is lavish in praise of his entomological colleague, but short in details about his life beyond science.

[2] See the *Deutsches Literatur-Lexicon*. Interestingly, the protagonist of *The Lonely House* also confesses to having engaged in "political imbroglios" (Streckfuss 1907, 15) in his student days. Streckfuss wrote an account of the uprising, *Die Staat-Umwälzungen der Jahre 1847 und 1848*.

[3] Works by the father, Carl Streckfuss appear in Slovene libraries, in German and Slovene translation; the son, however, does not currently appear in the Slovene COBISS database. Nevertheless, old listings from the Ljubljana public library do show that the younger Streckfuss's books were held in the early decades of the 20th century. The elder Carl Streckfuss also has an extensive entry in the *Deutsches Literatur-Lexicon*.

[4] Hereafter, Streckfuss will be used to refer to Carl Adolf, the son; his first name is spelled *Adolf* in the front matter of the American translation of *The Lonely House*, but *Adolph* in the German editions of his novels and other publications. The *Deutsches Literatur-Lexicon* also records both spellings of his first names. Here, the spelling from the English translation will be used.

[5] The English translation was made in 1907 by the prolific A. L. (Annis Lee) Wister.

isolated rural setting could have been arranged much closer to home—as, for instance, in "The Star Tavern." However, research has revealed that Streckfuss knew the Vipava valley well. As a serious amateur entomologist, a collector of butterflies, Streckfuss made summer trips to southern Europe for the purpose of gathering specimens (Dönitz 1895, 374). His finds were presented at meetings of the Berlin Entomological Society (Entomologischen Verein zu Berlin), the members of which kept meticulous minutes and records, which are still available[6]. Research into these records confirms that Streckfuss visited both the Tyrol and what is now Slovenia in the course of his entomological collecting; in the minutes of meetings of the Berlin Entomological Society, he reports on trips to "Krain" (Carniola) and specifically to the Vipava Valley (*Berliner Entomologische Zeitschrift*). This valley has long been familiar to lepidopterists as having a diverse butterfly population. By 1854 Josef Mann had already published an extensive list of butterfly species found in the vicinity of Vipava (Verovnik 2011, 18). Thus, in the 1880s, Streckfuss would have had ample scientific reason for travel to this region.

Similarly, *The Lonely House* takes its protagonist on a fictional trip to the southern part of the Habsburg Empire. The professor's destination is Krain in the German original, although the English translation gives this, confusingly, as "Ukraine"[7] In English translation, these are the novel's opening remarks: "Ukraine! Ukraine! For years I had longed to spend some weeks in Southern Ukraine" (Streckfuss 1907, 11). The translator's mistake renders the geography of the translation peculiar in the extreme, since the professor's fictional journey to Ukraine crosses the Carpathians only to terminate in Slovene Postojna! In contrast, the German original is realistic in its geographical and historical setting.

The novel's first-person narrator, a Prussian professor of natural science, sets off from Berlin on what is, for the 60-year-old man, an exciting scientific adventure. He aims to spend several weeks collecting specimens in Krain. Streckfuss does seek to protect the identity of the village where he sets the main criminal action--an understandable precaution when one is attributing murder to a small community and planning to return there[8]. The village in which the main action of the novel unfolds is called Luttach ("situated in a deep valley in the midst of the Carpathians" (13; see Note 7) and called "Luttava" (20). Today, Luttach is a real place name from the Italian Tirol. Nevertheless, the surrounding geographical place names in the novel are not Tirolean but belong to the south-western region of Slovenia.

More textual proof of the novel's setting emerges in city and town names. For example, "Adelsberg" and "Laibach" (the German names for Postojna and Ljubljana) are said to offer "the only tolerable accommodation for strangers" in this region (12). The valley containing Luttach is described as being "at the foot of a long spur of Mt Nanos on the road from Adelsberg to Görz" (13)[9]. The

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6   In the early 1890s the association met on Thursday evenings at 8:30 in premises on Unter den Linden (*Berliner Entomologische Zeitschrift* 36 (1891), 37 (1892): verso).

7   A. L. Wister's geography was deficient where it came to European place names. However, to be fair, one should acknowledge that the Austro-Hungarian Empire did cover an enormous swathe of central and eastern Europe, within which many regional names had been subsumed. Wister retains the city names, Laibach and Adelsberg, but errs when trying to translate "Karst," which often emerges as "the Carpathians." A reviewer of *The Lonely House* in *The Bookman* (1908) was certainly confused; the review confidently announces that "The scene is laid in the Carpathian mountains of Austria" (*Bookman* 27, 219).

8   Streckfuss made more than one trip to Vipava (called "Wippach" in the minutes); for instance, he reports on a visit in 1890 (*Berliner Entomologische Zeitschrift* 1892), a date that definitely post-dates the writing and publication of *Dan einsame Haus*. Later the minutes record his repeated visits ("wiederholt besuch") to Krain.

9   Görz is Gorizia.

location of Luttach is further pinpointed by its relation to the mountain range: "From Luttach the topmost peak of Mt. Nanos could be reached in a few hours" (13-14) and to Adelsberg (Postojna), which is accessible after "four hours by a carriage road" (18). The fictional Luttach can most plausibly be identified with Vipava (called Wippach in German), based on geographical location and some resemblance in the sound of the name. Streckfuss makes Luttach the place where the river gushes directly from the rock of Nanos:

> This is the Luttach. On the north side of Nanos the raging Voyna rushes through a savage rocky vale, suddenly vanishing without a trace; the mountain engulfs it. They say that the Voyna in the interior of Nanos forms a deep unfathomable lake and from this lake in the interior of the mountain it flows on, breaking through the rocks, to come to light again here as the Luttach brook" (Streckfuss 1907, 42-43).

Streckfuss's Luttach is thus clearly based on the real town of Vipava, where the river emerges from the rock right behind the town inn (as in *The Lonely House*)[10]. Neither the Voyna nor the Rusina is a real river name in the Vipava Valley; in creating these fictional rivers, Streckfuss has deliberately conflated the Vipava, the Pivka and perhaps the Hubelj. The levels of visual and geological detail confirm that Streckfuss had experience gained from a visit to the region; when the Professor speaks of "the bare gray rocks of Mt. Nanos . . . against the sky" (19), even through the filter of translation, the dominant impression is of an eyewitness account. Streckfuss, therefore, collected more than specimens from his summer trip to the Vipava Valley: he also returned with the setting and idea for a murder mystery.

Nevertheless, Streckfuss is writing fiction, not autobiography, and he has a firm grasp on the atmospherics of the thrilling crime genre. For example, to increase the sense of adventure and foreboding at the outset, Streckfuss gives his protagonist several warnings against the trip; en route, a Viennese friend confides that he has never even heard of "this God-forsaken hole" (14) and advises taking a good revolver as defense against the "bears and wildcats in the forest on Mt. Nanos" (15). A second friend from Görz describes the hardships and discomforts of life in this wild, frontier country, a place of "impenetrable primeval forest" (17). It is clear that the destination of Streckfuss's butterfly collector is supposed to be on the periphery of empire (the "frontier" (16)), where the rules of civilization lose their hold and the wilderness impinges on human habitation. The fictional Luttach is, in post-colonial terms, a contact zone.

3. The Crime Plot of *The Lonely House*

A brief summary of the novel's events will clarify the text's relation to the detective formula. Professor Dollnitz arrives in Luttach and stays at the inn while rambling over the slopes of Mt Nanos in search of plant and insect specimens. Soon, he stumbles across a murder scene: the local usurer Pollenz has been robbed and murdered in his lonely mountain house on Nanos-- giving the novel its title. Pollenz leaves behind a pretty daughter, Anna, who is being courted by both principal suspects: Judge Foligno and Franz Schorn. Professor Dollnitz discovers the body along with eyewitness and circumstantial evidence that points almost equally to both suspects. Judge Foligno, who is heading the murder investigation, pressures Dollnitz to swear an affidavit to Schorn's culpability and to suppress evidence incriminating the Judge himself, both of which Dollnitz reluctantly does. Then, on an excursion to a local cave, someone cuts the rope suspending

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[10]   At the nearby Hubelj spring – above Ajdovščina – a river also gushes right out of the hill. However, there is no town around this spring to provide an equivalent for Streckfuss's Luttach.

Dollnitz over a chasm; he is saved by Schorn, who suspects Foligno of having plotted against the professor's life. While recovering at the village inn, the Professor opens a cabinet belonging to the judge and finds the stolen money and documents. Schorn is vindicated and marries Anna. The Judge is arrested and carried off to Ljubljana.

4. Relation to the Detection Formula

Professor Dollnitz is no Sherlock Holmes but a genuine amateur[11]. Streckfuss gives his narrator a role, less that of detective than that of witness. All the evidence Dollnitz collects against the suspects has been acquired incidentally while searching for butterflies and plants, and the clinching discovery of the stolen goods happens by accident. Repeatedly, the old Professor appears naïve to the modern reader in his treatment of evidence. For instance, on finding Judge Foligno's bloody handkerchief not far from the crime scene, the Professor returns the handkerchief to its owner (118-119). Nor does he know what to do with the two cut ends of the sabotaged rope that Schorn gives him for safe keeping (200). In contrast to the earlier canny Inspector Werder of "The Star Tavern," this hero is too trusting, despite his training in scientific observation. In this early crime novel there is no arch-criminal, no plodding policeman and no "super-perceptive" sleuth (Wiener 1994, 471). Nevertheless, the Professor, while often invoking intuition, does apply rational, scientific methods in his deductions, and thus prefigures later developments in the detective novel.

Nor does Streckfuss split the detective character from the narrator (as in the later Holmes/Watson model). Instead, the novel is presented as the "Tagebuch" or journal kept by the Professor. As a man of science, the Professor is trained to keep exact notes, and this habit will help in both arousing and confirming his suspicions.

The clues with which Dollnitz works are not those of the urban crime scene from Poe or Holmes. Evidence involves a rare flower (Ophrys Bertolini) and its specific growing locations, as well as a moth (Saturnia caecigena) and the individual sites where it pupates and emerges from the cocoon[12]. This is not forensics as we understand it today: for example, a blood-spattered murder scene at the lonely house is discounted completely as a source of usable evidence of the murderer's identity (Streckfuss 1907, 92-93). Nevertheless, the role of the professor's scientific training in gathering the evidence cannot be underestimated. It is because Dollnitz is a scientist that he exhibits the deductive logic that places Judge Foligno in the patch of Ophrys Bertolini and near to the murder scene at the Lonely House.

Streckfuss effectively limits the pool of suspects by locating the murder on the outskirts of a small village. As detective fiction developed in Britain, the country house would become one preferred site for murder, providing a circumscribed setting and a varied but finite slate of suspects. Long before Conan Doyle, Agatha Christie or Dorothy Sayers, Streckfuss achieves a similarly tight focus for the crime scene by choosing the confines of the village district. To get the correct balance between stability and mobility necessary for a good murder mystery, Streckfuss gives Professor Dollnitz a headquarters: "A naturalist cannot travel hither and thither like an ordinary tourist; he

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[11]   The hero of the earlier "The Star Tavern" exhibits many more of the Sherlock Holmes characteristics; he is a police inspector in disguise and adept at tracking, footprint evidence and logical thinking.

[12]   Both species are real. The Ophrys Bertolini would indeed be rare had Dollnitz found it on the side of Nanos, a location which is beyond its normal range. The moth, called Saturnia caecigena by Streckfuss is the Autum Emperor Moth, nowadays classified as Perisomena caecigena. The *Berliner Entomologische Zeitschrift* praises s Streckfuss for having reported this precise species in "Krain" a location where it had not previously been documented. (*BEZ* 52, 1907, 9 90).

must establish himself somewhere, and make excursions into the surrounding country, which he must investigate thoroughly . . ..." (13).[13] The Luttach headquarters for the entomological excursion is the village inn, the Golden Vine, from which the visiting butterfly collector may explore at will[14]. The fictional entomologist is thus cleverly provided with the right combination of mobility and home base, while gaining access to the barroom gossip at the heart of the community. This combination of intimacy and privileged mobility makes an ideal situation for amateur sleuthing and accidental discoveries.

The circle of suspects is thinner in *Lonely House* than it would be in the later mysteries. There are only two main suspects; however, the social circle in which Professor Dollnitz moves is carefully depicted and preserves much of the structure and atmosphere of village society in the 1880s. On the first day in Luttach, for instance, Professor Dollnitz finds the main players in the mystery gathered at the inn: "at a large round table near the tall stove, sat six or eight men, smoking long cigars, with glasses of wine before them" (24). Streckfuss thus adroitly introduces a stranger into the isolated community where the crime will take place. In his senior science professor, Streckfuss mirrored much of himself. He, too, was a butterfly-collector from Berlin and a visitor to the region[15]. In Professor Dollnitz, Streckfuss created a non-threatening character who receives everyone's confidence.

Instantly befriended by the Judge, the chambermaid, and local officials Professor Dollnitz becomes the insider-outsider who negotiates the conflicts that divide the municipality and is soon being referred to as "the old gentleman" and "the kind old man" (241). With his firm, confidence-inspiring voice, the Professor forms a reliable narrative center. The tone of a scientist writing up his field notes is unmistakable; the narrator's commitment to objectivity about the people he meets, even when they become murder suspects, allows Streckfuss to create suspense.

Narrative suspense is achieved by the careful balance of suspicion between the two suspects: Franz Schorn and Judge Foligno. Professor Dollnitz's intuition tells him that there is something shady about the Italian Foligno, but since the Judge is the local representative of the law, cannot suspect him for long. Schorn is instinctively liked by the Professor but surrounded by a web of incriminating circumstantial evidence. Whenever the Professor becomes convinced of Schorn's innocence, the Judge presents arguments that undermine that certainty, and the pendulum of suspicion swings once again. Along with the narrator, the reader moves repeatedly between certainty and doubt.

Streckfuss's main innovation in the detective genre was the elevation of the man of science to the main role, a change from the minor role played by the earlier entomologist character in "The Star Tavern." Though an amateur at crime, Dollnitz is a scientist, someone who seeks empirical explanations for observed phenomena. It is not impossible to see in this choice Streckfuss's own early education in agricultural science, as well as the 19th-century Prussian emphasis on new technical knowledge. *The Lonely House* thus anticipates a long line of scientific criminologists, both amateur and professional.

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[13] As a naturalist, Streckfuss practiced what the fictional Professor preaches; in remarks at meetings of the Berlin Entomological Society in 1892, Streckfuss mentions his own stay of 6 weeks in the Vipava valley, while deploring the practice of generalizing about a place and its fauna based on one specimen or one short visit (*BEZ* 37 (1892), 5).

[14] The building that inspired the fictional inn still sits on the main square (Glavni trg) in Vipava, although it is no longer an inn.

[15] There is also a suggestive similarity between the character's name *Dollnitz*, and the name of the author's colleague and chair of the Berlin Entomological Society: *Dönitz*. Perhaps Streckfuss was having a sly joke at the expense of his Berlin colleague.

5. Ethnic and Linguistic Parameters

Although Streckfuss and other German writers of crime fiction placed at the heart of their mysteries questions about the nature of justice in a highly class-based society (Tannert and Kratz 2007, 7), class cannot be the only social parameter on the fringes of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Instead of acting out a class hierarchy, the detective plot in *The Lonely House* enacts the struggle of nation and language, ultimately taking sides in the imperial debate. Nation and language are thus central, and the major interest of the novel, beyond its whodunit character, lies in its engagement with the ethno-nationalist tensions among what Stanley Kimball calls "the Austro-Slavs." Streckfuss's novel reflects both the linguistic hierarchy that prevailed at the time and the related socio-political groupings of pro-Austrian and pro-nationalist thinkers.

To begin with, part of the rationale for Professor Dollnitz's choice of location is the hope "that there might be German elements mingling with the Slavonic civilization" (Streckfuss 1907, 14). Before setting out, the Professor receives stern warnings about the people of the region and the intra-ethnic tensions among which they live: "The unhappy strife between nationalities in Ukraine [sic] has so embittered the inhabitants there that all kindly feeling is extinct. The Slav considers hatred of the German his first duty; it is his greatest delight to annoy – even to maltreat – a German" (17). Expecting anti-German hostility, the Professor is pleasantly surprised to find matters much less volatile in Luttach. At the inn, for example, Dollnitz is invited to join the circle of local magnates, not entirely to his satisfaction:

> I was amazed at so polite a reception is this notoriously hostile Slav country, and I was not quite pleased. I should have liked to observe the magnates of Luttach, who were apparently here assembled, from a distance, at my leisure, before making their acquaintance, whereas now, when I accepted their invitation, and introduced myself as a German, a Prussian, and worse than all, from Berlin, whose citizens are never popular, their amiability might decrease (25).[16]

The varying ethnic and linguistic loyalties of the municipal magnates will play a key role in the investigation of the crime and deserve closer analysis.

1. The inhabitants of Streckfuss's village of Luttach fall into four ethnic-national categories:
2. People of Austrian descent with Germanic names but local loyalties
3. People of Austrian descent with Germanic names who are resistant to localization
4. People of Italian descent, with Italian names
5. Local Slavic people with Slavic names[17]

As a spokesperson for the first group, Pollenz corrects the Professor's error in expecting anti-German hostility: "That is unfortunately a widespread error which has brought our good Ukraine [sic] into ill-repute. We are all Slavs, and are proud of being so. Our ancestors were Germans, but we are not. . . Whoever is born here and lives here must feel himself a genuine Slav" (27). With this remark, Streckfuss constructs Pollenz as holding a rational position, between more extreme opinions. Nevertheless, this is the classic colonial position of denial, and a 21st-century Slovene reader might contest that narrative view.

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[16]   Modern readers perhaps need to be reminded that Austria had recently (1866) been defeated militarily by Prussia.

[17]   Vodopivec (2004) confirms the existence of such ethnic taxonomies at the time, including the "true German" and the "Nemškutar" or Germanizer.

Pollenz also describes people of the second group, with some animosity: "Those only do we hate among us who are disloyal sons of their native land, who would rob us of our language, our customs, and make Germans of us" (27). According to Pollenz, this Germano-phile tendency is worse in the capital, Laibach, where it causes "constant strife" (27). However, Pollenz is quick to exculpate one side, claiming that the Slavs are "seldom the aggressive party." If one can identify an authorial position in this dialogue, it seems to be sympathetic to the side of Germanic civilization, law, order and the German language, but careful to acknowledge the Slovene side of the issue.

All of Streckfuss's main characters belong to the first three categories and are holders of municipal office or important positions in the village[18]:

> District Judge Foligno, his Assistant Herr Einern, Burgomaster Pollenz, a retired Captain Pollenz, a landed proprietor, Gunther by name, Herr Weber, a merchant, and Herr Dietrich, a notary. Strange! All German names save that of the district Judge. Chance had surely brought me among Germans" (26).

His Slavic characters, in contrast, include many servants or laborers (e.g., Mizka, Rassak, Bela and Frau Franzka, the innkeeper's wife.

Streckfuss's narrator initially exhibits a Prussian disdain for other peoples and languages, for example, this account of his driver on his first trip into Luttach: "I should have liked to know the names of those giant mountains, but my driver was a genuine Slav, who could not understand a word of German, and who was too stupid to comprehend signs, so all intercourse with him was impossible" (18-19). This condescending attitude extends to estimation of local character; the people of the Luttach valley, for instance, are described as being "too indolent" to develop or exploit the tourism potential of their caves (43) – in contrast, presumably, to the people of Postojna. This judgment shows that the Professor is susceptible to the ethnic binaries of his world in a manner that grates on the modern reader; however, it conforms to similar constructions of ethnicity in the British detective story, as will be established in the next section.

There is only one character belonging to the third category (Italians), but he plays a major role in the perpetration and investigation of the murder. Foligno, Strecfkuss's Italian district judge, turns out to be the murderer; he is thus an early instance of the double role in the detective story: both perpetrator and investigator. Mizka, the servant, describes him as an "out-and-out Italian" a gambler and copious wine drinker, whose grandfather had settled in Luttach, but who could not himself speak Italian fluently (35). In the 19th century, the littoral area would have been inhabited by many people of Italian descent, although not as many in small villages as in the big towns, such as Görz. After the murder, the local people gathered at the inn are quick to suspect the Italians (105). The new post-1866 border with Italy had left thousands of Slovene-speaking people on the other side (Vodopivec 2004), and this could have encouraged the anti-Italian feeling in Luttach. However, Judge Foligno's judicial title and community position make it unlikely that he should be the criminal, despite his alcoholism and general unpopularity. Suspicion and a trail of circumstantial evidence initially point equally to Judge Foligno and to Franz Schorn, the most "Germanic" of all the characters. Franz is described thus by Streckfuss:

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[18] The only local official missing from the story is a priest. Streckfuss completely ignores the institution of the Church, which is represented only architecturally, by a wayside cross and the Chapel of St. Nikolas. The real Church of St Nikolas still sits on the slopes of Nanos, providing an important clue about the site on which Streckfuss imagined the nearby "lonely house."

The face was thoroughly German. Such deep blue eyes, such fair, close curls are to be found nowhere save in Germany. He was certainly handsome . . ." (Streckfuss 1907, 24)

The murder investigation thus acts out the intra-ethnic tensions that Streckfuss notes in the municipality. The crime even features in the Laibach newspapers and serves to incite further ethnic conflict:

The ultra Slavonic newspapers had hitherto triumphed in the announcement that the only German agitator in Luttach was nothing more or less than a miserable, ordinary criminal, and now they suffered a terrible blow in that the German agitator was no murderer; the criminal was a man who, although of Italian descent, had always labored in the Slavonic cause. The Slav party, on the other hand, were half-inclined to swear to the innocence of the Judge and to stake all on the guilt of the hated German (275-76)

Given their outsider status as Prussian visitors, it is not surprising that both Streckfuss and his character Professor Dollnitz remain blind to the merits of the developing nationalist position, if not to its existence. His plot sides with Schorn, the hyper-Germanic character, who is first demonized by the Luttach community and gradually rehabilitated in public opinion – both because he proves to be innocent and because he is revealed to be more closely committed to the land, workers and local language than had at first been evident. In making this choice, Streckfuss reveals an unsubtle pro-German agenda; that German-speaking Slovenes should lead and others follow is constructed as the common-sense, progressive opinion.

Towards the end of the novel, the narrator and other characters freely express ethno-nationalist judgments about people. The village doctor, for example, rejoices thus once the murderer is revealed to be Foligno:

"Do you know, Herr Professor, what comforts me in this cursed affair?"

"What?"

"That Foligno is no Slav, but an Italian. Believe me, a Slav would be incapable of such villainy. Good night, Herr Professor." (Streckfuss 1907, 247)

Behind this racist generalization, lies the unexpected solidarity between Austro-Slav and Slav, a point that Streckfuss has been foregrounding, perhaps with more wish-fulfillment than actual evidence.

In colonial and imperial contact zones, language often forms the root of such ethnic struggles for power. In this novel, the attitude towards language is consistently Germano-centric, with several impatient references to the deplorable tendency of subject peoples to prefer their own languages. Before embarking on his entomological trip, the professor is told that he will find "a poverty-stricken peasantry, speaking the dialect of the country, and understanding not one word of German" (12). It is implied that the Slavic tongue is inferior, garbled and not worth acquiring. These prejudices are revealed to be largely untrue, as the Professor finds that many people in Luttach are bilingual – the innkeepers, for instance. Moreover, the Professor himself undergoes a subtle shift in his attitude towards Slavic speakers; by Chapter 8, he is beginning to see the communication problem as mutual, not one-sided:

Intercourse with the country folk whom I met on my excursions was, of course, very limited; we could not understand one another's language. . . . they found it very difficult to understand

the few Slavonic words which I had learned from Mizka and which I certainly pronounced very badly (134-135).

This apparently charming attitude on the part of the old Professor is still typical of the imperial situation: a pseudo-humility about pronunciation serves only to emphasize the gap between civilized and non-civilized tongues at the edge of empire.

If Streckfuss has an agenda, it seems to aim at proving the relative lack of animosity between Austrians and Slavs; real hard feeling is intra-Austrian, between the assimilationists and the purists. Any serious authorial distaste seems to be reserved for the Italian character. The Slovene characters are mostly treated with tolerant disinterest by both narrator and author. Professor Dollnitz does not dislike the Slovenes he meets: while recording the scarcity of any German-speaking peasants, for instance, the Professor ends by praising the "kindness and cordiality" of the Slavonic country folk towards him as a stranger in their region (135). In hospitality, they are compared favorably with the Swiss peasants that the Professor has previously encountered (135). Towards the end of the novel, however, one Slovene character is given an emblematic moment. As the vindicated Franz Schorn arrives back in Luttach from prison, the carriage is obstructed by the welcoming crowds, but Rassak takes charge:

> It was impossible for the carriage to proceed through the crowded streets, when suddenly a stentorian voice exclaimed:
>
> "Make way!"
>
> It was the voice of the gigantic Rassak. He dexterously unharnessed the horses, and, seizing the pole himself, assisted by two savage-looking fellows . . . on they went to the "Golden vine" (282-83).

The incident is rife with contradictions: though physically powerful, Rassak can only use that power to take the place of a beast of burden. Despite having found his voice, the Slovene can only raise it in the service of his "German" masters. Streckfuss constructs Rassak as the classic postcolonial figure of the subaltern, whose voice must be forever coopted in the service of what oppresses him. In making this interpretation, however, we are reading against the authorial grain, for Streckfuss wishes us to feel only the joy of the moment and the justice of social restitution for Franz Schorn, who is borne on Rassak's shoulders into the hotel garden (283).

Schorn's complete vindication and his union with the desirable Anna both show Streckfuss's tolerance towards the assimilative tendency among peripheral Austrians. To become localized in feeling – even in language (late in the novel, Franz demonstrates his command of both languages) is to be progressive. As soon as Franz is no longer a murder suspect, he becomes the book's most positive village character, and the revelation that he can address his workers in their own language forms part of his complete fictional rehabilitation. His purchase of up-to-date farm equipment from the town of Görz also marks him as technologically progressive, in line with a modernizing Prussian tendency in Streckfuss's voice.[19]

There is no indication, however, that Streckfuss was at all receptive to nationalist feeling among the Slovene inhabitants of Krain. It would seem improbable that characters like Rassak or Mizka should assert the right to anything more ambitious than fair payment for their work. This is despite the fact that at this time, the region was already enjoying the emergence of Slavic literature and

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[19]   Dönitz's obituary tells us that Streckfuss studied agriculture (*Landwirtschaft*) in his youth (1895, 373).

cultural awareness (Vodopivec 2004). Slovenian reading rooms had been forming in major towns across Slovene Illyria, but it is difficult to picture any of Streckfuss's brawny Slavs profiting from their literary offerings.

In rehabilitating his chief suspect, the Germanic Schorn, Streckfuss enshrines the status quo, remaining satisfied with a social hierarchy that keeps Germans and German-Speaking Slovenes at the top. The outcome is similar to that in English detective fiction, where ethnic issues are similarly problematized, only to be socially re-inscribed in more extreme term, as Section 6 will argue.

6. Detection and Empire

Streckfuss's construction of ethnic and linguistic issues shows similarities with the imperialist agenda of English-language detective fiction of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Although the situation in Krain is one of "old" empire rather than new, the border area around the northern Adriatic could certainly be considered as an imperial contact zone and thus a prime area for the working out of dramas of hegemony.[20] When one turns to English-language fiction, one finds much evidence that imperial settings and issues were thus used in the 1890s and well into the next century. Detective fiction, one could say, developed in tandem with the expanding British Empire, partly because both the aesthetic and the political projects depended on an expanding scientific worldview, one that privileged European forms of knowledge and provided means of converting knowledge into power.

Several critics have explored the connection between detection and empire (McBratney 2005; Brantlinger 1988; Harris 2003; Keep 1999; Reitz 2000; Thompson 1993), and although some critics consider later periods of colonialism (e. g., Seshagiri), much attention is given to the last decade of the 19th century and to the Sherlock Holmes stories. McBratney finds that the discourse of racial type underlies the Sherlock Holmes canon (2005, 151) and has specified how Doyle's novella *The Sign of Four* harnesses colonial racial taxonomies from India to enact a "deeply conservative" drama of social control over undesirable atavistic tendencies at the heart of the British Empire (McBratney 2005, 163). McBratney draws upon historical and anthropological material, as well as theory by Foucault and Said, to argue that Doyle's detective formula is neither transgressive nor subversive of imperial certainties, despite the potential of Holmes's individualistic, deductive method.

The Sign of Four unfolds in London, so the empire is brought back to the center, unlike the action in *The Lonely House*, which occupies the edge of an old empire. Doyle, however, clearly bases his plot on the identification of racial and criminal "types" (150); the racial other in the novella is the Andaman Islander, Tonga. By inserting Tonga into the imperial construct of racial hierarchies, Holmes solves the mystery. The engine of imperial science provided the schema into which new species and peoples could be classified; to collect and classify was to understand, and to exert control, especially given the demographic diversity of colonial India. This takes us back to Streckfuss's Professor Dollnitz, who is himself a collector – not an ethnologist, but certainly an entomologist. His job as a scientist is to collect and classify. Dollnitz'a interest in the ethnic divisions of Luttach overlaps with his scientific entomological practice. Moreover, his scientific approach converts directly into power, simply because it allows him to undermine a false alibi with exact observation. Dollnitz thus forms part of that "emergent nineteenth-century culture of knowledge" (Thompson 1993, 44) to which Holmes and other detective figures of the era belonged and which functioned to exclude from power those of "unsuitable" culture, languages and ethnicity.

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[20] K. E. Fleming has even considered the relevance of Said's theory of Orientalism to the Balkans (see Fleming 2000, "Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography").

For some theorists, the detective story enacts social paranoia about ethnic subversion (Cawelti 1977, 31), whether at the edge of empire in India or Africa, or imported to the urban heart of empire. By constituting dangerous criminal forces with an ethnic component and then exorcising them, the detective plot affirms the social status quo (35). If the criminal embodies some problematized ethnicity or Other, then his defeat becomes a victory for social consensus. Although *The Lonely House* has no "bestial" Andaman Islanders, Streckfuss does demonize one element in Vipava Valley society: Foligno the Italian, and through him Italians within the empire, but most significantly, anyone with nationalist sympathies. Late in the novel Streckfuss reveals that Foligno sides with those agitating for greater regional political power, in short, for the Slovene nationalist cause (1907, 275-76). With this identification of criminal and political activity – common in British detective fiction (McBratney 2005, 151-56), the reader is positioned counter to any expression of cultural or ethnic nationalism.

It must be re-emphasized that both Streckfuss and his Professor Dollnitz are not Austrians but Prussians from Berlin and thus have no political stake in the exercise of imperial power. Streckfuss' identification with existing power structures could then reflect a combination of linguistic and ethnic loyalties. By criminalizing the nationalist and rewarding the pure German, Streckfuss enshrines the status quo, remaining satisfied with a social hierarchy that keeps Germanic peoples at the top, and identifying heavily with the centralized government system represented by the court officials who come from Ljubljana to prosecute the case. In so doing, the plot of the novel serves, however incidentally, to withhold political agency from Slovene characters such as Mizka and even the giant laborer Rassak. As in the case of the British Sherlock Holmes, detection fails to challenge social or political ideology, even while it employs the new ideology of deductive science.

7. Conclusion

Our research has thus revealed an early crime novel that anticipates the scientific methodology that would come to dominate detective fiction for 120 years. As a piece of realistic fiction, *The Lonely House* reflects the social milieu of the Vipava Valley with considerable accuracy; however, the novel also anticipates detection's reliance on reductive ethnic taxonomies and stereotypes. It is therefore conceivable that this novel has been lost to the contemporary Slovene reader on account of its characters' unpalatable opinions about Slovene ethnicity and nationalist empowerment. The condescending pronouncements of Professor Dollnitz and his friends about what to expect from the primitive, illiterate, inarticulate local population of the valley under Nanos could make for uncomfortable reading. While these opinions align with other imperial attitudes in literature of the era, even with the Sherlock Holmes stories, they provide a reminder of the biased perspectives and unquestioned ideologies of imperial powers in general. Plot, character and dialogue confirm that Streckfuss was no extreme lobbyist for pan-Germanic identification, let alone Prussian hegemony. Nevertheless, his plot engages with local ethnic hierarchies only to confirm their validity. Despite Streckfuss's approval of bilingualism and support for agricultural modernization, *The Lonely House* demonstrates that its author was no longer the revolutionary firebrand of 1848. The best that can be claimed for Streckfuss is that his linguistic, ethnic and cultural positions could be seen as relatively enlightened for a Berlin writer in an era so close to the Austro-Prussian war.

It remains for a Slovene historian to consider the accuracy and relevance of this novel's depiction of ethnic attitudes and tensions at the edge of empire and in a region that would later be a battleground twice over and a hub of partisan resistance. Moreover, as both an early (perhaps the earliest) murder mystery and a realistic novel of municipal life in 19th-century Slovenia, *The Lonely House* deserves to be made available in a good Slovene translation.

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Questioning History, Nationality and Identity in Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Credible Witness*[1]

Summary

The aim of this paper is to examine the Anglo-American playwright Timberlake Wertenbaker's approach to the issues of history, nationality and identity in her play *Credible Witness* (2001), and to discuss the significance of these concepts in our modern world through a close analysis of the play. In *Credible Witness*, the playwright brings together people from diverse countries, such as Sri Lanka, Algeria, Eritrea, Somalia and Macedonia in a detention centre in London, and via the stories of these asylum seekers, and particularly through the dramatic encounter between Petra, a Macedonian woman with strong nationalistic pride, and her son Alexander, a history teacher forced to seek refuge in Britain for political reasons, Wertenbaker tries to demonstrate "what happens to people when they step outside, or are forced outside, their history, their identity" (Aston 2003, 13).

Key words: Timberlake Wertenbaker, *Credible Witness*, asylum, history, nationality, identity, shift in identity, shift in history, sense of belonging

O zgodovini, nacionalnosti in identiteti v drami *Verodostojna priča* Timberlake Wertenbaker

Povzetek

Prispevek na podlagi poglobljene analize drame *Verodostojna priča* (*Credible Witness*, 2001) angloameriške dramatičarke Timberlake Wertenbaker obravnava njene poglede na vprašanja o zgodovini, nacionalnosti in identiteti ter na pomen omenjenih pojmov v sodobnem svetu. V *Verodostojni priči* avtorica v zbirnem centru v Londonu na enem mestu zbere ljudi iz različnih dežel, kot so Šrilanka, Alžirija, Eritreja, Somalija in Makedonija. Skozi zgodbe omenjenih prosilcev za azil, še posebej dramatično srečanje med Petro, Makedonko, polno nacionalnega ponosa, in njenim sinom Aleksandrom, učiteljem zgodovine, ki si je iz političnih razlogov prisiljen poiskati zatočišče v Veliki Britaniji, poskuša Wertenbakerjeva pokazati, "kaj se zgodi z ljudmi, ko izstopijo, so prisiljeni izstopiti, iz svoje preteklosti, iz svoje identitete" (Aston 2003, 13).

Ključne besede: Timberlake Wertenbaker, *Verodostojna priča*, azil, zgodovina, nacionalnost, identiteta, sprememba identitete, premik v zgodovini, občutek pripadanja

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Questioning History, Nationality and Identity in Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Credible Witness*

1. Introduction

Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Credible Witness* (2001), which was written at the turn of the twenty-first century, at a time when the re-emergence of political theatre in Britain had started to be discussed, is a play that addresses the issue of political asylum. In the play, Wertenbaker brings together refugees from diverse countries such as Sri Lanka, Algeria, Eritrea, Somalia and Macedonia in a detention centre in London. She presents the individual stories of the asylum seekers who are trying to find shelter in a country that does not belong to them. However, while presenting the stories or 'histories' of the refugees, Wertenbaker does not confine her play to the subject of political asylum. Trying to demonstrate how history and identity shift each time a person changes his or her country, she also questions history, nationhood and identity, and asks "to what extent [one's] national history forms [his or her] identity" (Myerson, "A Play").

In the play, the protagonist Petra Karagy, who is an old Macedonian woman with a strong sense of history and intense patriotic feelings, comes to England on a false passport to find her son Alexander, who has left his country to find refuge in Britain after being physically violated in his homeland for his political beliefs. Yet the moment Petra arrives in England, she is taken to a detention centre, where she meets many refugees from many different national, cultural and ethnic backgrounds – all trying to find protection in Britain. As the play unfolds, Alexander's identity as a history teacher, who, in his new life in Britain, is "no longer the nationalist man he was brought up to be" (Sierz 2011, 116) and is therefore rejected by his mother, contributes to the discussion of the issues central to the play, such as the multi-layered nature of history, shifting identities along with the shift in history, and the sense of belonging in a transnational world.

When Wertenbaker's *Credible Witness* was first staged at the Royal Court Jerwood Upstairs Theatre in London in 2001, the play received a mixed reception. While some theatre critics found the play to be too dense in its thematic focus (Jonathan Myerson), too didactic in its style (Kate Basett), and "more like an intellectual drama than theatre" (Halliburton, "Women's Refuge"), several other critics expressed their appreciation of the play and the playwright, stating that it was "the most moving –the most compassionate– new play for many months" (Macaulay, *London Theatre Guide*). According to Michael Billington, the theatre critic for *The Guardian*, "Wertenbaker's ideas [were] fascinating" ("Credible Witness") and Benedict Nightingale for *The Times* commented that "intelligence is everywhere, not least in the play's definition of history itself. […]. I can think of few if any dramatists who could give so rounded an account of so immediate yet permanent a topic" ("Reviews").

At this stage, it could be argued that it is not surprising that Wertenbaker could discuss such "big issues" (Billington, "Credible Witness") as history, nationality, identity and the sense of belonging, which have always been issues to be explored in her drama. These are treated densely in such a way as to invite the audience/reader to be critical about these concepts which have traditionally been regarded as fixed, unchanging and inflexible, since Wertenbaker herself comes from a culturally mixed background as an Anglo-American dramatist, who grew up in the French-speaking Basque country (Gömceli 2010, 69-70). Moreover, Wertenbaker herself has 'crossed borders' several times, as a 'guest' in countries like Greece, France, and the US until settling in England more than two decades ago. Thus, as Elaine Aston, too, observes, Wertenbaker's experience as an "'outsider'"

enables her to "critique dominant ideologies of identity and notion" (2003, 8), as well as allowing her to approach the concept of history in a critical way –an approach which she believes playwrights of the twenty-first century should adopt, as she said in her 2002 talk at an international conference held in Brussels on contemporary Anglophone drama and multiculturalism.

In her paper presented at this conference, "Dancing with History", where she examines "the playwright's involvement with and relation to history, his –or […] her –dance with history" (ibid., 17), Wertenbaker conveys the idea that "history is not progressive, it is not certain" and that "it is no longer even a narrative" (ibid., 20), and concludes with the remark that in the new century "history will no longer be the agreed narrative of certain countries, but some general principles, scientific ones that can be examined" (ibid., 22). Thus, she invites the playwrights of the twenty-first century to 'dance with history', and to be "in dialogue with history –histories" (ibid.).

2. Shifting Histories, Shifting Identities

Appropriate to its thematic focus, *Credible Witness* opens in a "*small archaeological dig in Northern Greece*" (Wertenbaker 2001, 185), where Alexander Karagy, the Macedonian history teacher, is examining archaeological excavations together with his pupils. The stage set in this scene, as designed by Es Devlin, is in the form of a "semi-circular, high-walled walkway, with an open-space centre" (Jongh, "Refugess in Fairy Land"), which functions as a "constant reminder" (Jane Edwardes, "Reviews") of the circularity and multi-layered nature of history. Furthermore, it is significant that Wertenbaker chooses to place her characters, the history teacher Alexander Karagy and his pupils, at an archaeological dig, since archaeology, as pointed out by Philip Kohl in his article "Nationalism and Archaeology" (1998), plays an important role in the "construction of national identities" (ibid., 234), and it is through archaeology that "in the process of nation-making the past is 'invented' or 'rediscovered'" (ibid., 225). During this excursion, aimed at giving the children an awareness of the multi-layered nature of history through the examination of archaeological remains, Alexander shows his pupils how "a new history [was] built on top of old histories" (Wertenbaker 2001, 185), pointing at the layers of the Iron Age, the Bronze Age and the remains and traces of five thousand years of Macedonian history. Then, warning the young learners that they will be "poor, and flat" if they "lose [their] history" (ibid., 186), he gives them an assignment: "Now I want you to go into your villages and discover other layers. No, not by digging up your gardens – uncover the bands of your history through the witnesses" (ibid., 185).

Having established his identity as an idealistic and nationalist history teacher, Alexander asks his pupils to explore Macedonian history through the discovery of histories other than their own. He advises them to discover these by listening to the stories/histories of their grandmothers and of old men –the 'witnesses', whose histories might not have been recorded, which in the end is aimed at teaching them that "the act of remembering must include the remembrance of histories other than our own" (Aston 2003, 14). However, promoting Macedonian identity among the younger generation via his profession in a country where this is not approved and insisting on teaching Macedonian history "as independent from Greek history" (Schmitten 2003, 77), Alexander encounters physical violence in his homeland, and thus he is forced to flee his country. With this experience, Alexander starts his own quest in Britain as a man in exile, which gives him the opportunity to re-evaluate his political beliefs and his dependence on Macedonian history outside the boundaries of his country. During his three-year exile in Britain, where he works in a community centre helping refugee children remember their histories and identities, Alexander gradually becomes attached to his new country while distancing himself from his Macedonian identity. In the end, he comes to realise that

his life and identity have largely been shaped by the demands of his national history and that he has to release himself from the constraints of his own history in order to be able to develop a new and broad understanding of history and national identity.

In the community centre, he first instructs the refugee children not to "forget [their] history" and to "have the courage to be complicated" (Wertenbaker 2001, 212), by which he means to guide them into critical thinking about history, and thus give them an awareness of the existence of histories other than their own, which is "a central pedagogical task" in what Giroux names as "border pedagogy" (quoted in Phillips 1998, 49-50) in his work *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education* (1992). Accordingly, the history teacher promotes the recognition of "other histories", besides encouraging his students to "interrogat[e] […] the complexity of their own histories", and "in this perspective, culture is not viewed as monolithic or unchanging, but as a shifting sphere of multiple and heterogeneous borders where different histories […] intermingle" (quoted in Phillips 1998, 50). Thus, following the line of 'border pedagogy', Alexander in his teaching of the refugee children aims at making them see that there are other histories besides their own, as opposed to the "unquestioning acceptance of a monolithic homogeneous, dominant historical narrative" (Phillips 1998, 50), without neglecting to point out that they should not forget their own histories. Yet, later, in another scene, when one of his students asks him why he is not fighting for his country, Alexander replies: "It was never a country, Henry, it's a name, a feeling – I've buried it for a while" (Wertenbaker 2001, 204), revealing his emotional detachment from his country.

The reason behind his rejecting his own country, however, is not only his enforced immigration to Britain after his physical violation in his homeland, but also the fact that he cannot legally prove his identity in the new country where he is seeking political asylum, since his birth was not recorded in Greece when, for political reasons, Greek priests refused to baptise him with a Macedonian name. Having failed to prove his identity, and rejected by the British authorities, Alexander laments the loss of his name, in other words, his identity:

> Today, we will lament a name, the name Alexander Karagy. It was a name given to a child in baptism in a village that was then Yugoslavia but is now in a country the Greeks refuse to call Macedonia. The child grew up in what is now the very north of Greece, but is also called Macedonia. The child became a teacher who himself respected the emotive forces of names, the way history reverberates in a few letters, and he spent many years teaching the meaning of that complex, bitterly over fought name: Macedonia. But some people in his country didn't like this, and six months ago the teacher was forced to flee to England, which he could do only by borrowing someone else's name. He believed it would not take him long to get his true name back. […]. But today, your teacher has been told the name Alexander Karagy does not exist, never existed. It seems the name is in no records, nowhere. […]. Let us cry for the name Alexander Karagy (ibid., 196-97).

By losing his name, a name which indeed is the 'reverberation of history in a few letters', Alexander, the proud descendant of Alexander the Great, also loses his Macedonian identity and is thus reduced to a "nonperson" (Matthews and Chung 2008, 6), a homeless exile without history, who does not know where he belongs. As Julie Matthews and Kwangsook Chung state, "mourning and grieving are not about forgetting but about accepting a loss which changes us forever" (ibid., 9). In this respect, it can be argued that Alexander's lament for the loss of his identity is indicative of his acquiescence in his new life in exile, which eventuates in his detachment from his nation, culture and history. As conveyed by Mary Caputi in her reading of Julia Kristeva's book *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia* (1987), identification between a person and a specific culture

develops in the subject "the sense of being at home, of being known by others", and while the presence of such identification enables the subject "to experience cohesion", the absence of it makes him or her "degenerate into a state of melancholia (in which identification and desire have been thwarted)" (1996, 690). Having lost his Macedonian identity and country, with which he once experienced identification, Alexander indeed falls into a state of melancholia in the absence of this identification, and laments his loss in his new identity as a 'nonperson' in a land foreign to him. Yet he knows that as an exile in Britain he must come to terms with his loss of identity and "love and respect his new country" (Wertenbaker 2001, 188) in order to make it his "future home" (Schmitten 2003, 77), so he tries to make the refugee students in the community centre cognizant of this condition, saying: "an exile learns to love and respect his new country. But this will not happen until the exile has lamented his loss" (Wertenbaker 2001, 188).

Like Alexander, the refugee children in the community centre experience an identity crisis, yet while Alexander's suffering is rooted in the loss of his Macedonian identity, the young refugees, Ali, Henry and Anna suffer from identity shifts over which they have no control. Ali comes from Algeria, but he cannot remember his real name as he was renamed, in other words, 'given' a new identity by the authorities representing power, each time he had to change countries. So not knowing 'who' he really is, Ali finds himself in a constant state of *becoming* someone rather than *being* someone. The following speech by Alexander reveals Ali's history:

> Today, we cry for Ali, even though his name is not Ali. Ali came to England two years ago with the name Michel Jeune. That wasn't his name either, but it is easier to get into England with a French name than an Algerian one. When it became clear that Michel Jeune didn't even speak French he was put in a detention centre and there he was called Gene because no one could pronounce Jeune. He was only fourteen so he was sent to a hostel where they called him John and then to school where someone decided he was Michael Young. Now Ali answers to any name, Mike, John, Nigel, Young, Old, Hey, You. We call him Ali because at least Ali is an Algerian name (ibid.).

Unlike Ali, Henry from Eritrea knows his name, but he does not tell his name to anyone, as it reminds him of his national identity and his country, which he associates with the execution of his parents and brother to which he had been a witness –the incident which "paralysed" (ibid., 191) him. Thus they cry for Henry's "frozen memory", hoping that one day "the wound [will] heal" and he "will tell us his secret name" (ibid.). At the end of the play, in the "Epilogue", Henry divulges to us his name as 'Abdillahi Hassan', which suggests a reconciliation with his own national identity. Soon afterwards, Anna announces that they still call him Henry, as "no one can pronounce his real name" (ibid., 238), which implies that his Eritrean identity will not be recognised in his new Western country.

By tackling the issue of national and cultural identity via the stories/histories of the refugees, in *Credible Witness* Wertenbaker not only reveals the flexible and "discontinuous nature of identity" (2008, 13), as Matthews and Chung observe, but also the "kinds of identities […] produced by voluntary or forced displacement" (2008, 2-3). Furthermore, she tries to explore the emotional consequences of losing or changing one's national identity and not knowing where to belong. As an Anglo-American dramatist who herself comes from culturally mixed roots, Wertenbaker states that "in a fluid and rapidly changing world" and at a time when the "world is trying to redefine itself", "the feeling of uncertainty is deeply uncomfortable", and admits that she herself "felt a sense of discomfort" (2001, vii), not knowing where to belong. Hence in the play she asks whether we really know who we are in a "shifting world" (ibid., viii).

In *Credible Witness* while all the refugees, including Alexander Karagy, no longer know which identity to adopt or what their real identities are, Petra Karagy is the only character who does not feel herself caught in a dilemma about her personal and national identity, which results from her strong dependence on her national history. "A superb embodiment of maternal and nationalistic pride" (Billington, "Credible Witness"), Petra Karagy is portrayed as a figure who "hold[s] on to her history as tightly as her handbag", and "Wertenbaker asks: how much does history matter? Might it turn out to be excess baggage?" (Kellaway, "Really Losing the Plot").

Like the community centre, where Alexander finds out about the histories of the 'others' and the similarities between his story and their stories, the detention centre where Petra encounters adult refugees from Sri Lanka, Algeria, and Somalia, functions as a place to awaken her to the realities of a transnational world where it is not only people who circulate but also history and culture (Matthews and Chung 2008, 1). Thus, both the detention centre and the community centre become a "borderland where individual and nation, past history and present situation, oppression and freedom clash, and however imperfect they are, [they] function as places where people meet and experience healing and change" (ibid.). Like Alexander, Petra, who is obsessed with her national history, undergoes a transformation in her views of history and national identity as a result of her experience in the detention centre, where "different 'histories' are locked together", eventually revealing through the "exchange of different histories" that history "shifts" (Aston 2003, 11).

When Petra first appears on stage, in her encounter with the immigration officer at Heathrow Airport, she proudly introduces herself as the descendant of Alexander the Great. Nevertheless, in her first direct contact with a foreigner in a foreign land, she bitterly discovers that the glorious Macedonian king who conquered lands and established a mighty empire means little to people who are not part of this ancient history. What is more, even his name and identity are different in this country: to the immigrant officer, he is an Indian god named "Sikander the Great, Sikandra Basha" (Wertenbaker 2001, 186), and to the Algerian refugee who claims that he knows Alexander the Great, he is "Al Skender al Adeen. Alexandria" (ibid., 192). In her confrontation with the officials at the airport and later at the detention centre, Petra discovers that they have not even heard of Macedonia, which she regards as a kind of insult to her nation, and upbraids the immigration officer: "You have disappeared my son and now you try to disappear my country. I do not believe you do not know Macedonia" (ibid., 187).

Since Petra comes from Macedonia in Northern Greece but is English and Bulgarian by descent, even her roots are not purely Macedonian. Yet proud that she married a "pure Macedonian" (ibid., 222), she insists on defining herself as a Macedonian while regarding her English ancestor, her great-grandfather, only as a "fertiliser" (ibid., 223). According to the immigration officer at the detention centre, however, Petra Karagy is of Greek nationality, since he sees her home country as part of Greece, to which Petra immediately reacts: "We call it Macedonia, Mr England. [...]. It is now inside the Greek border. When I was born, it was inside the Bulgarian border, its history is Macedonian" (ibid., 198). Thus, she implies that *this* (ital. my own) history determines the national identity of its people as Macedonian. Hence, in *Credible Witness* the issue of national identity, which, in Elsie's words, "always has the capacity to provoke argument and debate, especially perhaps among peoples who share many similarities yet who are divided by political boundaries" (ibid., 1), becomes another major theme. In Petra's endeavour to make the immigration officer recognise her Macedonian identity, Wertenbaker displays how a nation's identity can change depending on a shift in geographical borders determined by political strategies, which later become one nation's history. By drawing the readers' attention to the shift in history,

Wertenbaker conveys the idea that there cannot be a single reading of history in a fluid world where boundaries keep changing.

When Petra meets the Algerian refugee Aziz in the detention centre, the playwright once again brings this issue into the debate. Irritated by Petra's obsession with her national history, Aziz rebels: "You think you're the only one with history? My grandmother died planting a bomb against the French. […]. French history says it's my grandmother's fault and English history says Algerian history doesn't exist" (ibid., 206-07). By disclosing in Aziz's protest the postmodern view that history is a plural narrative and that "there are many competing histories" (quoted in Phillips 1998, 41), Wertenbaker draws our attention to the plurality and subjectivity of history. Indeed, a word which derives from the Greek words 'historein', meaning 'to narrate', and 'histor' which means 'to judge', as observed in Schmitten's research (2003, 107), history is defined as "a chronological record of events, as of the life or development of a people or institution, often including an *explanation* of or *commentary* [ital. my own] on those events" (*Free Online Dictionary*, under "1.a"). When Aziz attracts Petra's attention to the ambiguity in historical knowledge by emphasising that the historical event in which his grandmother was involved has different interpretations in French, Algerian and English history (the last even denies the existence of Algerian history), he verifies the idea that the past is open to many different interpretations which can never be objective, and that each nation has its own truth about the past; as a result, it can be argued that there are "no reliable criteria for assessing which of two opposing historical interpretation of past events is correct" (Evans 2008, "The Postmodernist"). This leads us to question the certainty and reliability of history, and in *Credible Witness* Wertenbaker upholds the postmodern view that history creates diversity and multiplicity of knowledge, leading to total indeterminacy, and that there is no ultimate definition or interpretation of history.

The climax of the play, which is the moment when Petra Karagy and her son Alexander meet each other at the detention centre after an enforced separation of three years, is the scene where the dramatist renders how our understanding of history undergoes a change. As Michael Billington observes, in this scene full of recriminations, Petra and Alexander meet in a "confrontation of irreconcilable attitudes: the one embodies an intransigent Macedonian nationalism, the other the necessary assimilation of exile" ("Credible Witness"). When Petra eventually discovers that her son, whom she brought up to be a nationalist and who "insisted he would teach [their] true history to all Macedonian children" (ibid., 220), has not only imbibed his new country but also lost his belief in the weight of history, she feels her greatest disappointment. In his confrontation with his mother, Alexander reveals that he no longer believes that it is worth devoting one's life to history: "I came here puffed with my history, Mamou, do you know what I found? Everyone who comes here has a rich and bloody history on their shoulders. [...] in England […] they don't even use the word history, they call it heritage" (Wertenbaker 2001, 220) he asserts. Blaming his mother for having raised him with patriotic stories of violence, he makes a confession: "[Y]ou put me to bed with stories of Macedonian heroism. You sang me lullabies of blood and hatred. […]. Sometimes, from here, it looks like madness this obsession with Macedonia" (ibid., 221). Shocked by the change in his feelings about their Macedonian history, Petra reacts: "You're nothing without your history. […]. What kind of a life is there when you're a nobody, without a past, without a name, without a heart […]. We have nothing to do with this country –we are not part of its history. You're nobody here. Nobody" (ibid., 222-24), to which Alexander replies in a melancholic state: "What was I before? A link in the chain of a bloody history" (ibid., 224). Seeing that her son has already detached himself from his national, cultural and historical background and that he rejects the country that once nurtured him, Petra immediately reacts, regarding this as her son's betrayal of his own country and nation, in other words, his roots, so she disowns him.

Analysing Julia Kristeva and Vamik Volkan's psychoanalytic reading of national identity in her article "National Identity in Contemporary Theory" (1996), Mary Caputi concludes that "national identity, apparently bound up with solely ideological and geopolitical issues, in fact emanates from the psychotic dynamics of splitting begun in childhood" (1996, 691). Quoting from Kristeva, she further states that "national pride is comparable, from a psychological standpoint, to the *good narcissistic image* that the child gets from its mother and proceeds, through the intersecting play of identification demands emanating from both parents, to elaborate into an ego ideal" (quoted in Caputi 1996, 687). According to Kristeva then, national pride can be equated with the good narcissistic image, which is associated with the mother. Correspondingly, refusal of the good narcissistic image in the process of 'splitting', which is examined in detail in Volkan's analysis of this process, means the rejection of the mother, which according to this theory developed by Kristeva, is equal to the disavowal of one's national pride. Consequently, it can be argued that in this scene of confrontation between the mother and son, Petra's instant decision to disown her son largely results from her sense of having been betrayed as a mother, rather than from her nationalistic feelings.

However, soon after rejecting her son, Petra comes to realise that her maternal love for her son is above her national pride. Revealing that her own understanding of nationality and history, too, will undergo a change similar to Alexander's, she asks regretfully: "I cursed my only son because he would not stay inside his history, but what is Macedonia to me without my son?" (Wertenbaker 2001, 226). Indeed, in the last scene of the play, it is Petra –the only character with nationalist pride and a belief in history–that voices Wertenbaker's postmodern view of history. Addressing the English immigration officer Simon Le Britten, whose name symbolically "represent[s] the British nation in a language that records the medieval invasion and redirection of British national and linguistic identity by the Normans" (Freeman 2007, 137), Petra concludes: "History shifts, we can't hold it. Simon, when we turn to you, don't cover your eyes and think of the kings and queens of England. Look at us: we are your history now", and the scene comes to an end with Simon "*keep[ing] hold of her hand*" (Wertenbaker 2001, 236), suggesting their reconciliation and hope for a multicultural future predicated on mutual tolerance and understanding.

At the end of the play, through the words of a border-crossing child, Wertenbaker voices in the "Epilogue" her call for a new understanding - "a new theory" (Wertenbaker 2002, 22) - of history that would lead not to discrimination or othering among nations, but would cover the history of the whole human race, eliminating racial and national prejudices. In this scene, the Bosnian girl Anna, one of Alexander's pupils in the community centre, who has also had to exist in an identity 'given' to her as a refugee child, but who is proud of her excellent knowledge of English history, appears on stage. Promoting the idea of "universal history" (quoted in Kohl 1998, 237), she addresses the audience: "When the Serbs came to our village, we all froze. Hysterical paralysis. What makes people freeze at certain moments of history? Hysterical paralysis? Historical paralysis? If we understand it, can we prevent it? You understand what I'm looking for? Not this country's history, or the one I came from, but the common mechanism" (Wertenbaker 2001, 237).

3. Conclusion

As a concluding remark, it can be stated that in the discussion of her major themes in *Credible Witness* Wertenbaker upholds a cosmopolitan view, which requires "a broad understanding of other cultures and customs, and a belief in universal humanity" (Anderson 1998, 267). In the play, she not only questions the relationship between history, nationality and identity and what each of these concepts means for the individual and society in a transnational world, but she also promotes

an understanding of national identity that is based on "tolerance and acceptance of difference" (Caputi 1996, 688), and a new, and perhaps a 'utopian', understanding of history. This would be a history free from ethnocentrism and national prejudices –one that would embrace all humanity, showing respect for difference and all national, cultural and ethnic identities. On the whole, inviting the reader/audience to approach and see the concepts of history, identity and nationality from such a cosmopolitan perspective, Wertenbaker in *Credible Witness* voices the message that, in our new century, we should have the courage to 'dance with history' –a message which she repeated at her talk in Brussels a year after *Credible Witness* was staged at the Royal Court:

You can keep the history you come from, you can adopt another, you can have none. You can, in other words, choose your dancing partner, you don't have to wait, to be asked for a dance. You can find your partner, you can dance parallel, you can keep changing and dance with several partners. […]. [S]o, let's dance with history (2002, 22).

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ELOPE

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Aspects of Evil in Traditional Murder Ballads

Summary

Traditional, or folk, ballads deal with common themes, often "leaping" over some details of plot and character while "lingering" on others, with the result that songs passed down orally through generations often appear in many variants. This paper will examine several songs from Martin Simpson's 1976 debut album, *Golden Vanity*. I will trace their historical origins and argue that even some ancient ballads still speak to audiences today.

Key words: ballad, music, song lyrics, *Golden Vanity*, Martin Simpson

Podobe zla v tradicionalnih baladah o umorih

Povzetek

Tradicionalne ali ljudske balade obravnavajo splošne teme in pri tem pogosto »preskočijo« nekatere podrobnosti o fabuli in osebah, ali pa se »zadržujejo« pri drugih; pesmi, ki se z ene na drugo generacijo prenašajo z ustnim izročilom, imajo tako pogosto več različnih verzij. Prispevek obravnava več pesmi z debitantskega albuma Martina Simpsona z naslovom *Golden Vanity* iz leta 1976. V prispevku predstavim njihov izvor in dokazujem, da so celo nekatere stare balade za poslušalce aktualne še danes.

Ključne besede: balade, glasba, besedila pesmi, *Golden Vanity*, Martin Simpson

Aspects of Evil in Traditional Murder Ballads

1. Introduction

Most pop music is made for the commercial market, and its protest is superficial. Any way the wind blows, it doesn't really matter, as long as it sells; performers today praise the regime they opposed yesterday (Velikonja 2013, 5). In contrast, protest in traditional folk music is more consistent, and part of what makes that consistency possible is lack of specificity. Characters and settings come and go, but it is the human reaction to situations in songs that makes them universal. Folk music has historically incorporated stories of injustice and crime, and throughout its history, folk artists such as Pete Seeger and Joan Baez have protested against prevailing political and social beliefs and institutions, risking prosecution and imprisonment rather than betray their beliefs and artistic integrity.[1]

The many recordings of traditional and folk songs attest to their enduring appeal. David Atkinson writes about the appeal of traditional music to modern audiences and points out that the Child collection, compiled at the end of the nineteenth century, formed a canon for both British and American singers (Atkinson 2001, 370).[2] Like traditional or folk music, popular song lyrics address the prevailing issues of their time, and although some of them are sincere and often trenchant criticisms of social and political situations, such as Stephen Stills' "For What It's Worth" (1966) and Neil Young's "Ohio" (1970), when the situation passes, the song loses its widespread appeal.[3] On the other hand, protest songs with a less specific message, such as Woodie Guthrie's "This Land is Your Land" (1940) and Bob Dylan's "Blowing in the Wind" (1962) have passed into folklore tradition. As Atkinson writes, "part of the aesthetic value of the ballads probably always lay in their combination of intense human emotion with a conscious distancing from everyday experience (Atkinson 2001, 373). In an essay on ideology and culture, Natalia Kaloh Vid argues that when certain aspects of a particular message are universal, those are the aspects that are translated into different languages and adopted by different cultures, while culture-specific ideological messages are often deleted or modified (Kaloh Vid 2014). For example, "The Skye Boat Song" (1884), a ballad lamenting the defeat and exile of Bonnie Prince Charlie, is still popular in Scotland, but not well known outside the country except, as Josephine Dougal points out, among expatriates (Dougal 2011, 293).[4]

2. The Ballads of *Golden Vanity*

An excellent example of traditional music updated for modern audiences is Martin Simpson's 1976 debut album, *Golden Vanity*. *Golden Vanity* invites a mixed reaction from its listeners. Although it was a commercial release, and Simpson has become a major international performer, his debut album was released on a small label and is now difficult to find. Throughout his career, Simpson has continued to perform and record traditional music, and he has built a reputation as a virtuoso

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[1]   Seeger refused to plead the Fifth Amendment at the McCarthy anti-communist hearings and was indicted for contempt of Congress in 1957. In 1961, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison, but the sentence was overturned in 1962. Baez was imprisoned several times for protesting against the Vietnam War.

[2]   David Evans has written on the American folklore revival (Evans 1979).

[3]   "Ohio" tells the story of the fatal shooting of four university students at Kent State University by the National Guard on May 4, 1970. The soldiers fired into a crowd of unarmed students who were protesting against the Vietnam War.

[4]   "The Skye Boat Song" describes the loss of the Battle of Culloden in 1746 by the Scottish highlanders under Bonnie Prince Charlie, the last of Scotland's Stuart kings, to the English forces under the Duke of Cumberland.

on guitar and banjo; this album focuses much more on the instrumental accompaniment than the work of most folk revival artists.[5] *Golden Vanity* is a collection of dark ballads of injustice, betrayal, murder, revenge, and punishment.[6] The songs contain a certain thematic unity, with stories of hard work or heroism by members of the lower class rewarded by betrayal and murder by those in authority over them. The horror of the stories is brought into even sharper focus by the beauty of Simpson's guitar accompaniment. In "Golden Vanity", the title track, a cabin boy is betrayed by his captain and sacrifices himself for the good of his shipmates, showing a more Christ-like compassion than the young Jesus of "Bitter Withy" who abuses his divine powers by first avenging himself for the insults of three young lords by luring them to their deaths, and then for his punishment by cursing the withy (willow) tree. The main character in "Beaulampkin" is driven to take revenge on his grasping landlord by murdering the landlord's wife, knowing it will lead to his own execution; in "Pretty Polly," Polly is murdered by her lover, and the title character in "George Campbell" is murdered by a stranger for no reason at all. In "Louisiana 1927," the President of the United States stands idly by and watches as his people suffer from the effects of a disastrous flood. In this collection we can see how folk songs operate as an outlet for dissatisfaction with life, and perhaps as a catalyst for social change; also, as John Niles points out, there is an element of the tabloid fascination with the gruesome and the grotesque (Niles 1977, 49).

The title song, "Golden Vanity," Child 286 (Child 1892-1898), is a traditional English folk song that tells a story of heroism and betrayal. In different versions of the song, a sailing ship named *Sweet Trinity* or *Golden Vanity* or *Golden Willow Tree* is threatened by French, Turkish, Spanish or (in American variants) British pirates.[7] In some variants, the captain is identified as Sir Walter Raleigh.[8] In every version, however, the common themes are heroism, betrayal, and the loneliness of life at sea, and the basic story is the same. The ship is threatened, a cabin boy offers to sink the attackers, and the captain promises him a reward. The boy swims to the enemy ship, bores holes in its hull, and sinks it, but when he returns to his own ship, the captain refuses to take him up.

In Simpson's version, the *Golden Vanity* is an English sailing ship attacked by a Turkish galley. The cabin boy, encouraged by the captain's promise of a reward of ten thousand pounds and his daughter's hand in marriage, swims to the galley and sinks it by drilling holes in the hull below the waterline. On his return, however, the captain refuses to pull him from the water and he drowns, but not before telling the captain,

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5   In this respect, Simpson is following in the tradition of Bert Jansch and John Renbourne.

6   The only song on the album without a dark theme of abuse of power, other than several interspersed upbeat instrumentals, which provide an ironic contest to the dark ballads, is Simpson's arrangement of Bob Dylan's "Love Minus Zero/No Limit," a brooding and melancholy love song.

7   The Carter Family recorded the song in 1935 with the title "Sinking in the Lonesome Sea"; The Almanac Singers on *Deep Sea Chanteys and Whaling Ballads* (1941); Aaron Copland included an arrangement entitled "The Golden Willow Tree" on *Old American Songs* in 1952; A.L. Lloyd on *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, Volume III* in 1956; Lonnie Donegan as "The Golden Vanity" in 1960; the Brothers Four as "The Gallant Argosy", also in 1960; The New Lost City Ramblers in 1963; The Chad Mitchell Trio in 1964; Boudewijn de Groot as "Noordzee" in 1965; in 1966 Benjamin Britten arranged the song (opus 78) for boys' voices and piano; Gordon Bok, Ann Mayo Muir, and Ed Trickett in 1978; Bruce Hubbard recorded it as "The Golden Willow Tree" in 1989; Peter, Paul and Mary as "The Golden Vanity" in 1992; Bob Dylan on *Golden Vanity* (recordings made 1988 - 1992); Steeleye Span in 1995; The Friends of Fiddler's Green in 1997; John Roberts recorded a version entitled "The Weeping Willow Tree" in 2003; June Carter Cash as "Sinking in the Lonesome Sea" in 2003; Loudon Wainwright III as "Turkish Revelry" in 2006; and Crooked Still as "The Golden Vanity" in 2009 and again in 2011.

8   Charles Firth notes that several ballads were written about the political downfall of Sir Walter Raleigh during the reign of King James I, but that this one first appeared in broadside in 1682 (Firth 1911, 41).

If it wasn't for the love that I hold unto your men
I would do unto you as I did unto them
And sink you in the low and lonesome low
Sink you in the lonesome sea.

The heroism and restraint of the cabin boy are in stark contrast with the avarice and lies of the captain. The repeated refrain, "in the lonesome low," emphasizes the isolation of life on a ship at sea, where the men are at the mercy of those in authority over them. Like many folk songs, the theme here is the betrayal of trust by those in positions of power. Simpson's arrangement, consisting of acoustic guitar and harmonica, is noticeably slower than that of most other versions, so that the song clocks in at ten and a half minutes, giving the words plenty of time to sink in.

The third song on the album, "Bitter Withy" (Sharp 2, 1911), describes an episode from Jesus' childhood that shows him in an unusual and humanly flawed light.[9] In common with the other songs on the album, there is an instance of social injustice; three young lords use their social superiority to insult young Jesus, who takes his revenge by luring them to their deaths by drowning. The scene begins with a typical playground argument. Jesus goes out to play, meets the three boys and asks, "Which of you three rich young men/Will play at ball with me?" Conscious of their social superiority, the boys reply

We are lords' and ladies' sons.
Born in a bower and hall;
And you are nothing but a Jew's child,
Born in an oxen stall[10]

Stung by the insult, Jesus turns the tables on them and replies, in true playground fashion, by repeating the insult, then makes His own claim for superior status:

Now you may be lords' and ladies' sons,
Born in your bower and hall,
But I'll prove to you in the latter end;
I'm an angel above you all

To complete His revenge, He takes the altercation one step further, following his words with a miracle:

And He built Him a bridge with the beams of the sun,
And over the river ran He.
And these young lords run after Him,
And drowned they were all three.

The playground game of dare turns deadly. The irony is double: the social order is trumped by divine order, so that the everyday state of things is inverted; however, in his juvenile reaction to the boys' taunts, Jesus claims superiority over the lords, but acts in an un-angelic way. According

9   Reed notes that "Bitter Withy" was printed in the sixteenth century (Reed 1932).
10   Instead of the adjective "poor maid's" used in some variants, Simpson restores the racial slur "jew's", a common variant in some early versions.

to Tillyard and Lovejoy, in the medieval world view, angels possessed reason, love and imagination but lacked the physical passions of humans and lower animals (Lovejoy 1936, Tillyard 1943). Jesus is shown here in an entirely human light, with all the fears and emotions of an ordinary child. Unlike the traditional, perfect role model offered by church and state, this Jesus is a common man for common people. As Mark Booth points out, "the song has clear class prejudices, offering its audience indulgence in a fantasy of revenge upon snobs" (Booth 1978, 374).

Ironically, the mothers of the boys call on Jesus's mother for justice:

> Mary mild brought home her child
> And laid Him across her knee
> And with a bundle of withy twigs
> She give Him thrashes three.

Unlike the female characters in most other ballads, who tend to be victims, Mary holds a position of power, albeit over a child, no matter how special He is. Mary, too, is shown in an unusually human light in the song's lyrics. In typical English vernacular, she warns her son to behave Himself before letting Him go out to play:

> At ball! at ball! me own dear Son!
> It's time that you were gone;
> And don't let me hear of any doings
> Tonight when you come home.

Beaten by His mother with the withy for abusing his powers, Jesus takes his revenge once more, this time on the withy tree:

> An' it's Withy! Oh, withy!
> Oh bitter withy that causes me to smart,
> The withy shall be the very first tree
> To perish at the heart!"

The legend of the willow, or withy, tree that is rotten on the inside is a common one in folk songs and ballads (Gardner-Medwin 1991, 237).[11] The central metaphor of the ballad, the tree rotten at the heart that represents the core of evil deep within the human heart, points to both Christian and pre-Christian lore. The curse upon the withy tree is similar to Jesus's curse on the fig tree in Mark 11: 12-25 (Carroll and Prickett 1997). The bridge made of sunbeams recalls the rainbow from the story of Noah's Ark. The magical challenge to cross it is similar to the paradoxes in many medieval and Anglo-Saxon songs and riddle poems such as "I Syng of a Mayden" and "I Have a Yong Suster".[12] Booth argues that the revenge theme is a very old one: "this boy Jesus is a pre-Christian Jesus, a pre-adult and a pre-social trickster" (Booth 1978, 376).

A variant of the ballad appears in "The Holy Well" (Quiller-Crouch 1910), which tells the same story until the point that the three young lords insult Jesus. In "The Holy Well," however, Jesus runs home to tell his mother, who counsels him to take revenge, but Jesus refuses, saying

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[11] It is still current in fantasy stories, such as the evil Old Man Willow in Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* (1954) and The Whomping Willow in *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (1998).

[12] MS Sloane 2593. c. 1430.

Nay, nay, sweet Jesus said,

Nay, nay, that may not be,

For there are too many sinful souls,

Crying out for the help of me

William J. Titland points out that early printed versions of "The Holy Well" are more common than "The Bitter Withy," which was first discovered in 1905, which he explains by the unflattering picture it paints of Jesus committing murder and cursing a tree (Titland 1967, 69). Titland surmises that "The Bitter Withy" may have been the "underground" version of the more official "The Holy Well."[13] Booth, on the other hand, argues that "The Bitter Withy" may predate "The Holy Well", which could be an attempt to "salvage" the unflattering portrayal of the Saviour in the former. Janet Graves points out that the fragmentation and divergence of the different variants of the ballad attest to its age, as versions of the story have been found in manuscripts from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries (Graves 1967, 16). In Graves's view, the two versions of the ballad are likely fragments of a longer medieval apocryphal legend similar to the fifteenth-century poem "The Childhood of Jesus", British Library MS Addit. 31042.

The first song on *Golden Vanity*, "Beaulampkin,"[14] (Roud 6; Child 93) tells the story of the murder of a woman and her infant son by a mason who "built a fine castle, and pay he got none." Versions of the ballad originated in Scotland, England and the United States.[15] Variants on the killer's name include "Lambkin," "Lambert," "Lamkin," "Lankyn," "Lincoln, "Lonkin," "Limkin," "Linkin," "Lammikin," "Rankin" and "Balankin," and he is variously described as "Long," "Bold," "Cruel," and "False." Most of the Scots and Northern English versions introduce the story with the background of non-payment for work done, but some omit this detail and present the killer as a deranged madman, radically changing the song and its theme from a revenge tragedy to a gothic horror story.

Before leaving for England,[16] the lord warns his wife against Beaulampkin:

Said the landlord to the lady when I am from home,

'You beware of Beaulampkin lest he catch you alone.'

And said the lady to the landlord 'You need not fear him,

Our doors are all bolted, our windows are barred in.'

Her hubris is matched by her naiveté; since Beaulampkin built the castle, he would know how to find a way in. However, it turns out that he has no need to break in; he has an accomplice and the crime is an inside job. A "false nurse" lets Beaulampkin into the house and says to him, "the lady,

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13   "Bitter Withy" may be the more appropriate version for our time: "Jesus is 'returning with a gun' say former US General" The independant, Thursday 20 February 2014 (Krishnan 2014).

14   The song was recorded as "Cruel Lincoln" by Ben Butcher in 1955; as "Bo Lamkin" by Frank Proffitt in 1962; as "Long Lankin" by Martin Carthy in 1968; as "Long Lonkin" by The High Level Ranters in 1973; as "Long Lankin" by Steeleye Span in 1975; as "Lamkin" by Dave Burland and Nic Jones in 1979; as "Long Lankin" by Fire + Ice in 1992; as "Long Lankin" by The Devil's Interval in 2006; as "Long Lankin" by Jim Moray in 2010. Fleur de Bray wrote a short opera entitled *Long Lankin* in 2013. De Bray's version emphasizes that the Lady and the baby are innocent victims, targets of opportunity for the vengeful mason who is unable to reach the powerful lord.

15   Gilchrist enumerated 40 variants in (Gilchrist 1932).

16   The line "He's gone to Merry England for to visit his son" hints that this is a Scottish or Irish version of the story, raising the absentee landlord issue.

she is upstairs, how shall we get her down?" He replies, "we'll stick her little baby full of needles and pins," which they do, until "the tears and the red blood from the cradle did run." The lady, confronted by Beaulampkin and facing death, tries to bargain with him:

> 'Oh spare me Beaulampkins, Oh spare me a day
> And you shall have as much gold as your horse can take away
> Oh spare me Beaulampkins, Oh spare me an hour
> And you may have my daughter Betsey and my own blooming flower'

but to no avail. He replies, "You can keep your daughter Betsey for to wade in the flood/now hold this silver basin for to catch your heart's blood."[17] Punishment is swift: "Now Beaulampkins he's hanged on the gallows so high/The false nurse being burned to a stake standing by." The ballad in its long form is a comment on greedy absentee landlords and tenant rebellion, a pattern common throughout the history of British folk music. The gruesome, grotesque and sadistic acts of violence evoke a picture of relentless class warfare, and as in "George Campbell," the jaunty, frailing guitar provides an ironic accompaniment to the lyrics that, in its incongruity, emphasizes the horror.[18] At first we have some sympathy for Beaulampkin, cheated as he was, but his revenge is out of all proportion to the wrong.[19] Our initial feeling of sympathy turns to repulsion, coupled with a fascinated attraction, much like that felt by viewers of Greek or Shakespearean tragedy, or modern television series like *Dexter* or *Breaking Bad*, when the hard-pressed protagonist wreaks violent revenge of epic proportions (Lindsay 2004, Gilligan 2008). Niles notes that Beaulampkin's revenge is out of proportion to the wrong, and speculates that over its long history, some explanatory lines or verses have been lost. His explanation is that Lambkin must be the devil (Niles 1977, 59).

"Pretty Polly" is another traditional murder ballad, known in variants such as "The Gosport Tragedy" and "The Cruel Ship's Carpenter" (Laws 36B, 1957; Roud 15). The song tells of a young woman lured by her lover into the forest, where she is killed and buried in a shallow grave.[20] In some variants of the story, the murderer is a ship's carpenter who promises to marry Polly but murders her when she becomes pregnant. When he goes back to sea, he is haunted by her ghost, confesses to the murder, goes mad and dies.[21] In a song entitled "Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight," described by Barry and Mackenzie, the story is similar, but the lady turns the tables on her would-be murderer (Barry 1905, Mackenzie 1910). In Simpson's version, Willie is a gambler with no apparent motive for murdering Polly, since pregnancy is not mentioned. He lures her away with a promise, "Polly, Pretty Polly, won't you come and go with me/And before we get married some pleasure we'll see," but soon they "Rode on a little further and what did they spy/But a newly dug grave and a spade lying by." We find out that the murder was premeditated when he says "I dug on your grave the best part of last night," and the song ends with "A debt unto the devil our Willie he

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[17] Gilchrist explains the detail of the silver basin by pointing out the old superstition against shedding noble blood: (Gilchrist 1932, 13-14); in Beaulampkin's twisted logic, the crime of spilling noble blood may be averted by catching it.

[18] Frailing is a technique developed by banjo players, adapted to guitar, of alternating a downstroke with the thumb and an upstroke with the first finger on one or more strings, allowing a full, even busy, accompaniment by one player that sounds like more than one instrument playing.

[19] Different versions and interpretations raise the suspicion that there may have been an affair between the lady and the labourer, providing a motive for both the lady's complacency and Beaulampkin's rage.

[20] Field found fifty songs with a similar theme (Field 1951).

[21] Recorded versions include those by B.F. Shelton (1927), Dock Boggs (1927), Woody Guthrie's "Pastures of Plenty" (1941), Bob Dylan's "The Ballad of Hollis Brown" (1964), Bert Jansch (1966), and Judy Collins (1968).

must pay/For killing Pretty Polly and running away." Willie's only apparent motive for murdering Polly is that he wanted to seduce her, lied about marriage, then disposed of her when he was done. The apparent senselessness of the killing can be explained only by the mention of the fact that he is a gambler, a shorthand way of establishing his bad character from the beginning.

Rounding out Simpson's collection of traditional murder ballads is "George Campbell," an American variant of the Scots ballad "Bonnie George Campbell" (Child 210). The original Scots ballad tells of a man who goes off to fight in battle, from which only his horse returns. The name differs across variants; several sources have been suggested as inspiration for the ballad: Archibald or James Campbell killed, in the Battle of Glenlivet (October 3rd, 1594), or Sir John Campbell of Calder, who was murdered in 1591.[22] His bride comes out, grieving for the fact that the crops in the fields are still growing and the harvest will soon be ready, but he will never return. In some variants, his mother or sisters also come out when his horse returns.[23]

In Simpson's version, George Campbell is an American farmer in Texas:

> George Campbell lived in Texas with his mother and his wife
> Two little children they make a hard, hard life
>
> George Campbell left his mother likewise his darling wife
> For to go to Austin make him a better life
>
> George Campbell went a-walking down by the river side
> And there he met a rounder who shot him till he died

Unlike the other murder ballads, which have a traditional mood created by the acoustic accompaniment, for this one Simpson uses an upbeat accompaniment of guitar, electric bass and harmonica to give the song a more modern, American feel, and to provide an ironic contrast between the words and music. Simpson took a traditional Scottish ballad based on an old story of a man lost in battle and set it in the wild American west; the result is a story of an act of senseless violence that leaves a family bereft, and as in "Pretty Polly," the fact that there is no apparent reason for the murder makes it more chilling.[24] As in "Pretty Polly" the only reason we can deduce for the murder is that the killer is a bad character from his description as a "rounder". In these folk songs, description of character and motive is pared away to a minimum. Why people do the things they

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[22]   Although the date of the events that inspired the ballad may be in the 16th century, the song we have is probably much later; Louise Pound dated it as 18th century (Pound 1932). As we have seen with the other ballads, variants occur across time and space as the songs are adapted by generation and region.

[23]   This ballad "is probably a lament for one of the adherents of the house of Argyle who fell in the battle of Glenlivet, stricken on Thursday, the third day of October, 1594" (Motherwell 1846, 44). The Earl of Argyle lost in this battle his two cousins, Archibald and James Campbell (Gordon 1813, 229). On the other hand, "there can be little doubt" that the ballad refers to the murder of Sir John Campbell of Calder by one of his own surname, in 1591, and alters the title accordingly to Bonnie John Campbell (Maidment 1868, 240). "But Campbells enow were killed, in battle or feud, before and after 1590, to forbid a guess as to an individual James or George grounded upon the slight data afforded by the ballad" (Child 1898, 142). "The easy lilt of the waltz tune, instead of detracting from the grimness of the story, seems to add to it. It should be sung fairly impersonally" (Norman Buchan, *Weekly Scotsman*, Dec 4, 1958).

[24]   In more commercial cowboy ballads, such as Marty Robbins' "Billy the Kid" and "El Paso" (1959) the murders are the result of emotions of revenge and jealousy.

do is intrinsic to who they are. Characters are classified as belonging to broad types; the gambler and the rounder are evil, while the innocent young girl and the hard-working family man are inevitably victims of the predators all around. For working-class people, life is hard, and fortune inexplicable and unpredictable.

> Who'll rock the cradle who'll sing the song
>
> Who'll rock the cradle who'll sing the song
>
> Who'll rock the cradle and sing it when I'm gone
>
> Who'll plant the cotton, who'll hoe the corn?

For listeners familiar with older versions of the song, removing the context from Scottish dynastic wars to the struggle for survival of settlers in the American West emphasizes the frailty of human life and the senselessness of murder at any place or time.

The last song on the album is a departure from the genre of traditional ballads. Randy Newman's "Louisiana 1927" tells the story of a severe flood and the inability of the President of the United States to deal with it. The song ends with the verse,

> President Coolidge came down in a railroad train
>
> With a little fat man with a note-pad in his hand
>
> The President say, "Little fat man isn't it a shame what the river has done
>
> To this poor cracker's land."

In contrast to the other songs on *Golden Vanity*, this modern ballad gives specific details of time and place and identifies the President by name. Unlike the folk ballads, there is no feeling of malevolence or supernatural explanations for evil. As Peter Winkler notes, "Newman's lyrics tend to be simple in vocabulary, terse, and elliptical: what is left unsaid is often more important than what is said. And irony is his most characteristic mode" (Winkler 1988, 2). The magnitude of what has been left unsaid, and the focus on the small details, is an excellent example of the traditional ballad technique of "leaping and lingering", leaping over the well-known historical facts and lingering on the personal touches that humanize the story (Campbell 1961). Like the omission of characterization and motive in the murder ballads, this allows the listener to draw his or her own conclusion. Paralyzed by a laissez-faire capitalist philosophy that values money over people's lives, the President and the little fat man choose to stand by and watch as the people suffer. In 1927, before the Great Crash of 1929, there was plenty of money in America that could have been used for disaster relief. Newman's lyrics are an indictment not only of the selfish philosophy of the Jazz Age, but of those in power in America in the 1970s who were prepared to let the same thing happen again.[25] The motif of disdain for the poor is a constant throughout American history and culture. Bruce Boyd Raeburn wrote thirty years later,

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[25]   Another of the songs on Newman's album *Good Ole Boys* is entitled "Mr. President, (Have Pity on the Working Man)"; it includes the lines

Maybe you're cheatin'
Maybe you're lyin'
Maybe you have lost your mind
Maybe you're only thinking 'bout yourself

Too late to run. Too late to cry now
The time has come for us to say good-bye now

There has been a lot of post-Katrina talk about making Randy Newman's satirical ballad on the flooding of the Mississippi River, "Louisiana 1927," the new state song, and my title is taken from its refrain. "They're Tryin' to Wash Us Away" sums up the state of mind of many New Orleans residents these days, especially musicians. Those hard feelings are related to slow government relief efforts, statements by self-appointed pundits that the city does not "deserve" to be rebuilt, perceptions of racism tied to mismanagement of resources before and after the storm, and accusations that the city's levee systems were so faulty that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is looking into possible corruption in their design, construction, and maintenance. (Raeburn 1997, 812)

Raeburn contends that, more than mere neglect, there is an active attempt by America's leaders to eliminate poor, black people in the American South. By the end of the song, its first line, "What has happened down here is the wind have changed," has taken on a double meaning; initially, the wind brought on the storm and flood, but Newman's satire shows the need for a change of heart.

Simpson's choice of folk and modern ballads for *Golden Vanity* makes the album less a folk revival album, as described by Atkinson (Atkinson 2001, 370), than a postmodern pastiche of old and new, with a common theme running throughout the songs of the struggle of ordinary people against the corrupting effects of power. Each song shows a different facet of this struggle, from the point of view of the innocent victims in "Pretty Polly" to the wider circle of people affected by the crime in "George Campbell." The motive for murder is obliquely shown in "Beaulampkin," where the listener is torn between horror at the crime and some sympathy for and identification with the wronged stonemason. We are also invited to identify with the temptation and transgression of the young Jesus in "Bitter Withy" as he responds to the cruel taunts of the other children. "Bitter Withy" is the only ballad in the collection that contains any sign of the supernatural, when Jesus builds his bridge and later curses the withy tree, but these are incidental to the main theme of the song, which is that even Jesus was a victim of petty human emotions of vanity, class-consciousness, and spite.[26] When the paragon of Christian virtue is shown to have the same base human motives and reactions as the rest of us, we are forced to face the real horror of the human condition. Finally, we are able to understand the sacrifice of the cabin boy in "Golden Vanity" when he chooses not to take revenge on his vile captain because of his feelings of fellowship and brotherhood with his shipmates. *Golden Vanity* shows us the full range of human responses to crime and injustice, both strength and weakness, a composite picture from both sides.

3. Conclusion

Music and songs have always been able to express the high and low points of culture, of the best and worst of human nature. A.O. Scott, in his *New York Times* review of Roman Polanski's film *The Pianist* (Polanski 2002), wrote

I thought Szpilman's encounter, in the war's last days, with a music-loving Nazi officer (Thomas Kretschmann) courted sentimentality by associating the love of art with moral decency, an equation the Nazis themselves, steeped in Beethoven and Wagner, definitively refuted. But on a second viewing, the scene, scored to the ravishing, sorrowful music of Chopin, was a painful and ridiculous testament to just how bizarre the European catastrophe of the last century was. (Scott 2002)

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[26] Kaloh Vid points out an interesting parallel, in that Russian folklore also deals far more often with petty, banal demons, rather than the personification of evil present in official religion and art (Kaloh Vid 2013, 124).

The evil in "Louisiana, 1927" lies in the banality of Coolidge's response to the disaster, recalling Hannah Arendt's characterization of the nature of the evil behind The Holocaust. As when reading *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, these songs invite us to contemplate morality from without and within as we witness a series of evil acts, some motivated by a sense of injustice and revenge, others completely senseless. As Arendt pointed out when defining "the banality of evil",

> [e]xcept for an extraordinary diligence in looking out for his personal advancement, he [Eichmann] had no motives at all. And this diligence in itself was in no way criminal; he certainly would never have murdered his superior in order to inherit his post. He merely, to put the matter colloquially, never realized what he was doing. (Arendt 1963, 134)

As Arendt makes clear, the "banality of evil" is a simplification. The evil of the Nazi leadership was monstrous, but it could not have been carried out without the petty evil of the minions who obeyed the orders. This is the kind of evil we see in these folk ballads, and it is most evident in the tiny, mundane details and the deflationary observations. The ballad is the genre where we see this type of evil most clearly, because it is music for common people who live with stonemasons, gamblers, and petty bureaucrats, unlike romances and epics that describe the concerns of kings and princes. As Booth points out, however, better the devil you know than the one you don't: "fearful things happen, we say, and (especially if we say it in proverb or song) we are mastering, containing the fearfulness" (Booth 1978, 376).

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Golden Vanity Track Listing

"Beaulampkin"

"Snowdrop" (Kirk McGhee)

"Bitter Withy"

"Cindy"

"Golden Vanity"

"Soldier's Joy"

"Pretty Polly"

"Love Minus Zero/No Limit" (Bob Dylan)

"George Campbell"

"Gotta Little Home To Go To"

"Louisiana 1927" (Randy Newman)

Appendix A – Song Lyrics

The Sweet Trinity (The Golden Vanity)

'I HAVE a ship in the North Countrie,
And she goes by the name of the Golden Vanity;
I'm afraid she will be taken by some Turkish gallee,
As she sails on the Low Lands Low.'

Then up starts our little cabin-boy,
Saying, Master, what will you give me if I do them destroy?
'I will give you gold, I will give you store,
You shall have my daughter when I return on shore,
If ye sink them in the Low Lands Low.'

The boy bent his breast and away he jumpt in;
He swam till he came to this Turkish galleon,
As she laid on the Low Lands Low.

The boy he had an auger to bore holes two at twice;
While some were playing cards, and some were playing dice,
He let the water in, and it dazzled in their eyes,
And he sunk them in the Low Lands Low.

The boy he bent his breast and away he swam back again,
Saying, Master take me up, or I shall be slain,
For I have sunk them in the Low Lands Low.

'I'll not take you up,' the master he cried;
'I'll not take you up,' the master replied;
'I will kill you, I will shoot you, I will send you with the tide,
I will sink you in the Low Lands Low.'

The boy he swam round all by the starboardside;
They laid him on the deck, and it's there he soon died;
Then they sewed him up in an old cow's-hide,
And they threw him overboard, to go down with the tide,
And they sunk him in the Low Lands Low.

Pretty Polly

There used to be a gambler and he gambled all around
There used to be a gambler and he gambled all around
And he courted Pretty Polly and a cure he never did found

And he said Polly Pretty Polly won't you come and go with me
And he said Polly Pretty Polly won't you come and go with me
And before we get married some pleasure we'll see

And she jumped behind him and away they did ride
And she jumped behind him and away they did ride
They went over the hills and the valleys so wide

Rode on a little further and what did they spy
Rode on a little further and what did they spy
But a newly dug grave and a spade lying by

Willie dearest Willie I'm afraid of your ways
Willie dearest Willie I'm afraid of your ways
I'm afraid you might lead my poor body astray

Polly Pretty Polly you guessed just about right
Polly Pretty Polly you guessed just about right
I dug on your grave the best part of last night

No time to talk now no time to stand
No time to talk now no time to stand
And his eyes fixed on the dagger he was holding in his hand

And he stabbed her to the heart and her heart's blood did flow
And he stabbed her to the heart and her heart's blood did flow
And then into the grave did Polly dear go

And he threw a little dirt over her and he turned to go home
And he threw a little dirt over her and he turned to go home
Leaving nothing behind but the wild birds to moan

A debt unto the devil little Willie he must pay
A debt unto the devil our Willie he must pay
For killing Pretty Polly and running away

The Bitter Withy

As it fell out on a bright holiday,
The hail from the heavens did fall;
And our Saviour asked His mother dear
If he might play at ball.

At ball! at ball! me own dear Son!
It is time that you were gone;
And don't let me hear of any doings
Tonight when you come home.

An it's up the town and down the town
Our sweet young Saviour run,
Until he come to three young lords:
Playing in the sun.

Good morning to you all said he:
Good morning to all three,
Which of you three rich young lords
Will play at ball with me?

We are all lords' and ladies' sons.
Born in a bower and hall;
And you art nothing but a jew's child,
Born in an oxen stall.

Now you may be lords' and ladies' sons,
Born in a bower and hall,
But I'll prove to you at the latter end;
I'm an angel above you all.

And he built Him a bridge with the beams of the sun,
And over the river ran He.
And these young lords ran after Him,
And drowned they were all three.

And it's up the town and down the town
The mothers did whoop and call,
Saying Mary mild, bring home your child,
Ours is drowned at all.

So Mary mild brought home her child
And laid Him across her knee;
And with a bundle of withy twigs
She give Him thrashes three.

And it's withy! O withy! O bitter withy!
That causes Me to smart;
The withy shall be the very first tree
To perish at the heart!

Bonnie James Campbell

High upon Hielands and laigh upon Tay
Bonnie James Campbell rade oot on a day
He saddled, he bridled, and gowned rade he
Hame cam' his guid horse but never cam' he

Oot cam' his mither dear greetin' fu' sair
Oot cam' his bonnie bride reivin' her hair
His meadow lies green and the corn is unshorn
But bonnie James Campbell will never return

Saddled and bridled and booted rade he
A plume in his helmet, a sword at his knee
Toom cam' his saddle a' bluidy tae see
Hame cam' his guid horse but never cam' he

III.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE TEACHING

ELOPE

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The Quest for Literature in EFL Textbooks – A Quest for Camelot?

Summary

The article sets out to explore the proven benefits of using literature in EFL, which have been established in recent (theoretical) sources, including methodology books for teachers. It then moves on to examine the presence of literary texts in a selection of past and current EFL course books spanning over a period of almost seven decades. The results reveal that literature, while mostly perceived as beneficial, is not widely used in the EFL arena today. Finally, some possible reasons for the decline of literature in current ELT are highlighted.

Key words: culture, communicative competence, intercultural communicative competence, EFL textbooks, literature

V iskanju književnosti v učbenikih angleščine kot tujega jezika – V iskanju Kamelota?

Povzetek

Prispevek najprej osvetli dokazane prednosti uporabe književnih besedil pri pouku angleščine, ki jih navajajo številni sodobni (teoretični) viri, vključno s priročniki za učitelje. Zatem so predstavljeni izsledki analize, katere cilj je bil ugotoviti, do kakšne mere pretekli in sodobni učbeniki za angleščino kot tuji jezik v obdobju zadnjih sedmih desetletij vključujejo književna besedila. Izsledki kažejo, da se književnost, kljub splošnemu prepričanju o njenih koristih, danes le redko uporablja pri pouku angleščine. Prispevek se izteče z navedbo nekaj možnih razlogov za današnji zaton književnosti pri pouku angleščine.

Ključne besede: kultura, sporazumevalna zmožnost, medkulturna sporazumevalna zmožnost, učbeniki za angleščino kot tuji jezik, književnost

The Quest for Literature in EFL Textbooks – A Quest for Camelot?

1. Introduction

Most current national syllabuses for English around the world, including Slovenia, strongly promote *Communicative Language Teaching* (CLT) as the norm for teaching foreign languages. CLT is based on the idea that the ultimate goal of foreign language learning and teaching is *communicative competence*; i.e., the ability to use the language correctly and appropriately to accomplish communication goals. Communicative competence (CC), however, is not a unitary concept but consists of several different competence areas (Council of Europe, 2001): *linguistic competence* (e.g., grammar, phonology, and lexis), *sociolinguistic* or *sociocultural competence* (e.g., formal/informal registers, different types of speech acts), and *pragmatic competence*, consisting of *discourse competence* (sometimes considered part of sociolinguistic competence – that is, knowing how to begin and end conversations), *functional competence* (i.e., the learner's knowledge of the principles according to which messages are used to perform communicative functions), and *strategic competence* (i.e., knowledge of communication strategies that can compensate for weakness in other areas). The recommendation for second language pedagogy is that *all* components should be included in second-language curricula, instruction and teaching materials.

The construct of CC has been subject to constant evolution in the past five decades, and continues to be so. Globalization has presented language teachers and learners with the increasingly frequent challenge of coping in intercultural situations. The most common term for describing this type of communication is *intercultural communication* (IC). A growing interest in IC has led to an expansion in the construct of CC and has resulted in a new construct called *intercultural communicative competence* (ICC). Byram (1997, 3), for example, argues for using the term ICC, as it displays and maintains a link with recent traditions in FLT, and it broadens the concept of CC. In the light of these changes, many foreign language curricula have shifted their objectives from developing the learners' communicative competence to developing their *intercultural* communicative competence (Liu 2003; Yassine 2012).

The most frequently quoted model of ICC has been developed by Byram (1997; in Dombi 2013, 38) with the explicit purpose of being used as a framework for foreign language teaching (FLT). Byram (1997, 7) defines ICC as the "individual's ability to communicate and interact across cultural boundaries". An individual "with intercultural competence", in Byram and Fleming's (1998, 9) definition, "has the knowledge of one, or, preferably, more cultures and social identities and has the capacity to discover and relate to new people from other contexts for which they have not been prepared directly".

Byram's (1997, 48-49) model of ICC includes refined definitions of social competence, strategic competence and socio-cultural competence. The new definition of these competences, in his understanding, makes up intercultural competence, which, combined with linguistic, socio-linguistic and discourse competences, make up ICC (ibid., 48-49)[1]. Some authors, however, claim that ICC can be positioned within the framework of CC, "as the existing models of CC are inclusive of intercultural interpretations and comprise elements specified as necessary for the intercultural speaker" (Dombi 2013, 46).

[1]   For a more comprehensive overview of Byram's ICC model and its components, see Dombi (2013, 37-41).

Although the question of how to define 'culture' and 'communication' remains, and "the understanding of IC and ICC lies fundamentally in how these concepts are circumscribed" (Dombi 2013, 32), foreign language teachers have always been engaged with the teaching of the target culture, labelling it as the cultural component of language teaching. The various topics that were taught to learners as cultural – literature, arts, civilization, geography, history, customs and practices – may be defined along a spectrum from little-c culture to big-C Culture (Kramsch, 1993). In Classical-Humanist models of language education, culture with a capital C traditionally occupied a prominent position. However, more recent models have, according to Maley (1993, 3), "tended to stress the behavioural aspects of culture, and in particular its role in communication". Although it remains doubtful whether culture, high or low, can really be taught, there is something we can do – raise awareness of cultural factors. And as Maley (ibid.) puts it:

> In so doing, we shall aim to sharpen observation, encourage critical thinking about cultural stereotypes, and develop tolerance. These are educational issues which reach out well beyond mere language teaching. Cultural awareness-raising is an aspect of values education. As such it offers a welcome opportunity for transcending the often narrow limits of language teaching.

In sum, adopting 'an intercultural approach' to FLT not only helps students to better understand other cultures but also makes them aware of the distinctness of their own. Constant and conscious reflections on culture and cultural differences make students think about their own culture, and view it in relation to other cultures, thus broadening their scope of understanding. Since literature is "indissociable from other relevant aspects of language study, in particular the teaching of reading and writing, and the teaching of culture" (Kramsh and Kramsch 2000, 553), the current article argues that literary texts in the context of foreign language education may be a catalyst for intercultural learning and can thus help to develop students' ICC. In other words, the literary text has considerable potential for language learning and encountering a foreign culture (Fenner 2000, 146).

2. Literature and Foreign Language Education

Literature in foreign language teaching (FLT) has a long and notable history and has played various roles. Throughout the 20th century, as Kramsh and Kramsch (2000, 553) note, it was used "for the aesthetic education of the few (1910s), for the literacy of the many (1920s), for moral and vocational uplift (1930s-1940s), for ideational content (1950s), for humanistic inspiration (1960s-1970s), and for providing an "authentic" experience of the target culture (1980s-1990s)".

The role of literature has been characterized by "a historic divergence between language and literature" (Savvidou, 2004), which Short (1996) refers to as a 'border dispute over territory' between linguists and literary critics. This divergence has resulted in the teaching of the two subjects as 'disconnected pedagogic practices' (Carter and McRae 1996, xxiv). This is not to say there is no difference between literary and non-literary discourse; however, Carter and Nash (1990) suggest that, rather than perceiving literary discourse as separate and remote from non-literary discourse, we ought to consider the variety of text types along a continuum with some being more literary than others. This view is part of the idea that the separation of literature from language is "a false dualism since literature is language and language can indeed be literary" (Savvidou, 2004).

Since FLT throughout the 20th century advanced mainly by being conceptualized in terms of teaching *methods* (Stern 1983, 452), it might be worthwhile to look at how culture/literature was viewed

within different FLT methods. The search for the 'best method', which dominated thinking in ELT and applied linguistics for much of the twentieth century, has resulted in a range of approaches, the most common being Grammar-Translation, Direct Method, Audio-lingual, and Communicative (for further information, see Larsen-Freeman, 2000; Richards and Rodgers, 2001).

The central role of literature was carried over into FLT/ELT in the early part of the 20th century (Maley 2001, 180). It was a fundamental part of FLT in the 'classical humanist' paradigm, "where an understanding of the high culture and thought expressed through literature took precedence over mere competence in *using* the language" (ibid.). During the grammar-translation method era, "literary texts were the very staple of foreign language teaching, representing both models of good writing and illustrations of the grammatical rules of the language" (Duff and Maley 1990, 3). Therefore, these texts were mostly used for translation purposes and exercises on reading comprehension, which compelled the reader to concentrate on the given texts at a surface level and not on their literary value. The grammar-translation ELT textbook was/is in fact only a collection of (canonical) literary texts, since "the role of literature was, and for some still is, unquestioned: regarded as the highest form of expression of the target language, literature was/is an essential subject of study for the language learner" (Gilroy and Parkinson 1996, 213).

With the advent of structural approaches to FLT and the popularity of the direct and audiolingual methods, literature found itself side-lined or even totally banned from the language classroom. The formal properties of the language took precedence, and literature study was seen as part of the bad old 'traditional' methods. It was, moreover, "difficult to justify the use of literary texts in a world where the grading of vocabulary and structures was given so much emphasis" (Duff and Maley 1990, 3).

For a time even the new functional-notional communicative movement ignored literature. The demand for English shifted its focus "from the small-scale production of scholarly elites to the mass production of large numbers of communicative competent users of the language", and literature came to be regarded as an irrelevance (Maley 2001, 180). The emphasis was on pragmatic, efficient communication with no frills. Indeed, if we study methodology books for teachers and textbooks for direct learner use in the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s, "we can observe a clear neglect of the integration of literary texts and literature into English foreign language teaching" (Kostelníková 2001, 79).

Yet since the mid-1980s there has been a revival of interest in literature as one of the resources available for language learning. This can be seen from the considerable variety of resources for practical exploration in the classroom (e.g., Maley and Duff, 1982, 1989; Benton and Fox, 1985; Maley and Moulding, 1985; Colie and Slater, 1987; Hedge, 1985; Greenwood, 1988; Maley, 1994, 1995; Duff and Maley, 1990; McRae and Pantaleoni, 1990; Carter and Long, 1991; McRae, 1991, 1992; Collie and Porter Ladousse**,** 1991; Bassnet and Grundy, 1993; Lazar, 1993, 1999, etc.). All these titles offer the teacher texts and activities for immediate classroom use, with only minimal reference to theory.

3. Arguments for the Inclusion of Literature in EFL Courses

The rationale for incorporating literature into ELT has been well established, even if it does not go entirely uncontested. Research on the benefits of literature in language teaching extends back to the 1980s (Sapargul and Sartor 2010, 28), when it was recognized that literature is a conduit

for improved critical thinking skills (Oster 1989). According to Van (2009, 7), literary texts are effective in promoting English language development in all four skills "through interaction, collaboration, peer teaching, and student independence". Similarly, McKay (2001, 319) argues that using literature as content, besides being an ideal resource for integrating the four skills, also raises cross-cultural awareness.

Maley and Duff (1989), on the other hand, draw attention to the motivating power of literary texts in terms of their universality and their non-triviality, referring to the texts usually found in proprietary EFL course books. They also stress how literary texts invite multiple interpretations, thus providing ready-made material for discussion.

Brumfit and Carter (1986, 15) posit that "literary texts provide examples of language resources being used to the full, and the reader is placed in an active interactional role in working with and making sense of this language", while Chomsky (1972, 33) found clear indications that exposure to "the more complex language available from reading" does seem to go hand in hand with increased knowledge of the language. Other scholars have also remarked on the effectiveness of using novels as teaching tools in the ESL classroom (e.g., Paran, 2008).

Duff and Maley (1990, 3) point out the authenticity of literary texts which "offer genuine samples of a very wide range of styles, registers and text-types at many levels of difficulty". Ezra Pound's dictum that 'Literature is news that *stays* news' (1951; in Gilroy and Parkinson 1996, 215) highlights the staying power of the literary text "as a rich source of authentic material which does not become stale" (ibid.).

In recent years the intellectual, cultural, academic and linguistic benefits of literature study are increasingly being acknowledged (Spack 1985, 703). Literary works can, as Stern (1992, 230) puts it, "epitomize the thoughts, feelings, and values of the target culture in memorable ways". According to Ghosn (2002, 175), literature seems to offer not only "a medium that can create an acquisition-rich environment in the classroom context", but also various communication models by providing examples of "real-life language". A longitudinal research study of literature-based instruction is reported by Ghosn (2010). She compared outcomes in English vocabulary, grammar and reading comprehension outcomes after five years of formal instruction in four primary schools in Lebanon, two using literature-based reading anthologies and two using international ESL course books. All the children in the experiment were beginners in English but after five years those in the classes which took part in the literature-based programmes significantly outscored those using the communicative course books, in reading comprehension and in vocabulary development.

Many writers point out the important role that literature plays in educating the whole person. It involves learners "in a personal way, giving them the opportunity to express themselves, stimulating the imagination, developing critical abilities and increasing emotional awareness" (Gilroy and Parkinson 1996, 215). The 'genuine feel' of literary texts, according to Duff and Maley (1990, 6), acts as a powerful motivator and touches on themes to which learners can bring a personal response from their own experience. This has been confirmed by a study the purpose of which was to obtain data on the integration of work with literary texts in secondary-school EFL classrooms in Slovakia. The results revealed that the majority of teachers and pupils would like to read and work with literary texts more often than they do at present, and that teachers would welcome the publication of literary texts with a variety of genres, styles, authors and topics produced in Slovakia (Kostelníková 2001, 79).

Lazar (1993, 14-15) and Ur (1996, 201) provide a concise and teacher-friendly summary of the benefits of literature teaching: students enjoy it and it is fun; it is authentic material; it has general educational value, since literary texts are non-trivial; it encourages students to talk about their opinions and feelings, since literary texts are, by their very essence, open to multiple interpretations; it provides examples of different styles of writing, and representations of various authentic uses of the language; it involves emotions as well as intellect, which adds to motivation and may contribute to personal development; it develops students' interpretive abilities; it encourages empathetic, critical and creative thinking; it helps students to understand another culture; it is part of the target culture and has value as part of the learner's general education; it raises awareness of different human situations and conflicts; it contributes to world knowledge; it expands students' language awareness; it is a good basis for vocabulary expansion; it can supply an excellent jump-off point for discussion or writing; it fosters both intensive and extensive reading skills; it is a stimulus for language acquisition, etc.

Although classroom practice may not have fully caught up with theory, few would dispute that literature should be an essential element of the foreign language curriculum. Having decided that integrating literature into the EFL syllabus is beneficial to the learners' linguistic, (inter)cultural, and intellectual development, we need to select an approach which best serves the needs of EFL learners and the syllabus.

4. Different Models for Teaching Literature

Carter and Long (1991) describe three main approaches to the teaching of literature: the *Cultural Model*; the *Language-Based Model*; and the *Personal Growth Model*. Since that time however, several more models which combine elements from these original three, known as *Integrated Approaches*, have been developed, which have attempted to overcome the limitations and criticisms associated with the main models, and to provide more relevant approaches to teaching literature in the modern EFL setting (Healy 2010, 179).

4.1 The Cultural Model

This model employs traditional approaches to the teaching of literature by exposing students to the background of a text in order to examine the ideas and concepts behind it. In this way, students learn about different cultures and patterns of thought, and either directly or indirectly, will compare them to their own. As this model is most often lecturer-led and does not focus on language work *per se*, it has been generally considered to be unsuitable by most EFL teachers. It is important, however, to expose foreign learners of English to such cultural and content-based stimuli, since this exposure "enables students to understand and appreciate cultures and ideologies different from their own in time and space, […]" (Carter and Long 1991, 2).

4.2 The Language-Based Approach

The most common approach to literature in the EFL classroom is what Carter and Long (1991) refer to as the 'language-based approach'. In this approach, learners examine texts looking for specific linguistic features such as vocabulary and grammatical structures. EFL teachers can take this approach if they wish to focus on specific features of language by creating such activities as gap-filling, grammar practice, and summary writing. However, as Healy (2010, 179-180) points out, "criticisms of this model centre on the 'disconnection' or distance between the student, the

text, and the literary purpose of the text, in that the appreciation of the text becomes secondary to the mechanical analysis of the text as a study tool, or a platform for different language activities". Povey (1979, 163), for example, cautions teachers not to set literature "at the mercy of language teaching" in a manner that "destroys the educational values of both". Choosing a specific text in order to teach specific vocabulary points or grammatical structures will be wrong, since that will then be the only goal attained. Instead, Povey (ibid.) says the aim of grammatical explanations and vocabulary work should be "the comprehension of the story".

4.3 The Personal Growth Model

This model stresses "the personal enjoyment and emotional gain students can procure by engaging with such texts" (Maley 2001, 182). This model attempts to combine both the above approaches and to encourage more student interaction with the text. Literary texts are seen as a resource for both linguistic development as well as the development of an appreciation for literature. Students are not just passive receivers of knowledge as in the Cultural Model, but are encouraged to become autonomous and to think critically. Students' thoughts and opinions are elicited about the text, and they are encouraged to examine different themes and topics related to it. Through these activities, students are able to make more of a personal and meaningful connection with the text. This is a learner-centred approach in which the teacher is a facilitator of learning (Healy 2010, 180).

These three approaches to teaching literature differ in terms of their focus on the text: in the first, the text is seen as a cultural artefact; in the second, the text is used as a focus for grammatical and structural analysis; and in the third, the text is the stimulus for personal growth activities. What is needed, according to Savvidou (2004), is "an approach to teaching literature in the EFL classroom which attempts to integrate these elements in a way that makes literature accessible to learners and beneficial for their linguistic development".

4.4 Integrated Approaches

Integrated approaches combine elements from the three main models described above. According to Duff and Maley (1990, 6), the main reasons for integrating the elements of all three models are linguistic, methodological and motivational. *Linguistically*, by using a wide range of authentic texts, we introduce learners to a variety of types of and difficulties in the English language. *Methodologically*, literary discourse sensitises readers to the processes of reading, e.g. the use of schemata, strategies for intensive and extensive reading, etc. Lastly, *motivationally*, literary texts prioritise the enjoyment of reading, since, as Short and Candlin assert (1986), "if literature is worth teaching [...] then it seems axiomatic that it is the response to literature itself which is important".

Savvidou (2004) also suggests that a literary text should be approached in three different ways: firstly, as a cultural object; secondly, as a way to approach linguistic analysis; and thirdly, as a method for personal growth. She then elaborates to conclude that an integrated approach is a "potentially powerful pedagogic tool", and carefully sets out a six-stage scheme which is in fact an elaboration of the general three-stage approach to teaching reading (and listening) texts:
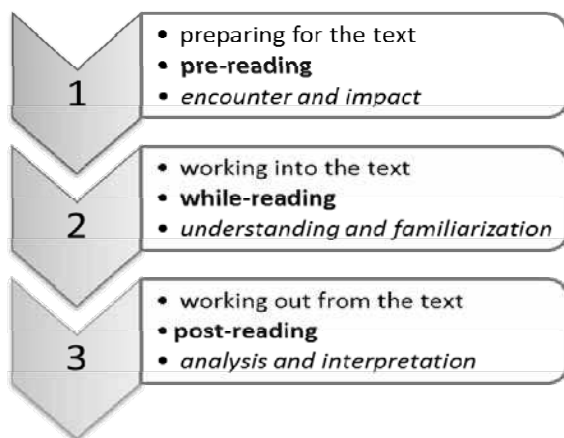
1 • preparing for the text • **pre-reading** • *encounter and impact*	• **Stage 1:** preparation for and anticipation of the text
	• **Stage 2:** actual experience of the text
2 • working into the text • **while-reading** • *understanding and familiarization*	• **Stage 3:** contributing initial responses to the text
	• **Stage 4:** focus on meaning through intensive reading of the text
3 • working out from the text • **post-reading** • *analysis and interpretation*	• **Stage 5:** analysing the text at a deep level from a linguistic perspective
	• **Stage 6:** exploring what the text means personally

It is clear that these stages come round full circle to connect the text meaningfully with the students' experience. Savvidou (2004) managed to convincingly combine elements from the three models in existence in order to provide a more suitable approach to teaching literature in a formal educational setting.

For the most part, activities accompanying literary texts throughout this six-stage integrated approach to teaching literature fall into one of two categories: those that focus on the linguistic analysis of the text, and those in which the text acts as a springboard for a variety of language activities, including discussion and writing (Maley 2001, 183). The kinds of activities in the second category in particular draw heavily on techniques developed as part of the communicative approach in general. Techniques such as opinion and information gap, problem-solving and role-play are also in widespread use, as well as a variety of activities to promote students' creative writing.

The adoption of an approach that melds literary texts with favoured CLT techniques that promote meaningful communication among learners is a swing away from the traditional methodology for teaching literary texts within the grammar-translation method of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. Although the typical grammar-translation course book of the time may have provided numerous samples of literature and the reading of difficult, unabridged literary texts began early in a course of study, little attention was paid to the content of texts, which were treated primarily as exercises in grammatical analysis. Translation and the study of grammar and vocabulary were done in the traditional tedious way. This is not surprising, since the primary purpose of the grammar-translation method was to prepare students for reading the target language's original (literary) texts. An equally important goal was to develop the students' logical thinking and their intellectual capacities, to attain a generally educational and civilizing effect, and, eventually, to gain a greater understanding of the native language (Chastain 1971, 59).

Thus, literature, once related to traditional text-centred approaches, has been revisited in the ELT classroom, now within "the context of reader-response theory and humanistic approaches" (Ferradas Moi 2003, 406). Therefore, it is not only the sheer inclusion and presence of literary texts in course books that matters, but primarily *how* these texts are presented, approached and treated.

5. The Literature Component in Slovenian English Language Syllabuses

Since the syllabus determines the way in which textbooks will be designed and later exploited for teaching purposes, it seems important to look at how literature has been formulated and articulated in Slovenian foreign language policy documents (syllabuses) to date. This close relationship between the syllabus and the textbook, i.e., the textbook embodying the underlying principles and conceptions of the syllabus, was particularly important in the past, since textbooks had to be drawn up in strict accordance with the syllabuses in force.

In the syllabus of 1945 when *Angleška vadnica – Prva stopnja* (Žgur et al. 1945) appeared, the contents were not spelled out but specified solely in relation to the existing textbook. The first document to outline the general objectives of English as a school subject was the syllabus of 1948. It lists as the first of the general objectives *'the development of the ability in the learners to independently, and with the help of a dictionary, read newspapers, literary and technical/study texts of a medium-level difficulty'* (p. 49). Among other objectives, one was "*to gain a greater understanding of the culture and civilisation of English-speaking countries*" (ibid.).

An explicit literature component was included in the syllabus of 1955/56 (UN za gimnazije in klasične gimnazije). Essentially, the document aims to *"develop learners' ability to independently, or with the help of a dictionary, read newspapers, magazines, literary and technical/study texts'* (Kožar 1991, 28). Learners are also expected to develop, at least sketchily, an understanding of the development, culture and the current role of the target-language peoples, in particular their "most progressive and most beautiful literary works" (ibid., 29). It was suggested that literary texts be selected from modern literature, primarily from the Romantic period and realism, and that they should not be treated only linguistically, but also from the stylistic-aesthetic point of view (ibid., 29-30).

Literature is again given prominence in the syllabus of 1962/63. The document recommended that literary texts for the 1st and 2nd years should be selected from the beginnings of British literature to the Romantic period, and in the 3rd year works from the Romantic period to modern times. Among American authors, the syllabus 'recommends' Twain, Melville, Whitman, Hemingway, Lewis, Steinbeck, Adamič, Faulkner, Sandburg, Frost, O'Neill, Williams and Miller (ibid., 32). In order to attain the objectives in literature teaching set by the syllabus, some teachers probably used *An Anthology of English and American Literature* by Grahor (1965) to complement their course book.

The small, vague literature component in the syllabus of 1975 was probably in line with developments in ELT in the 1970s. The syllabus states that learners should, with the help of texts, *"gain an understanding of the culture and civilisation of English-speaking countries, develop critical thinking skills, and acquire the awareness of international co-operation"* (Kožar 1991, 36-37). Besides school, family and the learners' homeland, topics included the target-language countries, their main natural, geographical, historical and cultural features, including their main 'carriers of progressive ideas', i.e., scientists, inventors and artists. Learners were also supposed to be able to gain an insight into the cultural values of the target-language countries by listening (and singing along) to some of the most typical traditional and contemporary folk songs, as well as to poetry set to music.

During this structuralist and audiolingual period of the 1970s, when the literature component in foreign language syllabuses was almost entirely crowded out, and later, during the *vocationally oriented education* period (i.e., usmerjeno izobraževanje) in the early 1980s, when literature was

both rare and restricted to social studies and arts programmes (e.g., a course book by Jurčić and Brihta 1982), some teachers willing to teach literature could draw on the anthology *Readings in English and American Literature* (Jurak 1978).

From the 1990s national curricula began to promote the development of 'communicative competence' and the development of all four language macro skills. Continuing this line of development, the national syllabus for English, which was introduced in 1998 (following the 1996 curricular reform), strongly promotes Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) as the norm for teaching foreign languages in Slovenia. Thus, at the level of method policy, CLT is well enshrined as the norm in language education, which can also be seen in the latest national syllabus for English of 2008 (2011).[2] Both documents list as the first of the general objectives of English as a school subject the acquisition of communicative and intercultural competence. The literature component in the Slovenian English language syllabus of 2008 is meant to encourage students "to independently read literary texts in English", and develop intercultural reading competence for creative reading and understanding of complete literary texts. This means that the syllabus reflects a move away from extras to non-abridged complete literary texts. Students are also expected to develop literary competence as a specific sub-skill of reading competence.

6. Literature and EFL Textbooks

Central to most foreign language curricula is the textbook used. Although designed explicitly for the teaching of language, language-learning materials also carry cultural content. The manner in which the textbook addresses cultural issues, including literature, is especially important in light of the authority that both teachers and students ascribe to the textbook. Teachers may rely heavily on the cultural content of a textbook to compensate for their own lack of knowledge about the target culture, and even the most knowledgeable teachers often use the book as a primary resource because they lack the time to prepare their own materials. For students, the textbook represents an authoritative source of information whose truth value often goes unquestioned.

The cultural content in the EFL course book may be about the *source culture*, the *target culture*, or *international/global culture*. In the case of a global course book which is to be sold globally in a variety of very different markets, the underlying philosophy of 'one size fits all' means that (cultural) content is often limited to a narrow range of bland topics (Gray 2002, 166). However, attempts have also been made to link the global with the local, i.e. connecting the world of students with the world of English. One view of globalization holds that "the local is always imbricated in the global and for this reason a more accurate description of the process would be *glocalization*, a neologism which attempts to capture something of the complexity inherent in globalization by conflating the terms global and local" (ibid.). ELT course books – local, localized, global, or glocalized – are never culturally neutral and will continue to be 'a meeting point of cultures', i.e. to contain 'Images of the Foreign and the Own (Petravić 2010). However, the task of developing genuine cultural awareness is a daunting one, "especially in the light of the fact that many school textbooks tend to present a reductionist, fact-based and even clichéd view of other cultures" (Newby 2000, 6).

Literary texts in EFL textbooks are usually chosen to illustrate themes or values of the culture, as well as for their specific literary quality. Here, literature is taken in its broadest sense, and the textbook may include popular fiction, folklore, folk tales, ballads, nursery rhymes, children's literature, widely read books which "constitute a common heritage of literacy" (Stern 1992, 230), or "anything else that can illuminate the thought and life experience in the culture" (Rivers 1981, 338).

^F   The curriculum of 2008 never actually came into force, but after changes were made, it was implemented in 2011.

If the textbook does not provide literary texts, teachers can supplement it by using resource books, readers or anthologies designed to complement a course or syllabus requirements (e.g., the Matura exam). Some examples of, mostly local, supplementary materials of this kind are Grahor (1962, 1965), Jurak (1978), Boschma et al. (1987), Pervan-Plavec (1990), Lapajne et al. (1994), Grosman and Rot Gabrovec (1997), Eržen and Fidler (2000), etc. Of course, this approach of supplementing a textbook usually requires extra effort and time to bring literature into classrooms. Some course books, the *Headway* series, for example, are accompanied by materials/workbooks designed as an extension to the course book language syllabus and to focus on areas such as culture, CLIL and literature (e.g., Fitzgerald et. al. 2007).

Although literature is generally perceived as beneficial and significant for intercultural understanding, most current course books rarely use literature and when they do, they tend to follow a traditional pattern, i.e. asking learners to read the text carefully and then to answer comprehension questions (Tomlinson et al. 2001). There have been some course books, however, in which the target (and source) language culture is also presented through literary texts that contain creative, personalised, text-based and response-based tasks (e.g., Jurčić and Brihta 1982; Skela 2005, 2006; Puchta et al. 2010, 2011, 2012).

7. The Study and Methodology

Given the importance of teaching materials, this study sought to investigate the presence of literary texts in some EFL course books approved for use in Slovenian secondary schools in the past and at present. In order to illustrate how EFL materials followed global trends in teaching literature, the chosen course books span almost seven decades beginning with grammar-translation materials, moving on through structuralist or audiolingual materials, to our final examples, the communicative materials. It is believed that a comparison of textbooks written decades apart will illustrate these global trends well. More specifically, the study sought answers to the following research questions:

- How much space do ELT textbooks allocate for literature?

- Do ELT course books differ with regard to the quantity of literary texts over the seven decades spanned by the course books analysed?

- Which literary genre (i.e., novels, stories, poems or plays) is mostly present in ELT course books?

To this end, a quantitative and content analysis was employed to establish how many literary texts in total were included in the textbooks analysed. We chose seven local and global course books for secondary school use that we consider to be representative of different foreign language teaching and learning paradigms or methods. Each book was analysed page by page, and the literary texts were counted and categorized according to the major literary genres: novel, story, play and poem.

It needs to be pointed out that, in Slovenia until 1989, only locally produced ELT course books were used in primary and secondary schools. What did change in 1989, however, was that the one-single-book-for-one-subject restriction was lifted and freedom of choice granted regarding the selection of textbooks. In that year, the first British-produced (i.e. global) course books were introduced in Slovenian primary and secondary schools – *Project English 1* (Hutchinson 1985), and *Headway Intermediate* (Soars and Soars 1986), both from Oxford University Press.

In this review, the following 7 course books were examined for the presence and diversity of literary-marked cultural content:

Authors	Name of the course	First published	Method
Žgur, Skalický	*Angleška vadnica. Tretja stopnja.*	1950	Grammar-translation Method / Eclectic Method
Brihta, Grgić	*A Sixth-Year English Course*	1966	audio-lingual / Eclectic Method
Knight, Knight, Krašček	*MAP 3*	1974	audio-lingual / Situational Language Teaching
Soars, Soars	*Headway Intermediate [1st ed.]*	1986	communicative approach
Soars, Soars	*Headway Upper-Intermediate [1st ed.]*	1987	communicative approach
Soars, Soars	*Headway Intermediate [4th ed.]*	2009	communicative approach
Soars, Soars	*Headway Upper-Intermediate [4th ed.]*	2014	communicative approach

*Table 1: **Course books analysed***

For space reasons, only one course book series was chosen (*Headway*) within the communicative approach paradigm, although many more titles have been approved for use in secondary schools (e.g., *English File, Matrix, Success, English in Mind, Gateway, Enterprise, Way Up, Cutting Edge, Opportunities, Inside Out, On Screen, Solutions* and *Straightforward*).

Within the *Headway* series, we focus on *Intermediate* and *Upper-Intermediate* levels, as these cover the four-year secondary school period. However, both levels (*Intermediate* and *Upper-Intermediate*) have been analysed in their first and last editions to illustrate the trends in the use of literary texts within the same course book series. In the case of the *Headway* series, for example, the first edition of *Headway Upper-Intermediate* was published in 1987, whereas its 4th edition version was released in 2014, covering a span of almost thirty years. The aim was thus to see whether there have been any changes in the treatment of literary texts within the same course book series over a lengthy period of time. In the analysis of the communicative course books, the while-reading activity category was added, which is usually not found in non-communicative materials.

7.1 Course book Analysis[3]

a) *Angleška vadnica III* (Žgur and Skalický 1950)

Lesson/ Page	Author	Original title/ Published	Coursebook Material	Genre
1/ 5-6	Charles Dickens	*Oliver Twist* (1838)	*Oliver Twist Asks for More,* abridged, Chapter 1: ending	a novel
1/ 7	Elizabeth Barrett Browning	*The Cry of the Children* (1842)	whole text, abridged	a poem
2/ 12-14	Mark Twain	*A Melting Story* (1873)	whole text, abridged	a short story
2/ 14	William Shakespeare	*Love's Labour Lost: [Winter]* (1597)	Act V scene ii: ending	a poem
3/ 19	Liam O'Flaherty	*Spring Sowing* (1924): *The Reaping Race*	whole text, abridged	a short story
3/ 22	Robert Burns	*John Barleycorn* (1782)	whole text, abridged	a poem

^F   The analyses that follow are based on Jesenko's BA Dissertation, to which the author of this article acted as mentor.

4/ 28	John Galsworthy	*The Silverspoon* (1926)	*Lost in London Fog*, abridged Chapter 7: ending	a novel
4/ 31	Thomas Hood	*November* (1844)	whole text, unabridged	a poem
5/ 37	Rudyard Kipling	*Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888): *Lispeth*	whole text, abridged	a short story
5/ 40	A. E. Housman	*When I was One-and-Twenty* (1896)	whole text, unabridged	a poem
6/ 46-48	Sinclair Lewis	*Martin Arrowsmith* (1925)	*A Difficult Job*, abridged, Chapter 5: beginning	a novel
7/ 52-54	Henry Williamson	*The Peregrine's Saga* (1923): *Bluemantle*	whole text, abridged	a short story
7/ 54	Percy Bysshe Shelley	*The Cloud* (1820)	whole text, abridged	a poem
8/ 62-64	Washington Irving	*Sketch Book: Rip Van Winkle* (1819)	*Rip Van Winkle I* abridged, beginning	a short story
9/ 69-71	Washington Irving	*Sketch Book: Rip Van Winkle* (1819)	*Rip Van Winkle II* abridged, ending	a short story
9/ 71-72	unknown	*Get Up and Bar the Door*	unknown	a poem
10/ 77-80	Edgar Allan Poe	*The Pit and the Pendulum* (1842)	whole text, abridged	a short story
11/ 85-89	G.B. Shaw	*Pygmalion* (1912)	*Act II,* abridged, beginning	a play
12/ 94-97	W.M. Thackeray	*Henry Esmond* (1852)	*Found Out*, abridged Chapter 6: beginning	a novel
13/ 102-104	Sir Walter Scott	*Ivanhoe* (1820)	*Shelter at Last*, abridged Chapter 16: beginning	a novel
13/105-106	unknown	*King John and the Abbot of Canterbury*	whole text, unabridged	a poem
14/ 112-114	Howard Fast	*Freedom Road* (1944)	*Gideon's Speech*, abridged Chapter 9: middle	a novel
15/ 124	John Milton	*On Shakespeare* (1630)	whole text, unabridged	a poem
16/129- 133	William Shakespeare	*A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1590-1596)	*Act III*, scene 1, *unabridged,* beginning *Act II* scene 1: *Fairy Song* unabridged, beginning	a play a poem
17/ 138-140	Henry Fielding	*Joseph Andrews* (1742)	Chapter 12: beginning, unabridged	a novel
18/144-146	Charles Dickens	*The Pickwick Papers* (1837)	*The Elections at Eatanswill,* abridged chapter 13: beginning	a novel
19/ 150-153			*The Elections at Eatanswill,* abridged Chapter 13: middle	a novel
20/ 159-160	Lord Byron	*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812- 1818)	*Childe Harold's Last "Good Night", Canto the First*: middle, unabridged	a poem

*Table 2: **Overview of literary texts in Angleška vadnica III (Žgur and Skalický 1950)***

Angleška vadnica III (Žgur and Skalický 1950) consists of twenty lessons featuring 29 literary texts, 11 poems, 9 extracts from novels, 7 short stories and 2 plays by renowned British and American authors. Each lesson begins with an extract from prose or drama and features a short introduction about the author and their work whenever it is mentioned for the first time, and in most lessons

this extract is followed by a poem or an extract from a play. Most of the texts, even some longer poems, are abridged in order to include more of the plot. Short stories are made shorter so that the ending is also included in the text. Extracts from novels are most commonly taken from the beginning of a chapter. As many as 14 out of the 29 texts date back to the 19th century, five of them to earlier periods, and 6 to the 20th century. There is one reference to a 16th century text.

b) *A Sixth-Year English Course* (Brihta and Grgić 1966)

Lesson/ Page	Author/ Published	Original title	Coursebook Material	Genre
5/ 28-29	S.T. Coleridge	*The Ancient Mariner* (1834)	Second part: beginning, unabridged	a poem
7/ 37-38	George Eliot	*Adam Bede* (1859)	*The Desire for Knowledge*, abridged Chapter 21: beginning	a novel
13/ 75-76	John Steinbeck	*In Dubious Battle* (1936)	*Torgas Valley*, abridged Chapter 9: ending	a novel
16/ 94-95	William Saroyan	*The Whole Voyald* (1956) *and Other Stories*	*The Whole World* beginning, ending, abridged	a short story
18/ 105	Edna St. Vincent Millay	*Afternoon on a Hill*	whole text, unabridged	a poem
19/ 107-108	Jerome K. Jerome	*Three Men in a Boat* (1889)	*An Irish Stew*, abridged Chapter 14: beginning	a novel
20/ 112-113	Leslie Thomas	*Isle of Wight* (unknown)	whole text, unabridged	a poem

Table 3: Overview of literary texts in A Sixth-Year English Course (Brihta and Grgić 1966)

A Sixth-Year English Course (Brihta and Grgić 1966) consists of thirty lessons, featuring 7 literary texts, 3 poems, 3 extracts from novels and 1 short story by more or less renowned British and American authors. Each lesson begins with a fictional or non-fictional text and is followed by exercises and analyses. A short note on the content is given beforehand, except in the case of the poems *Afternoon on a Hill* and *Isle of Wight*. Only extracts from novels are abridged. 2 extracts are taken from a short story to include more plot. Other references to literary texts are included in the article about the author John Steinbeck, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. 3 texts date back to the 19th century. There are also 2 texts and 2 references to 20th century literature, 1 reference to an 18th century text and 2 texts of unknown publication date.

c) *MAP 3* (Knight et al. 1974)

Unit/Page	Author	Original title/ Published	Coursebook Material	Genre
3/26	Suzanne Harris	*We're Using up The World*	whole poem, unabridged	a poem
9/78	Robert Shaw	*The Sun Doctor* (1961)	A Sick Land extract, notes about the author, Chapter 2 beginning, abridged (shortened)	a novel
10/88	Patrick White	*The Tree of Man* (1955)	Evening, extract, note about the author, chapter 1: beginning	a novel
11/101-102	Tony Connor	*With Love Somehow* (1962)	Elegy for Alfred Hubbard, whole poem, unabridged, notes about the author	a poem

12/111-112	Margaret Drabble	*The Garrick Year* (1964)	Who Comes First? extract, notes about the author, Chapter 1: middle, unabridged	a novel
13/122	George Orwell	*The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937)	Hard Times, extract, notes about the author, Chapter 3: middle, unabridged	a novel
14/131	D. H. Lawrence	*The Trespasser* (1912)	Swimming (1) 2 extracts, notes about the author, Chapter 6: middle, unabridged	a novel
14/132	Stevie Smith	*Selected Poems* (1962)	Swimming (2) Not Waving But Drowning, unabridged, notes about the author	a poem
15/142	D. H. Lawrence	*Selected Poems* (1950)	Let Us Be Men, unabridged, notes about the author	a poem
15/143	Trevor Bostock	*Up the Monkeys* (1964)	an extract, notes about the author, Chapter 13: middle	a novel
16/ 151-152	Harold Pinter	*The Dumb Waiter* (1960)	an extract, notes about the author, unabridged, middle	a play
16/ 152	John Arden	*Wet Fish* (1967)	an extract, notes about the author, Act 1: middle, unabridged	a play
16/ 152-153	Tom Stoppard	*Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are dead* (1967)	an extract, notes about the author, Act three: beginning, unabridged	a play

Table 4: Overview of literary texts in MAP 3 (Knight et al. 1974)

Other references to literature:

Unit/ Page	Author	Original title/ Published	Coursebook Material	Genre
10/ 80-81	Ivo Andrić,	*The Bridge on the Drina (1945)*	The Greatest Prize of All? text about the Nobel prize	a novel
	John Steinbeck, Jean Paul Sartre, Patrick White	*none*		
10/82	Albert Camus	*none*	grammar exercise	
10/83	Pablo Neruda	*none*	grammar exercise	
10/86	G. B. Shaw, Thomas Mann, Hemingway, Steinbeck, Camus, Sartre, Neruda, Andrić	*none*	grammar exercise	
10/86	Ivo Andrić	*none*	Statement upon receiving that year's Nobel Prize for Literature by Ivo Andrić	
11/94	Patrick White	*none*	grammar exercise	
15/138	Charles Dickens	*David Copperfield (1850)*	grammar exercise	

Texts and exercises are selected and organized into 16 units. Most of the texts were adapted from newspapers and magazines, but there are extracts from literature as well. *Map 3* features 13 literary texts, 4 poems, 3 plays and 6 novels, almost exclusively by British authors with the exception of the Australian Nobel Prize winner Patrick White. Each Unit comprises an introductory text, followed by grammar exercises, and finally a (literary) text to develop reading and vocabulary called the *Home Reading* section. Most of the texts are equipped with a short note about the story and the author. All of

the texts in *Map 3* are unabridged. Poems are used as whole texts, 4 extracts are taken form the middle of a chapter and 2 from the beginning. 2 extracts from plays are taken from the beginning and one from the middle of the play. All 13 texts were published in the 20th century, 8 texts date to the sixties, 2 to the fifties, 1 to the thirties and one to before the twenties of the 20th century. There are references to ten 20th-century authors in Unit 10, although only one actual novel is mentioned.

Other references to literature appear in unit ten (*The Greatest Prize of All?*) in the text and exercises about Nobel Prize winners. Ivo Andrić, John Steinbeck, Jean Paul Sartre, Patrick White, Albert Camus, Pablo Neruda, G. B Shaw, Thomas Mann and Ernest Hemingway are mentioned as writers who have won the Nobel Prize for literature. Unit 11 (*Workers' participation - A step forward?*) features grammar exercises and mentions the Nobel Prize winner Patrick White once again. Unit 15 (*Jogging In*) features a grammar exercise mentioning *David Copperfield* by Charles Dickens.

d) *Headway Intermediate* [1st ed.] (Soars and Soars 1986)

Unit/ Page	Author	Original title/ Published	A while-reading activity	Coursebook Material	Genre
6/ 34	Jenny Joseph	*Warning (1961)*	listening	whole text, text, audio	a poem

Table 5: Overview of literary texts in Headway Intermediate (Soars and Soars 1986)

Other references to literature:

Unit/ Page	Author	Original Title/ Published	Activity	Type of text	Genre
3/ 38	William Shakespeare	*Hamlet (1599-1602)*	reading, speaking	a dialogue to practice grammar	a play

Headway Intermediate (Soars and Soars 1986) consists of 12 units and features only 1 poem in Unit 6, and a reference to *Hamlet* in Unit 7. It features 1 text published in 1961 and a reference to a 17th century text (Shakespeare).

e) *Headway Upper-Intermediate* [1st ed.] (Soars and Soars 1987)

Unit/ Page	Author	Original Title/ Published	A while-reading activity	Coursebook material	Genre
2/ 11	William Shakespeare	*As You Like It (1599-1600)*	listening	unabridged, text, act ii, scene 7, middle	a play
4/ 30-32	Frank De Felitta	*Audrey Rose (1975)*	comprehension check	various extracts, unabridged, text, book covers	a novel
8/ 67-69	Somerset Maugham	*The Lotus Eater (1935)*	comprehension check connecting extracts	various extracts, unabridged, text, the story so far, a picture of the author	a short story
11/ 91-92	Stephen Pile	*The Book of Heroic Failures (1975)*	speaking	various extracts, unabridged, text	short stories
12/ 106	E. Nesbit	*The Things That Matter (1905)*		unabridged, text	a poem

Table 6: Overview of literary texts in Headway Upper Intermediate (Soars and Soars 1987)

Other references to literature:

Unit/ Page	Author	Original Title/ Published	Activity	Type of text	Genre
2/ 14	Charles Dickens	*David Copperfield (1850)*	listening, writing	audio, text	a novel
2/ 16	William Shakespeare	*Shakespeare's work*	reading	a coursebook biography	opus
2/ 17	Jeffrey Archer	*6 novels (1979-1986)*	reading	a coursebook biography	novels
4/ 30	Charlotte Brontë	*Jane Eyre (1847)*	writing	exercise	a novel
4/ 35	John Fowles	*The Collector (1963)*	reading, writing	an appraisal of a book	a novel
7/ 56	Aldous Huxley	*Brave New World (1932)*	reading, speaking	A vision of the future in Brave New World	a novel
11/ 73	Jack Higgins (Harry Patterson)	*The Eagle Has Landed (1975)*	reading	An article from *Sunday Express* 29 August 1982 about Jack Higgins	a novel
		Touch the Devil (1982)			a novel
		The Savage Day (1971)			a novel
	John Braine	*Room at the Top (1957)*			a novel
	Fyodor Dostoyevsky	*The House of the Dead (1862)*			a novel
11/ 96	Ernest Hemingway	*For Whom the Bell Tolls (1940)*	combining sentences	a coursebook biography	a novel
		A Farewell to Arms (1929)			

Headway Upper Intermediate (Soars and Soars 1987) consists of 14 units, and contains five literary texts, fairly equally distributed in Units 2, 4, 8, 11 and 12. Units 2 and 11 contain three, Unit 4 two, and Unit 7 one text with a reference to a literary work. It features 4 texts and 9 references to literature published in the 20th century, 3 texts dating back to the 19th century, and 1 text and 1 reference to Shakespeare's works (16th-17th century).

f) *New Headway Intermediate* [4th ed.] (Soars and Soars 2009)

Unit/ Page	Author	Original title/ Published	A while-reading activity	Coursebook Material	Genre
3/ 26-27	William Shakespeare	*Romeo and Juliet* (1599)	listening, comprehension check	whole text, abridged (a comic), text, audio	a play
3/ 148[4]				lines translated into modern English	
11/ 90	Sir Arthur Conan Doyle	*The Return of Sherlock Holmes: The Adventure of the Three Students* (1904)	comprehension check	*The Three Students*, 4 Parts text, abridged (shortened) beginning, middle	a short story
			listening	*The Three Students* Part 4 audio, abridged (shortened) ending	
3/ 105	Aesop	*The Farmer and his Sons*	gap fill	whole text, abridged	a fable
3/ 105	unknown	*The Emperor and his Daughters*	gap fill	whole text: abridged	a fable
8/ 111	unknown	*The Trojan Horse*	order words into a text	parts of the sentences	a myth
8/ 150 -151				whole text: abridged	

*Table 7: **Overview of literary texts in New Headway Intermediate (Soars and Soars 2009)***

4   The pagination is correct. Some texts referring, for example, to Unit 3 appear in a special appendix at the back of the textbook.

Other references to literature:

Unit/ Page	Author	Original Title/ Published	Activity	Type of text	Genre
7/ 54-55	J.K. Rowling	*Harry Potter* series (1997-2007)	listening, writing, reading	7 book titles	a series of novels: young adult fiction
				J. K. Rowling: author and billionaire	
				an interview with a young fan	

New Headway Intermediate (Soars and Soars, 2009) consists of 12 Units. It features three literary texts in Unit 3, one in Unit 8 and one in Unit 11 (i.e., 2 fables and a myth of unknown origin, a Shakespeare play from the 16th century, and a 20th-century text). There are other references to literature in Unit 7 (the *Harry Potter* series published between 1997 and 2007).

g) *New Headway Upper-Intermediate* [4th ed.] (Soars and Soars 2014)

Unit/ Page	Author	Original Title/ Published	A while-reading activity	Coursebook material	Genre
3/26	Ruth Rendell	*The Fallen Curtain: The Clinging Woman* (2009)	listening, comprehension check	three extracts, unabridged, part 3 only audio	a short story
10/84-85	Hilaire Belloc	*Cautionary Tales for Children: Jim And The Lion* (1907)	listening, gap fill, comprehension check	whole text: unabridged text, audio	a poem, children's literature
12/ 100	Paul Anthony	*No Time to Think (unknown)*	listening	whole text, audio	a poem

Table 8: Overview of literary texts in New Headway Upper Intermediate (Soars and Soars 2014)

Other references to literature:

Unit/ Page	Author	Original Title/ Published	Activity	Type of text	Genre
3/ 25	Charles Dickens, Agatha Christie, John Grisham	none	writing questions	audio, a gap fill	none
	J. K. Rowling	*Harry Potter*			a novel
3/25	Ruth Rendell	*The Fallen Curtain* (2009)	reading, matching	online review of the book	short stories
3/28	Dan Brown	*The Da Vinci Code (2003)*	listening, matching, speaking	three dialogues, book and DVD covers, book titles	a novel
	F. Scott Fitzgerald	*The Great Gatsby (1925)*			a novel
	Jane Austen	*Pride and Prejudice (1813)*			a novel
	Suzanne Collins	*Hunger Games (2008)*			a novel
	Victor Hugo	*Les Misérables (1862)*			a novel

New Headway Upper Intermediate (Soars and Soars 2014) consists of 12 Units. It features only three literary texts - one in Unit 3, another in Unit 10 and the third in Unit 12. All three literary texts, a short story and two poems, are from the 20th century. There are seven references to literary works, 4 of them published in the 21st century, 2 in the 19th century and 1 in the 20th century. Three famous authors from the 20th and 19th centuries are also mentioned with no reference to the texts.

7.2 Findings and discussion

Compared to learning materials used in the past, modern course books feature significantly fewer literary texts but a comparable amount of or even more *references* to literary works. The latter is due to non-fictional texts such as newspaper articles or travelogues gaining more significance and in which references to literary works are fairly common.

The main finding of the present study concerning the quantity of literary texts in old and modern course books is not entirely in line with the general trends in teaching literature as outlined earlier in this paper. Within the grammar-translation method, literary texts were the staple of foreign language teaching, which has been confirmed by the analysis of *Angleška vadnica III* (Žgur and Skalický 1950).

The analysis of *A Sixth-Year English Course* (Brihta and Grgić 1966), probably a typical exponent of the 'transitional' eclectic ELT methodology combining some characteristics of the Grammar-Translation Method, the Reform (i.e. Direct) Method, and the Audiolingual Method, reveals that the course book features a fair number of literary texts.

During the audiolingual period, there was a general trend toward exclusion of literary texts from the curriculum, which continued in the late 1970s (Kramsch and Kramsch 2000, 565-566). Contrary to this general trend, the analysis of *MAP 3* (Knight et al. 1974) – a typical exponent of the audiolingual method – reveals that literature was still valued for its contribution to culture teaching. However, this is true of *MAP 3* only which was the last volume in the series and aimed at the upper-intermediate level (i.e., 3rd and 4th year of grammar schools), whereas two previous volumes in the series (i.e., MAP 1 and MAP 2) do not include any literary texts. Literature was obviously restricted to higher proficiency levels only.

The analysis of the communicative course books (i.e., the *Headway* series) confirms the general trend that literature 'seems like an irrelevance'. It is true that modern EFL course books do contain bits and pieces of literature, but this is still very far from containing a coherent literary syllabus. The fact that literature has obviously still not found a firm place in ELT textbooks has been confirmed by several other studies. Tomlinson et al. (2001), who analysed 8 EFL course books for adults, note that most current course books rarely use literature, and when they do, they tend to follow a traditional pattern, i.e. asking learners to read the text carefully and then to answer comprehension questions. In the 2008 review by Masuhara et al., 8 current adult EFL courses were evaluated, with the results revealing a "lack of poems, literature, and stories" (ibid., 310). Similar results are reported by Yildirim (2012), who analysed 6 communicative EFL textbooks, and established that "the use of literature is both rare and restricted to upper-intermediate levels" (ibid., 147). Two more studies, one analysing 22 current EFL course books (Gümüşok 2013), and the other 12 (Jesenko, 2014), also confirm that literature in ELT teaching materials remains peripheral.

It seems that Maley's (1989, 59) statement that "literature is back", and Gilroy and Parkinson's (1996, 213) claim that "now, in the 'communicative' era, literature is back in favour" refer primarily to teacher resource books, readers or anthologies designed to complement course books rather than to course books themselves.

As to the *genre*, both old materials as well as modern course books mostly feature extracts from novels and short stories, and there are more poems than extracts from plays. Especially at the intermediate level, modern course books seem to include more stories with which students might

already be familiar. *New Headway Intermediate* (2009), for example, includes folk tales and myths, the story of *Romeo and Juliet* adapted as a comic book, and a reference to the *Harry Potter* series. An example of children's literature is the poem *Jim and the Lion* used in *New Headway Upper-Intermediate* (2014). There are also some examples of modern genre inventions such as a mini saga or abridged versions of literary works especially designed for EFL students.

8. Conclusion

Despite its invaluable contribution to linguistic and cultural awareness as well as 'personal growth', literature has been greatly underestimated in recent foreign language learning. It is difficult to set out exact reasons for this situation. Stern (1992, 229) believes that the role of literature has declined "as a result of the growing interest in a social and scientific approach to culture" during the course of the 20th century. An important additional reason might be that *lingua franca* English is primarily seen as an essential tool for success in the international knowledge economy. As such, and often taught via the global course book, the focus in ELT is typically on instrumental achievement of defined skills and proficiency levels. According to Mitchell (2009, 89),

> [t]he main 21st century drivers which determine basic factors in foreign language education policy […], are instrumental goals which prioritise the development of practical language skills. Goals of intercultural understanding and metalinguistic awareness are seen by many commentators as insufficient of themselves to justify sustained investment and commitment to foreign language education in the curriculum.

It seems that this focus on 'practical language skills' is closely reflected in global ELT course books which tend to stubbornly side-line literature as a means of developing students' ICC. Therefore, willing teachers who believe that literary readings have a place in ELT have to take on the duty of supplying learners with literary texts which will encourage learners to use their imagination and creativity, unlike the referential texts in the course books. However, most teachers, having to cover a densely-packed syllabus and prepare students for daunting exams, may be unable to find the time to bring extra materials, so the literary texts included in the course book might be the only literature to which learners are exposed in language classes.

The question to ask today is whether this neglect of literature is justified or whether literature should be reconsidered for its specific role in culture teaching. However, the extreme diversity of FLT situations in terms of resources, external pressures, student wants and needs, and teacher expertise "precludes any grand consensus on the place and form of literature teaching, which will remain for many a hit-or-miss activity, though a general improvement in materials and teacher education may raise the chances of rewarding and successful learning" (Gilroy and Parkinson 1996, 221).

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Cross-Curricular Teaching: The Case of Mark Haddon's *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time*

Summary

The knowledge learners acquire at school has to be applicable in practice to ensure their motivation for learning. Both cross-curricular and interdisciplinary teaching provide a meaningful way in which students can use the knowledge acquired in one context as the basis for learning in other contexts in and out of school. By using interdisciplinary teaching, the instructor can present the topics in a holistic manner: this approach therefore allows us to activate more of the learners' senses and intelligences. Since Mathematics is one of the least liked subjects by our students, and English one of the favorite ones, the article will demonstrate how we can integrate activities addressing all types of intelligences in a language learning class to achieve the whole range of Bloom's levels of educational objectives on the basis of a novel which includes a wealth of references to mathematics: *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time* by Mark Haddon, which has recently been compulsory reading in all Slovene grammar school programs.

Keywords: cross-curricular/interdisciplinary teaching, educational objectives, multiple intelligences, Mark Haddon

Medpredmetno poučevanje z obravnavo romana Marka Haddona *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time*

Povzetek

Da bi zagotovili potrebno motivacijo za učenje, mora biti znanje, ki ga učenci pridobivajo v šoli, uporabno v vsakdanjem življenju. Tako medpredmetno kot interdisciplinarno poučevanje omogočata uporabo znanja, pridobljenega v nekem kontekstu, kot osnovo za učenje na drugih področjih, v šoli in izven nje. S pomočjo interdisciplinarnega pristopa lahko teme celovito predstavimo in s tem aktiviramo več učenčevih čutil ter mnogotere inteligentnosti. Ker je matematika pri naših učencih manj priljubljen predmet, angleščina pa med bolj priljubljenimi, bomo v prispevku predstavili, kako lahko pri pouku tujega jezika ob obravnavi romana Marka Haddona z naslovom *Skrivnostni primer ali kdo je umoril psa,* ki ponuja izjemno veliko primerov in zanimivih razlag matematičnih problemov, z uporabo dejavnosti, ki razvijajo mnogotere inteligentnosti, dosežemo celo paleto izobraževalnih ciljev.

Ključne besede: medpredmetno/interdisciplinarno poučevanje, izobraževalni cilji, mnogotere inteligentnosti, Mark Haddon

Cross-Curricular Teaching: The Case of Mark Haddon's *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time*

1. Introduction

The present article first defines interdisciplinary teaching by describing some of its characteristics, advantages and potential shortcomings, since the renewed school curricula place a special emphasis on cross-curricular links and there has been some discussion of how this could be done. Secondly, since English is one of the more popular subjects and Mathematics one of the least favorite subjects in Slovene schools (Damjan, Vidovič and Vodeb 2012), we wanted to find a common element to help us demonstrate how the integration of activities addressing the development of multiple intelligences can be used to intertwine Mathematics and English in order to achieve the whole range of Bloom's levels of educational objectives which serve as a quality control mechanism. To achieve this aim, an example is provided on the basis of a work of art, an English novel by the title of *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time* by Mark Haddon, which includes a wealth of references to Mathematics and has recently been compulsory reading in our grammar school programs.

2. What is Interdisciplinary or Cross-Curricular Teaching?

Interdisciplinary teaching is a method, or set of methods, used to teach a unit across different curricular disciplines or subjects. Sometimes called cross-curricular teaching, it involves a conscious effort to apply knowledge, principles, and/or values to more than one academic discipline simultaneously. According to Jacobs (1989, 27), the disciplines may be related through a central theme, issue, problem, process, topic or experience: "The organizational structure of interdisciplinary/cross-curricular teaching is called a theme, thematic unit, or unit, which presents a framework with goals or outcomes that specify what students are expected to learn as a result of the experiences and lessons that are a part of the unit". There are two possible levels of integration that schools go through: the first one is integration of language skills like listening, speaking, reading, writing, and thinking; the second one refers to a much broader kind of integration, one in which a theme begins to encompass all curricular areas (Pappas et al. 1990, 10). The arts challenge pupils to consider complex issues and think in different ways, which makes them use different forms of intelligence and helps them examine their thoughts, feelings and actions. While students are learning the basic information in core subjects, they are not usually applying their knowledge effectively in thinking and reasoning; interdisciplinary teaching therefore provides a meaningful way in which students can use the knowledge acquired in one context as a basis for other contexts at school and out of it.

The terms cross-curricular and interdisciplinary teaching are sometimes used interchangeably and will be treated as such for the purpose of this study, since English in itself comprises various disciplines such as linguistics, literature, and the underlying cultural aspect, but on closer inspection there is a small difference between them. According to (ibid., 14) cross-curricular teaching is an approach where teachers attempt to present a specific content or issue in a comprehensive way so that they illustrate it from different aspects which are all a part of different school subjects. In Slovenia this kind of teaching has been introduced in the first years of the nine-year primary schools. Teachers across the country have found many productive ways of integrating work in a

new language with the rest of the primary school curriculum, while reinforcing work in other subjects at the same time. However, research on first grade teachers shows that the understanding of the concept of cross-curricular teaching is poor. It is therefore believed that the issue deserves more attention in the education of present and future teachers as well as in research.

Interdisciplinary means involving two or more disciplines. Davis (1995, 5-6), and others have necessarily expanded on this definition and noted important differences among the terms interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and cross-disciplinary: "One of the key distinctions between interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary is that interdisciplinary refers to an integrative process or relationship, while multidisciplinary is only additive. Cross-disciplinary, on the other hand, refers to viewing one discipline from the perspective of another" (ibid., 5). Davis takes integration as the key characteristic of interdisciplinary courses, with "scholars working together to pool their interests, insights, and methods, usually with the hope of gaining and presenting new understandings that could not be derived from working alone" (ibid., 6).

He also examines the origins of disciplinary specialization and its impact on traditional teaching. The limits of disciplinary specialization and the need for multiple perspectives and more coherence in the curriculum are presented as the basis for turning to interdisciplinary, team-taught courses as an alternative. For teachers the required components are the need for integrative skills, awareness of multiple perspectives, the ability to work collaboratively, and the capacity to cope with complexity.

While Davis presents an in-depth case for interdisciplinary courses, the following list of potential advantages of interdisciplinary teaching and learning is, according to Leora Baron from the Academy for the Art of Teaching, Florida International University (2002), a handy summary of the rationale given by Davis and others: "it is reflective of life, which is not segmented into discrete disciplines; it allows for the use of multiple approaches and applications of skills for problem solving; it can provide a broader context for new information; it allows for a broad use of diverse experiences and knowledge bases; it encourages creativity and creative thinking; it allows for greater flexibility, teaching improvement through joint planning and mutual observations; it provides for a heightened level of collegial communication; it opens up possibilities for an expansion of course offerings with minimal or no additional resources; it can provide expanded opportunities for the application of theory, it provides a good introduction and foundation for various disciplines and the use of diverse perspectives; it helps develop tolerance of ambiguity, it can enhance the ability to synthesize and integrate information; and last but not least important, it can integrate the new information environment that tends to be less linear and more cross-disciplinary."(Baron 2002, 369)

3. Types of Interdisciplinary Teaching

There are many different types, or levels, of interdisciplinary teaching. At one end, schools might employ an *interdisciplinary team approach*, in which teachers of different content areas are assigned to one group of students and are encouraged to correlate some of their teaching (Vars 1991). In Slovenia this approach is used in special grammar school programs called European Classes or Evropski razredi. The most common method of implementing integrated, interdisciplinary instruction is the *thematic unit*, in which a common theme is studied in more than one content area (Barton and Smith 2000, 54), as in our first years of the primary school with *multidisciplinary or parallel design*, which is defined as lessons or units developed across many disciplines with a common organizing topic (Jackson and Davis 2000, 43).

One of the foremost scholars of interdisciplinary teaching techniques is James Beane, who

advocates *curriculum integration*, which involves a curriculum that is collaboratively designed around important issues (e.g., Graz International Bilingual School). It has four major components: the integration of experiences, social integration, the integration of knowledge, and integration as curriculum design. It differs from other types of interdisciplinary teaching in that it begins with a central theme that emerges from the questions or social concerns of students, without regard to subject delineations (Beane 1997, 61).

Both, interdisciplinary and cross-curricular teaching offer the opportunity to combine work by more than one teacher. Davis (1995, 8) suggests that professors teaching alone can make interdisciplinary connections; on the other hand, his emphasis is on courses involving two or more professors collaborating in significant ways. *Team teaching* can be organized in the following ways: with a single instructor covering multiple disciplines, by team teaching of separate courses, by team teaching of linked courses or by team teaching of one integrated course.

4. Benefits and Shortcomings of Interdisciplinary/Cross-Curricular Teaching

Interdisciplinary/cross-curricular teaching is often seen as a way to address some of the recurring problems in education, such as fragmentation and isolated skill instruction. It is seen as a way to support goals such as transfer of learning, teaching students to think and reason, and providing a curriculum more relevant to students (Marzano 1998; Perkins 1991). By using a cross-curricular approach to teaching and learning, schools can encourage and challenge pupils to think creatively.

According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (Applebee et al. 1989, 27), while students are learning the basic information in core subject areas, they are not learning to apply their knowledge effectively in thinking and reasoning. Interdisciplinary or cross-curricular teaching provides a meaningful way in which students can use knowledge learned in one context as a knowledge base in other contexts in and out of school (Collins et al. 1989).

Many of the important concepts, strategies, and skills taught in the language arts are readily "portable" or transferable (Perkins 1986) to other content areas. The concept of perseverance, for example, may be found in literature and science. Strategies for monitoring comprehension can be directed to reading material in any content area. Cause-and-effect relationships exist in literature, science, and social studies. Interdisciplinary and cross-curricular teaching support and promote this transfer. Critical thinking can be applied in any discipline.

Flowers et al. (1999) identify five important findings of their experiences with interdisciplinary teaching and planning: common planning time is vital; schools that team have a more positive work climate; parental contact is more frequent; teachers report increased job satisfaction, and student achievement scores in schools that team are higher than in those that do not team.

In a year-long pilot program, a school district in Michigan created integration plans for thematic units, based on the ideas of Howard Gardner about multiple intelligences. The results of the program included "sustained enthusiasm" from the staff, parents, and students, increased attendance rates, and improvement in standardized test scores, "especially from students with the poorest test results" (Bolak et al. 2005).

Moreover, interdisciplinary/cross-curricular teaching can increase students' motivation for learning and their level of engagement. In contrast to learning skills in isolation, when students participate

in interdisciplinary experiences they see the value of what they are learning and become more actively engaged (Resnick 1989, 33).

Interdisciplinary/cross-curricular teaching also provides the conditions under which effective learning occurs. Students learn more when they use language arts skills to explore what they are learning, write about what they are learning, and interact with their classmates, teachers, and members of the community (Thaiss 1989, 6).

Additionally, Pumerantz and Galanto (1972, 9) find that interdisciplinary teaching allows for students to "proceed at a pace commensurate with their interests, skills, and experiences". Integrated instruction helps teachers better utilize instructional time and look deeper into subjects through a variety of content-specific lenses. Another benefit of integrated instruction is that teachers can better differentiate instruction to individual student needs. Integrated instruction also allows for authentic assessment (Barton and Smith 2000). A final benefit of interdisciplinary teaching is that students have a chance to work with multiple sources of information, thus ensuring they are receiving a more inclusive perspective than they would from consulting only one textbook (Wood 1997, 201).

There are also potential shortcomings with this approach. Thematic units can fall short of teaching in-depth content to students. Often a certain theme is used to link unrelated subjects, with little deference to students' prior knowledge or interests. This superficial coverage of a topic can give students the wrong idea about school, perhaps missing the idea of curriculum integration in the first place (Barton and Smith 2000). Thematic units can contain pointless busywork and activities created solely to create a link to a theme; for example, the alphabetizing of state capitals in a social studies unit, in an attempt to integrate it with language arts (Brophy and Alleman 1991). Team-taught interdisciplinary lessons also require more time during the process of lesson planning. Owing to differences in attitudes and beliefs of the teachers, some conflicts are to be expected; on the other hand, these could be perceived as opportunities for the formation of new professional views and acquisition of new knowledge.

Since the teacher is no longer *the sage on the stage* but *the guide on the side*, new approaches to learning and teaching are based on active learning or learning by doing, learner centeredness, collaborative learning, team work and team teaching, individualized instruction including multiple intelligences, learning to learn and authentic materials. Taking this into consideration we would like to advocate interdisciplinary teaching as an effective way of achieving higher educational goals and bringing together subjects which at the first glance do not have much in common: e.g., a social studies subject like a foreign language and a natural sciences subject like Mathematics.

5. English versus Mathematics in Interaction with Multiple Intelligences

Some school subjects are more popular than others and some more readily awake natural interest in learning. According to the findings of Klara Štraus, the writer of a study on cross-curricular teaching of English and Mathematics, the current style of teaching mathematics cannot create interest in natural sciences in learners who are not yet motivated, nor does it encourage them to experiment or seek information on their own (Štraus 2008). The problem of not understanding and not liking Mathematics is related to the differing perceptions of individual learners and differently developed centers for single intelligences. There are fewer problems in learning English, since learners are more engaged and more motivated, and usually benefit from more attractive or

interesting teaching techniques. So a question arose of whether it were possible to make learners absorb mathematical content more effectively with a combination or integration of subjects or simply through the subject of English, which they like more. She came to the conclusion that by taking multiple intelligences and the benefits of cross curricular teaching into consideration, one could create a new approach for teaching mathematics (ibid., 31). Although this can be an overstatement, the fact remains that by teaching in an interdisciplinary manner we encourage students to use the knowledge acquired in one context (i.e. school subject) as a knowledge base in another context and provide for more collaborative learning, more learner-centredness and learning by doing. Therefore, if the students enjoy reading about a fictional character's approach to solving mathematical problems in English and this helps them understand the issues better, the teachers of both subjects (like our double major students of English and Mathematics) can actually replace less efficient teaching approaches in one subject with more efficient ones from another.

Learners who enjoy math lessons are a minority in our schools. These learners dominantly use logical-mathematical intelligence, as one of the 8 intelligences at their disposal. Alongside the linguistic one, this intelligence is most highly appreciated in the civilized world, as it enables us to use numerous inventions and operate machines, so it can be applied in many jobs. The ease by which all normal people and numerous ones with lower capabilities master their mother tongue despite its intricacy shows that the entire human race is additionally equipped for the development of abilities in the area responsible for the linguistic intelligence. Some problems that most people have in order to make inferences before learning show that we are not additionally prepared in other areas, so it is possible that some nerve centers are easier to relax, stimulate, program, or slow down, while others are hard to activate or obstruct (Gardner 1995). That we are not additionally prepared in this area is not a sufficient reason for giving up on Mathematics as a subject. Research has shown that individuals with hemispheric brain damage in the mathematical-logical center were able to solve the same tasks as "healthy people". The only difference was that they resorted to other aids or methods: either visual, linguistic or a combination of more methods. Based on the findings of neurological research, we can come to an important conclusion: when one of the intelligences is poorly developed, we can always use other intelligences to achieve the same goal.

During English lessons, **verbal** intelligence is used almost all the time. Since we are better prepared or we have better dispositions in this area, there are consequently fewer problems. **Interpersonal** intelligence is activated through relationships between the teacher and learner/s or learner and learner/s. **Spatial** intelligence is activated mostly visually by many drawings or images in the textbooks or other aids. With **musical** intelligence, learners distinguish many different types of intonation, minimal pairs in pronunciation or observe the speed of spoken language. Motion and therefore **bodily-kinesthetic** intelligence is used when learners perform actions. Other intelligences are present according to the content and specific topics – **naturalist** intelligence can be awakened during a debate about animals, the **intrapersonal** one by writing an essay. **Logical-mathematical** intelligence is present every time the rules must be obeyed. Rules mainly refer to grammar, and this area is the one that causes most problems. Gardner's explanation of which centers are better developed in general is the answer to grammar problems. This could also be why Mathematics causes so many problems for the learners – there is the need to use mainly mathematical-logical intelligence throughout the lesson.

Gardner's idea of developing intelligences in the classroom is appealing to teachers who are willing to explore learners' knowledge and perceptions, and who shape their teaching styles into a form that suits individual students. In this way students can develop the intelligences at which they excel to the maximum, on the one hand, and improve their weak points, on the other. Verbal

intelligence is also of great importance to the subject of Mathematics, since some aspects and exact manners of expression depend on this intelligence. However, the problems with verbal intelligence occur when it interferes with the rational part of the subject. It is expected that students will be able not just to tell us something about the mathematical topic, but also to show that that they understand the content. "Students typically fail as soon as the problem is expressed in a slightly different way or an unexpected example is encountered or described" (Gardner 1993, 173).

Let us use Gardner's example for demonstrating a case where verbal intelligence presents an obstacle to logical thinking: when we have a number of professors and tell learners that there are six times as many students as professors, everyone can calculate the missing quantity. When we give the number of students and the same ratio, the result is also good. But when we ask them to verbalize this or write out the formula for this task, where the letter S stands for students and the letter P for professors, the majority of (college) students fail. This may seem as an easy task, but most people would write the formula as 6S=P. The problem here is the fact that the word six occurs near the word students and therefore they "fall into the 6S trap".[1]

In the previous situation the difficulty was putting ideas into words, but in other mathematical situations there are plenty of words available to express our thoughts or results. At this point a problem arises because of the required precise manner of expression, which leaves no room for improvisation. In a normal conversation we are free to add humor and use the lexicon in many ways, but mathematics allows for no such imprecision.

Sometimes verbal intelligence is the key distractor in mathematical processes, and sometimes it can be a savior. Some learners are not able to sum two numbers, but when these numbers are described as prices for two products, and only when currency is added, the learners get the whole picture of the problem and are able to get the results. This is frequent with very young learners who are able to do mental calculations but not able to connect the two realms. Through interdisciplinary lessons with an emphasis on the use of intelligences, we can pay attention to the learner's use of strategies and can redirect them to the use of intelligences that are more appropriate for certain types of tasks.

A survey of the current national curricula in primary and secondary schools reveals no explicit cross-curricular connection between English and Mathematics. According to students, however, English has a privileged position as a subject. The language is used to address different topics or themes which empower or establish various cross-curricular links; the activities used to do this can address more than one intelligence as well as different educational goals. Students can express their opinions, likes, dislikes, and preferences; they can also have more influence on the choice of topics or ways of expressing themselves, and often there is more than just one correct or acceptable solution or answer, which all contributes to an increase in motivation.

Mathematics is a subject of rational thinking that leaves no place for emotions. But without emotions like excitement or the feeling of satisfaction, there is no personal need for discovery in this subject. Motivation is needed in general for everything we do; therefore, it is even more urgent with subjects that demand mathematical-logical intelligence, since according to Gardner (1993), the predispositions for the use of this type of intelligence are lower than for linguistic intelligence. Motivation through emotions supported by intrapersonal intelligence and empathizing with others through interpersonal intelligence are among the most neglected types of motivation in the teaching of mathematics.

We can therefore suggest the integration of these two different fields as an interesting solution

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[1]   The correct formula is Nt = 1/6 Ns or 6Nt=Ns

to this problem. A work of art, such as a novel, seems to be an ideal starting point or a common denominator, particularly if the story includes descriptions and explanations of numerous mathematical problems, such as in Mark Haddon's *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-time*, which was recently compulsory reading for the Matura exam in our grammar schools. An additional dimension lies in the fact that the main character is a child with special needs who uses typically autistic language, which offers ample opportunities for creating links with various disciplines.

If we use a new approach, we also need a quality-control mechanism. Interdisciplinary teaching can be effectively based on the development of multiple intelligences; at the same time, we should ensure that this approach brings student knowledge to the required level of complexity. Bloom's levels of cognitive complexity can serve as ideal quality controllers.

According to Bloom, thinking processes can be measured by determining the levels of cognitive complexity apparent in interpretations of complex situations. The cognitive domain involves knowledge and the development of intellectual skills. This includes the recall or recognition of specific facts, procedural patterns, and concepts that serve in the development of intellectual abilities and skills. The taxonomy of educational objectives that is often called Bloom's taxonomy is a classification of different skills and learning objectives. There are six major categories, which can be thought of as degrees of difficulty. Thus, learning at the higher levels is dependent on having attained prerequisite knowledge and skills at lower levels (Orlich et al. 2004, 129), or the lower level skills must be mastered before the next ones can take place. Since the focus of teaching is on all three domains – affective, psychomotor and cognitive, Bloom's taxonomy also motivates teachers to create a more holistic form of education.

Since cognitive psychology is the predominant paradigm in education, it has almost become more important to see *how* students think than *what* they think. The eight intelligences are cognitive capacities, as they refer to memory and problem solving; therefore, Bloom's levels of cognitive complexity also apply to them. Since linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligence are more emphasized in our schools, we believe that, in order to improve students' strong points in other intelligences, we have to teach in a way that activates as many intelligences as possible to achieve all levels of cognitive complexity.

Bloom's levels of cognitive complexity rank from knowledge, comprehension, analysis, application, and synthesis to evaluation. Below, teachers can find an aid in the form of a list of verbs and indicative questions related to each particular level which they might find helpful when creating tasks or activities for any of the levels of educational objectives.

Knowledge refers to rote memory skills, knowing facts, terms, procedures or classification systems. Words and questions that are typically used to check knowledge are these:

Words	Questions
choose, define, find, label, list, match, name, recall, recognize, remember, show, spell, select, tell,	what is...? who.. ?, where…?, when...?, when/how did … happen?, how would you explain … ?, how would you describe…?, can you recall…?, how would you show ..?, can you select..? who were the main ..?, can you list three ...?

Comprehension refers to understanding the meaning, the ability to translate, paraphrase, interpolate, and interpret instructions and problems or to stating a problem in one's own words. Words and questions that are typically used to check comprehension are these:

Words	Questions
classify, compare, contrast, demonstrate, describe, explain the main idea, illustrate, infer, outline, put in your own words, relate, rephrase, summarize, show.	how would you classify/ compare/ contrast/ rephrase...?, which statement supports…?, what can you say about..?...

Application is the capacity to transfer knowledge from one setting to another, to use a concept in a new situation or an unprompted use of an abstraction. Words and questions that ask a student to apply previously learned information to get an answer are these:

Words	Questions
apply, build, classify, choose, employ, develop, identify, interview, make use of, model, organize, plan, select, solve, use, write an example.	how many examples…?, which other way..?, what elements would you change..?, what would happen if..?, can you organize…to show...?

Analysis means examining and breaking information into parts by identifying motives or causes, discovering and differentiating the component parts of a larger whole and finding evidence to support generalizations. In analysis questions, students are asked to engage in three kinds of cognitive processes: to identify the motives, reasons, and/or causes for a specific occurrence, consider and analyze available information to reach a conclusion, inference, or generalization based on this information. Unless students can be brought to the higher levels of analysis, synthesis, and evaluation, it is unlikely that transfer will take place. If teachers do not ask higher level questions, it is unlikely that most students will transfer school work to real life. They may not even be able to apply it to school situations other than the one in which it was "learned." Words and questions that are typically used to check the ability of analysis are these:

Words	Questions
analyze, categorize, classify, discover, dissect, distinguish, divide, draw conclusions, determine the evidence, examine, identify motives or causes, inspect, simplify, support, survey	how would you classify...?, why do you think..?, how is this related to…?, what evidence can you find..?, explain why…, what conclusions can you draw..?...

Synthesis requires higher order questions that ask the student to perform original and creative thinking. Synthesis questions ask students to produce original communications, make predictions, and solve problems. Although analysis questions may also ask students to solve problems, synthesis questions differ because they do not require a single correct answer, but allow a variety of creative answers instead. Words and questions that are typically used to check the ability of synthesizing are the following:

Words	Questions
adapt, build, change, combine, compile, construct, delete, design, develop, elaborate, estimate, formulate, imagine, invent, minimize, maximize, make up, originate, plan, predict, propose, produce, solve, suppose, synthesize, theorize, test, write,	how can we improve…?, what would happen if..?, can you think of an original way of..?, how can we solve..?, what changes would you make to solve..?, can you predict an outcome?, how would you adapt…to create a different..?

According to Armstrong (2000, 130) **evaluation** is judging the value or utility of information using a set of standards or making judgments about the value of ideas or materials. It is achieved by higher level questions that do not have a single correct answer. It requires the student to judge the

merit of an idea, a solution to a problem, or a work of art. The student may also be asked to offer an opinion on an issue. To answer evaluation questions objective criteria or personal values must be applied and some standard must be used. This type of questions is frequently used to surface values or to cause students to realize that not everyone sees things the same way. They can be also used to start a class discussion (for example: Do you agree with...?) or even precede a follow-up analysis or synthesis question like "Why…?" Words typically used in evaluation questions are these:

Words	Questions
award, agree, appraise, assess, choose, compare, conclude, criticize, decide, deduct, defend, determine, disprove, dispute, estimate, evaluate, explain, influence, interpret, judge, justify, measure, mark, perceive, prioritize, prove, rate, recommend, rule on, select opinion, support, value	do you agree with the actions/with the outcomes…?, what is your opinion of …?, how would you prove/disprove…?, can you assess the value or importance of…?, would it be better if ..?, what would you recommend..?, how would you rate/ evaluate/ prioritize..?, what would you cite to defend the actions …?, what data was used to make the conclusion ..?

In an attempt to present an effective example of cross-curricular teaching based on the development of multiple intelligences we used a work of art in the form of a novel by Mark Haddon which enabled us to integrate two distinctly different subjects like English and Mathematics, representing respectively verbal or linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligence. We will suggest the tasks and activities that foster the development of multiple intelligences and at the same time, by using the quality control mechanism of Bloom's taxonomy, enable students to achieve all levels of cognitive complexity. The tasks were piloted by our students during their teaching practice.

6. *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time*

We can easily find eight tasks that activate individual intelligences or six tasks that follow the principles of Bloom's taxonomy of learning objectives in reference to the novel *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time.* The book is beautifully written, thought provoking, and empathy-inspiring; the hero, a convincing narrator, is a savant, a young boy with Asperger's syndrome, who knows all the countries in the world and their capital cities and every prime number up to 7,057. He has a photographic memory, is incapable of telling lies, and prefers animals to most people; he thus feels at a loss in the real world, which is full of ambiguity and replete with idiomatic use of words, and he feels safe in his world of numbers, order and his own unique system of interpretation of complex mathematical problems. His writing is dominated by numbers in all kinds of situations, but it also provides clear explanations and ample visual back-up in the form of charts, drawings, plans, remarks, examples, and clarifications. The plot offers many cross disciplinary links and the book has proven to be well liked by secondary school students.

The interaction of intelligences and Bloom's levels, on the other hand, demands 48 tasks that cover individual combinations; nevertheless, the suggested list is not conclusive. Following is a set of activities or tasks the teachers can use in preparing their students for the examination if they aim at developing various learning styles, intelligences and at the same time address different subjects like English and Mathematics or even beyond that, several different disciplines. The order of tasks is determined by the level of difficulty or cognitive complexity from knowledge to evaluation.

Linguistic intelligence

At the level of	An example activity
knowledge	*Remember names of characters and places.*
comprehension	*Explain why Chris left his father.*
application	*Given the descriptions of different public places, explain what an autistic person would do in a given location .*
analysis	*Describe how Chris functions in individual institutions of society.*
synthesis	*Write an essay about the life of an autistic person.*
evaluation	*Rate responses of individuals towards Chris's unusual behavior.*

Logical-mathematical intelligence

At the level of	An example activity
knowledge	*Remember prime numbers up to 50.*
comprehension	*If every letter has its number of value (1-25), search for the names the sum of which gives prime numbers.*
application	*Given the map of England, estimate what distance Chris travelled in km – is it a prime number?*
analysis	*Divide mathematical problems into 2 groups: logical problems versus calculation tasks.*
synthesis	*Given the Monty Hall problem, use any method to solve it.*
evaluation	*Rank Christopher's mathematical problems from the easiest to the toughest one.*

Spatial intelligence

At the level of	An example activity
knowledge	*Remember Christopher's drawing, name the colors Christopher dislikes.*
comprehension	*Given the graphic presentation for quick multiplication, calculate the square of 25.*
application	*Visualize Chris's hometown and London on a map; in which direction is London from his home?*
analysis	*Analyze Christopher's way of finding the station (making circles close to the station).*
synthesis	*Draw Christopher's street using the colors and persons that he likes*
evaluation	*Rate his perception of the environment (photographic memory).*

Bodily-kinesthetic intelligence

At the level of	An example activity
knowledge	*Recognize the shape of a cylinder while holding it in your hands.*
comprehension	*Find as many cylindrical objects as possible in your surroundings.*
application	*Make a cylinder by using different materials.*
analysis	*Research how many equal components can make a cylinder.*
synthesis	*Gather materials and tools to make a cylinder that sticks together without glue and has an empty space inside.*
evaluation	*Explain what makes Christopher's cylinder different from yours.*

Musical intelligence

At the level of	An example activity
knowledge	*List some sounds and noises from the story.*
comprehension	*Explain what kind of sounds can make Chris nervous.*

application	Listen to different kinds of mood music and find out how each of them makes you feel.
analysis	Link different kinds of mood music to Chris' emotional states through the story.
synthesis	Create your own song based on information from this text.
evaluation	Rate the mentioned songs from best to worst and give reasons for your choices.

Interpersonal intelligence

At the level of	An example activity
knowledge	Record responses to the question: "What do you like about Chris?" (Class interview).
comprehension	Determine Chris's most likeable characteristic according to your interview findings.
application	Use the results in a discussion to find famous persons with the same or similar qualities.
analysis	Classify school-mates into groups according to which characteristics they like.
synthesis	Create a mind map of different professions and decide which characteristics are required.
evaluation	Rate the characteristics according to your own opinion.

Intrapersonal intelligence

At the level of	An example activity
knowledge	Remember the time you first came across a mathematical problem.
comprehension	Share the feeling you had while trying to solve it.
application	Develop a technique for solving problems according to your experience.
analysis	Divide your experience into beginning, middle and end part.
synthesis	Compare Christopher's problem solving with your experience.
evaluation	Rate responses of individuals towards Chris' unusual behavior. Explain what you liked and what you disliked about his behavior.

Naturalist intelligence

At the level of	An example activity
knowledge	Name all the elements of nature in the story (plants and animals).
comprehension	Explain how people should treat animals.
application	Create a list of animals that can be pets to humans and a list of animals that are devoted to their masters.
analysis	Explain why the rat (Toby) ran away at the train station.
synthesis	Write a paper about the connections among nature, animals and humans.
evaluation	Comment on Christopher's attitude towards nature.

7. Conclusion

The knowledge learners acquire at school must be applicable in practice to ensure their motivation for learning. Interdisciplinary teaching provides a meaningful way for students to use the knowledge acquired in one context as the basis for learning in other contexts in and out of school. By using interdisciplinary or cross-curricular teaching, instructors can present a wide range of topics holistically; this approach therefore activates more of the learners' senses and different intelligences. The interdisciplinary connection of Mathematics and English in interaction with multiple intelligences can effectively be done using a selection of the above-listed activities for teaching the novel *The Curious Incident of a Dog in the Night Time* by Mark Haddon, which was perceived as a kind of project work, where a single instructor covers multiple disciplines.

The suggested model of activities for each of the intelligences is an attempt to show that, through careful selection and inclusion of various tasks, the teacher can achieve not only the basic but also the most demanding levels of cognitive complexity, which are often neglected in more superficial every day teaching. The list of key words and potential questions for the development of individual intelligences can serve as a guideline for the creation of similar tasks and activities and can be applied to almost any topic or subject.

The student teachers who tried some of these activities in practice confirm that using an interdisciplinary approach gives students an opportunity to apply, integrate and transfer previously acquired knowledge, which at the same time are the main features of cross- curricular teaching, and since the tasks rank from lower levels of cognitive complexity to the highest, motivation is increased and, consequently, the quality of learning is improved.

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IV.

TRANSLATION STUDIES

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Target Language Corpus as an Encoding Tool: Collocations in Slovene-English Translator Training

Summary

The opening part of the article discusses reasons for the lukewarm reception of language corpora in the language teaching community. The first reason is the complex syntax and rudimentary user interface of early corpora accessible in the 1990s. The second reason why corpora have witnessed a relatively slow start in language teaching is the fear of the unknown and of an unruly linguistic reality that is often at odds with rules taught at school. The practical part of the article presents a survey conducted among Slovene university students of translation. The survey focused on the effect of using a target language corpus in the course of Slovene into English translation in terms of English collocation. It found that the number of collocation errors in translation can be greatly reduced by competent use of a L2 corpus, which yields a translation with a higher level of idiomaticity.

Key words: translation into L2, collocation, corpus, target language corpus, translator training

Vpliv ciljno-jezičnega korpusa na prevajanje kolokacij pri študentih prevajanja iz slovenščine v angleščino

Povzetek

Članek se v začetku osredotoča na razloge za zadržan sprejem jezikovnih korpusov pri poučevanju jezikov. Kot prvi razlog navaja zapleteno skladnjo in nerodne uporabniške vmesnike zgodnjih korpusov iz 90-ih let. Kot drugi verjeten razlog vidi strah pred neznano jezikovno stvarnostjo, ki je pogosto skregana s šolskimi pravili. Praktični del članka predstavlja raziskavo med slovenskimi študenti prevajanja, ki razgrinja vpliv uporabe angleškega korpusa pri prevajanju v angleščino. Rezultati kažejo, da lahko ustrezna uporaba sodobnega korpusa bistveno zmanjša število napak pri angleških kolokacijah in tako pripomore k višji kvaliteti in idiomatičnosti prevoda.

Ključne besede: prevajanje v tuj jezik, kolokacija, korpus, ciljno-jezični korpus, izobraževanje prevajalcev

Target Language Corpus as an Encoding Tool: Collocations in Slovene-English Translator Training

1. Corpora past…

The advent of corpus linguistics has in practically every way changed the way we as linguists both deal with and look at language. Access to large quantities of computer-processed texts has proven invaluable in all disciplines of linguistics: rather than merely one of several branches of linguistics, corpus linguistics is seen as a methodology which can be applied to any sphere of linguistics (Mcenery and Wilson 2001, 2). The first and perhaps most obvious linguistic discipline to profit from corpus linguistics was lexicography, with the publication of the revolutionary *Collins COBUILD* EFL dictionary in 1987, edited by J.M. Sinclair, one of the pioneers of corpus linguistics. Other publishers of linguistic reference works soon followed suit, and within less than a decade virtually all contemporary dictionaries were corpus-based, with EFL dictionaries leading the way (e.g., the 4th edition of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (Cowie, 1989), the 1st edition of the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (Procter, 1995) and the 3rd edition of the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (Summers, 1995), to name but the most widely used).

The most recent linguistic field to tap into the rapidly growing sphere of corpus linguistics is language teaching. Römer (2009, 84) finds that "corpus linguistics *can* make a difference" and "that it has immense potential to improve pedagogy", but puts it to corpus linguists that they have so far focused on other, arguably higher priority tasks. In her text Römer also noted that corpus linguists have yet to come up with an interface of research and practice that will be sufficiently user-friendly to open the door to a wider acceptance and recognition of corpora as a viable and valuable language teaching tool. Recent developments have shown a marked improvement in precisely this direction, which is attested by high numbers of users of contemporary corpora: the *Corpus of Contemporary American* (aka COCA, Davies 2008) is currently accessed by a massive 40,000 community of unique users each month. The marked surge in numbers of corpora users from hundreds in the early period of corpus history (late 1980s and 1990s) to several ten-thousands today is largely attributable to two developments: one is the growing shift of linguistic focus on lexicological matters, and the other is improved ease of access.

The latter seems to be of particularly high importance, and great effort is directed towards bridging the gap between the wealth and complexity of information stored in corpora, on the one hand, and the needs and expectations of users, on the other. Recent surveys of corpora and corpus tools have shown that a modern user interface "has become more Google-like" (Kilgarriff and Kosem 2012, 49): text-input box, drop-down menus and practically instant results. Such an interface enables the user to gain access to the wide array of information available in the corpus without spending a substantial amount of time just to come to grips with anything beyond the most basic queries. This user-friendliness is a relatively new feature and stands in stark contrast to what corpus users had to live with only a decade or two ago. Users of the early corpora in the 1990s will no doubt remember the painful experience of learning the ropes of the *British National Corpus* (BNC, featuring the old interface available at http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/, see Fig. 1) or its Slovene counterpart *FIDA* (currently superseded by *FidaPLUS* available at http://www.fidaplus.net): the first few days and even weeks of using it were very puzzling, to say the least. The whole enterprise of learning the query syntax of the corpus required one to invest substantial effort and time. Just

Results of your search

Your query was

coca

Here is a random selection of 50 solutions from the 216 found.

ADR 1617 The producer, who was himself about to take the reins of the tour as it moved on to the regions of Britain as the Coca Cola Hit Man roadshow with Sinitta, Sonia and others from his stable below Kylie on the bill, said plans to take her to a major stadia like Wembley had been quickly dismissed.

ADR 1629 All tickets for Kylie's ten Coca Cola shows were distributed free through local radio stations.

AKY 551 US Drug Enforcement Administration agents will stay in Peru, helping to destroy the coca crop and intercept traffickers.

APC 2113 Everyone eats coca leaves and makes good prayers — oraciones — for one hour.'

APC 2120 After the prayers the curandero ritually burns coca leaves on the fire and everyone leaves the enclosures for a feast of specially prepared local food.

ARF 1355 They included the soothing mandragora, the energizing coca leaves (see Chapter 6), and the givers of disordered visions, the Mexican cactus Peyote and certain mushrooms of the Amanita and Psilocybe families.

CA0 19 Nor was Coca Cola or Seven-Up allowed.

CA0 128 She'd had to buy all her guides Coca Cola from guiding funds, and send them home early in a hired bus in case they electrocuted themselves storming the gates of Eldercombe Manor in search of Dancer.

CH3 4100 NOTTS County boss Neil Warnock, preparing for tonight's Coca Cola Cup first leg against Wolves, has challenged his players: 'Let's see you come out fighting — the same as me!'

CH3 4689 Wallace scored a wonder goal in the Coca Cola Cup clash at Brighton this week — his first strike for the club since December 15, 1990.

CH3 5055 The faltering champions hadn't won in six matches before their Coca Cola Cup caning of lowly Scunthorpe on Tuesday.

CH3 5105 They have been working on their passing and set-piece play after two poor displays in the Premier League and the Coca Cola Cup.

CH3 5335 And Preki, 29, impressed on his debut in the Coca Cola Cup defeat at Rotherham on Wednesday.

CR9 1288 The farmers remember the lawless boom times a decade ago, when they grew as much coca as they could manage for the drug traffickers who came from the other side of the continent to their market town.

Figure 1: Sample page of hits on the BNC for the query "coca"

how much effort and time was enough, depended in principle on two factors: one was the users' needs and expectations and the other their previous exposure to computers in their "raw" form, in a manner of speaking. The range of early corpus users extended from highly proficient, trained lexicographers to "just curious what it is" students of linguistics or languages, with several layers of mid-experts in between.

When it comes to classroom activities, it is far from surprising then that the use of early corpora witnessed a slow start. While many (or even most) university teachers were thrilled at the possibility of studying authentic language and discovering language patterns that had up to then been invisible, they were faced with a huge drawback in the form of the highly complex query syntax. For anything beyond the simplest queries, mastering the internal rules of a corpus was a prerequisite. Consider the following example of a relatively simple query in the *FidaPLUS* corpus of Slovene:

#1dež/1-3#1sneg

This particular query returned concordances containing the noun lemma *dež* (rain) appearing anywhere in the span from 1 to 3 words before or after the lemma *sneg* (snow); so, while it is far from complicated in terms of complex queries, it is still highly structured and very cryptic to the untrained eye. This means that early corpora required a level of expertise that was simply too high for many, and even though the broadened horizons of corpus-driven research appealed to teachers and students alike, few of them actually ventured to try more than getting to know the basics of

what corpora are, and more importantly, how they can affect methods of teaching and learning.

Complex syntax and a rough interface are not, however, the only cause of the sluggish start by language corpora in classroom use. There is another put off of corpora in general and this one has to do with the nature of language itself. Or perhaps more to the point, it is related to the ways we teach language and the way language is, which are two very different concepts. Teaching language is invariably subject to simplification and generalization. While it is true that both simplification and generalization are applied to a varying degree on all levels of education in general, there can also be no doubt that without these mechanisms the study of language in full scale would turn into an insurmountable task. Indeed, starting with children's mother tongue acquisition, parents behave like innate language teachers (Bolinger 1981, 165), and simplification in communicating with offspring is practically programmed in our minds. Simplification as a methodology of teaching has strong roots, then, and it is only natural that even at the higher education level we tend to see language as a system of rules. The rules may apply to morphology, syntax, phonology, etc., and although they may change over time, teachers pass them on and students soak them in as eternal truths. However, what corpora reveal is authentic language usage, which often does not play by the rules. Linguistic reality has always been much more intricate than any textbook would have us believe, and modern corpora give it to us (more or less) just as it is. The image of real language is frequently in many ways a distortion of what we learn at school, and distortion leads to discomfort. Linguistic reality is hard to accommodate for both teachers and students: the former may feel threatened by questions from some inquisitive student about a topic that does not comply with the rules taught as school, yet s/he "found it in the corpus". Students, on the other hand, are at first likely to be puzzled by the discovery of data that do not fit into the neatly organized categories of their linguistic knowledge. The discrepancy between corpus-revealed real usage and school-acquired regularity appears to have a particularly strong impact on foreign language learners
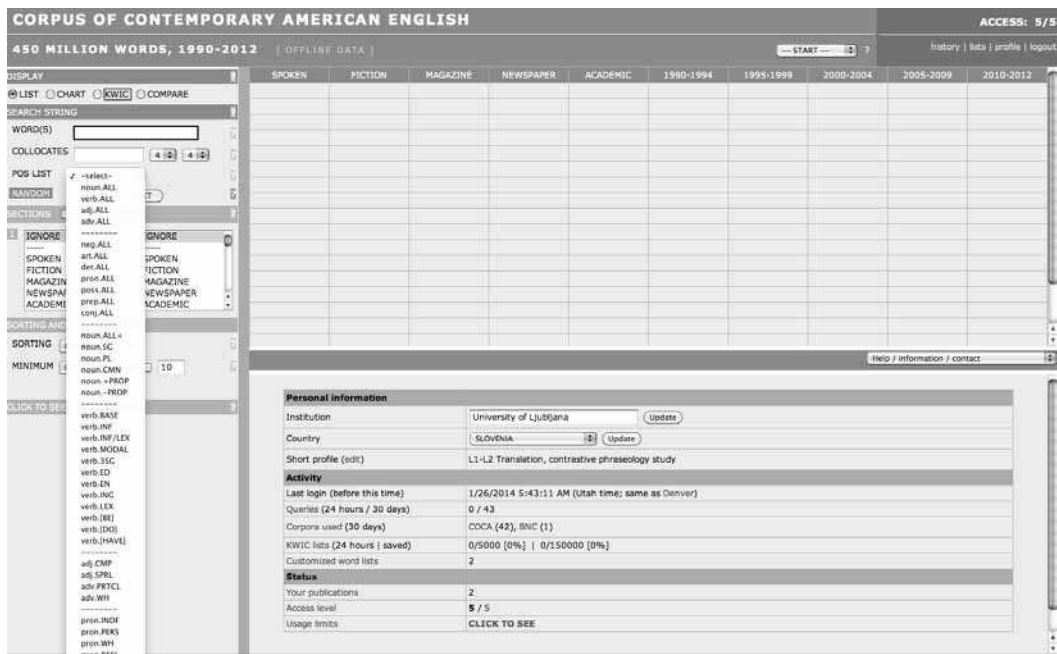

Figure 2: COCA interface with POS menu pulled down

(Granath 2009, 49), who in L2 cannot rely on their language instinct as self-assuredly as they do in their mother tongue.

2. … and present

However, as this paper will show, with proper training and encouragement, students have much to gain from the use of contemporary L2 corpora. As a case in point, a survey based on classroom/home implementation of *COCA* will be presented. *COCA* is a corpus that, since its introduction in 2008, has seen an explosive growth in terms of importance and number of users, which has made it arguably the most popular and widely used English corpus. A detailed presentation of *COCA* and its features would fall beyond the scope of this paper; instead, the main features that facilitate translation of collocations into English are briefly presented below. Suffice it to say that it is freely available on the internet to registered users; once registered, *COCA* saves the entire history of every user's queries.

The first feature allows the user to look for collocates of the keyword within a given span: the interface lets you choose between searching for an exact word form, a lemma or any part of speech (POS). The latter is particularly useful for EFL users in searching for acceptable collocations (like, say, adjectives that can precede a given noun, or prepositions used after adjectives).

One of the greatest lexical problems in translation is dealing with instances of divergent polysemy. The worst case scenario in divergent polysemy for a translator develops when a polysemous lexeme in the source language is rendered by a multitude of lexemes in the target language (for a full account, see Gabrovšek 2005, 120). For instance, let's take the Slovene verb *začeti*, which is in most contexts translatable into English as either *begin* or *start*. But are they interchangeable, i.e. are they full synonyms? In choosing one or the other, most EFL users play it by ear, in a manner of speaking, but how do we get to the bottom of it? In principle, whenever EFL users are of two minds about words with a similar meaning, the first reference work that one thinks of is a thesaurus with meaning discrimination or a dictionary of synonyms. However, with *begin* and *start*, even the most recent one, the *Oxford Learner Thesaurus* (2008) seems to be at a loss for differences in denotation, since one is defined in terms of another: *start* means "*to begin doing sth*" (see Fig. 3).

begin /BrE ◀); AmE ◀)/ **[+]** [I, T]
to do the first part of sth; to do sth that you were not doing just before
She began by thanking us all for coming. ◇ *We began work on the project in May.* ◇ *I began* (= started reading) *this novel last month and I still haven't finished it.* ◇ *She began to cry.* ◇ *I was beginning to think you'd never come.* ◇ *Everyone began talking at once.*
[-] *He always begins his lessons with a warm-up exercise.* ◇ *He began his political career as a student* (= when he was a student)*.* ◇ *At last the guests began to arrive.* ◇ *It was beginning to snow.* ◇ *When will you begin recruiting?*
OPP **end** ⊤ END
See also **beginning** ⊤ START *noun*, **begin** ⊤ START *verb*

start /BrE ◀); AmE ◀)/ [T, I]
to begin doing sth; to make sth begin to happen
I start work at nine. ◇ *The kids start school next week.* ◇ *We need to start* (= begin using) *a new jar of coffee.* ◇ *It started to rain.* ◇ *Mistakes were starting to creep in.* ◇ *She started laughing.* ◇ *Let's start by reviewing what we did last week.* ◇ *It's time you started on your homework.* ◇ *Who started the fire?* ◇ *Do you start the day with a good breakfast?*
[-] *He's just started a new job.* ◇ *I only started* (= began to read) *this book yesterday.* ◇ *You're always trying to start an argument.*
OPP **finish, stop** ⊤ END, **finish** ⊤ FINISH, **stop** ⊤ STOP 3
See also **start** ⊤ START *noun*, **start** ⊤ START *verb*

[-] NOTE BEGIN OR START? There is not much difference in meaning between these words. **Start** is more frequent in spoken English and in business contexts; **begin** is more frequent in written English. **Start**, but NOT **begin**, can also mean 'to make sth start happening' or 'to make a machine start working': ~~Who began the fire?~~ ◇ ~~I can't begin the car.~~

*Figure 3: **begin vs. start** in the Oxford Learner's Thesaurus*

The problem of distinguishing between two words with meanings as close as those of the verbs *start* and *begin* frequently boils down to their context, i.e. their collocational behavior. The note at the bottom of Fig. 3 hints at precisely this important difference between the verbs: what objects they can or cannot take.

This is where another feature of *COCA* is invaluable: the comparison. It is intended to compare two words with similar meaning. Selecting the option "COMPARE" in the top left part of the screen offering various display options opens up two comparison boxes, into which the observed words are entered. As above, the "COMPARE" feature also has the option to look for collocates of the two words. The results are displayed with the help of color graphics, which allow the user to evaluate the results with a quick glance at the screen: bright green for word combinations where the use of either "word 1" or "word 2" is exclusive of the other, pale green for combinations where one of the words is markedly preferred, and white for combinations where both words are possible, i.e. for neutral ground, so to speak. So, in order to determine possible contexts for the verbs *begin* and *start*, we looked at the direct objects of the two verbs: a query was built to list nouns that immediately follow the respective verbs (see Fig. 4).

	WORD 1 (W1): **START** (1.28)						WORD 2 (W2): **BEGIN** (0.78)				
	WORD	W1	W2	W1/W2	SCORE		WORD	W2	W1	W2/W1	SCORE
1	CRYING	143	1	143.0	111.6	1	VIDEO	5060	0	10,120.0	12,966.2
2	BUSINESSES	68	0	136.0	106.1	2	GRAPHIC	42	0	84.0	107.6
3	POSITION	56	1	56.0	43.7	3	DEVELOPMENT	11	0	22.0	28.2
4	HAPPENING	26	0	52.0	40.6	4	PLAY	43	6	7.2	9.2
5	SEEDS	25	0	50.0	39.0	5	PREPARATIONS	28	4	7.0	9.0
6	FIRES	24	0	48.0	37.5	6	OPERATION	21	3	7.0	9.0
7	TROUBLE	21	0	42.0	32.8	7	DELIBERATIONS	17	3	5.7	7.3
8	MENU	20	0	40.0	31.2	8	RESEARCH	11	2	5.5	7.0
9	COMPANIES	20	0	40.0	31.2	9	DEBATE	31	6	5.2	6.6
10	DATE	20	0	40.0	31.2	10	OPERATING	10	2	5.0	6.4
11	FAMILIES	19	0	38.0	29.7	11	DISCUSSIONS	18	4	4.5	5.8
12	GAME	17	0	34.0	26.5	12	SPRING	13	3	4.3	5.6
13	FEELING	15	0	30.0	23.4	13	AIRING	25	6	4.2	5.3
14	BUYING	14	0	28.0	21.9	14	SERVICE	22	6	3.7	4.7
15	FIGHTS	14	0	28.0	21.9	15	OPERATIONS	36	10	3.6	4.6
16	RUNNING	53	2	26.5	20.7	16	PRACTICE	13	4	3.3	4.2
17	TIME	48	2	24.0	18.7	17	TALKS	40	17	2.4	3.0
18	PEOPLE	12	0	24.0	18.7	18	PRODUCTION	33	15	2.2	2.8
19	WALKING	88	4	22.0	17.2	19	CONSTRUCTION	89	44	2.0	2.6
20	SUPPER	10	0	20.0	15.6	20	WITH	12	6	2.0	2.6
21	SEEDLINGS	10	0	20.0	15.6	21	HEARINGS	13	7	1.9	2.4
22	WARS	18	1	18.0	14.0	22	THERAPY	10	6	1.7	2.1
23	LISTENING	18	1	18.0	14.0	23	TREATMENT	31	19	1.6	2.1
24	LIVING	17	1	17.0	13.3	24	NEGOTIATIONS	54	36	1.5	1.9
25	SHOOTING	96	6	16.0	12.5	25	WORK	202	157	1.3	1.6
26	HUNTING	39	3	13.0	10.1	26	TRADING	18	15	1.2	1.5

Figure 4: COCA - comparison of nouns following "start" and "begin"

A quick check of the results reveals that there are indeed considerable differences between the two verbs in question: many things can only be "started" and fewer can only be "begun". Even advanced EFL users are likely to find in the results something they did not previously know. The comparison feature of *COCA*, then, is particularly valuable in highlighting the differences in collocators of two words that are regarded as quasi synonyms. As will be shown below, students of

translation who used *COCA* in their home assignments were able to show marked improvement in their English collocation output, as compared to their colleagues who did not.

3. *COCA* and students: the survey

To assess the level of improvement in L2 translation of collocations that can be achieved through the use of a target language corpus, a survey was conducted among Slovene university students of translation. The sample group did not access a corpus of English in preparing their translations, while the control group was free to use *COCA*. Here are the technical details:

- all subjects were 3ʳᵈ year undergraduate students (6ᵗʰ semester)
- A language (mother tongue): Slovene.
- B language (first foreign language): English
- C language (second foreign language): German, French or Italian
- sample group size: 19 students
- control group size: 96 students (in 4 groups of 23, 19, 27 and 27 members).

The survey was carried out as part of the A-B (Slovene into English) translation class. The class took place twice a week and students were required to prepare one translation for each session as a home assignment. The source language texts averaged 1,600 characters in length and varied in difficulty, but were not genre or otherwise marked.

All students received basic information about corpora in general and about *COCA* in particular in the course of their preliminary study. However, this study involved only a few previous hands-on experiences with L2 corpora in terms of classroom activity, which is why they were given a brief account of the most useful features of *COCA*. Particular emphasis was put on distinguishing between googling for word combinations and using *COCA*. The use of popular search engines like *Google, Yahoo* or Microsoft's *Bing* (whichever is set as default in their web browsers) in searching for acceptable English collocations seems to be a perennial favorite among students, indeed, in many it has grown into a habit that they find difficult to kick even after having learned the benefits of using a well-structured corpus. For most people the search engine of choice these days is apparently *Google*, and students seem to be persuaded by the exorbitant numbers of hits for a given search string that this particular word combination is widely used in a given language. What they do not know, however, is that *Google* does not really search all of the World Wide Web in a fraction of a second, but rather performs a calculation and gives you an estimate of how many hits appear to be out there. And what you are given is a VERY rough estimate. In all fairness, every Google user can also get the exact number of hits, but only if they log into their account and change the "Google Instant Predictions" setting to "Never show Instant results". Also, you must set the number of results displayed to 100. What this means in practice is something you can easily try out for yourself: enter the string "to the best of my knowledge" into *Google*'s search box, and it will probably give you anywhere between 150,000,000 and 300,000,000 hits. If you repeat the same search without Instant predictions, you will get the same number, but here comes the truth: say you want to check the results listed from 800-899 and you click on the appropriate link at the bottom of the page: you cannot see the requested results, because *Google* runs out of the results at 632. What is more, if you repeat the search a few minutes later, you are very likely to find that the number has changed, in my case the number of hits was reduced to a mere 414. This is a mere technicality, and there are far more convincing reasons why search engines should not be

considered a quick and handy replacement for a corpus (for a fuller account, visit http://corpus2. byu.edu/coca/help/google_e.asp).

The survey was carried out by comparing students' translations of ten different Slovene texts. The students from the sample group (translation done without using *COCA*) handed in three translations for evaluation at every session, while the control group (translation done with access to *COCA*) handed in six translations over the course of two years. Of course, since the translations were made as a home assignment, this leaves some room for speculation as to whether the students stuck to the agreement of refraining from *COCA* or not. However, the results featured a very consistent array of differences between the two groups, which we believe is largely attributable to the (un-)availability of a target language corpus in the process of translation.

4. Survey results

The data table below shows the distribution of collocation errors (CE) in the translations of the sample group compared to the control group. Data is sorted in descending order according to the 3rd column, i.e. average number of collocation errors per translation in the sample group.

Source language text	SAMPLE: translation WITHOUT L2 corpus access		CONTROL: translation WITH L2 corpus access		Ratio CE CTRL/SMPL
	No. of CE in translations	Average no. of CE per translation	No. of CE in translations	Average no. of CE per translation	
1. JSKD	4,4,3	4.7	0,3,2,2,1,4,0,1,2,3,1,2,	1.75	1 : 2.7
2. Terorist	5,2,5	4	1,3,3,2,1,2,0,1,2,3,1,2,	1.75	1 : 2.3
3. DSKP	3,2,5	3.3	1,2,0,0,1,0,0,0,1,1,1,0	0.58	1 : 5.7
4. SG	1,4,5	3.3	1,0,2,0,0,3,0,1,1,0,0,2	0.83	1 : 4
5. NM	2,5,2	3	0,1,0,0,2,0,0,1,1,0,0,1	0.5	1 : 6
6. Ajdovščina	3,1,1	2.7	0,1,0,0,0,1,0,0,0,2,0,0	0.33	1 : 8
7. Izola	2,3,3	2.7	2,1,2,2,3,1,0,2,1,0,0,3	1.4	1 : 1.9
8. MK 60	2,4,5	2.7	1,3,2,1,0,2,1,0,1,0,2,2	1.25	1 : 2,2
9. Muzeji	3,1,0	2	2,4,2,0,1,3,1,3,0,1,2,1	1.8	1 : 1.1
10. Sujka	0,0,2	0.7	1,1,0,0,0,0,0,1,1,0,0,2	0.5	1 : 1.4
Average CE per translation	2.9		1.04		Average 1 : 3

*Table 1: **Distribution of collocation errors***

4.1 Data analysis

As expected, the above table clearly shows that access to a target language corpus can greatly reduce collocation errors in L2 translation. In translation of all texts, students who used *COCA* performed better than their colleagues who did not. The ratio span between collocation errors per translation made by the control group and the sample group extends from a practically even 1:1.1 (observed in text number 9) to a high of 1:8 (in text number 6). Only 3 out of 10 texts resulted in translations that had collocation error ratios between the control and sample groups lower than 1:2. Translations by students from the sample group on average contained 3 collocation errors, while the control group students averaged 1 collocation error per translation. In other words, students who translate their texts into English with the help of *COCA* are three times less likely to commit a collocation error than those who do not.

4.2 Analysis of selected collocation errors

In addition to the above quantitative analysis, we also looked at the types of collocation that resulted in poor translation. Collocation errors in the translations of both sample and control groups were examined and compared. Although quantitative research was in the foreground of the survey, qualitative inquiry yielded a very interesting insight into the benefits of corpus-aided translation. Consider the following collocation errors made by the "no L2 corpus" group:

ADJ+N

(1)   *manjše proslave* - ***minor**/small celebrations
(2)   *jubilejna proslava* - ***jubilee**/round anniversary celebration
(3)   *upravno središče* - ***civic**/administration center

N+N

(4)   *trgovanje z otroci* - ***children**/child trafficking

V+N

(5)   *voditi pogovor* - host a ***conversation**/talk (= a public event)
(6)   *zaslišati osumljenca* – to ***hear**/interrogate a suspect
(7)   *podeliti štipendijo* – to give a ***scholarship**/grant
(8)   *zbirati prijave* - ***gather**/welcome applications

ADJ+PREP

(9)   *rok prijave je do* – applications are due ***until**/by
(10)   *značilen/tipičen za* – characteristic/typical ***for**/of

The Slovene half of the examples (1)-(8) all fall within the scope of *lexical* collocations (Benson et al. 1997), i.e., word combinations of two full lexical parts of speech. On the other end, their (erroneously assumed) translation equivalents in English can be seen as belonging to two discrete

levels on the cline in phraseology (Gabrovšek 2005, 92), one being lexical collocations in examples (1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8) and the other compounds in (3) *civic/administration center* and (4) *children/child trafficking*. However, to the Slovene learners, the difference between the two levels in terms of *encodability* (ibid., 104) is apparently very subtle, as they are obviously puzzled by both types of word combination.

Most poorly translated collocations in our analysis belong to the general category that Schmitt (2010, 143) calls "strongly linked collocations" (e.g., *densely populated, bated breath*). Such collocations are marked by low overall frequency in native speaker texts (compared to more frequent word combinations like *quick run, big problem*), and recent research into L2-learner text corpora has shown that these collocations are underused by learners (Durrant and Schmitt 2009, 175). This finding is in line with the results of this investigation, which shows that "strongly linked collocations" are a major recurring problem not only in L2 text production, but also in encoding, i.e. L1-L2 translation.

Let us now turn to some collocation errors made by the control group: most of these belong to the N+N or ADJ+N group:

(11) pridelava raznih kultur – cultivation of various *plants/crops

(12) vinska klet – *vine/wine cellar

(13) varnostni ukrepi - *safety/security measures

(14) varnostni ukrepi – security *actions/measures

In (11) the student failed to observe the distinction between the nouns *plant* and *crop*, and although this is nothing short of pure speculation, such errors are frequently committed either under time pressure or out of lack of interest, rather than a result of ignoring collocational restrictions. The student was apparently happy with a superordinate term meaning roughly the same in the target language, instead of exploring furhter into the field at hand. The error in (12) is most likely a mental typo, as it is close to impossible for an advanced EFL learner not to know the difference between the nouns *vine* and *wine.* In (13) we are dealing with a case of divergent polysemy of the difficult type (Gabrovšek 2005, 121), where a polysemous item in the source language (Slovene *varnost*) is rendered by a multitude of translation equivalents in the target language (English *security* and *safety*), depending on the context.

There is, however, something that is conspicuously absent from the list of collocation errors in translations made with the help of the COCA: there are no errors involving *grammatical* collocations, i.e. word combinations consisting of a dominant (lexical) word and a preposition or a grammatical structure. Translations of the sample group, on the other hand, contained several non-idiomatic instances of an inadequate preposition following an adjective as witnessed in (9) and (10). This clue seems to suggest that, in dealing with encoding tasks, students of the control group did not rely on their gut feelings, but instead checked the COCA for acceptable ADJ+PREP combinations, which resulted in a zero error count in grammatical collocations. If we give the sample group students the benefit of the doubt and assume that they checked their grammatical collocations in Google, the result is hardly surprising and very misleading: the most popular search engine on the planet says that there are 2.9 million instances of the grammatical collocation *typical *for*!

5. Conclusion

The relatively reluctant acceptance of corpora as a tool suited to the classroom teaching has two main causes. First, the early corpora were apparently not sufficiently user friendly, which meant that few non-expert users were willing to invest the substantial effort and time required to master the corpus in an efficient way. Second, the psychological effect of corpora in general and L2 corpora in particular can be adverse for several users, including both language teachers and students. The former may feel threatened in their beliefs, while the latter can be puzzled by the unrestrained presentation of linguistic reality.

The survey has clearly shown that access to a target language corpus in the process of translation into a foreign language helps translators to significantly reduce the number of collocation errors. Although the sample group was relatively small in size, the survey has corroborated the starting hypothesis of the influence of an L2 corpus on the quality of translation. Slovene graduate students of translation who had access to *COCA* performed markedly better than their peers who did not. On average, *COCA*-aided translations contained only one collocation error per text, while translations performed without access to *COCA* contained three incorrect collocations. Evidence seems to suggest that the use of an L2 corpus in encoding has a particularly beneficial effect on translation in terms of grammatical collocations, but this hypothesis remains to be tested in a future survey, larger in scale.

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Military Jargon in the Slovenian
Translation of *Hostile Waters*

Summary

The article examines Slovenian translations of military jargon in the non-fiction novel *Hostile Waters*. In the introductory part, jargon is presented as a linguistic category as well as its main features in the novel. Next, select examples from the original text are compared to their Slovenian equivalents. The focus is on collocations and lexically dense nominal phrases. The comparison finds that most translation shifts in the target text occur because of incorrect interpretation of technical jargon expressions in the original. As a result, the target text reader perceives certain situations differently than the source text reader.

Key words: military jargon, jargon, translation, *Hostile Waters*, translation shifts, non-fiction novel

Vojaški žargon v slovenskem
prevodu *Sovražnih vod*

Povzetek

V prispevku so obravnavani slovenski prevodi vojaškega žargona v dokumentarnem romanu *Sovražne vode*. V uvodnem delu je predstavljen žargon kot jezikoslovna kategorija, opisane so tudi njegove glavne značilnosti v romanu. V nadaljevanju je opisana primerjava med izbranimi primeri iz izvirnika in njihovi slovenskih prevodi. Poudarek je na kolokacijah in pomensko jedrnatimi samostalniškimi zvezami. Primerjava je pokazala, da večino prevodnih premikov povzroči neustrezna interpretacija tehničnih žargonskih izrazov v izvirniku. Posledično bralec ciljnega besedila nekatere situacije dojema drugače kot bralec izvirnika.

Ključne besede: vojaški žargon, žargon, prevod, *Sovražne vode*, prevodni premiki, dokumentarni roman

Military Jargon in the Slovenian Translation of *Hostile Waters*

1. Introduction

Hostile Waters is a non-fiction novel written by Peter A. Huchthausen, Igor Kurdin and R. Alan White, first published in 1997. Based on real events that took place shortly before the end of the Cold War, it describes the story of the Soviet nuclear submarine *K-219*, which collided with the US nuclear submarine *Augusta* and sank around 1000 km northeast of the Bermudas. The novel, which Tom Clancy in the Foreword called "one of the most fascinating true submarine stories I have ever encountered", was also turned into a movie and translated into other languages.

The Slovenian translation was published under the original title *Hostile Waters* (*Sovražne vode*) in 2002. As a realistic account of Cold War silent service events, the text poses several challenges for the translator. The main one is military, more specifically, navy jargon. Since two of the three authors, Huchthausen and Kurdin, were former navy officers with first-hand Cold War maritime experience (Kurdin even served aboard the *K-219*), the narrative at times is technical and full of navy terminology. Expressions range from the names of the parts of the submarine, weapons and equipment, to military ranks and many others. In addition, both Soviet and American terms are used alongside each other in order to add authenticity to the story. The Slovenian translation testifies to the complexity of translation issues. Even though technical terminology in general is preserved in the target text, technical jargon expressions occasionally deviate from the original. The paper presents a few examples of such translation shifts and their implications with respect to the reader's understanding of the novel.

2. Jargon and military jargon

Jargon has different meanings in linguistics and translation. In *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, it is described as learned or technical language that is used "too obtrusively or (to all appearances) unnecessarily"; it is in this sense a pejorative term (Quirk et al. 24). However, other linguists (e.g., Wodak 1989; Chaika 1980; Romaine 2000) use it as a neutral linguistic term, typically understood as "a speech variety with a minimal linguistic system and great individual variation used for communicating in limited situations between speakers of different languages, e.g. trade" (Romaine 2000, 204). In its denotative meaning, the term often overlaps with other (socio)linguistic terms, such as "argot", the secret language of closed groups, or "slang", which refers to the use of vocabulary that deviates from that of standard language. Other terms that are used almost synonymously with jargon include "occupational language" or "specialized language" or "specialized discourse". Distinctions between them are often negligible and depend on the focus of each individual study.

The main feature of jargon is that it is based grammatically on common language; however, it can differ from it lexically, semantically and syntactically (Wodak 1989, 141). These differences manifest themselves in various ways. In his study of specialized discourse, which to a large extent applies to jargon as well, Maurizio Gotti (2011) identified almost 30 different lexical, syntactic and textual strategies that speakers use (deliberately or accidentally) to communicate inside a particular professional group. The following are a few that have implications for the navy jargon in *Hostile Waters*:

Lexical:

Monoreferentiality. The term is used to indicate that in a given context only one meaning of a term is allowed, and that it cannot be suitably substituted by a synonym "but only by its definition or paraphrase". If users want to define new concepts without ambiguity or misunderstandings, they are forced to create new terms (ibid., 25-26).

Conciseness. The term refers to the practice of expressing concepts in the shortest possible form. In word-formation, various procedures are employed to create short words, such as zero derivation and the omission of affixes or merging of two words into a single word. A common procedure for coining concise terms is through acronyms and abbreviations (ibid., 31-32).

Syntactic:

Premodification. The procedure refers to the phenomenon of relative clause reduction by switching from post- to premodification. In English, this procedure is common because of syntactic rules that allow the noun to be premodified by several nominal adjectives. Such nominal phrases appear in technical English texts up to 15 times more frequently than they do in general English texts (Salager cit. in Gotti 2011, 56).

Lexical density and sentence complexity. With these two terms, Gotti denotes the consequence of frequent nominalization and the use of noun phrases with extensive premodification that results in a high percentage of content words and consequently in increased lexical density (2011, 61-62). Frequently, lexical density and a tendency to use nominalization lead to simple syntactic patterns of the type NOUN PHRASE + VERB + NOUN PHRASE (ibid., 63). Even though such structures are easier to process for the reader from a textual standpoint, their interpretation is more demanding because of the complexity of the noun phrases. Gotti also points out a tendency in specialized discourse to avoid subordination and instead mostly rely on main clauses or coordination of main clauses. On the basis of an analysis of -a specialized corpus, Barber established that as many as 71% of the sentences contained only a main clause (cit. in Gotti 2011, 63-64). When subordinate clauses are used, they are often non-finite.

These and other linguistic devices help jargon perform various functions. Elaine Chaika observed that members of a particular social group, in her case bowlers, communicated with each other in a special way so as to establish themselves as members of that group and that their speech was more important than their performance. Jargon thus serves "to identify and/or exclude" (1980, 80). Wodak likewise underlines the prestige function of jargon. According to her observations based on political jargon, jargon is used to establish group identity, consolidate the group vis-à-vis the external world and designate the group to outsiders (Wodak 1989, 141-142)[1]. Carol Burke found that military speech provides its users an outlet for humor, for the relief of anxiety, and for the expression of frustration (cit. in Kress Gillespie 2012, 117). However, from the point of view of military jargon in *Hostile Waters*, the most important functions of jargon are to communicate specific contents (Wodak 1989, 142) and to achieve communicative efficiency of concepts (Chaika 1980, 80). In practical terms, this means that the crew aboard a submarine uses specific terms whose meaning is clear and unambiguous to all of them and at the same time is as concise and economical as possible. In turn, communication among them is efficient, if to a large extent formulaic; exchanges are brief and swift, leaving the least possible room for interpretation error.

[1]   Onič (2006, 164-5) points out the use of jargon to establish identity in Tennessee Williams' play *A Streetcar Named Desire*.

2.1 Military Jargon in Translation

For these reasons, translation of military terminology in general poses a challenging task. It is not surprising that most modern armies have special departments and experts that specialize in terminology and communication. NATO, the world's best known and biggest military alliance, for example, has had a terminology standardization department since 1951. Its main task is the standardization of military terminology for all of its members. Slovenia, also a member of NATO, is no exception. Its Ministry of Defense has had specialized terminologists, translators and interpreters since its inception in the early 1990s. Some of its early publications, for example, included two military dictionary handbooks for English and Slovenian (Furlan and Mahnič 1996; 1998). After Slovenia joined NATO in 2004, the need for more systematic terminology management became even more apparent. As a result, a special committee was established in 2007, comprising linguists and military experts in various areas. Their main task is to harmonize terminology with NATO standards and develop glossaries (Pečovnik 2008). Another indicator of the increasing awareness of the importance of military terminology was the publication of a new *English-Slovenian Military Terminological Dictionary* in 2006 (Brinc et al. 2006). As Janko Berlogar points out, the new dictionary is important not only because it adopts terms from elsewhere but also because it demonstrates that we care about appropriate indigenous Slovenian terminology (Berlogar 2006).

These developments in the domain of military terminology in Slovenia have implications for the Slovenian translation of *Hostile Waters*. When the novel was translated, the resources available to the translator were considerably fewer than are available today. While 15 years ago the majority of relevant secondary sources used for translation were on paper, today they are online. This applies to specialized dictionaries and glossaries on military terminology, websites (e.g., a Google search string of "hostile waters, novel, Huchthausen" in April 2014 alone yielded over 30000 hits), specialized military (terminology) forums, to mention only a few.

3. *Hostile Waters* and the *K-219*

Even though the authors admit that many details of *K-219*'s last voyage are still "shrouded in secrecy" (Huchthausen et al. 1998, v), authorities on both sides agree on the main course of events; *Hostile Waters* is a fictionalized version of them. The story begins in early September 1986, when *K-219* leaves its base in the Barents Sea. Soon after departure, its rocket officer Petrachkov finds that a seal on one of the rocket silos is leaking. Even though he is aware that the situation is dangerous because the rocket fuel contains nitrogen tetroxide and hydrazine, both of which are volatile and highly reactive with common seawater, he decides not to report the leak to Captain Britanov; instead, he decides to control the water level in the silo with the pumps. After an uneventful start to the voyage, the submarine is detected in the Atlantic by the US Sound Surveillance System (SOSUS). It becomes shadowed by an American attack submarine, the USS *Augusta*. Captain Britanov, who has a suspicion about what is going on, decides to dive below the thermocline, a layer of water where sonar and other acoustic signals can be reflected, in an attempt to shake off *Augusta*. Instead, after a few evasive maneuvers, the cat and mouse game ends in a collision between the two submarines and more damage to the problematic rocket silo number six on the *K-219*. After seawater floods it, lethal gas starts to form, and the *K-219* is forced to surface. Even though Moscow demands that Captain Britanov try to save the submarine, he decides to stop the reactor and evacuate the crew; all but four crewmembers are rescued, of whom one sacrificed his life to manually stop the nuclear reaction. The crew are evacuated by a cargo ship to Cuba and then taken back to Russia. Captain Britanov and first engineer Krasilnikov were initially sentenced to 20 years

of hard labor; however, this coincided with a famous incident in which a young West German pilot Mathias Rust penetrated Russian airspace and landed a small plane near Red Square in Moscow, after which the Soviet minister of defense was forced to resign. With the rise of Gorbatchev,the two officers were pardoned and released.

4. Translation of military jargon in *Hostile Waters*

In *Hostile Waters*, navy jargon appears throughout the novel, used both by the third-person narrator as well as the Soviet and American protagonists of the story. The former uses technical terminology when describing events on the submarine; for the latter, the use of jargon is preconditioned by the need for conciseness and monoreferentiality mentioned above. If the crew want to keep their exchanges brief, they must use short but at the same time precise terms in order for communication to be efficient. For the same reason, ellipsis is also employed frequently. As it turns out, translation of navy jargon occasionally poses a problem.

The first example is taken from the introductory part of the novel, where the *K-219*, commanded by Captain Britanov, is exiting the Soviet Northern Fleet base at Gadzhievo. Leaving port with a ten-thousand ton nuclear submarine is a technically demanding task because of its sheer size and the treacherous waters in the channel which lead to the open sea. It is usually done with the aid of special tug boats, which help to face the surfaced submarine towards the desired direction of departure. In the following scene, we learn from the context that the submarine leaves its berth by travelling backwards and then waits for the tug boats to close in and start turning it "until her bow faced north" (Huchthausen et al. 1998, 9). Once the tug boats retreat, the submarine starts moving ahead to leave the base and the fiord. The captain gives the executive officer the following command:

> "Vladimirov?" he said into the intercom. "Come to three five five degrees." **The bow moved to port** (Huchthausen et al. 1998, 12).

The captain's command is simple and comprises only a verb and a prepositional phrase with a number. However, since both the captain and the executive officer share the same jargon, the latter evidently is able to interpret the order correctly, use the rudder and bring the vessel to the requested course of 355°. Next, the narrator takes over and reports that "the bow moved to port", which again is naval jargon that requires maritime knowledge on the part of the reader if he or she is to understand the situation: while "bow" is a relatively common term for the front part of the hull of a vessel, the reader must know that "port" refers to the "left-hand side of a vessel or aircraft, facing forward" (Dictionary.com) in order to understand the situation described: after the submarine is pulled backwards from its berth, the tug boats turn it so that it faces north (its initial precise orientation is unknown), most likely a course of around 360°, after which the engines are started and the submarine starts moving towards the open sea. At the commander's order, it starts turning left (relative to the north).

When the original text is compared to its Slovenian translation, it turns out that the course of events, in particular after Britanov's order, is different:

> "Vladimirov?" je rekel v telefon. "Preidite na tri pet pet stopinj." Kljun se je premaknil **proti pristanišču** (Huchthausen et al. 2002, 20).

As the highlighted part reveals, the translation deviates from the original in the collocation *turn to port*. While in the original the submarine turns left, in the Slovenian version, it turns towards *the*

port (*proti pristanišču*). This indicates that the translator failed to identify the correct – technical – meaning of the word "port" in this context, i.e., the left side of the vessel; instead the expression is interpreted in one of its general meanings as *a place along a coast in which ships may take refuge from storms; harbor* (Dictionary.com). Jargon thus was mistaken for standard language. As a result, the submarine in the Slovenian translation moves in the opposite direction compared to the original. While this is technically possible, the direction is illogical under the circumstances described. If the bow had indeed turned towards the port, that would mean that the submarine would have been sailing back to its original position, contrary to its intention to leave the port and the fiord; also, this would mean that the boat was sailing southward, in contrast with the preceding narrative.

As it turns out, technical collocations present problems elsewhere. A typical example is the collocation *to scram the reactor*. This technical term, common in the jargon of nuclear physicists and hence also nuclear submarines, in the glossary of the US Nuclear Regulatory Commission is defined as *the sudden shutting down of a nuclear reactor, usually by a rapid insertion of control rods either automatically or manually by the reactor operator* (*NUREG-1350* 2013, 202). Its etymology is also interesting from the point of view of the Slovenian translation. A deeply engrained legend has it that the collocation was first used during the first experiment involving a sustained chain nuclear reaction on December 2, 1942 as part of the Manhattan Project. According to the legend, the physicist Enrico Fermi coined the word from an acronym that stood for the Safety Control Rod Axe Man, Norman Hilberry, whose task was to interrupt a possible runaway reaction by using an axe to cut a rope that would allow the backup safety control rod to drop into the pile. However, as was discovered by the researcher Tom Wellock of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, who interviewed Hilberry's replacement, Warren Nyer, the term had a more prosaic history. Nyer dismissed the axe-man story as "a bunch of baloney". He explained that another physicist involved in the experiment, Volney "Bill" Wilson, was asked what the purpose was of a big red knob on the panel. Wilson replied that one would have to hit it in case of a problem. When asked what to do next, he replied: "Well, you scram … out of here." The word seems to have been derived from American slang (Wellock 2011). Regardless of its real etymology, the expression thus still has two meanings.

In *Hostile Waters*, this collocation first appears after an explosion aboard the submarine when it becomes clear that the reactors will most likely have to be shut down. However, a technical problem occurs at that point:

> Britanov heard the thin blade of panic in Kapitulsky's normally unflappable demeanor. Shutting down a reactor was normally accomplished from Kapitulsky's station. But he was no longer connected to his power plants. It was why he sounded so brittle, so near to breaking. If Kapitulsky could lose control anyone could. Even Britanov. "Gennady. Listen to me. Belikov is back there. Have him revert the reactors to manual control and **scram them** if he has to." (Huchthausen et al. 1998, 156).

The passage reveals that the main propulsion engineer, Kapitulsky, has realized that he can no longer control the reactor from outside. Upon learning this, Captain Britanov instructs him to have Reactor Officer Belikov revert the reactors to manual control and shut them down if necessary. The narrator provides a verbatim version of captain Britanov's instructions. As the highlighted part indicates, he does not use the standard technical expression for the procedure; instead, he reverts to jargon and has Belikov *scram* the reactors. This is understandable from a narratological point of view, since in a dangerous situation speakers are more likely to use jargon instead of standard language because it is communicatively more efficient and it also relieves tension (Chaika 1980, 80-81). The translation, however, deviates from the original:

Britanov je v običajno hladnokrvnem vedenju Kapitulskega zaslišal rahlo preplašenost. Reaktorje so ustavljali s položaja, kjer je bil Kapitulski, a zdaj ni imel več povezave s svojima elektrarnama. Zato je zvenel tako krhek, tako blizu zloma. Če bi Kapitulski izgubil nadzor, potem so ga vsi. Celo Britanov. »Genadij. Poslušajte me. Belikov je tam. Reaktorja naj naravna na ročno upravljanje in **se nemudoma umakne stran od njih**, če je potrebno« (Huchthausen et al. 2002, 114).

As the highlighted part reveals, the captain's instructions are considerably different. While in the original Belikov was asked to shut down the reactors if necessary, he is now told to *move away from them immediately* (*se nemudoma umakne stran od njih*) if necessary. The reader of the Slovenian translation will thus perceive the same situation completely differently. Initially, it is hard to understand this decision by the translator, particularly in the light of the given context. However, it seems that the translator was misled by the other, intransitive meaning of the verb *to scram*, which is an informal, slang expression for saying *to go away; get out (usually used as a command)* (Dictionary.com). Nuclear jargon thus seems to have been misinterpreted for slang, which is difficult to understand because trying to do at least something to prevent a runaway nuclear reaction on a crippled submarine would be more logical than to do nothing. In addition, the translation uses strictly Standard Slovenian and is thus in terms of register remote from the original in this respect.

To add to the confusion, a few pages later it turns out that the translator may have been aware of the other meaning of the verb *to scram* anyway. When it becomes clear that the reactors will have to be shut down manually, the captain tells Belikov that he is the one to carry out the deadly operation:

"We have to **scram the reactors**. You'll have to go in. There are some protective suits in eight but they –" (Huchthausen et al. 1998, 158)

As can be seen, the captain gives the instructions using the same collocation *scram the reactors*. This time, it was translated in the following way:

"**Umiriti moramo reaktorja**. Iti boste morali noter. V osmici so zaščitne obleke, a ..." (Huchthausen et al. 2002, 115).

As the highlighted part indicates, the translator used a collocation that literally translates as *We need to calm down the reactors (Umiriti moramo reaktorja)*. This choice is much closer to the original in terms of its denotative meaning and the desired effect of Belikov's action; however, it still differs from the original collocation in terms of its commonality. While scram is the standard technical collocation for the procedure of shutting down a reactor in English, Slovenian *umiriti reaktor* is not as common, in particular not as a technical term describing the action of interrupting the chain reaction; instead, it has a more general meaning of bringing the reactor under control. A search in the corpus of Slovenian corroborates this. While *umiriti reaktor* does not appear at all, by far the most frequent collocation (5th overall) with the same denotative meaning is *ustaviti reaktor* (*to stop the reactor*); others are noticeably less frequent (Gigaplus.net).

Inconsistency in translation not only affects collocations, it also appears in various technical nominal phrases, in particular complex ones, which are another common feature of the navy jargon in *Hostile Waters*. The main reason they appear frequently is that they are concise, have a clear meaning and are thus economical from a communicative point of view. A typical example
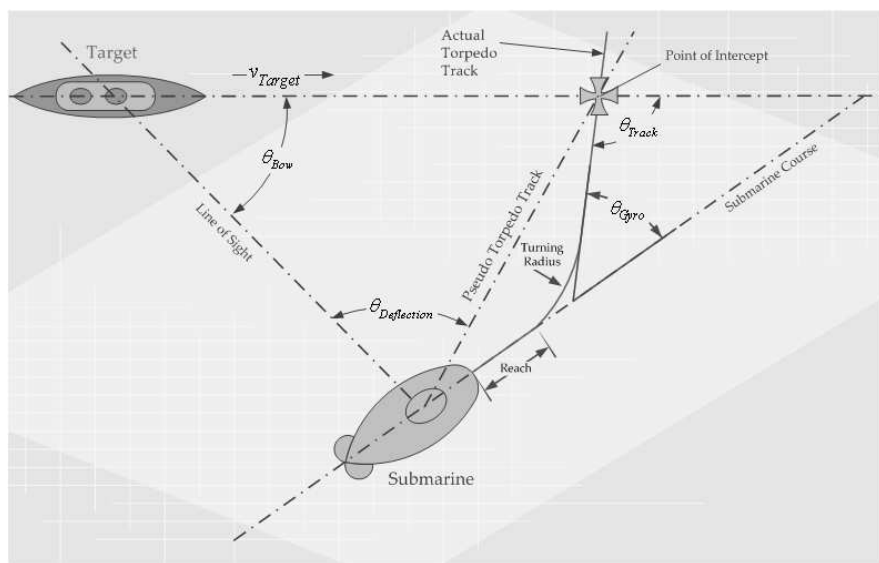
Figure 1: ***Torpedo fire-control problem (hnsa.org)***

is the nautical term *angle on the bow*, which in a US submarine navigation manual is described as *the angle between the line of sight and the target's bow measured to port or starboard of the target's bow from 0 degrees to 180 degrees* (*Submarine Torpedo Fire Control Manual* 1950, 1-1). It is presented schematically in Figure 1 (hnsa.org).

In the novel, the expression appears in a scene that describes USS *Augusta* during a torpedo practice run on a US Navy frigate. As the submarine prepares to "attack", the situation is described as follows:

> The quartermaster squeezed the button on the scope's "pickle", transmitting the attack data automatically to the Mark 117 fire control computer. "**Angle on bow, starboard twenty**. Range three hundred yards" (Huchthausen et al. 1998, 30).

The quartermaster reads out the data as it is transmitted automatically to the torpedo fire-control computer. This is standard procedure for firing torpedoes during which the submarine must obtain various items of information about the target. The most important of these are the target's speed, angle on bow (obtained by determining its course) and range, as well as the firing submarine's speed and course. Because these factors change quickly, submarines have torpedo fire-control computers that automatically perform the trigonometric calculations required to compute a target intercept course for the torpedo. This ensures that a correct firing solution is used in order to actually hit the target. The highlighted part shows that the captain's readout of the angle is *Angle on bow, starboard twenty*, which means that the frigate is in front of them, coming in from the left. Since both interlocutors are using jargon, the sentence functions in the most reduced form, in particular without any verb; instead, the verb is only implied (e.g., *The angle on bow between the ship's course and the line of sight is twenty degrees on the starboard side*). The Slovenian translation in this instance follows the same pattern:

Navigacijski podčastnik je pritisnil gumb na periskopu, s čimer se je podatek avtomatično prenesel v računalnik mark 117 za vodenje izstrelkov. "**Kot na premcu, dvajset desno**. Oddaljenost tristo metrov" (Huchthausen et al. 2002, 31).

In the highlighted translation, whose meaning is almost the same as the English, the translator preserved the denotative meaning of the original as well as its jargon character by keeping it implicit and leaving out any redundant explanation. However, as the next example shows, this changes when the same expression is used in a different situation. In this passage, the *K-219* is damaged after it suffers an explosion in rocket silo six and has surfaced, observed by *Augusta*. Since *Augusta's* captain does not know exactly what *K-219*'s intentions are, he wants to be ready in case it is necessary to sink it. The situation is narrated as follows:

The quartermaster squeezed the button on his pickle, transmitting the precise bearing to the Mk 117 fire control computer. "**Angle on bow, port fifteen**," he said to Von Suskil (Huchthausen et al. 1998, 115).

The highlighted quartermaster's readout in terms of form is the same as in the previous situation, which indicates that the target lock-in procedure is standardized and formulaic and is common jargon for the crew. The only difference is in the angle, which now is fifteen degrees, and the position of the target, the *K-219*, which is now approaching *Augusta* from the right. In the Slovenian translation, however, the same situation is described differently:

Navigacijski podčastnik je pritisnil gumb in vnesel natančni položaj v računalnik, ki je nadzoroval izstrelitev Mk 117. »**Nagib trupa za petnajst stopinj levo**,« je povedal Von Suskilu (Huchthausen et al. 2002, 86).

As can be seen in the highlighted part, the translator has modified the quartermaster's readout. Unlike in the original, where he provides a standard readout for the position of the target relative to *Augusta*, the quartermaster now reports that the *hull is swayed fifteen degrees to the left* or perhaps that the *hull should sway fifteen degrees to the left*, depending on the interpretation, since the sentence contains no verb and allows both readings. Neither of them, however, corresponds to the situation. While in the original the quartermaster is clearly relaying data used by the fire control computer, in the Slovenian translation, he seems to be making reference to the angle at which the *K-219* is swayed, or, much less likely, to the way *Augusta* should sway its hull in order to adopt a better attack angle. Neither of those readings, however, allow the reader of the translation to fully understand the situation. For this reason, it would be better if the translator had translated it the same way as on page 31; an even better alternative would have been to use instead of *kot na premcu* the terms *premčev kot* or *premčni kot*, which are common in Slovenian maritime navigation (cf. Švetak).

Besides collocations, another difficult point involves technical, lexically dense nominal phrases. Such phrases are common in specialized discourse because they are concise and communicatively efficient. They often represent a short equivalent of what would otherwise be longer phrases and sentences. As Gotti points out, an established way of making sentences "lighter" is to replace postmodification in noun phrases with relative clauses with adjectives derived from them (Metal which can be worked → workable metal) or turn a verb into a past participle and place it in a premodifying position (Air which is compressed can be used for several purposes → Compressed air can be used for several purposes) (2011, 51–52). Another common way to increase semantic weight of nominal phrases is by nominal adjectivation, where nouns are used instead of adjectives for attributive functions. As Hughes has shown, compounds of the type *gravity anomaly* or *energy-*

rich molecules in scientific texts are favored compared to equivalent forms where adjectives have an attributive function (cit. in Gotti 2011, 56).

The jargon in *Hostile Waters* includes many phrases of this type, some of which pose a translation problem. A typical example appears in the introductory part of the novel, where the narrator describes the system of patrol boxes near the US East Coast, in which Soviet submarines – including the *K-219* – operated, ready to launch nuclear missiles against major American cities if ordered to do so:

> Each box contained a Soviet ballistic missile boat tasked with launching nuclear tipped rockets against major American cities. They were there to give the Russians what was known as a "**depressed trajectory shot**"; the ability to fire a missile and have it arrive over its target almost before NORAD could send out the warning (Huchthausen et al. 1998, 28).

The problematic term in the passage is the highlighted noun phrase *depressed trajectory shot*. The phrase is a military-specific technical term used in relation to Cold War special ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads called DTSLBMs or *depressed trajectory submarine launched ballistic missiles*. As their name indicates, these missiles were launched from (submerged) submarines and were designed to fly at low-apogee or "depressed" trajectories (Gronlund and Wright 1992, 103). Thus, they could have *significantly shorter flight paths, and therefore significantly shorter flight times, than those flown on a standard trajectory of the same range* (ibid.). This explains why they were used on submarines close to the US coast. Because of shorter flight paths and significantly shorter flight times they were, in theory, harder to detect in time and counter by defense systems such as NORAD (North American Aerospace Defense Command), which is mentioned in the passage. In the Slovenian translation, the phrase is problematic:

> Na vsakem območju je bila sovjetska ladja, oborožena z balističnimi izstrelki, katere naloga je bila izstrelitev rakete z jedrskimi konicami na pomembna ameriška mesta. Tam so bile, da bi jih Rusi lahko izstrelili in zadeli cilj skorajda prej, preden bi NORAD lahko izdal opozorilo (Huchthausen et al. 2002, 30).

In the second sentence, the phrase and its meaning are completely omitted. Instead, the sentence only reports that the missiles *were there, so that the Russians could fire them and hit the target almost before NORAD could send out the warning*, not explaining what the advantage of low-trajectory missiles was. In turn, the reader of the translation does not understand why NORAD would be unable to send out the warning. Part of the problem is in the lexical density of the phrase, which comprises the noun *shot* as the headword, which is premodified by the noun *trajectory*, which in turn is premodified by the past participle *depressed*. The longer version of the phrase thus would be *a shot whose trajectory is depressed* or a *shot with a depressed trajectory*. While a direct translation of the original nominal phrase is not possible, the latter paraphrase could also be used to find its equivalent in Slovenian: *strel z nizko krivuljo leta*. If *strel* (*shot*) was replaced with *izstrelek* (*missile*), the translated sentence would render the meaning of the original even better and also familiarize the reader with the advantages of a DTSLBM. Another possibility would be to provide an explanation of the term in a footnote.

Difficulties with translating nominal phrases of this type manifest themselves in a similar example. In the following passage, the narrator describes a US Navy officer from the Fleet Ocean Surveillance Information Center who is looking at maps and preparing intelligence for the deputy chief of staff:

Lieutenant Commander Gail Robinson was staring up at the wall-sized chart of the Atlantic Ocean, putting together the overall picture to give the deputy chief of staff for intelligence. She focused on the three Redfleet missile patrol boxes right off the US shore; **the so-called depressed trajectory zones** from which a missile could put a warhead over Washington in a matter of minutes. A Soviet preemptive strike designed to kill American leaders in one swift stroke would come from one, or all three, of these boxes (Huchthausen et al. 1998, 132).

Syntactically, the phrase is similar to the one in the previous example. With the exception of the determiner *the* and the first participial adjective *so-called*, which, however, do not semantically affect the remainder of the phrase, it features the same premodified adjectivized nominal attribute (*depressed trajectory*) as the previous example; the only difference is in the headword *zones* (and its number). Thus, while the first example describes the type of shot, the second describes the type of zone from which missiles with depressed trajectory can be fired. In the Slovenian translation, however, the meaning of the phrase changes:

Namestnica poveljnika Gail Robinson je strmela v zemljevid Atlantskega oceana, ki je pokrival celo steno, in se pripravljala na poročilo odgovornemu v štabu obveščevalne službe. Osredotočila se je na tri patruljna območja Rdeče flote tik ob ameriški obali; **tako imenovanih pasivnih trajektornih območjih**, s katerih je raketa lahko v nekaj minutah odposlala bojno konico nad Washington. Tako bi Sovjeti prizadeli ameriške voditelje z enim samim naglim udarcem, ki naj bi priletel z enega ali vseh treh območij (Huchthausen et al. 2002, 97).

The translator decided to translate the original phrase as *the so-called passive trajectory/trajectorial zones* (*tako imenovanih pasivnih trajektornih območjih*), which is a deviation from the original. While the nominal attribute in English makes it clear that reference is being made to zones from which missiles with low trajectories can be fired, in Slovenian, the meaning is vague, because the adjective *trajektoren* – which is uncommon in Slovenian – does not suggest in any way that the zone is instrumental in firing missiles; instead it can be understood as a zone that is located on some trajectory or as a zone of a trajectory character. In addition, the preceding adjective *pasiven* does not help clarify the meaning; on the contrary, it suggests that the trajectory/trajectorial zones are passive in character, without making it clear in what sense. Both examples indicate that the translator failed to correctly interpret the meaning of the *depressed trajectory* nominal attribute and, consequently, of the entire phrase. As a result, both translations are vague and incorrect and leave the reader at a loss with respect to the implications of depressed trajectories.

5. Conclusion

A comparison of *Hostile Waters* to its Slovenian translation reveals discrepancies between the two texts with respect to navy jargon. Our focus was on technical collocations and complex nominal phrases as two typical features. We found that the main problem with the translation was incorrect interpretation of navy and military jargon in the original because it is often technical in character and requires specialized knowledge from these two domains in order to be understood. As a result, the Slovenian translations of these terms are imprecise or incorrect. These translation shifts, in turn, have an impact on the reader's understanding and perception of the narrative. Occasionally, the reader of the translation, compared to the reader of the original text, is unable to fully understand certain situations in the novel. Even though the Slovenian translation of *Hostile Waters* is, in general, a quality rendition of the original, in particular since considerably fewer on-line secondary resources were available in Slovenian, compared to English, occasionally what is otherwise standard jargon in the original becomes less convincing non-standard technical language in the target text.

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ELOPE

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The Function of Language in Characterization: Dialectal Speech in the Animated Film *Chicken Little*

Summary

The article discusses the use of language varieties by the main character in the animated film *Chicken Little* in English and Slovene. Both versions of the film are dubbed by professional actors and are aimed at a young target audience, children. The main intention of the article is to analyze the characteristics of Chicken Little's speech in both languages, to compare the differences in the use of language varieties, and to evaluate the consequences of shifts in language use on the character and the story in the target language. The analysis is based on a transcript of the speech and enables comparison on four different levels: phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary. The main focus is on the analysis of speech in the target language: Maribor regional colloquial language, with influence from the dialectal speech of Ruše. The main conditions influencing the use of certain language varieties are taken into consideration: the characteristics of the dubbing process, specifics of the target audience, and prevailing norms related to the use of language on television.

Key words: *Chicken Little*, animated film, dubbing, children's literature, varieties of language, dialectal speech, Slovene language

Karakterizacijska vloga jezika: narečni govor v animiranem risanem filmu *Mali Pišček*

Povzetek

Članek obravnava jezikovno zvrstnost glavnega lika animiranega risanega filma Mali Pišček v angleški in slovenski različici filma. V obeh jezikih so besedilo sinhronizirali profesionalni igralci, film pa je namenjen mladi ciljni publiki, tj. otrokom. Cilj raziskave je analizirati značilnosti govora Malega Piščka v obeh jezikih, primerjati razlike v uporabi jezikovne zvrstnosti in ugotoviti, kakšne posledice so premiki na jezikovni ravni imeli na značilnosti lika in zgodbe v ciljnem jeziku. Preučevanje temelji na transkripciji govora v obeh jezikih, na podlagi katere je opravljena primerjalna analiza značilnosti govora z vidika glasoslovja, oblikoslovja, skladnje in besedja. Posebna pozornost je namenjena analizi govora v ciljnem jeziku, tj. mariborskemu pogovornemu jeziku z vplivi ruškega govora. Uporaba jezikovne zvrstnosti je analizirana z vidika značilnosti procesa sinhronizacije, posebnosti ciljne publike in prevladujočih norm o jezikovni rabi na televiziji.

Ključne besede: Mali Pišček, animirani risani film, sinhronizacija, otroška literatura, zvrsti jezika, narečni govor, slovenščina

The Function of Language in Characterization: Dialectal Speech in the Animated Film *Chicken Little*[1]

1. Introduction

Animated films or, simply, cartoons are a popular form of entertainment for children, especially for those in the pre-reading period.[2] With the easy accessibility of various kinds of films aimed specifically at children's needs and wishes, the growing popularity of those products among the youngest target audience is not surprising. Even though children often perceive them merely as entertainment, these films comprise other qualities as well: the stories are usually instructive and they often resemble the original traditional children's stories in content as well as in their main functions (O'Connell 2003, 113). Because of this resemblance, animated films could be understood as a sort of modern equivalent of, or to some extent even a substitute for traditional story books (ibid.). However, there are some important differences between films and books that have to be taken into consideration when translating and creating the final product. The two most distinctive characteristics of animated films that seem relevant for the analysis in this article are (1) the reduced role of an adult to read and interpret the story to a child (ibid.), and (2) the fact that the text is not written but spoken. The role of assuring that the film is understandable and entertaining is thus completely in the domain of the film's creators.

One of the important steps in attaining good understanding of foreign animated films in the target language (TL) is its adequate translation and adaptation to the specific requirements of the medium and audience, e.g. to the characteristics of audiovisual translation (dubbing) and the specifics of the target audience: children. Since the dubbing process deals with the reproduction of spoken language, the translated text must also be adapted to the requirements of expected language use.

The question of the transfer of spoken language and its correspondence to the special requirements regarding the characteristics of the target audience and the norms of language use is the main theme of this article. It deals primarily with the analysis of speech characteristics of the main character Chicken Little in the English and Slovene versions of the animated film *Chicken Little*. It discusses the differences in language use between versions and evaluates the consequences of shifts as well as their position within the prevailing norms.

2. About the film *Chicken Little*

The animated film *Chicken Little* is an entertaining story about a schoolboy who struggles to become accepted and appreciated among his schoolmates and other friends, but because of a strange set of circumstances, often fails. The main idea of the story is based on an old children's fable about Chicken Licken. The fable originates from England, probably from the 18th century, and it is still well-known, at least among the English-speaking population. It is a story about a little

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[1]   The article presents analysis results of the graduation thesis *Dubbing the Animated Film Chicken Little* (Cupar, 2012), written under the mentorship of Dr Alenka Valh Lopert and the co-mentorship of Dr Darja Darinka Hribar.

[2]   Zwitter (1998, 69) suggests three approximate age groups of young readers/listeners/viewers: the youngest, aged between 2 and 6, who are in the pre-reading period, children aged 7–14 and youth aged 14–18. The target audience of animated films for children is usually the first age group (2–6 years old).

chicken who naively assumes that the acorn which fell on his head is a sign that the sky is falling and that this has to be immediately reported to the king. On his journey to the king with some other animals, he meets a fox, who pretening that she wants to help, seduces them into a trap and eats them ("Chicken Licken" n. d.). The main lesson of the story is to teach young children not to jump to conclusions and overreact ("Mali Pišček" n. d.).

Although the film's plot has many parallels with the fable, it differs because it is set into modern times. In the film the main character is also a chicken, named Chicken Little, who gets hit by a flying panel, which falls from an alien spaceship, and because of that he assumes that the sky is falling. Nobody believes him, and he becomes a laughing stock, which affects his relations with his father and schoolmates. After some time the aliens appear again and try to destroy the city of Oakey Oaks. With the help of his two friends, Chicken Little succeeds in saving the city and the Earth from destruction, proves that his assumptions were correct and becomes a hero. The story and the end of the film are thus different from the fable; however, the main symbols (oaks, the falling sky), many characters and their characteristics (Chicken Little, Foxy Loxy, Turkey Lurkey etc.) remain the same, which certainly relates the story to the original fable. The similarities between the fable and the film probably do not remain unnoticed by those children who know the original story.

The film was produced by Walt Disney Animation Studios and was released in 2005 in America and in 2006 in Slovenia. The dubbed version was produced by Studio ritem, the text was translated by Teja Bivic, and the production team included the director Jure Zebec, sound technician Samo Drole and creative leader Marciej Eyman ("Mali Pišček" n. d.). The main character Chicken Little, whose speech is analyzed in this article, was dubbed by the actor Zach Braff in English and by Matjaž Javšnik in Slovene.

3. Dubbing animated films for children

In Slovenia foreign animated films for children have to be dubbed if the target audience is pre-school children.[3] However, some animated films are not aimed exclusively at pre-school children but also at other age groups; therefore, these are produced in two different versions, dubbed and subtitled (e.g., *Ice Age*, *Alvin and the Chipmunks*, and *Shrek*). Since the most common practice in translating other types of audiovisual products in Slovenia is subtitling, the reason for producing both versions is probably to reach a broader audience.

The choice to dub audiovisual products for children is connected with the characteristics of the target audience: mainly children in pre-school or those in the 1st or 2nd grade of primary school. Most of them are usually not able to read or are at least insufficiently fluent readers to be able to follow the story through subtitles (Bevc and Hafner 2009 in Frišek 2009, O'Connell 2003). Because the main characteristic of dubbing is the complete transposition of the original speech with the speech in the TL (Díaz Cintas 2003, 195), this type of audiovisual translation is the most appropriate method for presenting the story to children in the TL. It also allows more adaptation of the content to domesticate the story and bring it closer to the audience, although some basic demands of the dubbing process must be considered as well. These are mostly connected to various aspects of synchrony, meaning that in order to create a product that seems authentic to the viewer, the dubbed text has to be synchronized with some aspects of the original film and the image on the screen as much as possible. According to different characteristics, Whitman-Linsen (1992

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3 Zakon o javni rabi slovenščine (Public Use of Slovene Language Act 2004, article 24, paragraph 2) states that "foreign animated films aimed at pre-school children are allowed to be publicly performed only in dubbed Slovene versions."

in O'Connell 2003, 79) identifies three categories of synchrony: (1) visual/optical synchrony: movement of the lips, kinetic/dynamic synchrony; (2) audio/acoustic synchrony: voice colour, prosody and culture-specific terms; (3) content synchrony: specific linguistic problems with translating the text.

All three types of synchrony should be taken into consideration during the translation process, although the final product does not usually depend solely on the translator's work. The translation of the text is only the first step in a long dubbing process, and many changes can be done at later stages by the other co-creators of the final product (Martínez 2004). While during the translation process the translator can usually have quite an influence on visual and content synchrony (with use of certain translation techniques), the translator's influence on the audio/acoustic synchrony is more limited because the final product – the speech realization – is usually affected by the speakers (usually actors) who dub the text.

The special characteristics of audio/acoustic synchrony also have to be considered in analysis in this article. According to Whitman-Linsen (1992), this type of synchrony is subdivided into three categories: (a) voice colour, (b) prosodic elements (accent, intonation and speed/tempo of the speech) and (c) culture specifics (accents and dialects) (O'Connell 2003, 79). Those speech characteristics usually reveal a great deal of information about the speaker: on the basis of a person's voice, we make assumptions about gender, approximate age, weight, height etc.; and the prosodic speech elements can reveal the person's geographic and social background (O'Connell 2003). Therefore, the choice of actors for dubbing is very important, because their speech characteristics can certainly have influence on characterization, at least to some extent.

When choosing the appropriate speakers, a certain level of consistency in the character's voice and speech characteristics in both languages should be attained, although for a character to sound persuasive, it is usually even more important that the speaker's voice and his speech characteristics match the character (O'Connell 2003, 87). The same practice prevails in the choice of speakers for dubbing in Slovenia, i.e. children's characters are often dubbed by women with soft/gentle voices, since dubbing with children would be more difficult and time-consuming (Bevc 2009 in Frišek 2009). Another important speaker characteristic is his ability to identify with the character and interpret the role in his own way; however, at the same time his interpretation should not be too intense (Tarter 2007 in Frišek 2009; Chaume Varela 2004).

4. Children as the target audience

The main objectives when creating an audiovisual product for children should certainly be a focus on (a) the characteristics of the genre, and (b) the specifics of the target audience. According to Klingberg (1986 in O'Connell 2003, 107), audiovisual and multimedia texts could be understood as a variety of children's literature; therefore, their main characteristics are similar to those of other children's texts. One of their most important features is their multifunctionality, meaning that it comprises different functions: its purpose is not merely entertainment, but also development of linguistic skills, socialization and the acquisition of world knowledge (Puurtinen 1998 in O'Connell 2003, 110). To create similar effects by the audiovisual product on the target audience in the TL, it is important that the creators reproduce this multifunctionality in the TL as well, and do not focus only on entertainment at the expense of other functions.

When reproducing these functions in the TL the specific characteristics of the target group should be taken into consideration. Children's understanding differs from an adult perspective, and their

world knowledge is limited and can therefore relate only to things that are familiar or understandable (Lathey 2006; Oittinen, 2000). It is thus important that the creators of audiovisual products be aware of the aesthetic, educational and language standards that are appropriate for a given age group (Cerar 1998, 7). Animated films are usually aimed at the youngest age group, children between 2 and 8 years old, who are able to relate only to simple and not too complex notions and examples; therefore, the language structures should not be too long or too complicated. The level of vocabulary should be appropriate to their level of comprehension because they are unable to understand or even relate to more abstract vocabulary. It should correspond to their imaginary world, and it should not contain too many foreign words and incomprehensible expressions (Cerar 1998, 7; Zwitter 1998, 71).

To create a product that is comprehensible to children in the TL, translators usually focus on the TL system: they adjust the original to the characteristics of the target public and target culture (Díaz Cintas 2003; Puurtinen 2006). Text interventions – e.g. content or language simplification, grimaces, exaggeration and adjustment of cultural-specific elements – are usually more acceptable within children's literature than in other genres, since they are treated merely as adaptations to the target audience in order to bring the content of the story closer to the viewers (Cerar 1998, 6). However, when adjusting the original, two main principles must be considered: (1) the adjustments must be appropriate and in accordance with accepted norms of morality; (2) the story, characterization and language must be adjusted to the child's level of comprehension (Shavit 2006, 26).

5. Placement of Chicken Little's speech into English and Slovene language varieties

The English and Slovene languages both exist in several varieties that can be classified into two main categories,[4] i.e. dialects and registers in English, and social and functional varieties in Slovene (Skubic 2005). The main logic of the classification in both languages is quite similar, which enables comparison between languages; however, some differences occur on the content level, i.e. in terms of defining and understanding the sub-varieties which can cause some confusion when comparing both classifications (Skubic 2005, 77). The differences are discussed where necessary.

The article focuses mainly on social varieties, which can be divided into two main sub-varieties: standard and non-standard. Standard English (SE) is a standardized variety, usually used in writing and education, and does not have an associated accent. It is a purely social dialect[5]; its group of native speakers mostly belong to the top of the social scale and have the highest degree of power, wealth and prestige (Trudgill 1999, 8–9). Standard Slovene (SS) has an all-national and representative role, and serves as a means of communication throughout Slovenia. It is almost never taught as a mother tongue, but is acquired through education, reading and watching television (Križaj Ortar et al. 2010, 18; Toporišič 2000, 14). Both languages have their own variation of Spoken Standard language, which is usually used in formal settings or in conversations with people from other parts of the country. In English different variations of Spoken Standard English exist (American SSE, British SSE etc.); however, each of them is homogenous in terms of grammar, vocabulary and spelling (Biber et al. 1999, 18; Nordquist n. d.). In Slovenia that variety is known as the Literary Colloquial variety. It is not standardized; however, its main characteristics are

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4   In Slovene classification, 5 different categories exist; however, we are only interested in the two most important (Toporišič 2000, 13–14).

5   In the English-speaking world on the whole, there are different forms of Standard English: Scottish, American or English SE.

widely recognized: it is based on general, non-marked speech characteristics, with its main focus on Central Slovene regional colloquial language. Because of its non-standardization, it is often marked by characteristics of different regional colloquial dialects (Toporišič 2000, 16 and 17).

Non-standard English is subdivided into three main categories: (1) regional dialects which are spoken in certain region (e.g., America, Great Britain), (2) social dialects or sociolects, which are spoken in specific social groups, and (3) idiolects which represent special characteristics of an individual's speech (Biber et al. 1999; Hribar 2007). Non-standard Slovene is subdivided into two main categories: (1) seven dialectal groups (Littoral, Charinthian, Lower Carniolan, Upper Carniolan, the Rovte, Styrian and Pannonian), and (2) regional colloquial dialects (e.g., Central Slovene, South Styrian, North Styrian etc.) which are made up of several geographical dialects, i.e., the kind of social varieties between Standard Literary Slovene, on the one hand, and dialects on the other[6] (Toporišič 2000, 12–21).[7]

The functional varieties or registers are used according to specific situations or intentions (Skubic 2005, 77). Thus, the level of formality in a conversation often depends on the situation of the speaker, e.g., on the purpose of the conversation, the characteristics of the target audience etc. Depending on those specifics, language can be more or less formal or informal (Hribar 2007, 119). Formal language is usually associated with Standard Spoken language, while less formal varieties are associated with non-standard language, e.g., sociolects (slang), idiolects etc. (Nordquist n. d.).

In both versions of the film, the speech of the main character Chicken Little can be classified as non-standard language; however, some differences appear on the level of marked language used, which also causes certain differences in register. In English (SL) the character's speech is recognized as non-standard and informal: he speaks an American regional dialect with some general characteristics of American colloquial language, with occasional use of slang vocabulary. In Slovene (TL) his speech is also non-standard and informal; however, the level of formality is lower than in SL since the characteristics of regional colloquial dialects occur more frequently. The influence of marked non-standard language is often very noticeable, since the language is not marked merely by the characteristics of one of the general dialectal groups (e.g., Styrian dialect, which would to some extent correspond to the use of regional dialect in SL), but by a sub-variety of regional colloquial dialects: a specific variety of North Styrian, the Maribor regional colloquial language with influence from the dialectal speech of Ruše[8]. Zorko (1995, 308 and 341) has established that Maribor regional colloquial language was formed at the intersection of the Styrian and Pannonian dialectal groups; however, it was influenced by the Eastern Carinthian dialectal group as well. Both dialectal groups, the Styrian and the Carinthian, meet in Selnica and Ruše; therefore, the speech of Ruše is a sort of link between them. It has some special dialectal characteristics that are typical only of the Ruše and Pohorje areas; however, most of its characteristics are typical of North Styrian dialect. Because of some special characteristics that are not widely recognized in the Literary Colloquial variety, the register is less formal.

6   Koletnik and Valh Lopert 2013: "Maribor colloquial language on stage." *Aktuelle Tendenzen der Sprachwissenschaft: ausgewählte Beiträge zu den GeSuS-Linguistiktagen an der Metropolitan Universität Prag, 26.–28. Mai 2011,* (Schriftenreihe Philologia, ISSN 1435-6570, Bd. 176). 73–85. Hamburg: Kovač.

7   To avoid confusion in terminology, it must be noted that in Slovene the term dialect is understood only as a regional dialect, a sub-variety of non-standard language, while in English classification the term has a broader meaning and includes the speech of social groups and individuals (sociolects and idiolects) (Hribar 2007, 13).

8   Ruše is a small town near Maribor.

6. Linguistic analysis of Chicken Little's speech in the source and target languages

To analyze the characteristics of non-standard language use and consequently the differences in register in both languages, deviations from standard language norms are observed. In English the norm is Standard English (SE), with a focus on the characteristics of American SE; in Slovene the norm is Standard Slovene (SS). Deviations from the norm can be observed on all linguistic levels. While in SL not much variation exists among different levels, in the TL the most obvious deviations occur in phonetics/pronunciation and vocabulary, the less obvious in morphology and the least in syntax. The analysis focuses primarily on the differences in the amount and level of deviations between SL and TL, which serve as a basis for further discussion about the effects of those changes. It is based on a transcript of the speech in the original and in translation.

Phonetics

In SL the character's speech is not marked by any specific accent, and the pronunciation is mostly consistent with the norm. Occasionally some pronunciation characteristics typical of colloquial language do occur: (a) pronunciation of colloquial expressions: *gotta* (SE got to, have got to);[9] (b) omission of first or last consonant: *'cause* (SE because)*; thinkin'* (SE thinking)*.

In TL the deviations from the norm are much more frequent, and many of them are recognized as typical characteristics of Maribor regional colloquial language and the dialectal speech of Ruše.

(1) The main deviations occur in the pronunciation: (a) use of long narrow é for a: *za méno* (SS za mano)[10] 'after me'*, dén* (SS dan) 'day'; (b) use of diphtongs ei, ou for e, o: *néi* (SS ne) 'no', *véidla* (SS vedela) 'knew'*, tóu* (SS to) 'this'*, róuža* (SS roža) 'flower'*; (c) omission of vowels (modern vowel reduction or MVR) in the beginning, middle or end of the word: *mám* (SS imam) 'I have got'*; ponósn* (SS ponosen) 'proud of'*; dáns* (SS danes) 'today'; *láh* (SS lahko) 'can'; in pre- and post-stressed position, non-stressed vowels disappear: *blá* (SS bila) 'was'*, narédli* (SS naredili) 'made'; (d) use of o-ending with masculine participle *-il, -el, -al*: *prijávo* (SS prijavil) 'applied'*, réko* (SS rekel) 'said'*, zmógo* (SS zmogel) 'was able to'*; študíro (*SS študiral 'misliti'*)* 'thought'; (e) the pronunciation of [f] for sonorant /v/ preceeding voiceless consonant: *fstrášo* (SS ustrašil) 'got scared of'*; míkrovalófko* (SS mikrovalovko) 'microwave'*; (e) pronunciation of sonant pairs lj and nj: *živlêja* (SS življenja) 'life'*; méjaj* (SS menjaj) 'change'*; srédni* (SS srednji) 'the middle'*.

(2) The second type of change involves occasional changes in word-stress: (a) stress shift towards the beginning of the word: *sámo* (SS samó) 'only, just'; (b) realization of the first stress in verbs where in standard language two different stresses are possible: *poslúšte* (SS poslúšajte also poslušájte) 'listen', *pomágali* (SS also pomagáli) 'helped'.

Morphology

In English some general characteristics of colloquial language occur: (1) use of interjections: *oh, um*; (2) use of standard abbreviations: *you're* (SE you are); (3) use of non-standard abbreviations: *gonna* (SE going to). Deviation from Standard language occurs in only one example, when the plural form of a demonstrative pronoun is used instead of the singular: *there's these cloaking panels* (SE there are these).

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9   SE stands for Standard English.
10   SS stands for Standard Slovene.

In Slovene the use of general characteristics of colloquial language (mostly interjections and particles) is more frequent. Moreover, several characteristics typical of Maribor colloquial language appear, features which significantly mark the language. These characteristics are indicated by the following: (1) rare colloquial use of the demonstrative pronoun: *tóti* (SS ta) 'this'; (2) 1st person dual ending *-ma* for standard *-va* in verbal conjugation: *smà* (SS sva) 'we are', *rábima* (SS rabiva) 'we need'; (3) the use of *-te* for standard *-ste* in the conjugation of atematic verbs: *véte* (SS veste) 'you know', *bóte* (SS boste) 'you will'; (4) expression of intention with the Maribor colloquial verb of possibility: *bi mógu poníknit* (SS bi moral ponikniti) 'I should disappear'; (5) use of short infinitive with modal verbs: *mórmo povédat* (SS moramo povedati) 'we have to tell'; (6) omission of initial consonant in imperative form: *lèjte* (SS glejte) 'look'.

Syntax

The fewest differences between the SL and TL appear on the syntactic level. Since the language is spoken, the sentences are usually simple and short. In both languages the same characteristics of spoken language occur: (1) use of breaks between sentences and within one sentence: *You bet, dad. I ... Unless you think we need ... closure?* (2) unfinished sentences: *Ja, čújte, trenêr, véte, jáz bi sámo ... uh, em ...* 'Yeah, but coach I have a good feeling ...'; (3) repetition: *Vréčo, ki máš vréčo?* 'Bag, where's your bag?' (4) discourse markers: *čúj, lêj*, 'yeah', 'you know'. In TL one characteristic of Maribor colloquial language also appears: duplication of the negative particle *no*: *nêna* (SS ne).

Vocabulary

In SL the character's vocabulary is predominantly colloquial, since mostly short words of Anglo-Saxon origin generally prevail (Hribar 2011)[11]. Besides formal expressions, many non-formal expressions and phrases are also used: *dad* (SE father)*; kid* (SE child)*, guy* (SE a man); *buddy* (SE a good friend); *you bet* (SE of course, surely). Occasionally slang expressions also occur: *cool* (SE excellent); *smack* the ball (SE hit the ball); these colour the language to some extent, but their usage is not frequent; therefore, his vocabulary could not be recognized as particularly slangy. The use of non-formal language is also marked by some of the phonetic and morphological characteristics already discussed within morphological characteristics: *gonna* (SE going to); *outta* (SE out of) (*American Heritage Dictionary* [2014]; *Oxford Dictionary of Modern Slang* [2014]).

In TL the vocabulary is more marked with regional dialectal characteristics than in SL. Besides the standard vocabulary also some non-standard vocabulary (often of German origin) does occur: e.g., colloquial expressions, slang and jargon: *šánsa* (SS možnost) 'chance', *telêbniti* (SS pasti) 'to fall', *písker* (SS lonec) 'pot', *núcati* (SS potrebovati) 'need', *próbati* (SS poskusiti) 'try', *plêh* (SS pločevina) 'sheet metal', *fájn* (SS dobro) 'good, nice', *stári* (SS prijatelj) 'a friend', *cár* (SS človek vpadljivega vedenja) 'awesome man, the man', *lúzer* (SS poraženec) 'loser', *fóter* (SS oče) 'dad', *frájer* (SS človek vpadljivega vedenja, zunanjosti) 'to be popular', *kúl* (SS super, dobro) 'cool', *tríca* (SS met za tri točke) 'three point shot', *ta glávni* (SS pomemben) 'the man' (*Slovenski pravopis* 2001; Zorko 1995). Moreover, German loan-words appear: *láufati* (SS teči) 'to run' ← Ger. laufen, *cájt* (SS čas) 'time' ← Ger. zeit, *švóhna* (SS šibka) 'weak' ← Ger. schwach, *nabíldan* (SS mišičast) 'to be bulked up' ← Ger. bilden (SS oblikovati). The use of German loan-words is a distinctive characteristic of the Styrian dialectal group (Zorko, 1995)[12]. One Anglicism is used: *símpl* (SS preprosto) 'simple'. Characteristics of non-formal vocabulary are also expressed through some of

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[11]   Study material given by Dr D. D. Hribar.

[12]   The frequent use of German loan-words in Maribor colloquial language is discussed in detail by Z. Zorko in
         Narečna podoba Dravske doline (1990, 350–352), where most of these loan-words are also listed.

the phonetic and morphological characteristics previously discussed, e.g. special stress in words, pronunciation of vowels, differences in conjugation.

7. Shifts in language use and their consequences

Analysis of speech characteristics shows that deviations from standard language are more frequent in the TL than in the SL, resulting in Chicken Little's speech in Slovene being more marked. When comparing the film in both languages, the differences are noticeable and have an important impact on the film as a whole. To evaluate the effects of the shifts in language use on the characteristics of the story, the Comparative Descriptive Model of Translation by Kitty M. van Leuven-Zwart (1989) is used. The model "works from the 'bottom up': an analysis of microstructural shifts leads to a description of shifts on the macrostructural level" (Leuven-Zwart 1990, 230) and therefore consists of two components or models – comparative and descriptive. The comparative model is used to analyze concrete translational shifts on the microstructural level (the level of word groups and sentences), which occur on different linguistic levels: the syntactic, the semantic, the stylistic and the pragmatic. The descriptive model serves to describe "the effects of microstructural shifts at the level of macrostructure" (ibid. 229), that is on the "characterization of persons, the nature and ordering of actions and events, the point of view from which the text is presented to the reader etc." (ibid). According to the model, the shifts in Chicken Little's language can be categorized as "stylistic modulations with respect to a social aspect of disjunction" (Leuven-Zwart 1989, 163), which consists of five categories, each based on a different aspect of disjunction: i.e., the register element, professional element, time element, text-specific element and the culture-specific element (ibid). In Chicken Little's speech it is mainly the disjunction in register element that occurs.

The most frequent and noticeable shift is the replacement of non-marked/standard vocabulary in the SL with (a) marked lower colloquial vocabulary in the TL: 'fell' > *telebno* (SS padel); or (b) standard vocabulary which is marked by pronunciation characteristics of Maribor colloquial language: 'bed' > *pójsla* (SS postelja); 'know' > *véte* (SS veste). Typical examples include the following: (1) Come on. All I need is a chance. > Dáj nó, sámo êno šánso núcam. (2) I am the champion, my friend! And I'll keep on fightin' till the end … beu-neu-neu … and I am the champion, I … I … I am the champion … gone is the loser, 'cause I am the champion … of the world![13] > Jáz sɘ̀n hùd frájer, stári mój! Do kónca bom pêlo … tóti bój! Bau bau baum … Jáz sɘ̀n ta glávni, ja… ja… jáz sɘ̀n najbóljši! Ja pa kdó je záj lúzer, ker jáz sɘ̀n ta glávni … Jáz sɘ̀n cár! (3) I agree. Vacuum sealed. OK, great, dad. > Štíma, fóter! (4) No. Uh, I, uh ... I fell out of bed. > Ne. Uhm, jàz … telêbno sɘ̀n s pójsle. (5) Abby, please. This is exactly what fell on me the first time. There's no way I'm bringing this up again. > Ráca, lêj, tó mi je že ítak pádlo na písker, tàk da ni šáns, da mu tóti plêh spét nêsem pod kljún. (6) We all know I don't have a good arm. > Ja pa sej vsí véte, da màm švóhne róke.

The frequent and consistent shifts in language use on the microstructural level resulted in changes on the macrostructural level, particularly in changes of characterization. Shifts to more informal language variety in the TL emphasized some of Chicken Little's characteristics that were not emphasized in the SL. The simple, frequently marked vocabulary and pronunciation in the TL emphasize his youth and naivety, and significantly distinguish him from other characters whose speech is less marked. Moreover, as a consequence of marked language in the TL, comic effects are created in places where no similar effects exist in the SL. On the contrary, his language in the SL is less marked and very similar to the language used by other characters; therefore, his speech in the SL does not stand out and therefore has no distinguishing role.

[13]   "The lyrics is character's adaptation of the single *We Are the Champions* by Queen from 1977 (Queen, n. d.)"

The difference in characterization caused by language use is also expressed in the relationship between Chicken Little and his father. Whereas in the SL the characteristics of their language are very similar, in the TL the difference in their language use is considerable: Chicken Little's language is more marked, while the father's language is less marked than in the SL. The difference is most noticeable when they talk to each other: this emphasizes their generational difference as well as the interpersonal distance in their relationship. These elements form a main motif in the story, in the English as well as in the Slovene version; however, the difference in language varieties in the TL gives it more emphasis, and therefore probably affects the viewer's understanding of the father-son relationship and of the story itself.

8. Use of non-standard language and norms

The discussions about the appropriateness of different language varieties in mass media (whether television, cinema, radio, theatre or public speech) are commonplace. Since one of the main functions of audiovisual products for children is the development of language skills (O'Connell 2003), even greater emphasis is put on debate about the appropriateness of language use in programs for children. The prevailing practices in creating audiovisual products and maintaining its characteristics are usually connected with the habits and wishes of the audience, as well as translation policies and media demands (Díaz Cintas 2003). Those practices are expressed in different types of norms, which serve as the primary orientation in creating adequate or acceptable final product (Kovačič 1995). There are at least three sets of norms that should be taken into consideration when dubbing an animated film for children: norms related to translating for children as the target audience, norms related to language use in mass media, and translational norms.

(1) Children's literature is one of the rare genres where a certain level of interference in the TL text is acceptable in order to attain better understanding or to bring the story closer to the target public. However, such changes should not affect the understanding of the story (Shavit 2006, 26) and the final product should keep its prevailing functions: e.g., entertainment, development of linguistic skills, socialization and the acquisition of world knowledge (Puurtinen 1998 in O'Connell 2003, 110). With regard to these norms, it seems that, in products for children, non-standard language could be used for special purposes at least to some extent if the product manages simultaneously to retain all the main functions.

(2) Attitudes toward use of non-standard language in public discourse and mass media in Slovenia differ widely and are not often uniform. Considering the traditional view that the mass media should provide for language culture, the use of standard spoken language with minor deviations to non-standard varieties should prevail (Kovačič 1995, 63). However, it seems that with the recent rapid development in and growing popularity of different types of media, their traditional role is changing and perhaps declining in importance, the result of which can be observed in changes of some traditional practices regarding language use in public discourse. Skubic (2005, 233) sees these changes as the consequence of "the social and economic circumstances in globalized neoliberal capitalism", with one of the main changes being the "two-way approaching and blurring the boundaries between the objective and practical" (ibid.), e.g. the standard and the non-standard. In Slovenia the consequences of that process can be observed in actual language use in public discourse, where the use of non-standard language is becoming more and more frequent in many types of programs: e.g., talk-shows, television sit-coms, commercial radio programs etc. Considering that audience interest results in profit, the recent increased use of non-standard language in mass media could be understood as a way of adapting the characteristics of the media

to the wishes and demands of the audience. In this respect the traditional view with its strict focus on standard language seems to be losing clout, at least in the field of language use in mass media.[14]

(3) With regard to translational norms, some differences in opinion in the use of non-standard language also exist. These are mostly connected with the understanding of different approaches to attaining equivalence between the SL and the TL. Those who believe that translation should exist only at the level of semantic equivalence usually speak in favor of the use of standard language. In contrast, those who believe that, in addition to semantic equivalence, other types of equivalence (e.g., functional, personal or social) should also be attained, argue that non-standard varieties should also be used in public discourse. They see language as a tool for the characterization of persons, interpersonal relations or speech situations/positions. Non-standard language resembles language use in everyday life, which makes speech more authentic (Kovačič 1995, 63–65). Similar practices are already very frequent in theatre, where language is often used as means of identifying people, and the use of strictly standard language seems to be more an exception than the rule.

As this article has shown, the norms regulating language use in animated films aimed specifically at children are complex and diverse, and probably no straight answer about the 'most appropriate language variety' can be given; however, these recent tendencies in practice can serve as an orientation toward and indicator of desired practices. They indicate that the use of non-standard language is becoming more acceptable in mass media, especially when it is used for a special purpose and its use does not significantly change the functions of the product. Therefore, in children's programs a certain level of non-standard language is no longer understood as a significant deviation from the norm, especially if it contributes to the understanding of the story or creates positive effects.

9. Conclusion

Analysis of Chicken Little's speech in both languages shows different levels of deviation from standard language, which results in a change of register. Frequent and significant shifts on the microstructural level, most evident in the use of vocabulary, cause changes on the macrostructural level and influence the story as a whole. The frequent use of marked speech in the TL has an effect on the characterization of Chicken Little and presents him differently than in the SL, causing a divergence in our understanding of the story in each language.

Considering the norms and prevailing practices regarding language use in audiovisual products aimed at children, these changes could be understood as intentional: they were used in order to attract children's attention or to make the character more appealing to children. However, since the translator is only one link in a chain comprising the entire dubbing process, these changes are not necessarily the result of actual choices by the translator, but were probably caused at later stages, most likely by the actor dubbing Chicken Little. At least two facts speak in favor of this assumption. First, the translation of other characteristics of the text, which are primarily the translator's domain and less likely to be changed by other creators of the film (e.g., translation of proper names and culture-specific elements), show no noticeable deviations from the SL, leading to the assumption that the translator had no intention of creating differences between the text in the SL and TL.[15] Second, Chicken Little's speech characteristics correspond to the language background of the actor

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14   Skubic (2005, 238) predicts that traditional standard language will retain its role in the fields where it is traditionally present and where a certain level of standardization is necessary to attain understanding, e.g. administrative and legal texts etc.

15   The analysis of all three fields (language use, translation of proper names and translation of culture specific elements) is available in the graduation thesis *Dubbing the Animated Film Chicken Little* (Cupar 2012).

who dubbed the character. Therefore, the changes in language use are probably a result of the actor's (intentional) decisions to mark the character with his own interpretation, and action which influenced the story as a whole.

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