ELOPE

English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries

Vol. 17, No. 2 (2020)

Journal Editors: SMILJANA KOMAR and MOJCA KREVEL

University of Ljubljana
FACULTY OF ARTS

Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts
Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani

Ljubljana, 2020

Contents

PART I: LANGUAGE

Patricia Ashby **9**

Does Pronunciation = Phonetics? 100 Years of Phonetics in Pronunciation Training

Izgovarjava = fonetika? 100 let fonetike v šolanju izgovorjave

Sandor Czegledi **27**

Nine Decades of Dealing with Diversity: Language-Related Attitudes, Ideologies and Policies in Federal-Level US Legislative and Executive Documents from 1774 to 1861

Devet desetletij ukvarjanja z raznolikostjo: Jezikovni odnosi, ideologije in politike v ameriških zveznih zakonodajnih in izvršnih dokumentih od 1774 do 1861

Dušan Gabrovšek **47**

The *Bilingual* Usage Dictionary

Dvojezični slovar jezikovne rabe

Paul Onanuga, Rotimi Taiwo **61**

Discursive Features of Nigerian Online Ponzi Schemes' Narratives

Diskurzivne značilnosti naracije v nigerijskih spletnih Ponzijevih shemah

Magda Sučková **83**

Acquisition of a Foreign Accent by Native Speakers of English Living in the Czech Republic

Usvajanje tujega naglasa pri rojenih govorcih angleščine, ki živijo v Republiki Češki

Milica Vuković Stamatović, Vesna Bratić, Igor Lakić **101**

Vocabulary of L1 and L2 Graduation Theses Written by English Philology Students: Academic Writing of Montenegrin and US Students Compared

Besedišče prvega in drugega jezika v diplomskih nalogah študentov angleškega jezika: Primerjava akademskega pisanja črnogorskih in ameriških študentov

PART II: LITERATURE

Parisa Changizi **117**

"Permanent Revolution" to Effect an Ever-Evasive (Ecological) Utopia in Ursula K. Le Guin's *The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia*

Učinek »stalne revolucije« na izmuzljivo (ekološko) utopijo v romanu Ursule K. Le Guin *Mož praznih rok*

Mohammad Reza Hassanzadeh Javanian, Farzan Rahmani **137**

The Art of Laughing: A Study of the Tempo-Spatial Matrix in Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*

Umetnost smeha: Študija časovno-prostorske matrice v komediji *She Stoops to Conquer* Oliverja Goldsmitha

Goutam Karmakar **149**

Formulating the 'Alternate Archives' of Produced Locality: Locating the Diasporic Consciousness in the Select Poems of Sujata Bhatt and Debjani Chatterjee

Oblikovanje 'alternativnih arhivov' ustvarjene lokalnosti: Prisotnost diasporske zavesti v izbranih pesmih Sujate Bhatt in Debjani Chatterjee

Yana Manova-Georgieva **165**

What's Behind a Name? Origins and Meaning of Some of the Recurrent Characters in Terry Pratchett's Discworld

Kaj se skriva za imenom? Izvori in pomeni imen nekaterih likov v seriji romanov Plošča Terryja Pratchetta

PART III: ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE TEACHING

Irena Dimova **179**

In Search of the Way Forward: Implementing the Pedagogical Perspective of English as an International Language in Bulgaria

Iskanje poti naprej: Uresničevanje pedagoške perspektive angleščine kot mednarodnega jezika v Bolgariji

Soraya García-Sánchez, Carmen Luján-García **195**

Lifelong Learning and ESP Vocabulary: Reflections in Telecommunications and ICT

Vseživljenjsko učenje besedišča angleščine kot jezika stroke: Refleksije na področju telekomunikacij in IKT

Polona Vičič **219**

A Fully Integrated Approach to Blended Language Learning

Celostni pristop h kombiniranemu jezikovnemu učenju

Simon Zupan, Michelle Gadpaille **239**

Cultural Awareness among First-Year Undergraduate Students of English and Translation

Kulturna ozaveščenost dodiplomskih študentov prvega letnika anglistike in prevajalstva

PART IV: TRANSLATION STUDIES

Susanne R. Shunnaq, Adel Abu Radwan, Hassan Shuqair **257**

Problems in Translating Metaphors in Political Campaign Speeches: A Descriptive-Analytical Study

Težave pri prevajanju metafor v govorih politične kampanje: Opisno-analitična študija

List of Contributors **279**

Part I

LANGUAGE

Patricia Ashby
University of Westminster, UK

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 9-26(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.9-26
UDC: 81'34:[811.111'342.2:37.091.33]

Does Pronunciation = Phonetics? 100 Years of Phonetics in Pronunciation Training

ABSTRACT

The short answer to the question in the title is: not exactly, no. This paper examines the confusion between *phonetics* on the one hand and *pronunciation* on the other. It looks at what phonetics actually is (its acoustic, articulatory and auditory components), and attempts to dispel the popular myth that studying or teaching '(English) phonetics' and studying or teaching '(English) pronunciation' are one and the same thing – in fact, the former is general phonetics, the latter applied phonetics. Reviewing 100 years of thoughts about English pronunciation teaching (from Daniel Jones to Geoff Lindsey) it examines the contribution phonetics is considered to make in this field, looking at the roles of both phonetic theory and ear-training in pronunciation acquisition from teachers' and learners' perspectives. It concludes by summarizing what phonetics today can offer the language learner.

Keywords: general phonetics, applied phonetics, pronunciation training, ear-training, perceptual approach, Daniel Jones, Gimson

Izgovarjava = fonetika? 100 let fonetike v šolanju izgovorjave

POVZETEK

Kratek odgovor na vprašanje iz naslova je: ne ravno, ne. Ta članek proučuje zmedo med fonetiko na eni strani in izgovarjavo na drugi. Ugotavlja, kaj pravzaprav je fonetika (njene akustične, artikulacijske in slušne komponente), in poskuša razbiti priljubljeni mit, da sta proučevanje ali poučevanje »(angleške) fonetike« in proučevanje ali poučevanje »(angleške) izgovorjave« ena in ista stvar – v prvem primeru gre za splošno fonetiko, v drugem pa za uporabno fonetiko. Članek obravnava 100 let razmišljanj o poučevanju angleške izgovorjave (od Daniela Jonesa do Geoffa Lindseyja) in proučuje prispevek fonetike na tem področju. Pri tem z vidika učiteljev in učencev ugotavlja, kakšno vlogo imata fonetična teorije in urjenja posluha pri usvajanju izgovarjave. Prispevek v zaključku povzema, kaj lahko fonetika danes ponudi učencu jezika.

Ključne besede: splošna fonetika, uporabna fonetika, urjenje izgovarjave, urjenje posluha, percepcijski pristop, Daniel Jones, A. C. Gimson

CC BY SA

1 Introduction

Dhi Fonètik Tîtcerz' Asóciécon (later the IPA) was founded in France in 1886. A product of the Reform Movement, members were not teachers ***of*** phonetics, but teachers who ***used*** phonetics in their teaching of foreign languages and the possible ambiguity here (Phonetic Teachers' Association) may well have sowed the first seed of confusion and contributed to the idea of equivalence that is often found today.

In 1898, Walter Ripman translated and adapted Wilhelm Viëtor's *Kleine Phonetik*. Both were founding members of the Association and Ripman's English publication was called *Elements of Phonetics*: *English, French and German*. In his Preface, Ripman wrote:

> The growing demand for better instruction in modern languages and the consequent inquiries into the methods adopted in other countries have led many English teachers to consider how their pupils can best learn to pronounce French and German […] and hardly a book of this kind has been issued in the last few years which does not supply a chapter on 'pronunciation.'

He went on to criticize publishers who refused to include such a chapter and was critical of all unscientific (i.e. non-phonetically informed) instruction in language textbooks (things like simplified spelling rather than IPA-style transcription), and also spoke about the phonetically "untrained observer" – a person who can't "hear" what they are saying or how they are pronouncing things, and has absolutely no awareness of speech (never even noticing themselves h-dropping or reducing vowels when using weak forms, for example) and "often refuses to accept the phonetician's accurate record of his speech as representing his pronunciation". So, as early as the late nineteenth century the application of phonetics to pronunciation training was already in vogue and Ripman bemoaned the fact that Henry Sweet's pioneering *Primer of Spoken English* (published 1890) was not more widely known (Ripman 1898, v–x).

He then made a final point of interest here, which relates to the teaching model – what sort of English should be taught? He wrote (Ripman 1907, vi):

> Opinions are still much divided, but a definite course must be taken. In England the capital has so long exerted a preponderating influence in life and in letters […] that we may confidently regard London (or Southern English) speech as the standard. Not, of course, 'cockney' speech, but the speech of educated men and women.

In summary, then, we can see that over a century ago we had the makings of everything that still concerns us today:

- the need for scientific/objective phonetic underpinning to *pronunciation training* (by which I mean both pronunciation teaching and learning);
- the inability of the untrained observer to **hear** (in the phonetic sense);
- the question of which accent of English should be taught to the non-native learner;
- and implicitly, how pronunciation should be taught.

So, is that what phonetics is? A pronunciation training algorithm? Literally: does pronunciation = phonetics? To hear people talk, you'd often think that when you say you study or teach pronunciation it ***is*** the same thing as saying you study or teach phonetics. But this isn't actually the case, and although the difference was completely clear to Ripman as he attempted to bring the ***science*** of phonetics into arts-based pronunciation training, it was to be some twenty years later before Daniel Jones openly acknowledged this in his own textbooks and it's worth a brief digression here to follow this up.

Writing for humanities students, Jones at first downplayed the scientific nature of the discipline and the pronunciation~phonetics distinction remained fuzzy. (You could say this was the case in *The Pronunciation of English*, published in 1909, for example.) But by the time he published *An Outline of English Phonetics* (hereafter the *Outline)* in 1918, he defined phonetics as "the science which investigates the mode of formation of speech sounds and their distribution in connected speech" (Collins and Mees 1999, 56). He makes the distinction again in 1955 in the Preface to the 'improved edition' (in fact, the final edition) of his book of *Phonetic Readings in English.* After describing his own use of a "somewhat 'narrow' form of IPA transcription" (Jones 1955, x) in his key works (the *Outline* and *The Pronunciation of English*), he then wrote "Learners whose sole object is to acquire a good pronunciation of English, but who have no desire or opportunity to make a detailed study of phonetics […] may use a simpler system [of transcription] with advantage…"[1] (Jones 1995, x). This view is curious, however, in that it seems to conflict completely with Jones's avowed belief that the detailed study of phonetics underpins acquisition of good pronunciation. Is it possible that these later remarks about not needing to study theory at all were, effectively, fake news? Were they remarks intended to appeal to science-averse humanities students again and made simply to continue to sell his little book of *Phonetic Readings*? If not, the meaning and purpose of the remarks are not obvious. Whatever lay behind them, though, they serve to illustrate that (general) phonetics on the one hand and pronunciation on the other are two different things. Pronunciation (or **speech**) is in fact the very subject matter of phonetics, the data observed by the science. This then raises the question: how can phonetics help pronunciation?

2 Phonetics in Brief

Understanding the phonetics~pronunciation distinction a hundred years ago and more, teachers of modern foreign languages – especially English, French and German – were attracted to phonetics courses being offered in places like University College in London or the University of Marburg in German. These were courses which taught specifically about the phonetics underpinning descriptions of the pronunciation of those languages. Loosely, the courses were founded on the now proven belief that if you can **hear** a sound correctly, you

[1] There are two sorts of transcription: narrow or phonetic transcription, conventionally placed in square brackets, which shows exactly what a speaker said. Speaking the word *signs*, for example, the speaker might say **[ˈsąˑɪ̄nz]** (using a fully devoiced final consonant) or **[ˈsąˑɪ̄nz̥]** (with a devoiced offset), etc. The narrow transcription shows all the tiny differences. The broad or phonemic transcription, conventionally placed in slant brackets, picks out what is important for meaning: **/saɪnz/** (as opposed to **/maɪnz/, /laɪnz/, /saɪdz/, /saɪts/**, etc. The broad version is the one used in pronouncing dictionaries where it is assumed the reader will know the phonetics (the range of possible variants) behind the simplifications.

have a good chance of eventually being able to **produce** that sound correctly. In the language training forum this translates into phonetics first, and then pronunciation – the *perceptual approach* to pronunciation training. The practice is what Kaufmann (2018) would today call *input-based learning*.

So, what is phonetics? Basically, it's the discipline that describes human speech sounds: how they are produced, how they are heard, and how they are pronounced by different speakers. Hearing and identifying sounds is greatly enhanced by phonetic ear-training. It is *general phonetics* that encompasses these different theoretical and practical activities – general phonetics, the theory of speech production and perception, covers the physical or acoustic reality of speech sounds (acoustic phonetics), how these sound effects are actually achieved by the speaker (articulatory phonetics), and how they are perceived by listeners (auditory phonetics).

Although by no means the whole story, the most familiar of these three areas and the sort of phonetics that tends to predominate is articulatory phonetics. It's also the least expensive of the areas to teach! You can sit an entire cohort of students in a lecture room, tell them one week about consonants, another week about vowels, and so on, going into greater or lesser depth, as time permits. With an hour or two per week over a ten or twelve-week semester, an introduction to general phonetics might consist of something like the schedule in Table 1 which skims the surface of the whole subject – introducing the subject matter, some terminology, and telling students briefly about all three aspects of phonetics. There are no details about the sounds of a specific language (although where possible, examples are always taken from the students' mother tongue), no processes of connected speech or suprasegmentals and no practical training – the listening and production skills mentioned earlier. However, listening and production skills are both things that the student of a modern foreign language needs to acquire, and traditionally these would have been part of basic training programmes such as the courses in London and Marburg, reflecting the importance once accorded to speaking a foreign language intelligibly. (Practical training would require more hours on the timetable.)

Table 1. Introduction to general phonetics – a sample syllabus.

WEEK	**TOPIC**
Week 1	General introduction to articulatory, acoustic and auditory phonetics plus the IPA Chart
Week 2	Consonants and voice, place, manner of articulation
Week 3	Vowel production and the vowel diagram
Week 4	The further role of the larynx in voicing, voice quality, tone, intonation…
Week 5	The further role of the velum in air-flow, nasality
Week 6	Primary and secondary articulations
Week 7	Air stream mechanisms
Week 8	Introduction to acoustics: spectrograms and waveforms
Week 9	The hearing mechanism and speech perception
Week 10	Listening to and transcribing speech

However, just as Jones found a hundred years ago, general phonetics is still often unpopular with arts and humanities students today. They consider it 'too hard' or 'too scientific'. Unfortunately, it is precisely in response to such student complaints that the general phonetics foundation is now all too frequently further undermined. Increasingly, institutions are at the mercy of so-called student feedback which is used to measure 'student satisfaction' and feed public league tables. For a university to maintain a high ranking, student complaints have to be seen to be addressed, and it seems all too often that if students don't like something and their complaints are vigorous enough, the easiest way out is just to stop doing it. So, we now have three reasons to dispense with undergraduate general phonetics – cost, time and popularity.

But without this general phonetics foundation, the detailed phonetics of a target language – the very thing that students of languages often do seem to think would be useful – becomes inaccessible. The advantage of approaching this specific application of phonetics with a general phonetic foundation cannot be overstated. And that's what pronunciation training is, of course, a branch of *applied phonetics*… but you can't apply something you haven't got!

In 1909, while avoiding (as we have seen) the off-putting scientific truth, Jones wrote in the Preface to the first edition of *The Pronunciation of English*: "[…] a study of the pronunciation of the mother tongue is the indispensable foundation for the acquisition of the correct pronunciation of foreign languages" (Jones 1909, vii). Here, of course, the "pronunciation of the mother tongue" is a euphemism for a general phonetics course (which uses examples from the students' mother tongue(s)). For example, without such training, the articulatory phonetic concept of Voice Onset Time in instances such as *long VOT* (which is a critical characteristic of English plosives), tends at best to be identified by one of its perceptual correlates, *aspiration* or *h* (which only captures half the story). What is worse, further down the training chain, you then start to hear childish talk about *puffs of air*! This is truly ridiculous. In the language classroom today, interactive displays enable both demonstration and monitoring of target values to facilitate learning. At the very least, the teacher needs to be *au fait* with the technology available, know how to use it, and understand what the images and visual feedback mean. You cannot describe the phonetics of any language without reference to the basics of speech production and these days, too, without a proper understanding of basic speech acoustics and imaging techniques. Spectrograms, speech waveforms and pitch contours can all contribute to the acquisition of good pronunciation.

You don't acquire such knowledge by osmosis. Nonetheless, many teachers of foreign or 'additional' languages seem to consider they are trained and qualified to teach pronunciation. And they often (mistakenly) call this particular exercise 'phonetics'.

3 A Century of Scholarship

3.1 An Overview

Although by no means the only contributors to the field over the last century, the names of scholars like Daniel Jones and A.C. Gimson undoubtedly dominate and their key publications are listed in Table 2, moving from Jones, via Gimson to Alan Cruttenden and beyond.

However, while this paper focuses primarily on these field leaders, it does not entirely ignore the many other excellent – sometimes brilliant – contributors who worked alongside them.

Table 2. A century of selected phonetics and pronunciation training texts.

Year of publication	Author/Editor	Edition/Title (Edition used here) KEY: ***Bold*** print indicates practice books
1909	Jones	*The Pronunciation of English* (Definitive: 1958)
1912		***Phonetic Readings in English***
1918		*An Outline of English Phonetics* (9th ed., 1960 reprinted)
1962	Gimson	*Introduction to the Pronunciation of English* (1st ed.)
1970		*Introduction to the Pronunciation of English* (2nd ed.)
1975		***A Practical Course of English Pronunciation***
1980		*Introduction to the Pronunciation of English* (3rd ed.)
1989	Ramsaran	*Introduction to the Pronunciation of English* (4th ed.)
1994	Cruttenden	*Gimson's Pronunciation of English* (5th ed.)
2001		*Gimson's Pronunciation of English* (6th ed.)
2008		*Gimson's Pronunciation of English* (7th ed.)
2014		*Gimson's Pronunciation of English* (8th ed.)
2019	Lindsey	*English After RP*

3.2 Jones

As we've seen, just over a century ago, in 1918, Daniel Jones first published the *Outline.* The ninth and final edition, published in 1964, is not only testament to the value placed on this work (still selling robustly half a century later), but also tells the reader briefly how the publication had developed over the years:

- First published in 1918, with a second edition in 1922, the *Outline* was completely re-written as a third edition in 1932;
- Jones considered the fourth to seventh editions (1934 to 1949) to be substantially just reprints of the third, although the seventh edition (1949) recognised the new global, post-war importance of American English, adding an appendix on 'American Pronunciation';
- The eighth edition, in 1956, was a watershed moment – in response to "the fact that the pronunciation of English [had] undergone changes" the book was completely re-written incorporating numerous "improvements" an including "new phonetic facts or advances in our knowledge of phonetic theory". In this edition, too, a full appendix on 'Types of Phonetic Transcription' replaced the original page of rules for converting "broad" transcriptions of English to "narrow" ones and the 'American Pronunciation' appendix (introduced in the seventh edition) was expanded and thoroughly overhauled (see Jones 1956, v–vi);
- The final, ninth edition, according to Jones, was simply a reprint of the eighth but "incorporating a few necessary corrections" (Jones 1960, vi).

The *Outline* provided a detailed theoretical account of the pronunciation of Southern British English at the time, written primarily from the "point of view of the foreign learner of English". It included accounts of "the chief mispronunciations heard from foreign people" along with "methods" aimed at "enabling students to pronounce correctly". The publishers avowed that not only foreign learners of English, but also "English students of speech" would "find much to interest them in this book, since much information is given in it regarding the fundamentals of general phonetic theory" including *inter alia* "principles of ear-training" – and here the publishers themselves are finally bigging up the ***scientific***, general phonetic orientation of the work, presumably believing that this would not, after all, undermine sales! (See cover blurb for all quotations in this paragraph.)

However, as we saw, in 1909, even before the publication of the *Outline*, Jones had published another account of English pronunciation, *The Pronunciation of English.* Jones had been engaged by CUP as the editor of a projected series of pronunciation manuals. His English volume was the first. (The series would later also include his *Pronunciation of Russian.*) But the volume is surprisingly lightweight (see below) given that Jones had promised a detailed analysis with this book, even planning a subtitle (never used): "A manual of phonetics for English students." Again, the cover blurb is historically instructive. For the 1956 definitive edition, this tells us that the book "was written originally as a detailed description of the phonetics of English, presented from the point of view of the native English-speaking student." It goes on "[...] it soon established itself as a standard textbook in universities where English is a foreign language, because it provides in a lucid and authoritative manner the basic information needed by foreign students of the language". In other words, in spite (or maybe ***because***) of its scientifically-based approach, it found a large overseas market. The book contains:

- A descriptive account of English pronunciation (including stress, rhythm and intonation)
- Production-training – Section XV Practical exercises
- Recommendations for ear-training (Section XVI)
- Sound-by-sound comments on a number of native accents of English
- Illustrative texts in phonetic transcription of RP and several regional varieties (including annotated examples of Scottish English and American English)

However, the core phonetic content was actually quite slight, taking just 69 pages, and Collins and Mees speculate that the publishers may have forced Jones to compress this first part of the book (Collins and Mees 1999, 67), possibly because what this earlier volume, *The Pronunciation of English,* does **not** do, is cater for the foreign learner of English, neither summarising typical errors, nor offering remedial practice materials. The transcribed passages in different accents at the end of this volume are scientific data, not pronunciation training materials. It seems highly likely, therefore, that prompted by discovery of the overseas market that had opened up for this text, rather than change its nature completely in subsequent editions, Jones instead started afresh and went on to write the *Outline* overtly addressed to foreign learners. Not to put too fine a point on it, it was suddenly obvious that the **application** of general phonetics to language training was where the money lay and not in the science of phonetics itself.

Also noteworthy here, however, is the fact that both books blend all three aspects of phonetics. The articulatory phonetics accounts (coupled with general phonetic production/ mouth-training advice or, in the *Outline* pronunciation training) dominate, but alongside the traditional, impressionistic vocal tract diagrams, the books also contain other illustrations of a more instrumental nature (photographs of lip gestures and static palatograms of tongue gestures). It was as necessary a hundred years ago for students to be familiar with interpreting the visual evidence as it is today. And finally, there is ear-training which nods to speech perception. And as if to underline the importance he placed on ear-training, Jones scribbled in his personal copy of *The Pronunciation of English* that "untrained persons cant hear differences wh do exist, & think they hear diffs wh. dont exist" (*sic*) (Collins and Mees 1990, 69).

Many other textbooks of the time shied away from incorporating phonetic theory. Indeed, Jones's own 1912 publication *Phonetic Readings in English* was one such book – a practice book only, containing just transcribed reading texts. This suggests that Jones also took for granted that the exercise of reading from transcription was an everyday requirement and an essential skill. But how students are supposed to learn the art of reading transcription without any theoretical back-up is unclear. It was almost as if transcription itself had the power to give readers the skill to pronounce the language, as if the transcription carried the solution to the pronunciation learning process. And Jones himself must at least have considered this conundrum because in the preface to the 1955 final edition of this book, he refers students who do not wish to spend time studying theory to other, even more simplified readers (including MacCarthy's 1956 *English Conversation Reader in Phonetic Transcription with Intonation Marks*, Scott's 1949 *English Conversations in Simplified Phonetic Transcription,* and Tibbitt's 1946 *Phonetic Reader for Foreign Learners of English*). Each book uses the author's own simplified transcription but none include theory or explanatory material. The accessibility of the transcription is taken entirely for granted.

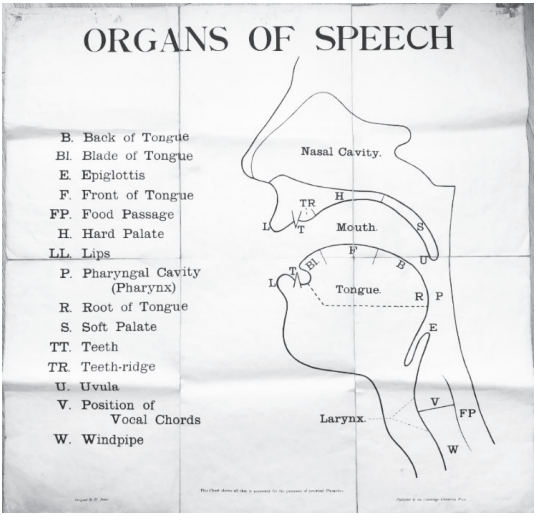

Figure 1. The Organs of Speech, Daniel Jones.

Jones was also a master of teaching aids in the form of wall charts and suchlike. Figure 1, a wall chart recently found in boxes of documentation and paperwork relating to the *Certificate* examination of the International Phonetic Association, is evidence of this. The image shows a much used, but undated wall chart, printed on linen backed paper, published by Cambridge University Press and written (or designed) by Daniel Jones. The chart is a large, well-labelled vocal tract drawing beneath which is written "This Chart shows all that is necessary for the purpose of practical Phonetics." And by 'practical phonetics' here, of course, it is now clear that Jones is talking about phonetics applied to pronunciation training.

In 1917, Jones also published the 1st edition of his renowned *Everyman's English Pronouncing Dictionary* (EPD, now known as the *Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary*), which went through twelve more editions by the time of his death in 1967. This belief in the central value of transcription and the ability to read from it is still enshrined in the Certificate examination of the International Phonetic Association today. The examination, of course, also dates from the beginning of the last century and might well be considered out of date in today's world. Nowadays, we rarely read phonetically transcribed prose narratives with our students (even if some students are still encouraged to make transcriptions themselves).

To sum up, what this mixture of Jones's key publications suggests, is that while he himself fully engaged in the scientific description of speech, he also understood perfectly the value of certain aspects of this to the language student. What he did not always do, was properly separate these two interests: scientific description on the one hand, and the skills-focused application of this on the other.

However, he was also active in promoting phonetics as a subject of study. The University College London calendar for 1920 lists Jones as offering a course in general phonetics for those who wish to become teachers of phonetics. It's my guess that this means basic general phonetic theory (including ear-training and mouth-training) for those going on to become language teachers – in other words, the exact general (and English) phonetic theory and practical skills that would be needed to succeed in the IPA Certificate examination just mentioned and considered at that time a language teaching qualification (see, for example, Ashby, Ashby, and Moore 2019).

So, these seminal but now historical texts may be themselves the very source of the confusion between phonetics and pronunciation that exists today. But the distinction, as we have just seen, was definitely clear in the minds of the authors. Jones and Gimson were first and foremost phoneticians, Jones in particular researching in general phonetics and engaging with the phonetic description of a number of exotic foreign languages. But the money lay in the foreign language training market and especially in pronunciation training for foreign students of English. Both Jones and Gimson knew this. Their formal phonetic descriptions of English were taken up and used not only by students of phonetics and linguistics but also, perhaps even more widely, by language teachers… formal, general phonetics became inextricably bound up with pronunciation teaching. Instead of teasing apart the scientific research and description, and interleaving a relevant but simplified account with practice materials for the language training market, first Jones and then Gimson endeavoured to be all things to all people. The rest, as they say, is history.

3.3 Important Others

Jones and Gimson, of course, were not alone in this field at this time. There were others, and especially there were others who managed to write and publish theoretically simplified but very popular and instructive applied phonetics textbooks which **did** include the necessary theory. One such was Julian Pring's *Colloquial English Pronunciation,* written in 1959 specifically with self-access students in mind (this work received high praise from Jones who contributed the Foreword, writing "Mr Pring, who is a skilled phonetician, is well qualified to write such a book, as he has been teaching English on phonetic lines for nearly twenty years. I can strongly recommend his present work.") and another, O'Connor's *Better English Pronunciation* (published originally in 1967, with a 2nd edition in 1980). Pring's book is outstanding, and reviewing O'Connor in *The Times Educational Supplement,* Jack Windsor Lewis wrote that it "can quite safely be said to be the most effective [book] ever written to help the ordinary learner to improve his pronunciation."

For the first half of the twentieth century, Jones, and later his successor Gimson, dominated the market for phonetic textbooks. They remain icons in the field to this day. But I think it has to be said that neither really mastered the applied model required by the pronunciation training community in spite of the fact that this community was their principal audience and they both overtly claimed to be writing specifically for it. This simplified and focused theoretical account of the speech of the target language which dovetails with a practical application of the facts was left to these other scholars to achieve.

3.4 Gimson

The natural successor to Daniel Jones in the phonetic textbook market was his former student and younger colleague at UCL, A.C. Gimson who in 1962 published the first edition of *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English* (hereafter *An Introduction*). This volume, Gimson said, was "intended to serve as a general introduction to the subject" which "sets out to place the phonetics of British English in a larger framework than has been customary" explaining that "emphasis is given to the function of the spoken medium as a form of communication." Gimson also notes that the book contains "information concerning the acoustic nature of English sounds" (Gimson 1962, v).

Accordingly, the book opens with a chapter on communication and – a further departure from Jones's books – chapter 3 concentrates on acoustic phonetics. Interestingly however, although he asserts the book's content derives directly from his experience of "teaching the spoken language to both English students and to foreign learners" (Gimson 1962, v) (exactly like Jones before him), all the ear-training, mouth-training and transcription-based materials found in Jones's volumes have gone. Instead, in Parts II and III of *An Introduction*, only "general advice to the foreign learner is given" – each sound in Part II has a section headed "Advice to foreign learners" and in Part III, a sub-section containing advice is included at the end of each of the three final chapters. The practical training has gone completely and ear-training receives no mention. From the start, *An Introduction* is more in the style of a reference text than a straightforward textbook.

The second edition followed in 1970 with very little changed beyond an update on the status and nature of RP, especially among younger speakers, and the addition of a section considering the "intelligibility of spoken English in the world".

Mid-way between this and the publication of the third edition, in 1972, Gimson appeared to address his exclusion of the Jonesian-style practical materials by publishing *A Practical Course of English Pronunciation. A perceptual approach.* But it was not until 1980, with the publication of the third edition of *An Introduction*, that a chapter appeared called 'Teaching the Pronunciation of English', overtly acknowledging the link between phonetics and pronunciation training. Here, Gimson advises that "any teacher or learner must consider how much of the time given to the acquisition of another language should be devoted to pronunciation and what level of performance is necessary to efficient communication". (Gimson 1972, 299) In this chapter, too, we meet the embryos of debates still raging today, nearly half a century later, and which were foreshadowed even earlier by Ripman:

- **Which accent should be taken as a model?** Ripman, at the end of the nineteenth century, as we saw, was an advocate of 'educated London' speech. In 1950, in the preface to the fourth edition of *The Pronunciation of English,* Jones declared that he "found […] it can no longer be said that any standard exists" and he did not "think it desirable to attempt to establish one" (Jones 1958, vi). Although while still acknowledging the increasing global importance of the General American accent, he continued unhesitatingly to choose RP for teaching to foreign learners of English. At the time, of course, RP was (and probably still is) the most widely documented accent, as well as the one spoken by Jones and the majority of his colleagues. As the world changed, Gimson later pointed out that the choice of accent is actually very important. The language has so many established and widely spoken mother-tongue world variants as well as the long-established *lingua franca* variants in Africa and in the Indian sub-continent. He even mentions the notion of a contrived or artificial, International English accent which he had discussed a couple of years earlier in a volume honouring A S Hornby (Gimson 1978, 45–53). Today, as we shall see, Cruttenden has moved away from RP altogether, taking an entirely descriptive approach with what is now called General British (GB);
- **What level of achievement should be expected?** Acknowledging that only in exceptional cases will a foreign learner of a language acquire a pure native-like accent, the new chapter on communication implies the target is simply to be clear enough to be understood – although it does not overtly claim this. However, this does also raise the first hint of current debates around intelligibility and comprehensibility (for example, Thomson and Derwing 2014). In his chapter on teaching pronunciation, Gimson said specifically that "It is rare for a foreign learner […] to approach the native's receptive and productive competence. Indeed it can be argued that only exceptionally is it necessary to have such an aim." (Gimson 1980, 14)
- **Should you order the introduction of topics in a pronunciation training class?** Neither Jones, nor later Gimson or Cruttenden tackled this probably unanswerable

question. It is nonetheless a valid question in that unlike grammar teaching, which can be strategically phased, **all** aspects of pronunciation are present from the very first words in the very first class; what then, should the teacher do?

- **What general principle should inform the pronunciation teaching model?** Jones more or less came in on the outgoing tide of the Reform Movement (pioneered among others by Wilhelm Viëtor) and published during the rise and establishment of the Direct Method (pioneered by Charles Berlitz). Both favoured plenty of oral practice. Gimson was of a younger generation again, publishing in the heyday of the Audiolingual Method of language training, again involving a strong focus on pronunciation. The big question, then, was which method – if any were suitable at all – should inform the teaching of pronunciation as distinct from the teaching of a language itself. Needless to say, beyond the shared and firm belief that ear-training must precede mouth-training, there was no definitive answer to this question.

3.5 Ramsaran

A few years after the 3rd edition, in 1985, Gimson died. And in 1988, the publisher (Edward Arnold) handed responsibility for revising the book to Gimson's collaborator, colleague, and one-time student, Susan Ramsaran who prepared (with "invaluable assistance" from Alan Cruttenden, acknowledged not by Ramsaran but by the publisher) the fourth edition of the book, published in 1989. Other than updating throughout on research and terminology, additional information on the ever-changing characteristics of RP and the stylistics of RP speech based on her own research is the only personal contribution included in the fourth edition which otherwise remains a very close parallel of the third.

3.6 Cruttenden

Ramsaran then retiring from the academic field to pursue a new career in the church, Alan Cruttenden's involvement continued in all subsequent editions of *An Introduction.* In fact, we have reached a point where the book is usually no longer referred to as 'Gimson' but as 'Cruttenden's Gimson' or even recently (since the eighth edition dropped the 'revised by' that previously preceded Cruttenden's name on the cover) just as 'Cruttenden'! (But I don't think Cruttenden sees the work as exclusively his, regarding himself rather as the custodian of an important contribution to the field of phonetics which, had Gimson lived, he himself would have continued to update and develop, keeping the volume always at the cutting edge.)

So, what did Cruttenden bring to the table with regard to this seminal text which he described in 1994 as having "retained its pre-eminence as the standard reference book on the pronunciation of English over a period of thirty-two years"? Well, he began by changing the name of the book to *Gimson's Pronunciation of English* – a change which both acknowledged that he was not himself the primary author so much as the custodian of this *magnum opus,* and at the same time overtly recognized that the book is rather more than introductory in nature – a status which over the years he has been at pains to promote. Having changed the title of the book, Cruttenden continued by undertaking a "major revision" in which he re-

wrote "large parts of the book and altered details on almost every page, to include new facts and approaches" (Cruttenden 1994, v). The overall phonemic, sound-by-sound, framework of the descriptive chapters was retained (as much for reasons of accessibility to readers as anything else), but a new chapter was added on standard and regional accents. Cruttenden also acknowledged the wider market of the book which in addition to being used by students of linguistics and foreign learners of English was by this time also very widely used by speech and language therapy students; to this end, information on language acquisition by native learners was also included for the first time at appropriate points. Spelling frequency details were added following the spelling-to-sound examples at the outset of each phoneme. The edition further included new formant information for the RP vowels, newly drawn vowel diagrams, and changes in transcription. And, for the first time, dynamic palatograms appeared alongside the consonantal vocal tract drawings (the mid-sagittal sections of which Cruttenden was also critical, hoping to improve these impressionistic sketches in a subsequent edition). But at this point too, although they remained essentially impressionistic, he updated them to the extent of having all the hitherto freehand drawings drawn on computer for the first time, ensuring uniformity. Cruttenden also updated the final chapter on teaching pronunciation, which (following the inclusion of the new accents chapter) now became Chapter 13.

The subsequent sixth and seventh editions continued to extend inclusion of technology-based insights. In the sixth edition, the most noticeable difference was the addition of spectrographic data, by now easily available, and accessible to students via their laptops, tablets and smartphones. Textual developments here included: re-writing of the more linguistic/phonological sections on the syllable, phonotactics and word accent; updating the sections on RP and on Estuary English; revision of advice offered to teachers (and note, **teachers**, not student learners of English) including the addition of a section dealing with pronouncing dictionaries.

The seventh edition was perhaps the most visually different (and maybe the most attractive) and was accompanied for the first time by a companion website. Here, in addition to the palatographic and spectrographic images (introduced respectively in the fifth and sixth editions), in the seventh, Cruttenden did what he talked about in his Foreword to the fifth edition when discussing the freehand vocal tract drawings for consonants – he was finally able to include "more objectively compiled diagrams", each checked against "frames taken from dynamic MRI scans of the mouth during the speaking of various English phrases" (Cruttenden 2008, xiii). Thus, the vocal tract diagrams were no longer speculative or impressionistic but now derived directly from factual evidence. In the seventh edition, too, Cruttenden added text-boxes with information about spellings and sound sources.

Throughout the editions, errors have been corrected, transcriptions corrected (or updated), references checked and facts updated. The seventh edition was no different in this respect. Here too, Cruttenden also brought the final chapter more firmly into the twenty-first century. Chapter 13 had a new title: 'Teaching and Learning English as an Additional Language'. The chapter responded to the radical change of status of English in the world in the 57 years since the first publication of the book and to the very rapid change witnessed over the last 10 years. Quoting Cruttenden himself, we read that he "attempted to reflect present-day usage of English

as a world language in presenting two alternative targets to RP (and to other native-speaker targets) for those learning English as an additional (and often official) language and for those using English as a *lingua franca*." Cruttenden recognizes the possibly controversial nature of his recommendations "both as models and in their details". He also here widens the definition of RP as a reference accent, to be more in keeping with reality vested in the thousands of speakers of modern, modified, Regional and other varieties of this accent. He explicitly acknowledges the now old-fashioned and therefore inappropriate (even amusing) nature of "Refined RP" which is no longer fit for purpose in the language learning forum – the speech of yesteryear.

The current edition is the eighth – the fourth for which Cruttenden has had sole responsibility. Perhaps the most valuable development here is the enhancement of the companion website and the now routine cross-references to this in certain chapters of the book itself. Also in this edition, Cruttenden has finally completed his rewrite of the entire text where the last parts, Chapter 6 and the first part of Chapter 7, have now also been re-cast to bring the language into a more simple, contemporary and readable style. Other than these stylistic differences, however, Cruttenden has included a couple of quite major changes in the eighth edition. First, the now old-fashioned and somewhat elitist term RP has been replaced by the more inclusive and flexible term General British. Second, Cruttenden has made three major changes to the transcription of vowels, primarily (he explains) in response to actual changes in pronunciation: /æ/ is now represented as /a/, the diphthong /eə/ which has long been subject to smoothing is now /ɛː/ (which parallels changes in other texts), and the weak vowels *schwi* and *schwu* are introduced, replacing long /iː/ and /uː/ in final and prevocalic positions (even in stress positions where, for me, new diphthongs are created: *seeing* /ˈsiŋ/, *doing* /ˈduŋ/ for example, essentially saying these are now monosyllabic words).

Finally here, Cruttenden states explicitly that since he first came to work on the book, his aim has been to establish it firmly as a reference book rather than a simple textbook. I think many people would feel, like me, that it has always been more weighty than the name 'textbook' suggests. But the eighth edition, even with its continued consideration of the needs of the foreign learner, is undoubtedly a volume of serious reference status. It is quite unique.

3.7 *Inter Alia*

I mentioned older publications such as Pring and O'Connor. But in the eleven years since the last edition of *Cruttenden's Gimson*, there have also been many other publications embracing general phonetic theory and the phonetics of English.

Perhaps one of the most widely known and current of these is Collins and Mees's *Practical Phonetics and Phonology* – more recently published in the new 4th edition as Collins, Mees and Carley, *Practical English Phonetics and Phonology*. Interestingly, this book parallels the Jones-Gimson tradition of being loosely accompanied by a practical text – published in 2018 (four years after the death of Beverly Collins), Carley, Mees and Collins, *English Phonetics and Pronunciation Practice* is another widely available practical course.

Other well-known publications relevant to the present topic include Roach's *English Phonetics and Phonology. A practical course*, Kenworthy's *Teaching English Pronunciation*, etc.

3.8 Lindsey

Compared with these more traditionally styled and perhaps rather conservative offerings, Lindsey's 2019 publication *English after RP* is not in any way a traditional text book. Rather, it's a commentary for the phonetically informed reader – for language teachers, speech and language therapists, accent coaches, etc. *English After RP* identifies "notable ways in which contemporary standard British speech differs from the British […] accent of the last century, Received Pronunciation (RP)" (Lindsey 2019, vii). The amalgam of such developments and changes create what Lindsey refers to as SSB (Standard Southern British) which is much the same as Cruttenden's GB (General British) or Collins, Mees and Carley's NRP (Non-Regional Pronunciation). Unfortunately, the lack of agreement on terminology obscures the parallels.

Having summarized useful and interesting generalities, the book starts by considering the increasingly common phenomenon of strengthening – a notable characteristic of so many of today's BBC commentators from the chief political correspondent Vicky Young to media editor Amal Rajan (routinely using strong *a* /eɪ/) or journalist Gavin Ramjaun (with a predeliction for strong *the* /ðiː/). I witnessed a demonstration of this change just recently: the then 93 year-old Queen Elizabeth II concluded her D-day speech with a classic Jonesian, early 20th century RP GOOSE (/uː/) weakened to FOOT /ʊ/ in *thank you* [ˈθæŋk jʊ] which was in marked contrast to my grandchildren's 21st century longer (or 're-strengthened') and diphthongized, GOOSE-fronted /uː/, [ˈθæŋk jʉw]. Strengthening was a feature I struggled to come to terms with when still teaching. Ten to fifteen years ago, strengthening became increasingly evident in transcriptions written by my students, but I encouraged them to target instead a 'standard weak form' realization of words like *a, the, of…* Now, I realize this was probably a mistake. With hindsight, this was evidently the embryo of today's more clearly established process or pattern… a sound change that I tried to over-ride!

Lindsey's chapter on "The Anti-clockwise Vowel Shift" is clear and concise and supports the argument put forward by many (including Cruttenden) for replacing traditional /æ/ with the symbol /a/. Lindsey also records the contrary, forward movement of the starting point of the MOUTH diphthong (which in turn supports the transcription update in the seventh edition of *Cruttenden's Gimson* where Gimson's original /ɑʊ/ was replaced by the present-day /aʊ/).

Lindsey effectively makes a list of all the notable changes to be heard in contemporary (educated) modern English speech and ticks them off, chapter by chapter, topic by topic, providing all and only the crucial information for the reader. Each chapter can be read as an annex or appendix to the corresponding section in *Cruttenden*'s *Gimson* or Collins et al., sometimes covering new ground and sometimes trendily reinforcing the points made in these more traditional texts (selective equivalences are illustrated in Table 3). And one of the big plusses here, is that Lindsey refers to the English vowel sounds clearly and unambiguously throughout by means of Wells's lexical sets (see Wells 1980) – capitalized keywords, each referring exclusively to all tokens of the vowel value it contains – FLEECE identifying all tokens of the long /iː/ vowel in *tree, seize, treat,* etc. Would that all authors did this (and that all learners learnt them, as well).

Table 3. Selected consonantal changes described by Lindsey compared with treatment in the 8th edition of *Cruttenden's Gimson.*[2]

Selected consonantal changes identified by Lindsey	**Are these treated in 8th edition of *Cruttenden's Gimson*?**	**Is *Cruttenden's* treatment up-to-date?**
1. Aspiration common in all positions	Strongest initially in stressed syllables, etc.	No
2. Affrication of /t/	This is frequent	More or less
3. Final /p t k/ as ejectives common	Ejectives acknowledged as possibility	No
4. Yod-coalescence becoming norm	An optional process only	No
5. Palatoalveolar spread in clusters	(Not discussed)	No
6. Plosive epenthesis	Treated in different parts of the book	More or less
7. Loss of syllabic consonants	(Not discussed)	No
8. Glottalling[2] (-Vt → -V?)	Treated under variants of /t/ and also as [?]	Yes
9. /t/-voicing	Similar account to Lindsey	Yes
10. TH-fronting	Similar account to Lindsey	Yes
11. Linking-r	More old-fashioned treatment	More or less

4 Conclusion

This brief survey has skimmed the last 100 years, bringing us to where we stand today. But can such retrospection provide any pointers for the future? In this case, I think it can.

As far as the way forward is concerned, the first thing that needs reinforcing both for teachers and learners, is that when we speak a foreign language, unless we are engaging in state espionage and need to be indistinguishable from all around us, we do not need to sound like native speakers. Indeed, native speakers don't even expect us to sound like them – they may actually like to know that we are different. Accordingly, we shouldn't be disappointed in ourselves when we find we don't or can't sound like a native speaker. Given what we know about first language acquisition, it is unreasonable even to expect to sound like one. I hear people every day who speak brilliantly fluent and easily understood English, but they have a non-native accent. Fluency is not a matter of being able to pronounce like the natives and there is nothing wrong with an accent unless it is so remote from the target that it impairs intelligibility. When playing tennis, we might model ourselves on Serena Williams but we don't ever expect to win grand slams and play as well as she does. Our aim when learning a language is simply to communicate with other speakers of that language – native and non-native alike – to keep the ball going to and fro over the net. The fundamental requirement is to understand and to be understood. We are not required to become indistinguishable from native-speakers.

[2] Lindsey does not use this term glottalling, coined I believe by Wells, meaning replacement of the /t/ by a glottal stop.

And this takes us back to phonetics, to ear-training and to mouth-training. To understand spoken language, we need to be able to identify what we are hearing. To be understood ourselves, we need to be able to pronounce well enough… understanding the spoken language is as much a challenge as speaking it intelligibly. Both reception and production skills need to feature in pronunciation training.

For more advanced learners of English, books like Lindsey's little volume are invaluable. A phonetically aware teacher can listen to input from the television, radio, cinema and so forth, and listen out for the features Lindsey describes. These, then, are the very features that can be used to guide students as they, in turn, listen to input. The shifting sands of spoken language are a challenge to all of us, but language changes all the time and we can't artificially freeze it. What was a fact at the time we learnt it at school may no longer be a fact on the street today.

The language learner and teacher today need to stay informed, be aware and be realistic. This is most easily achieved by being phonetically aware.

So, returning to Figure 1 above, this chart encapsulates 'phonetic awareness' and serves as a summary of phonetics applied to pronunciation training. The vocal tract drawing summarises the scope of articulatory phonetics. For participants in the pronunciation training process, it is the bottom line. If you can conceptualize your vocal tract, your tongue, jaw and lips and their spatial relations one to another, and if you know the terminology, you have the wherewithal to "talk phonetics". You have the basic, minimum phonetic theory to enable you to start describing the pronunciation of any spoken language in the world. ***That*** is phonetics – the body of information we apply to facilitate pronunciation training.

References

Ashby Michael G., Patricia Ashby, and David Moore. 2019. "Australia's First Phonetics Laboratory, 1913: Its Founder and Its Context." In *Proceedings of the Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, edited by Sasha Calhoun, Paola Escudero, Marija Tabain and Paul Warren, 1898–1902. Melbourne: University of Melbourne. https://assta.org/proceedings/ICPhS2019/papers/ICPhS_1947.pdf.

Carley, Paul, Inger Mees and Beverly Collins. 2018. *English Phonetics and Pronunciation Practice*. London: Routledge.

Collins, Beverly, and Inger Mees. 1998. *The Real Professor Higgins. The Life and Work of Daniel Jones.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co.

—. 2003. *Practical Phonetics and Phonology.* London: Routledge.

Collins, Beverly, Inger Mees, and Paul Carley. 2019. *Practical English Phonetics and Phonology*, 4th ed. London: Routledge.

Cruttenden, Alan. 1994. *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*, 5th ed. London: Edward Arnold.

—. 2001. *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*, 6th ed. London: Edward Arnold.

—. 2008. *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*, 7th ed. London: Edward Arnold.

—. 2014. *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*, 8th ed. London: Edward Arnold.

Gimson, A.C. 1962. *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English.* London: Edward Arnold.

—. 1970. *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*, 2nd ed. London: Edward Arnold.

—. 1975. *A Practical Course in the Pronunciation of English. A Perceptual Approach.* London: Edward Arnold.

—. 1978. "Towards an International Pronunciation of English." In *In Honour of A.S. Hornby*, edited P. Strevens, 45–53. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—. 1980. *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English.* 3rd ed. London: Edward Arnold.

—.1989. *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English,* 4th ed. Revised by Susan Ramsaran. London: Edward Arnold.
Jones, Daniel J. 1909. *The Pronunciation of English.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
—. 1912. *Phonetic Readings in English.* Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Heidelberg Universitätsverlag.
—. 1917. *The English Pronouncing Dictionary.* London: J. M. Dent & Co.
—. 1918. *An Outline of English Phonetics.* Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons.
—. 1955. *Phonetic Readings in English.* Improved ed. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Heidelberg Universitätsverlag.
—. 1958. *The Pronunciation of English*, 4th ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
—. 1972. *The Pronunciation of English.* Definitive ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
—. 1960. *An Outline of English Phonetics*, 9th ed. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons.
Kaufmann, Steve. 2018. "Can We Learn to Speak a Foreign Language Like a Native Speaker?" The Linguist. https://blog.thelinguist.com/speak-like-a-native-speaker.
Kenworthy, Joanne. 1987. *Teaching English Pronunciation.* London: Longman.
MacCarthy, Peter Arthur Desmond. 1956. *English Phonetic Reader in Phonetic Transcription with Intonation Marks.* London: Longman, Green & Co.
O'Connor, J. D. 1967. *Better English Pronunciation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
—. 1980. *Better English Pronunciation*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Pring, Julian T. 1959. *Colloquial English Pronunciation.* London: Longman.
Ripman, Walter. 1907. *Elements of Phonetics. English, French & German.* London: J. M. Dent & Co.
Roach, Peter. 1983. *English Phonetics and Phonology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
—. 2009. *English Phonetics and Phonology*, 4th ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Scott, Norman Carson. 1949. *English Conversations in Simplified Phonetic Transcription.* Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons.
Thomson, Ron I., and Tracey M. Derwing. 2014. "The Effectiveness of L2 Pronunciation Instruction: A Narrative Review." *Applied Linguistics* 36 (3): 326–44. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amu076.
Tibbitts, E. Leonard. 1946. *A Phonetic Reader for Foreign Learners of English.* Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons.
Wells, J. C. 1982. *Accents of English*. Vols 1–3. London: Cambridge University Press.

Sandor Czegledi
University of Pannonia, Hungary

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 27-45(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.27-45
UDC: 342.52(73):81'272"1774/1861"

Nine Decades of Dealing with Diversity: Language-Related Attitudes, Ideologies and Policies in Federal-Level US Legislative and Executive Documents from 1774 to 1861

ABSTRACT

The paper examines the shifting orientations towards languages and linguistic diversity in the United States by analysing relevant Congressional and presidential documents from the beginning of the American nation-building experience until the outbreak of the Civil War. The investigation focuses on the legislative activities of the Continental Congress and those of the first thirty-six federal Congresses as recorded primarily in the Journals of the respective legislative bodies. The presidential documents of the first fifteen Chief Executives, from George Washington to James Buchanan, are examined from the same perspective. The results indicate that the most salient language policy development of the post-1789 period was the shift from the symbolic, general language-related remarks towards the formulation of substantive, general policies, frequently conceived in an assimilation-oriented spirit in the context of territorial expansion. Although presidents were considerably more reluctant to address language-related matters than the federal legislature, the need to revise the statutes of the United States was recognised as a presidential priority as early as the 1850s.

Keywords: United States, Congress, Presidency, language policy, language ideology, pre-Civil War era

Devet desetletij ukvarjanja z raznolikostjo: Jezikovni odnosi, ideologije in politike v ameriških zveznih zakonodajnih in izvršnih dokumentih od 1774 do 1861

POVZETEK

Prispevek proučuje spreminjajoče usmeritve k jezikom in jezikovni raznolikosti v ZDA na podlagi analize ustreznih kongresnih in predsedniških dokumentov od začetka ameriških državotvornih izkušenj do izbruha državljanske vojne. Raziskava se osredotoča na zakonodajne dejavnosti Kontinentalnega kongresa in dejavnosti prvih šestintridesetih Zveznih kongresov, zabeležene predvsem v revijah posameznih zakonodajnih organov. Preučujemo tudi predsedniške dokumente prvih petnajstih predsednikov ZDA, od Georgea Washingtona do Jamesa Buchanana. Rezultati kažejo, da je bil najpomembnejši razvoj jezikovne politike v obdobju po letu 1789 vsesplošni premik od simbolnih, splošnih jezikovnih pripomb k oblikovanju odločilnih, splošnih politik, ki so bile v kontekstu ozemeljske širitve pogosto zasnovane v asimilacijsko naravnanem duhu. Čeprav so bili predsedniki precej bolj zadržani pri obravnavi jezikovnih vprašanj kot zvezni zakonodajalec, je bila potreba po reviziji zakonov v ZDA že v petdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja prepoznana kot prednostna predsedniška naloga.

Ključne besede: Združene države Amerike, Kongres, predsedništvo, jezikovna ideologija, obdobje pred ameriško državljansko vojno

CC BY SA

1 Theoretical Introduction

According to Bernard Spolsky's classic definition, language policy (LP) may refer to "all the language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community or polity" (2004, 9). The first component ("language practices") is defined as the observable behaviours and choices – i.e., what people actually do, what linguistic features are chosen, which varieties of language are used (Spolsky 2009, 4). The second component of language policy consists of beliefs about language, sometimes collectively called "an ideology", while the third component is "language management", i.e. the "explicit and observable efforts" to modify practices or beliefs (2004, 9).

"Language ideology" gained recognition as a legitimate component and a worthy area of research within language policy roughly a quarter century after the phrase was introduced by Shirley Brice Heath in 1977. Heath defined the notion as "the self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning the roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of that group" (qtd. in Galindo 1997, 107). Reynaldo F. Macías argued that "language ideologies" are collective perceptions that may or may not be factually correct (2000, 52). More recently, Judith T. Irvine described language ideologies as "conceptualizations about languages, speakers, and discursive practices" (2012). Language ideologies permeate both language practices and various management efforts – consequently, they are reflected in language-related legislative proposals as well.

In David Cassels Johnson's interpretation (2013, 9), "a language policy is a policy mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use, or acquisition of language", and includes: 1. official regulations; 2. unofficial, covert, de facto, and implicit mechanisms; 3. processes (policy creation, interpretation, appropriation, and instantiation); 4. policy texts and discourses across multiple contexts and layers of policy activity (influenced by the ideologies and discourses unique to that context). A legislative analysis focusing on the national/federal level may cover a considerable proportion of the aspects listed above, with the likely exception of the unofficial, covert mechanisms and the interpretation, appropriation, and instantiation processes at lower levels. As far as the genesis of policies is concerned, the study of legislative proposals may also provide an occasional direct insight into grassroots demands (i.e. bottom-up policy initiatives), since various petitions by minority groups (mostly requesting the translation of federal documents into minority languages) routinely appeared on the agendas of both chambers. Failed or yet-to-be-enacted proposals are also valuable from the researcher's perspective. Joseph Lo Bianco explicitly warns against concentrating solely on declared, or explicit, laws and policy in LP analysis (Lo Bianco 1999, 39), recommending that LP scholars should probe the "subtler realm of convention, beliefs and attitude, culture and tradition" by focusing on language policies "in the making", instead of giving descriptive accounting of policies that "have been made" (1999, 39–40).

Despite providing access mostly to top-down, overt, *de jure* and explicitly documented policy proposals, one can assume that in a representative democracy legislative proposals (both the enacted and the failed bills and resolutions) reflect the diverse views of the electorate to a considerable degree. In the context of the current examination, this expectation should be accepted only with the caveat that the franchise was extremely limited before the Civil War:

practically only white, property-owning males had the right to vote (although the property qualifications were gradually lowered and basically eliminated by the 1850s). Consequently, the opinions and beliefs about the proper societal role of the majority language and those of the minority tongues reflected the perspectives of this dominant class, as African-Americans and women were excluded from political decision-making. Furthermore, citizens were able to exercise even less influence over the Senate than they can today, as Americans did not directly vote for senators before the ratification of the 17th Amendment in 1913. Consequently, the US House of Representatives (with members elected for two-year terms) has always been more responsive to the short-term attitude swings of the population than the Senate, whose members are under considerably looser voter control with their six-year terms in office. In practical terms, the more or less direct influence of the people extends only to the "first branch" of government (the legislative) and to the executive as far as the Chief Executive and Vice President are concerned. Traditionally, there has never been a separate federal agency in the United States charged with LP-related research, resource allocation or decision-making. (For the abortive attempt to establish a Language Academy, see 4.1.3.)

This research focuses on the documents of those federal-level actors and agents that potentially recorded (the shifts in) popular language ideologies before 1861. State- and municipal-level language-related political struggles during this period were recorded and analysed in depth by Heinz Kloss in his classic book *The American Bilingual Tradition* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics [1977] 1998), especially in chapters 5 and 6 (107–93).

The preliminary findings indicate an assimilationist shift in the frequently *ad hoc* language policies of the United States by the early 1800s, which was triggered by continued territorial expansion (with the perceived need to Americanise the new inhabitants as quickly as possible) and budgetary constraints (which resulted in the discontinuation of the minority-language editions of laws and other federal documents.)

2 Aims and Corpora

The present paper examines the shifting orientations towards languages and linguistic diversity in the United States as reflected in relevant Congressional and presidential documents from the beginning of the American nation-building experience (here understood as the convening of the first Continental Congress in 1774) until the outbreak of the Civil War (1861). Efforts are made to keep track of symbolic statements (which reflect "ideological" views and opinions) and substantive proposals (which belong to the field of "language management" according to Spolsky's categorisation). By focusing on the role of the federal legislature both as a language policymaking agent and as an indicator of language ideological trends, the present investigation strives to be multidisciplinary and meet the expectations of the latest "empirical turn" in LP research (Johnson and Stephens 2018, 814–15).

The corpora of the current analysis were built with the help of the online legislative database of the Library of Congress ("A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation", https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/) and that of "The American Presidency Project" database (https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/, see Wooley and Peters n.d.), which contains the messages and papers of all American Presidents in a searchable format. The online keyword search carried

out from January 2018 to June 2019 focused on all the presidential and Congressional documents that contained the words "language" and/or "languages" in the specified 87-year period. After removing the irrelevant instances (which referred to, for example, the particular choice of words by an individual), 16 presidential and 236 legislative documents remained with at least one relevant language-related reference. The relevant records of the executive corpus ("ExCorp" for short) contained only 16 relevant documents – consequently, it was not justifiable to divide it any further.

The legislative corpus ("LegCorp"), on the other hand, was subdivided into three subcorpora to make comparison and contrast possible over time and across markedly different historical periods.

Legislative Corpus 1 (LegCorp 1) includes records from the following documents:

- The *Journals of the First and Second Continental Congress* (hereinafter cited as JCC) (from September 5 to October 26, 1774, and from May 10, 1775, to March 2, 1789, respectively);
- The *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789* (written by delegates during their years of actual service in the First and Second Continental Congress);
- *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*;
- *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution* (from September 1787 to March 1789), compiled by Jonathan Elliot; and
- *The Federalist Papers* (written between October 1787 and May 1788).

LegCorp 2 (March 4, 1789 to March 3, 1815), from the first through the thirteenth US Congresses, contains records from:

- *House Journal* (hereafter cited as HJ);
- the *Senate Journal* (SJ);
- the *Senate Executive Journal* (SEJ);
- *Maclay's Journal* (MJ) (the journal of William Maclay, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, 1789–1791); and
- the *Annals of Congress* (AC).

LegCorp 3 covers the longest historical period, from the conclusion of the "Second War of Independence" ("War of 1812") in 1815 to the end of the 36th Congress in early 1861. The documentary sources include:

- *House Journal* (HJ);
- the *Senate Journal* (SJ);
- the *Senate Executive Journal* (SEJ); and
- the *United States Statutes at Large* (Stat.), which is an official compilation of the Acts and Resolutions of Congress.

3 Method

In order to separate ideological statements from management efforts – while, at the same time, be able to gauge the likely impact of the given proposals – I have constructed a simple yet potentially helpful and effective "Language Policy Spectrum Framework" (LPSF) to classify the corpus data.

Table 1. The "Language Policy Spectrum Framework" (LPSF).

	"Ideology"	"Management"
	Symbolic remarks/proposals	***Substantive*** proposals
General	simple/concurrent resolutions, ideological remarks	"Language Policy" (bills; joint resolutions)
Specific	ideological remarks, (simple/concurrent resolutions)	bills, resolutions affecting one L or an individual in a particular situation→no precedential value

The two quadrants on the left represent symbolic policies and remarks, defined in the public policy context by James E. Anderson as policies that "have little real material impact on people"; "they allocate no tangible advantages and disadvantages"; rather, "they appeal to people's cherished values" (Anderson 2003, 11). On the other hand, substantive policies (the right quadrants) "directly allocate advantages and disadvantages, benefits and costs" (2003, 6).

The "general" vs. "specific" criteria hinge on the scope of the policy, statement, or opinion in question. Here, (substantive) national-level policies or sweeping, stereotypical (symbolic) statements or personal opinions about, for example, the perceived nature, potential or usefulness of certain languages are considered to be "general". On the other hand, (local) policy decisions affecting a single language in a particular situation (e.g. whether to purchase Latin dictionaries for Congress) or a single individual (e.g. a translator's position or pay) are classified as "specific". Policies that were applied to entire territories and/or future states were regarded as simultaneously "specific" and "general", given the overall national or federal-level perspective of the analysis. Today's most controversial, national-level LP-related laws, proposals, executive orders, and regulations (including, for instance, the provision of multilingual ballots, the federal-level officialisation attempts and Executive Order 13166) belong to the top right quadrant; therefore, they are "substantive" and "general" in nature. In a narrow sense, this quadrant contains what may be regarded as genuine management or policy efforts, especially if enacted into law.

Another practical, easily applicable yet highly informative framework for formal LP analysis has been developed by Terrence G. Wiley since the late 1990s (Wiley 1999, 21–22; Wiley and de Korne 2014, 1–2). Wiley classifies the full range of possible policies according to a spectrum of categories containing a promotion-, expediency-, tolerance-, restriction- or repression-orientation. Promotion means the allocation of resources to support the (official) use of (minority) languages, while expediency amounts to no more than short-term minority language accommodations – e.g. the provision of court interpreters, bilingual

ballots, transitional bilingual education – which are not intended to foster minority-language maintenance (Johnson 2013, 35). (This analysis regards translation and interpretation as expediency-oriented policies.) Wiley's classification is especially useful to determine how particular languages were treated in different (e.g. "minority" vs. "foreign") contexts.

4 Findings

Due to spatial constraints, a brief summary of each examined period follows with the tendencies and preliminary conclusions that were found with the help of the application of the LPSF. For the sake of brevity, only the most characteristic opinions or policy proposals associated with each quadrant are discussed in detail.

4.1 Presidents and Linguistic Diversity before 1861

In general, presidents were extremely reluctant to address language-related matters directly: they especially avoided involvement in substantive, general issues.

Table 2. Distribution of LP-references in the entire presidential corpus (1789–1861). (The bold numbers in the central rectangle indicate the total number of references; the shaded fields below them show the most significant language in the given quadrant; while the remarks at the bottom of each quadrant refer to the 2nd, 3rd, etc. most important language, policy or reference. E=English; Plain E=Plain English; FLs=foreign languages; Fr.=French; Sp.=Spanish)

	Symbolic	**Substantive**
	E unifies the US (and enables the settlement of debates with GB)	Plain E in govt. documents
General	**9** E 5 Human Ls are imperfect (4)	**2** Plain E 1 Spanish as problem in Cuba (about to join the US?) 1
		Copies of specific treaties in FLs
Specific	**0**	**5** Fr. 4 Sp. 1

The very first language-related remark in the ExCorp was made by George Washington in 1796. He referred to a specific (but substantive) situation: the English translation of the French- and Spanish-language documents related to Pinckney's Treaty (Washington 1796).

4.1.1 Symbolic, General Statements

Symbolic references were dominated by the English language (five records). All of these remarks were general, stereotypical statements: mostly optimistic observations about the successful unifying and nation-building role of the English language at home; in addition to its key foreign policy function to cement an early form of special relationship with Great Britain.

A classic example of the former category was James Monroe's characterisation of the American people, described as

> descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, having the same religion and universal toleration, born equal and educated in the same principles of free government, made independent by a common struggle and menaced by the same dangers, ties existed between them which never applied before to separate communities. (Monroe 1822)

The linguistic common bond with Great Britain was considered helpful in settling issues stemming, for example, from the ill-defined northeastern boundary with the British-held Canadian territories (Jackson 1834). Prior to the Civil War, several Chief Executives had complained about the imperfect nature of human language (including the language of the Constitution), which necessitated the judicial interpretation of the basic law from time to time. The symbolic, specific quadrant remained empty during the examined period.

4.1.2 Substantive, Specific Policies

These records mostly focused on the translation of treaties into English and/or French (or Spanish). Indicating already-existing practices, they cannot be considered as new policy proposals.

4.1.3 Substantive, General Policies

The only (and most far-reaching) general policy proposal came from Millard Fillmore in 1851, who proposed the revision of US statutes "not only be made accessible to all, but be expressed in language so plain and simple as to be understood by all and arranged in such method as to give perspicuity to every subject" (Fillmore 1851). This (by now forgotten) moment could be regarded as the birth of the Plain English Movement at the federal level, although the actual name was born later. At the management level, Fillmore also recommended the appointment of a commission "to revise the public statutes of the United States, arranging them in order, supplying deficiencies, correcting incongruities, simplifying their language" (Fillmore 1851). However, the *Revised Statutes of the United States* appeared only in 1874 – almost a quarter century after the first presidential initiative (see 4.4.4).

In sum, the results show that language had practically been a nonissue before the 1850s as a presidential policy concern. Genuine language policy involvement by the Chief Executive started in 1851, with Millard Fillmore's early Plain English proposal. Although both John Adams and Thomas Jefferson are said to have criticised the verbosity and overcomplicated syntax of contemporary legal language (Tiersma, n.d.), neither of them endorsed official policy initiatives to remedy the situation. Earlier, John Adams (working as the US diplomatic representative in Holland in 1780) even proposed setting up an American Language Academy "for correcting, improving, and fixing the English Language…, [which would] Strike all the World with Admiration and Great Britain with Envy" (Adams Papers Digital Edition 2019). However, the Continental Congress did not react to the suggestion, and the idea never surfaced in either executive or legislative documents again.

4.2 LegCorp 1: Language(s) and the Continental Congress (1774–1789)

The chosen documents in this period, which included several 'critical' years for the survival of the US, contained 54 records with either symbolic or substantive LP relevance.

Table 3. Distribution of LP-references in the 1774–1789 legislative corpus. (The bold numbers in the central rectangle indicate the total number of references; the shaded fields below them show the most significant language in the given quadrant; while the remarks at the bottom of each quadrant refer to the 2nd, 3rd, etc. most important language, policy or reference. E=English; N. Am.=Native American languages; Ger.=German; Fr.=French; Sp.=Spanish; FLs=unspecified foreign languages.) (Source: author.)

	Symbolic	**Substantive**
	"E as a common bond"	Plain E in govt. Documents
General	**15** Eng. 10 N. Am. 2 Ger. 1 Greek 1 Fr. 1	**0** 0
	"Fr. as an obstacle to selling P. Mazzei's book in the US"	"translation and interpretation"
Specific	**1** Fr. 1	**38** Fr. 13 FLs 11 Ger. 6 Dutch 3 Sp. 3

4.2.1 Symbolic, General Statements

Even a casual glance reveals that throughout the examined period "foreign languages" (FL) dominated the relevant discourses, and the English language consistently appeared in the symbolic, general quadrant, cast in the role of a/the most important social glue in American society. Moreover, the English language emerged naturally after the Revolutionary War as a straightforward bridge towards rapprochement with Great Britain. As put by Charles Pinckney in August, 1786: "Though the animosities of Great Britain are still warm . . . when the present differences shall have terminated, it will ever be her interest to be closely connected. Our language, governments, religion and policy, point to this" (JCC 1786: 31, 936).

4.2.2 Symbolic, Specific Reference

Thomas Jefferson's Italian friend (and American agent) Philip Mazzei sent to the United States 164 copies of his four-volume magnum opus titled *Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats-Unis* [*A Political History of the American Revolution*]. The book, however, did not sell, and James Madison had to acknowledge to Mazzei that "the French language is the greater obstacle" to such success (Letters of Delegates, 1778: 25, 415).

4.2.3 Substantive, Specific Examples

In this quadrant, the French language and (unspecified) "foreign languages" assumed centre stage, mostly in the context of translation and interpretation. Additionally, this quadrant witnessed an early form of soft power projection: Congress sent several letters (in French) to the "Oppressed Inhabitants of Canada", trying to persuade them to join the American fight for independence and individual rights (JCC 1775: 2, 69–71).

In addition to French, Spanish, and other foreign languages, references to German and Dutch also appeared in the "substantive, specific" quadrant. The German language featured as a foreign policy (propaganda) tool, and also appeared in the context of short-term, expediency-type accommodations towards the German minorities living in the United States. Congress authorised the German translation of the "late treaty between the Courts of London and Hesse, for troops to be employed in America" (JCC 1776: 6, 984), and actively encouraged German mercenaries in the service of Great Britain to switch sides and "rise into the rank of free citizens of free states" – offering future defectors free land, oxen, and hogs as material incentives (JCC 1778: 10, 403). Heinz Kloss mentions further examples when Congress commissioned the translation of certain documents into German from as early as 1774: the "Excerpts from the Deliberations of the American Continental Congress Held in Philadelphia"; circular letters; declarations; and reports from 1775–78, including the most important publication of the period, the German edition of the Articles of Confederation (Kloss [1977] 1998, 26–27). From 1780 onwards, however, Congress issued no further German publications, "the reasons for which are unknown" (Kloss [1977] 1998, 27). On September 13, 1779, the translation of "a circular letter from Congress to their constituents" was cancelled (JCC 1779: 15, 1052–62). Following this date, no references to German translations can be found in the examined period.

4.2.4 Substantive, General Policies

In many respects, the most important field in the framework is the empty top right quadrant, which means that no general, substantive LP initiatives (i.e. national-level policies or initiatives) were recorded in the examined documents between 1774 and 1789. If we try to answer the question 'When did conscious, proactive, national-level language policymaking start in the US?' we will have to look further ahead in time.

4.3 LegCorp 2: Language(s) and the US Federal Congress before 1815

LegCorp 2 contains approximately 45 elements with either symbolic or substantive LP relevance. (Legal proposals binding for entire territories or states were considered to be general and specific at the same time.) Language-related legislative discourses were dominated by minority and foreign languages during the examined period. English was given relatively little attention, while classical languages and Native American languages were not mentioned at all, despite the federal government's continued policy to buy Indian lands, to 'civilise' the inhabitants – and to wage wars that culminated in Tecumseh's Rebellion in the 1810s. Apparently, no LP-ramifications of these conflicts can be identified today, relying on the records of the Federal Congress alone.

Table 4. Distribution of LP-references in the 1789–1815 legislative corpus. (The bold numbers in the central rectangle indicate the total number of references; the shaded fields below them show the most significant language in the given quadrant; while the remarks at the bottom of each quadrant refer to the 2nd, 3rd, etc. most important language, policy or reference. E=English; Fr.=French; Sp.=Spanish; Ger.=German; FLs=unspecified foreign languages; Min. L=minority language.) (Source: author.)

	Symbolic	**Substantive**
	E will facilitate reconciliation with GB	(Denying) the translation of laws into min. Ls; La. E-only state
General	**2** E 2	**13** Min. Fr. 8 E 3 Min. Fr. + Sp. 2 Min. Ger. 2
		Petitions, translation (mostly in and from French)
Specific	**0**	**38** Min. Fr. 16 FL Fr. 4 FLs (unspec.) 7

4.3.1 Symbolic, General Remarks

The two symbolic remarks by Pennsylvania Senator William Maclay echoed the frequent, optimistic expectations about rapprochement with Great Britain: "ours was a civil war with Britain, and that the similarity of language, manners, and customs will, in all probability, restore our old habits and intercourse, and that this intercourse will revive… our ancient prejudices against France" (MJ, Ch. XVI, 1791, 407). Maclay was extremely prescient in his predictions, as the "Quasi-War" with France would prove him right in a few years' time.

Symbolic, specific opinions were not recorded in this period.

4.3.2 Substantive, Specific Policies and Practices

LegCorp 2 is dominated by substantive references and proposed policies (although the vast majority were rejected or postponed indefinitely). The specific quadrant contains the translations of treaties and diplomatic messages in addition to petitions coming from language minorities asking for the translation of (at least some of) the laws of the US into minority languages. These petitions were routinely rejected or postponed indefinitely, although several, similar requests were introduced later – only to meet the same fate. The 1794 petition by "a number of Germans, residing in the State of Virginia [...] praying that a certain proportion of the laws of the United States may be printed in the German language" (HJ 1794, Jan. 9, 31) appeared in the House Journal twice (the second time on Nov. 28) but was rejected after a tied vote, which may have been broken by the Speaker, Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg (Kloss [1977] 1998, 28). This attempt was not unique: a similar French petition was rejected in 1809, and a few likeminded, unsuccessful German attempts were to be made

again, such as in 1835 (also resulting in an initial tie vote), then in 1843 and 1862 (Kloss [1977] 1998, 29–33). Perhaps partly due to the persistence of German minorities and the propaganda machinery of the Fatherland, the Muhlenberg-incident was later blown out of proportion, giving rise to fanciful tales about the German language almost displacing English as the official language of the United States.

4.3.3 Substantive, General Policies

Following the Louisiana Purchase (1803), the territorial expansion of the US put language issues in focus once again, this time in the context of integrating the territories into the US (much against the will of the Creoles, Cajuns, Native Americans and other inhabitants). The Louisiana Purchase Treaty of 1803 (see US National Archives & Records Administration 2019) guaranteed that the inhabitants of the ceded territory

> shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible according to the principles of the federal Constitution to the enjoyment of all these rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States, and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and the Religion which they profess. (Louisiana Purchase Treaty, Art. III)

Language rights, however, were not mentioned explicitly, and as it turned out, they were in practice denied for years to come. Louisiana was divided along the 33rd parallel into the (strategically more important) "Orleans Territory" (corresponding roughly to the present-day state in terms of geographical location) and the rest of the area became the "District of Louisiana" (later "Louisiana Territory," then "Missouri Territory" after 1812). In response to the heavy-handed policies of the federal government, which included the appointment of an English-speaking governor with dictatorial powers, the inhabitants of Orleans Territory sent to Congress the list of their grievances in the form of the "Louisiana Memorial" of December 1804 (also known as Louisiana Remonstrance; see Derbigney 1804). The drafters of the document protested against the "introduction of a new language into the administration of justice, the perplexing necessity of using an interpreter for every communication" (aggravated by the contemporary coexistence of French, Spanish and American legal practices), and "the sudden change of language in all the public offices" (Louisiana Memorial). These protests fell on deaf ears in Congress, yet as the population grew, a more representative government system was set up according to the principles laid down by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Nevertheless, when Louisiana was admitted as a regular state in 1812 on the basis of the Enabling Act of 1811, its first constitution was written in the spirit of English-only, specifying that "All laws [...] and the public records of this State, shall be promulgated, preserved and conducted in the language in which the constitution of the United States is written" (Kloss [1977] 1998, 112), despite the fact that "a strong French majority still existed" in the state at the time. Nevertheless, the 1845 state constitution was to recognise the French language as quasi-co-official, but this magnanimity disappeared after the Civil War, only to return briefly after 1879. (For a more in-depth analysis see e.g. Kloss [1977] 1998, 107–15.)

Similarly to the Germans, the French also tried to ask Congress to provide for the translation of the laws into their language. The petition of 1809 by the French-speaking inhabitants of

the Territory of Michigan almost succeeded: it was passed by the Senate (AC, 10th Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate, x), but was eventually rejected by the House (AC, 10th Cong., 2nd Sess., House, xxxv; AC, 11th Cong., 1st Sess., House, lxxiii).

Overall, the substantive, general proposals in LegCorp 2 promoted English and restricted minority languages: these were the major themes of the initiatives with the greatest real or potential impact. The substantive, specific practices and policies were predominantly expediency-oriented, focusing on the financing of translation and interpretation services, mostly affecting the French language, but only in a "foreign language" context. Expediency no longer extended to the provision of short-term, transitional minority-language accommodations.

4.4 LegCorp 3: Language(s) and the US Federal Congress between 1815 and 1861

LegCorp 3 is based on the longest period (spanning 46 years and 23 Congresses altogether); consequently it includes the highest number of relevant records, more than 130. The substantive, specific quadrant turned out to be the busiest one here as well; and there emerged significant substantive, general policies, too – indicating that the governmental non-involvement which characterised the pre-1789 period was indeed over.

Table 5. Distribution of LP-references in the 1815–1861 legislative corpus. (The bold numbers in the central rectangle indicate the total number of references; the shaded fields below them show the most significant language in the given quadrant; while the remarks at the bottom of each quadrant refer to the 2nd, 3rd, etc. most important language, policy or reference. E=English; Plain E=Plain English; N. Am.=Native American languages; Ger.=German; Fr.=French; Sp.=Spanish; FLs=unspecified foreign languages; Min. L=minority language.) (Source: author.)

	Symbolic	**Substantive**
	Human L is imperfect; E as a common bond (with GB, TX)	Duty-free importation of FL books; Plain E
General	**21** E 8 Human Ls FL Sp. 3 N. Am. 3	**26** FLs 8 Plain E 6 Class. Ls 3 Min. Ls 2
	Letters and pamphlets in French; N. Webster's lecture in Congress	Translating documents; petitions in Min. Ls; duty-free Bibles
Specific	**5** FL Fr. 3 E 1 FLs 1	**83** Sp. 21 Fr. 18 E 12 Ger. 12 FLs 12

4.4.1 Symbolic, General Remarks

These documents also contain presidential (State of the Union) messages that mentioned "language", in the symbolic, general context of "imperfection" and the (hopefully improving)

US-British relationship. Additionally, the "common bond" theme appeared in the discussions about the possible annexation of Texas, whose "civilized inhabitants" were described by Andrew Jackson as "emigrants from the United States" who "speak the same language [...] cherish the same principles, political and religious" (HJ 1836, Dec. 22, 105–6). John Tyler used similar arguments in 1843 (SJ 1843, Dec. 5, 11).

4.4.2 Symbolic, Specific Instances

The symbolic, specific quadrant contains letters and pamphlets presented in Congress in foreign languages (mostly in French). (Petitions are considered to be substantive, so they are discussed in those quadrants.) One symbolic example is "A communication, in the French language, from Mons. Fontaneille, upon the subject of the production of silk; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture" (HJ 1831, Feb. 25, 360). The English language appears in this quadrant once: the Hall of the House of Representatives was granted to Noah Webster, "author of the American Dictionary, to deliver a discourse… on the origin, history, and present state of the English language" (HJ 1830, Dec. 31, 122).

The Senate Journal also recorded a symbolic gesture by an alleged Hungarian professor, a certain "Dr. Gabor Naphegyi", who wrote a "manuscript tribute, in fourteen different languages, to the memory of Zachary Taylor, late President of the United States" (SJ 1850, July 22, 465). Naphegyi, who was originally a Bohemian conman called Sonnenberg, had successfully ingratiated himself with powerful politicians, including the President of the United States, sometimes by posing as the private secretary of the exiled revolutionary leader of Hungary, Louis Kossuth (who did not know him) (Wells 2017, 21). Nevertheless, Naphegyi's language skills helped him to continue his career as a swindler for decades.

4.4.3 Substantive, Specific Practices and Policies

The substantive, specific quadrant was dominated by Spanish-language petitions, proposals and documents, which was the effect of the territorial expansion of the United States, marked by the Adams-Onís Treaty (1819), the transfer of Florida under US authority, the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War (1846–48), and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848).

In this context, the inhabitants of the Territory of Florida sent a petition to Congress in 1829, "praying that counsel, learned in the Spanish law and language, may be appointed to protect their rights, and to plead in their behalf, before the tribunal appointed to try and determine their titles to land" (HJ 1829, Feb. 9, 263). (The petition was referred to a committee, and never surfaced again.) Nevertheless, the Clerk of the House did employ a French and Spanish translator to work for the House and the Land Office, whose tenure was ended after two years (HJ 1837, Jan. 24, 277). On the other hand, petitions to translate presidential messages into Spanish were rejected, as it routinely happened to similar requests by other minority groups.

The French language dominated the diplomatic context, and translations of documents and agreements frequently appeared on the agenda. One specific subfield was associated with the translation of relevant French documents associated with the "French Spoliation Claims," by which thousands of American citizens sought compensation – many years after the actual

conflict – from the federal government for the loss of ships and cargoes during the Quasi-War with France (1797–1801) (HJ 1836, Feb. 3, 287). Another area where the French language appeared (this time as a minority tongue) was the question of land titles on the territory of the former Louisiana Purchase. The year 1818 witnessed the filing of an individual (HJ 1818, Jan. 23, 173) and a group petition (HJ 1818, March 14, 331) in which the inhabitants requested (in French) the confirmation of their land titles on the said territory. In May 1820, Congress appointed commissioners "for ascertaining and deciding on the rights of persons claiming lands in the district of Detroit", who were also authorised to employ "a person capable of translating the French language, as an agent" (Stat. 16th Cong., 1820, May 11, 572). Just as in the case of the Spanish language land claims (see above), Congress endorsed very narrowly defined (and temporary) expediency-oriented language rights in the early 19th century. Nevertheless, as James Crawford notes, proving titles to holdings in English-speaking courts could be an extremely costly affair: over a generation, the Spanish-speaking gentry in California lost title to virtually all of the large *haciendas* in order to be able to pay the legal fees in the wake of the California Land Act of 1851 (Crawford 2000, 14). Despite granting some minority-language access rights in the case of land title confirmations, French translation requests of State of the Union Addresses were denied in 1843 (HJ 1843, Dec. 18, 63) and in 1849, too (HJ 1849, Dec. 24, 169).

References to the German language are typically found in the minority language context, in proposals which tried to extend (practically non-existent) language rights in limited circumstances. These usually included repeated requests to translate the president's annual message into German (in 1843, 1844, 1845, 1849, 1850, 1851). Almost all of these were either denied or tabled, which, eventually, meant the same fate for the proposal. The only exception happened in 1849, when 5,000 copies of Zachary Taylor's annual message were allowed to be printed in the German language at the proposal of Mr. Sweetser (HJ, 1849, Dec. 24, 169). No justification for this unique decision was recorded in the Congressional documents, but perhaps the arrival of thousands of German "Forty-Eighters" after the failed revolutions influenced the mindset of legislators – albeit temporarily. The 1854 translation requests concerning the agricultural Patent Office report and the abstract census report also failed to gain the approval of the Federal Legislature (HJ 1854, Jan. 3, 159).

German language rights were realised only in an extremely limited micro-context in 1860. The "Act to Regulate the Carriage of Passengers in Steamships and Other Vessels" prohibited officers or crew members from visiting "any part of such ship or vessel assigned to emigrant passengers, except by the direction or permission of the master or commander of such ship or vessel" (Stat., 36th Cong., 1st Sess., 1860, March 24, 3). This information was to be posted as a written or printed notice in the English, German and French languages in several parts of the ship (1860, March 24, 34).

References to the English language in the substantive, specific quadrant were mostly associated with Noah Webster's petition in 1824, in which he asked for the duty-free importation for five years of his *Dictionary of the English Language* and of *Synopsis of Languages*, as no printing office had all the necessary types in the US (HJ 1824, Dec. 27, 80). Eventually, Congress agreed to a reduced rate, as was "imposed on books of foreign languages" (Stat., 18th Cong.,

2nd Sess., 1825, March 3, 330). Although the decision was not as generous as Webster had hoped it to be, the contemporary duties on imported English-language books were considerably higher than the ones on foreign-language materials.

Since the mid-1810s, the Bible Society of Philadelphia had also been trying to import, free of duty, stereotype plates for printing sacred texts in foreign languages, as well as Bibles (HJ 1816, Feb. 24, 392). Although the request was granted by the House in 1818 (HJ 1818, Jan. 27, 186), it eventually died in the Senate.

4.4.4 Substantive, General Policies

As it had been the case before, substantive, general proposals represented the genuinely "language management"-oriented policy initiatives of the examined subcorpus. Here, the ubiquitous debates about duties on foreign imports affected printed materials in different languages to a varying degree. In 1819, Congress declared "free of duty books printed in foreign languages" (HJ 1819, Feb. 26, 320). In later revenue laws, the rates fluctuated from time to time, but generally, foreign language publications were allowed to be brought into the US at a lower rate than English language publications.

The most significant, forward-looking and long-term trend-setting language policy initiative of the period was the attempt to simplify legal English. The examination of presidential documents reveals that the first (and only) pre-Civil War Chief Executive who endorsed the idea officially was Millard Fillmore in 1851 (see 4.1). His ally in the legislature, Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner, introduced similar resolutions from 1852 onwards:

> Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be directed to consider the expediency of providing by law for the appointment of a commissioner to revise the public statutes of the United States, to simplify their language, to correct their incongruities, to supply their deficiency, to arrange them in order, to reduce them to one connected text, and to report them thus improved to Congress for its final action, to the end that the public statutes, which all are presumed to know, may be in such form as to be more within the apprehension of all. (SJ 1852, Apr. 8, 332)

Sumner's motives behind the resolution stemmed from his historical knowledge (being familiar with the cumbersome nature of ancient Roman laws) and the fact that very few public (let alone private) libraries in the US could afford to buy the entire set of twelve volumes of the country's statutes (Sumner and Hoar 1900, 3). Thus, the need to reduce them in size (and make them easier to read) served both practical purposes and democratic expectations. Yet, despite presidential support and the fact that "the resolution attracted attention at the time", the Committee on the Judiciary (to which it was referred) did not react to the proposal (1900, 2). Sumner continued the arduous legislative battle for the passage of the resolution during the forthcoming years, but success came only after Abraham Lincoln (then Andrew Johnson and Ulysses S. Grant) had endorsed the idea (1900, 4–5). Eventually, Sumner did not live to see the enactment of the *Revised Statutes of the United States* in 1874. Nevertheless, his efforts paved the way for today's Plain English struggles, an important achievement of which was the signing of the *Plain Writing Act* into law by Barack Obama in 2010. Despite

his tenacious – and, eventually, successful – fight for plain and simple legal language use, Charles Sumner's name is now routinely omitted from articles and books focusing on the history of the Plain English Movement.

Minority language rights were given only insignificant protection in the substantive, general quadrant. An amendment to the "Act to Reduce and Modify the Rates of Postage" stipulated that the list of "uncalled-for" (unclaimed) German letters be published "in the German newspaper having the largest circulation in the vicinage" (HJ 1852, July 12, 880). The final, enacted version of the bill dropped "German," and substituted "foreign" instead: "when a list of uncalled-for letters shall be published in any foreign newspaper in any foreign language, said list shall be published in such newspaper having the largest circulation within the range of delivery of said office" (Stat., 32nd Cong., 1st Sess., 1852, Aug. 30, 40).

Finally, the substantive, general proposals also included abortive suggestions that were nevertheless harbingers of future federal policies. In 1818, a petition from a Baptist Association requested the adoption of policies "best calculated to promote the welfare and civilization of the Indian tribes", including "the education of their children in the English language" (HJ 1818, Nov. 19, 21). Although this particular petition never surfaced again in the legislative records, Congress passed the Civilization Fund Act in 1819, with the aim of assisting missionary societies in establishing schools for the assimilation of Native Americans (Prucha 2000, 33). Another restrictive, assimilation-oriented petition from 1838 targeted immigrants in a truly nativist fashion. The so-called "Native American Association" (proponents of white Anglo-Saxon Protestant superiority and immigration restriction) complained that "a large portion of the power of this Government is in the hands of adventurers from every clime, before they have had time to acquire a knowledge of our language, and before they have learned the first principles of a republican Government" (HJ 1838, Jan. 8, 235). As a possible remedy, the organisation recommended "to repeal the acts now in force providing for the naturalization of foreigners, or so to modify the said acts [...] to secure to the native citizens of the United States the full enjoyment of the privileges and rights which they are justly entitled to" (HJ 1838, Jan. 8, 235). Ultimately, these policy proposals were implemented several decades later, with the exclusion of Asian immigrants and the passage of the Immigration "Quota" Acts of the 1920s.

5 Conclusion

The proposed Language Policy Spectrum Framework (LPSF) has proved to be an effective tool to visualise ideological remarks, opinions, specific and general policies for long-term comparison and contrast, despite the great amount of data involved in the process. Although a legislative analysis focusing on the federal/national level reveals little about the actual interpretation and appropriation of policies at state and local levels, the enhanced representativeness of the corpora (practically reaching 100% in this regard) may compensate for the relatively narrow focus of the exploration.

The LPSF can easily separate symbolic and substantive policies. In the US federal context, a legislative proposal can be introduced in either House in four forms: as a bill (public or private), a joint resolution, a concurrent resolution, or a simple resolution. Concurrent and

simple resolutions are normally not legislative in character, since they are used merely for expressing "facts, principles, opinions, and purposes" of the two Houses (Johnson and Warner 2003, 5–8). Consequently, they are considered to be symbolic only – nevertheless, they are important for mapping the language ideological background of the actual period. The danger of accidental, subjective interpretation is greater in the "general" vs. "specific" context. Here, a more careful deliberation is needed in certain cases, but those instances mostly belong to the "symbolic" category, not affecting the "policy"- or "management"-related conclusions.

Overall, Chief Executives were not particularly eager to get involved in language-related matters before 1861 – yet when Millard Fillmore decided otherwise in 1851, he laid the foundations of a policy which was revived 120 years later and now "makes it easier for the public to read, understand, and use government communications" even today (plainlanguage.gov).

It is not surprising that the English language was frequently seen as a nation-building tool and a key foreign policy instrument in US-British relations in both the executive corpus and legislative corpora. Nevertheless, the promotion of the English language never amounted to *de jure* officialisation attempts before the Civil War, and neither was the Continental Congress willing to support the establishment of a Language Academy. When executive and legislative intentions finally met with respect to the English language, it resulted in the simplification of legal language instead of any kind of refinement or embellishment.

The LPSF reveals that during the early years of American nation-building comprehensive language management efforts intended to be national or at least regional in scope were entirely absent. On the other hand, symbolic remarks (mostly about the expected role of the English language) were frequent. Initially, minority language speakers enjoyed some *de facto* expediency-oriented rights that gave them the opportunity to become at least somewhat familiar with the goals of the American Revolution and the laws of the new country. Soon, however, these "access" rights were discontinued: minority languages were increasingly treated as a problem, whereas the same languages were considered resources when they appeared in the "foreign language" context of diplomacy or the economy.

Language restrictionism culminated in the English-only law that enabled the state of Louisiana to join the Union in 1812, yet it was far from being the final say in the matter: French language rights were partly recognised in the mid-1840s, but only for a brief while. To this day, Louisiana has remained the only state whose official language was specified as a *de jure* precondition to admission. It is also true that no other state has been allowed to enter the Union with a clear non-Anglophone majority ever since.

The LPSF shows the swinging of the LP pendulum towards the previously empty quadrant of substantive, general language management in the early 1800s, which was followed by a readjustment after 1815. The long period preceding the Civil War produced examples to fill each quadrant, yet the crowded substantive, specific quadrant has remained the most salient feature of the LPSF. This fact indicates the practical and pragmatic orientation of legislative attitudes and ideologies: narrowly-focused and frequently *ad hoc* problem-solving was the most salient feature of American language management efforts throughout the examined decades.

References

Adams Papers Digital Edition. 2019. "To the President of Congress, No. 9." Papers of John Adams, Vol. 10. Massachusetts Historical Society. Accessed January 13. https://www.masshist.org/publications/apde2/view?id=PJA10d115.

Anderson, James E. 2003. *Public Policymaking: An Introduction*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

"Annals of Congress." The Library of Congress: American Memory Collection. Last modified May 1, 2003. https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwac.html.

Crawford, James. 2000. *At War with Diversity: US Language Policy in Age of Anxiety*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Derbigney, Pierre. 1804. "Louisianans React to the Louisiana Purchase: Pierre Derbigney's Memorial to the US Congress." Digital History. Accessed February 4, 2019. http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook_print.cfm?smtid=3&psid=261.

Fillmore, Millard. 1851. "Second Annual Message." The American Presidency Project. Accessed January 21, 2019. https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/second-annual-message-7.

Galindo, René. 1997. "Language Wars: The Ideological Dimensions of the Debates on Bilingual Education." *Bilingual Research Journal* 21 (2–3): 163–201. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.1997.10668659.

"House Journal." The Library of Congress: American Memory Collection. Last modified May 1, 2003. https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwhj.html.

Irvine, Judith T. 2012. "Language Ideology." Oxford Bibliographies. Oxford University Press. Last modified January 11, 2012. https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780199766567-0012.

Jackson, Andrew. 1834. "Sixth Annual Message." The American Presidency Project. Accessed January 9, 2019. https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/sixth-annual-message-2.

Johnson, Charles W., and John W. Warner. 2003. "How Our Laws Are Made." Washington: US GPO.

Johnson, David Cassels. 2013. *Language Policy*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Johnson, David Cassels, and Crissa Stephens. 2018. "Language Policy and Planning." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Applied Linguistics Research Methodology*, edited by Aek Phakiti, Peter De Costa, Luke Plonsky, and Sue Starfield, 811–28. Palgrave Macmillan.

"Journals of the Continental Congress." The Library of Congress: American Memory Collection. Last modified May 1, 2003. https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwjc.html.

Kloss, Heinz. (1977) 1998. *The American Bilingual Tradition*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

"Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789." The Library of Congress: American Memory Collection. Last modified May 1, 2003. https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwdg.html.

Lo Bianco, Joseph. 1999. "The Language of Policy: What Sort of Policy Making is the Officialization of English in the United States?" In *Sociopolitical Perspectives on Language Policy and Planning in the USA*, edited by Thomas Huebner and Kathryn A. Davis, 39–65. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Macías, Reynaldo F. 2000. "Language Politics and the Sociolinguistic Historiography of Spanish in the United States." In *Language in Action: New Studies of Language in Society Essays in Honor of Roger W. Shuy*, edited by Joy K. Peyton, Peg Griffin, Walt Wolfram, and Ralph Fasold, 52–83. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

"Maclay's Journal." The Library of Congress: American Memory Collection. Last modified May 1, 2003. https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwmj.html.

Monroe, James. 1822. "Special Message to the House of Representatives Containing the Views of the President of the United States on the Subject of Internal Improvements." The American Presidency Project. Accessed January 9, 2019. https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/special-message-the-house-representatives-containing-the-views-the-president-the-united.

plainlanguage.gov. n.d. "The Plain Language Action and Information Network (PLAIN)." Accessed June 12, 2019. https://plainlanguage.gov/.

Prucha, Francis Paul, ed. 2000. *Documents of United States Indian Policy*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
"Senate Journal." The Library of Congress: American Memory Collection. Last modified May 1, 2003. https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwsj.html.
"Senate Executive Journal." The Library of Congress: American Memory Collection. Last modified May 1, 2003. https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwej.html.
Spolsky, Bernard. 2004. *Language Policy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
—. 2009. *Language Management*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Sumner, Charles, and George Frisbie Hoar. 1900. *Charles Sumner, His Complete Works: With Introduction by Hon. George Frisbie Hoar*. Vol. VIII. Boston: Lee & Shepard.
"The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution." n.d. The Library of Congress: American Memory Collection. Last modified May 1, 2003. https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwed.html.
"The Federalist Papers." Congress.gov Resources. Accessed June 2, 2019. https://www.congress.gov/resources/display/content/The+Federalist+Papers.
The Library of Congress. 2019. "A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: US Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774–1873." American Memory Collection. Last modified May 1, 2003. https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/.
"The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787." n.d. The Library of Congress: American Memory Collection. Last modified May 1, 2003. https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwfr.html.
Tiersma, Peter. n.d. "The Plain English Movement." Accessed January 27, 2018. http://www.languageandlaw.org/PLAINENGLISH.HTM.
"United States Statutes at Large." The Library of Congress: American Memory Collection. Last modified May 1, 2003. https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwsl.html.
US National Archives & Records Administration. 2019. "Transcript of Louisiana Purchase Treaty (1803)." Accessed February 2, 2019. https://www.ourdocuments.gov/print_friendly.php?flash=true&page=transcript&doc=18&title=Transcript+of+Louisiana+Purchase+Treaty+%281803%29.
Wells, Kentwood D. 2017. "Fleas the Size of Elephants: the Wonders of the Oxyhydrogen Microscope." *The Magic Lantern Gazette* 29 (2/3): 3–34. https://library.sdsu.edu/pdf/scua/ML_Gazette/MLGvol29no02-03.pdf.
Washington, George. 1796. "Special Message." The American Presidency Project. Accessed January 9, 2019. https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/special-message-3536.
Wiley, Terrence G. 1999. "Comparative Historical Analysis of US Language Policy and Language Planning: Extending the Foundations." In *Sociopolitical Perspectives on Language Policy and Planning in the USA*, edited by Thomas Huebner and Kathryn A. Davis, 17–37. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Wiley, Terrence G., and Haley de Korne. 2014. "Historical Orientations to Language Policy in the United States." *LPREN Brief*. Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics. http://www.cal.org/lpren/pdfs/briefs/historical-orientations-to-language-policy-in-the-united-states.pdf.
Woolley, John, and Gerhard Peters. n.d. "The American Presidency Project." UC Santa Barbara. Last modified December 2, 2019. https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu.

Dušan Gabrovšek
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 47-59(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.47-59
UDC: 811.111'271=163:81'374

The *Bilingual* Usage Dictionary

ABSTRACT

The paper highlights the *dictionary of English usage* as a type of specialized language dictionary. Such dictionaries have been created in either the time-honored prescriptivist tradition or the more recent descriptivist one. Virtually all dictionaries of English usage are monolingual, i.e. all-English. While most dictionaries of English usage have been designed for native speakers of English, there are also a few notable works made particularly for non-native speakers of the language. The main part of the paper is devoted to the suggestion and formulation of guidelines for creating a bilingual, specifically English/Slovene encoding-oriented usage dictionary as a useful, reliable, varied, and user-friendly work of reference intended primarily for advanced-level Slovene speakers of English. The dictionary offers some features that are uncommon in today's dictionaries, especially the use of both languages in many entries, and some entries challenging the user to find the solution to the language problem listed for themselves. The final section presents 20 selected entries from the envisioned usage dictionary.

Keywords: English usage, dictionary of usage, monolingual vs. bilingual, English/Slovene usage dictionary

Dvojezični slovar jezikovne rabe

POVZETEK

Prispevek obravnava *slovar angleške jezikovne rabe* kot vrsto specializiranega jezikovnega slovarja. Tovrstni slovarji nastajajo v okviru starejše predpisovalne tradicije ali pa novejše opisovalne tradicije. Praktično vsi slovarji angleške jezikovne rabe so enojezični, v celoti pisani v angleščini. Večina tovrstnih slovarjev je namenjena maternim govorcem angleškega jezika, vendar pa je nekaj znanih del namenjenih predvsem uporabnikom angleščine kot nematernega jezika. Glavni del pričujočega prispevka poda predlog in navaja smernice za izdelavo koristnega, zanesljivega, raznolikega in uporabniško prijaznega dvojezičnega, specifičneje angleško/slovenskega, slovarja predvsem za uvezovalne potrebe, ki bo namenjen v prvi vrsti Slovencem, ki uporabljajo angleščino na višji zahtevnostni ravni. Slovar uvaja nekatere značilnosti, ki jih v sodobnih slovarjih skoraj ni najti, zlasti uporabo obeh jezikov v številnih geslih in gesla, ki uporabnike vzpodbujajo, naj najdejo določeno rešitev za navedeni jezikovni problem kar sami. V zadnjem delu je predstavljenih 20 izbranih gesel iz predlaganega slovarja.

Ključne besede: angleška jezikovna raba, slovar jezikovne rabe, enojezični v. dvojezični, angleško/slovenski slovar jezikovne rabe

1 Introduction: Usage in Language and English Usage Dictionaries

Usage, in the sense relevant to this paper, is "[t]he way a particular word in a language, or a language in general, is used" (McIntosh 2013, 1730). Importantly, "the term *usage* is a broader one than *grammar*, and is more judgmental" (Allen 2009, 339).

English usage has been recorded extensively in both general and specialized dictionaries.[1] There are two competing and powerful general traditions in recording and analyzing language facts in general and language usage in particular, *viz.* the long-standing *prescriptive* one, epitomized in the magisterial Fowler guide, first published in 1926, and the more recent *descriptive* one. The former tradition typically lays down subjective rules regarded by an individual or group as "educated", "right", useful, recommended, etc., such *normative rules* "setting out a norm, i.e. what users of a language should say or write according to some ideology rather than a rule describing what users actually say or write", "an example [being] the rule that *different* is followed by *from* and not *to*." (Brown and Miller 2013, 314). The descriptive tradition, by contrast, provides an objective description and unbiased interpretation of language facts based on factual evidence (as in, say, Gilman 1989). Both linguists and dictionary makers of today almost invariably insist right at the outset on embracing the descriptive approach: As a matter of principle, according to most of them, it makes a lot of sense to point out that language simply must be *described* rather than being *prescribed*. However, many language users are often at odds with language professionals because what they typically seek is sound advice and reliable guidance. Indeed, as Aarts, Chalker and Weiner (2014, 429) have pointed out, "in practice, usage guides deal cursorily with consensual core grammar, and pay most attention to areas of disputed usage, giving guidance that veers towards prescription (which is doubtless what most users of such books want)". This implies that while it may well be a desideratum to try to draw on both prescriptive and descriptive approaches in creating a dictionary of usage, this may be exceedingly difficult to achieve. The two traditions, however, are not really incompatible – after all, the American lawyer, usage expert and prolific lexicographer Bryan A. Garner (in Garner and Greene 2012), one of the best-known usage authors, refers to himself as a usage author acting as a "descriptive prescriber". The prescriptive – descriptive dilemma has been a major issue especially in native-speaker-oriented usage dictionaries of English. In any case, what a bilingual usage dictionary must set out to do is to give both sound advice and guidance and to offer solutions to a variety of language difficulties encountered in an interlingual framework by a non-native user of English as an L2. Can this be achieved entirely without, well, "enlightened prescription"?

First, a terminological note. What is commonly referred to as a *usage dictionary* or *a dictionary of usage* is basically a type of specialized language dictionary (such as those of, say, idioms, collocations, pronunciation, or etymology) as contrasted with both the *general dictionary* and the *specialized field dictionary* (of chemistry, music, psychology, linguistics etc.). However, there are also certain general dictionaries of the English language, whether monolingual or bilingual, that highlight the word *usage* in their titles typically either to indicate that the dictionary in question is a learners' one (e.g. Schwarz and Seaton 1985) or to emphasize

[1] Books on English usage can also be divided into chapters rather than being arranged alphabetically (Allen 2009, 341). This paper is devoted exclusively to "those arranged in an alphabetical sequence of entries like a conventional dictionary" (Allen 2009, 341).

that it does its best to show how a language or languages – particularly the core vocabulary – is/are actually used, usually by means of ample exemplification provided in the form of example sentences (e.g. Stein 2013). In this paper, *usage dictionary* consistently refers to a specialized language dictionary, also referred to as a *usage guide*, and this is "a type of reference work intended to help users with encoding tasks such as speaking or writing. Entries are often mini-essays on (unresolved) issues rather than articles on particular words or phrases." (Hartmann and Stork 1998, 149–50). What its entries characteristically offer is advice on grammar, vocabulary, spelling and hyphenation, as well as on stress and regional usage.

Again, when it comes to recording facts about usage for reference purposes, English usage is amply documented in both general and specialized dictionaries. While the coverage of usage in the former, "general-dictionary" mode dominates both monolingual (all-English) and bilingual dictionaries, the latter, "specialized-dictionary mode" – the one this paper concentrates on – is heavily favored when it comes to monolingual (i.e. all-English) dictionaries. The latter tradition, that is, monolingual (all-English) specialized dictionaries of English usage, some of which are (also) available for online consultation,[2] comprises two distinct subtypes:

> (a) the long-standing native-speaker-oriented variety epitomized – for British English – in the famous Fowler (1926) guide, now is its fourth edition (Butterfield 2015), and – for American English – in several Garner guides (cf. e.g. Garner 2016), and
>
> (b) the learner-oriented variety (notably Swan [1980] 2016 and Sinclair 1992 / Hands 2019), which is of much more recent vintage and incorporates far fewer works than the native-speaker-oriented variety.

While both are monolingual, the two subtypes of specialized dictionaries of English usage just referred to are cast in rather different frameworks. The older, native-speaker-oriented tradition defines the concept in the following manner (Algeo 1991, 2–3): "*Usage* is a choice among alternatives to which users attribute *social value*." The three factors – alternatives, choice, and value – are related implicationally. To have value, there must be choice, and to have choice there must be alternatives; but alternatives may exist without choice, and choice without value. In this context, usage has the important dichotomy of *use* vs. *attitude*: To understand usage, we must be aware of both what people *say* and what they *think* about what is said. There are often striking disparities between the two (Algeo 1991, 2–3). Indeed, native-speaker-type language use often embraces the significant sociolinguistic aspect of attitudes to language use, often referred to as *usage*. Significantly, "an attitude is an evaluative orientation to a social object [here language] of some sort" (Garrett 2010, 228). That is why native-speaker-oriented dictionaries of English usage – unlike the learner-oriented ones – often discuss instances of *disputed usage*, a major concept defined as

> a disagreement over what is the 'correct' linguistic form to use in a particular situation. Disputed usages, and the emotional and impassioned debates they inspire, are a

[2] The best-known example is probably the native-speaker-type American usage dictionary by Paul Brians ([2004] 2013) that incorporates an introductory question-and-answer section, an otherwise uncommon feature in dictionaries of usage. This work can be either obtained in book form or accessed online.

> relatively recent phenomenon in the history of the English language, dating back only as far as the eighteenth century. (Meyer 1993, 302)

By contrast, dictionaries of English usage designed for (foreign) learners typically concentrate their efforts on helping users overcome English language problems; in a nutshell, in this particular framework (Swan [1980] 2016, viii), "Usage guides deal with problem points: words and structures that people have difficulty with […]. English, like all languages, is full of problems for the foreign learner." The purpose of learner-oriented English usage dictionaries "is practical: to give learners and their teachers the most important information they need in order to deal with common language problems" (Swan [1980] 2016, viii).

The basic difference between the two subtypes of English usage dictionaries, then, is not only quite clear but also significant: It can be summarized as that between evaluative social-value-based language choice offered by and underlying the native-speaker-type usage dictionaries on the one hand, and language difficulty and/or uncertainty in using language, especially a non-first one, underlying the learners' variety of usage dictionaries on the other.

2 The Bilingual – Slovene-English – Usage Dictionary

2.1 General Principles

Curiously enough, the bilingual mode in recording English usage in specialized reference sources is close to being non-existent. This paper thus argues for the creation of a specialized bilingual, specifically Slovene/English, dictionary of usage, English having the role of a foreign/non-first language, i.e. L2, Slovene typically being the user's L1. Accordingly, in what follows, Slovene (as L1) and English (as L2) will be used consistently for (illustrative) contrastive purposes.

The suggested usage dictionary is first and foremost an encoding-oriented reference tool focusing on the specific language pair, but also one providing selected decoding-oriented pieces of information, designed chiefly for the advanced learner of English. In general terms, it is based on the idea of teaching a foreign/non-first/second language, educating, translating into a foreign language, i.e. providing valuable interlingual information for translation purposes that illustrates, as its major underlying principle, the application of two interrelated subtypes of an approach to language analysis that can both be referred to broadly as the "non-monolingual" approach, *viz*.

> (a) The bilingual approach, i.e. that of *specific contrastivity* (individual points relating to specific issues in the two languages, e.g. collocation and false friends, such as SI *imeti* [EN have] *predavanje – to give a lecture*, or *kuhinjski aparat – kitchen appliance, gasilni aparat – fire extinguisher, slušni aparat – hearing aid, TV aparat – TV set*) and
>
> (b) The EFL approach, i.e. that of *non-specific contrastivity* (EFL-type general issues such as English confusables, for instance *compliment – complement, exhaustive – exhausting*, and countability, for instance *advice, information* etc.).

Of the two approaches, the latter is exemplified in the EFL-oriented dictionaries of English usage, the best-known examples probably being Swan ([1980] 2016) and Sinclair (1992) / Hands (2019). At least in the initial stage of writing a bilingual dictionary of usage, these reference sources are to be preferred over the more specialized, removal-of-errors-type of EFL-oriented usage dictionaries, such as Trask (2001) or Turton and Heaton (1996), as well as over the reference sources that form part of the rich tradition of social-value-based-preference native-speaker-oriented dictionaries of English usage, such as Fowler (1926) / Butterfield (2015), Partridge ([1942] 1999) or Garner (2016). The former mode, i.e. bilingual, is far more difficult to capture comprehensively, as there is no systematic coverage, for most language pairs, of either specific contrastive topics relating to two specific languages or problematic issues collected expressly for the benefit of speakers of one of the two languages in question. The bilingual mode, overall, reflects an educational, language-teaching, and translation-friendly attitude. The selection of items/issues in the A–Z-format is to be based on the best and most reliable existing empirical studies and research, both traditional and corpus-based, as well as translators' notes and ideas, and on teaching experience gained in the bilingual, chiefly L1/L2 environment.

Entries in the suggested bilingual Slovene-English usage dictionary are based on the following two uncommon lexicographic principles:

> (a) both languages – sometimes even combined in some way in one and the same entry-article – are to be used not only in the entry-articles (microstructure) but even as main entries and entry words (macrostructure). The reason for combining the two languages is to encourage comprehension, efficiency, interaction, one's own (dictionary) (re)search, and to maintain a user-friendly encoding stance.
>
> (b) selected – especially shorter – entries do not provide solutions but only hint at them or even leave them out altogether, with some entries being framed as questions encouraging or challenging the user to look for and find solutions themselves, especially in a dictionary. Indeed, after stating the problem, some entries do not spell it out but only provide a standard English dictionary[3] URL, and sometimes a link to a specific entry, as the suggested source to help one deal with a language issue (e.g. *besides/beside* below, *comic/comical*, and *deciding/decisive*). While only used sparingly, this technique[4] (unusual, to be sure) of writing dictionary entries builds on the idea that certain – especially very common and specific as well as unexpected – contrastive language problems may goad the user into making an extra effort to find the solutions themselves.

Additionally, another two underlying principles must also be mentioned, the first being rather unconventional and the second less so:

---

[3] Particularly those of the advanced learners' type, for instance *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* or *Merriam-Webster Learner's Dictionary*, both listed in the References section.

[4] In a later edition, URLs and links listed might be expanded to include, for example, selected links to specific language points provided in specialized online reference sources such as dictionaries of English usage (e.g. Brians [2004] 2013) and guides to punctuation (e.g. Punctuation Guide). The device should not be overdone, however, as its role is simply to provide varied access to specific language problems.

(c) entries in the suggested dictionary will be diverse, extremely varied in terms of both content and overall length and complexity: very broad/general and encyclopedic, rather general, specific, highly specific, long and short, some of them being framed as questions or warnings, and varied in microstructure, including a small selection of basic linguistic topic entries such as *številnost* [EN countability] and *sopojavljanke (kolokacije)* [EN collocations]. Exemplification – typically in the form of translated examples of language use, SL-EN and EN-SL, both sentence-length and phrase-length – will be abundant as a matter of principle.

(d) abbreviations are to be used sparingly, and to be given chiefly in Slovenian.

2.2 Broader Issues

Given that it is bound to be primarily an online work with a functional search engine, the suggested bilingual English/Slovene dictionary of usage would be firmly based on the continuous-revision policy, and possibly crowd-sourced, drawing first and foremost on two categories of language/teaching professionals – translators and foreign language teachers – and specifically on what they can contribute from their own work experience. As to the approaches to analyzing language contrastively, the work under discussion seeks pertinent answers by applying the insights of the *classical contrastive analysis* (James 1980), *contrastive interlanguage analysis* (cf. Granger 2015) and a variety of relevant methods based primarily on functional and cognitive linguistic theories (cf. the survey-type Gómez González, Mackenzie and González Álvarez 2008).

2.3 Basic Entry Types Explained and Illustrated

Below is a small selection of the different kinds of entries illustrating their significant features, to be considered for inclusion in such a bilingual Slovene/English usage dictionary. There are two basic kinds of entries:

(1) those discussing individual points, including both
[a] non-specific-contrastivity type of issues such as confusables, e.g. *lie, lay; complement, compliment; bear, bare*, and countability, e.g. *information, evidence, advice* and
[b] (language-)specific-contrastivity type of issues such as countability-related pairs *obresti (pl.) – interest (sg.)* and *pižama (sg.) – pajamas/pyjamas (pl)*, and false friends such as *eventualen (EN possible, potential), problematika (EN problems, issues, topic), monden (EN fashionable)*.

(2) those introducing more general language issues and concepts of contrastive significance, i.e. topic-type linguistic entries such as *false friends / lažni prijatelji, prepositions / predlogi, countability / številnost, collocations / sopojavljanke, comma use / vejica (raba)*. These entries offer simple definitions and provide abundant exemplification, always in both languages and usually given as translated examples of use. Some add brief encyclopedic information.

More specifically, the entries listed under both (1) and (2) above are to be constructed, characterized, labelled, and classified primarily in terms of whether they

- begin with the entry word(s) either in English (EN), in Slovene (SI), or in both languages (EN&SI)
- are phrased as questions (Q)
- are of the non-specific (NSC) or specific contrastivity (SC) type
- contain definitions (DEF) and encyclopedic (ENC) information
- are topic-type linguistic entries (TOPIC)
- include information largely or solely in one language only, whether English (L2) or Slovene (L1)
- provide exemplification (EX)
- only hint at solutions to language problems or challenge the user to find them themselves (QUIZ)
- include quotations (QUOTE)
- contain links, references or cross-references (L/R/C-R).

The evaluation and discussion of the relative significance and appropriateness of the ten entry features listed and labelled above is a topic that clearly calls for another paper. Let me merely note at this point that there is nothing final about the ten features – they may well be subject to revision once the dictionary starts expanding and diversifying.

What follows is a small but varied selection of 20 alphabetized entries that can be profitably examined provided the reader is fluent in both Slovene and English. What they illustrate is, first, the actual microstructure in the subcategories of the above two basic types, and second, the presence or absence of the ten major features listed in the preceding paragraph:

> ***advice*** in ***advise*** sta si oblikovno in pomensko blizu, a se razlikujeta glede na besedno vrsto: *advice* je nešteven – obstaja le v edninski obliki – samostalnik s pomenom 'nasvet(i)', *advise* pa je glagol s pomenom 'svetovati'. [confusables]
>
> ***arrive – ~at/in*** (pogosta napaka: *arrive *to*): n.pr. *prispeti v New York – to arrive in New York* [common error]
>
> ***aspect / respect***: Pogosta napaka mešanja dveh podobnih, a različnih samostalniških besed, ki je značilna za nematerne govorce: n.pr. SI *v tem oziru* – EN *in this respect* in ne *in this *aspect*. Soroden problem opažamo n.pr. pri rabi pogostih stalnih angleških zvez *in regard to, with regard to, as regards*, ki vse pomenijo 'kar se tiče', pogosto napako nematernih govorcev **in regards* pa interpretiramo kot težavo, ki izvira iz angleščine, namreč mešanje treh podobnih oblik te zveze v napačno. Torej ta problem ni nujno »slovenski«, ampak je kontrastivno nespecifičen. [confusables]
>
> **BESEDNE DRUŽINE** [EN word families]: Some are very easy, others much more demanding (e.g. *nutrition* includes not only the adjective *nutritious* and the noun *nutritionist* but also the noun *nutriment*, noun/adjective *nutrient*, and the adjectives *nutritional* and *nutritive*). They can be useful in translating, for instance art texts: *exhibit* (not only SI 'razstavljati' but also 'eksponat' and in AmE also 'razstava'), *exhibition* ('razstava'), *exhibitor* ('razstavljalec'). The contrastive aspect is often significant,

especially in the case of (very) similar forms across languages, as in SI *revolucionar, revolucionaren* vs. EN *revolutionary* (adj./n.!); EN *kiropraktika, kiropraktik* vs. EN *chiropractic, chiropractor*. And what about SI

► *melanholija, melanholik, melanholičen* or

► *investicija, investicijski, investirati, investitor*, or more technically

► *kataliza, katalizirati, katalizator, katalitski/kataliticen*
– do you really know their EN equivalents? [topic entry plus testing the user's knowledge]

besides and ***beside*** are NOT the same. Check the brief usage note at https://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/beside. [confusables]

COMMA usage / raba vejice: Najvažnejši kontrastivni nasvet je, da v EN pred veznikom *that* (SI *da*) nikoli ni vejice, v SI pa vedno, n.pr. *Rekel je, da je utrujen*. – *He said that he was tired.*
► Dober krajši spletni uvod v problematiko pravilne rabe ločil v angleškem jeziku: Nordquist 2020a. [topic entry and a reference source]

"**CONFUSABLES**": Gre za problem angleških besed, pogosto parov, ki jih lahko zamešamo, ker so si glede na pisavo in/ali izgovarjavo zelo podobne, v resnici pa imajo (popolnoma, zelo ali delno) različne pomene, kolokacijske povezave in/ali slovnične lastnosti, n.pr. *accept* in *except, adapt* in *adopt, admission* in *admittance, affect* in *effect, allusion* in *illusion, advice* in *advise, affect* in *effect, biannual* in *biennial, capital* in *capitol, complement(ary)* in *compliment(ary), conscious* in *conscience, deduce* in *deduct, dependence* in *dependency, deprived* in *depraved*, *discreet* in *discrete, disinterested* in *uninterested, distinct* in *distinctive, dominance* in *domination, emergence* in *emergency, entry* in *entrance, intend* in *intent, lend* in *loan, lie* in *lay, literal, literally, literary* in *literate, lose* in *loose, lie* in *lay*, *pair* in *pear, precede* in *proceed*, *prescribe* in *proscribe, principal* in *principle, rely* in *relay*, *rise* in *raise*, *than* in *then, sensual* in *sensuous, than* in *then, troubling* in *troubled, urban* in *urbane,* itd. Včasih so take besede lahko (skoraj) sopomenske, n.pr. *misinformation* in *disinformation* ter *flammable* in *inflammable*, včasih pa sploh ne, n.pr. *accept* in *except* ali *than* in *then* (prim. Nordquist 2020b in Beare 2018b). [topic entry and two reference sources]

KOMENTAR: Here is Michael Quinion on the subject, reporting in 2011 on his World Wide Words website [http://worldwidewords.org/nl/diao.htm]:
English is rife with words that are **confusingly similar**. Some are spelled differently but have the same sound (homophones): *break/brake, heal/heel, cereal/serial*; others are spelled the same but pronounced differently (homographs), such as *entrance, invalid, moped*, or *wound*. A third set (homonyms) combine the similarities: they are said and spelled the same, but have different meanings: *bear, distemper, founder, plain, saw, tender*. Some others are very close in form but have significantly different meanings, such as *evoke, invoke, provoke*.

Native speakers are so used to them that we aren't in the least bothered that *rest* can mean both repose and remainder, that a *bank* may be both a financial institution and a place where the wild thyme blows, or that – lacking context – *spring* might refer to a jump, rivulet or season. Whole dictionaries have been dedicated to resolving confusions between such words for learners of English as a second language.

One reason why we have so many homonyms is that English is a mongrel language that has imported words from many sources, sometimes more than once, and has frequently modified them to generate new senses. Its utter lack of purity is well expressed as follows:

The result is that sets of homonyms rarely have a common source. An exception is the common senses of *rap* — a quick blow, a knocking sound, a type of popular music, talk or gossip, a commendation, a rebuke, a criminal charge — which all do seem to derive from the idea of a tap or blow. [encyclopedic topical treatment]

congenial vs. ***congenital*** – a good case of a pair of confusing words with widely different meanings. EN *congenial* – SI *prijeten; primeren* vs. EN *congenital* – SI *prirojen*! Example: *congenial atmosphere – prijetno vzdušje; a congenital defect – prirojena okvara*. [confusables]

interested **('zainteresiran')** vs. ***interesting*** **('zanimiv'):** *I'm interested in books that are interesting to me. – Zainteresiran sem za knjige, ki so mi zanimive.* [confusables plus prepositional issues]

LASTNA IMENA [EN proper names]: V današnjem času občasno naletimo na »čudne« ali vsaj nenavadne prevode zemljepisnih imen, pogosto pod vplivom angleških oblik: Primeri v SI so n.pr. *Moldova, Laplandija* in *Angleški kanal* (EN *Moldova, Lapland, the English Channel*) namesto pravilnih slovenskih oblik *Moldavija, Laponska* in *Rokavski preliv*. Na takšno prakso včasih naletimo tudi pri nekaterih drugih lastnih imenih, npr. EN *Kremlin* (to je še en primer v standardni slovenščini neobstoječe – angleške – oblike) namesto pravilnega SI *Kremelj*. [topic entry]

***najstnik, -ica* –** zanimiv, toda redko izpostavljen medjezikovni problem, saj je v tem primeru EN *teenager* le delna ustreznica: SI samostalnik se namreč nanaša na starost 11 – 19 let, EN pa na 13 – 19 let! Kako bomo torej v angleščino prevedli SI *najstnik*, kadar gre za starost 11 ali 12 let?? Odgovor: *an 11-year-old, a 12-year-old*. [unexpected interlingual relation]

PREDLOGI [EN prepositions] – Izbrani primeri izpričanih značilnih »slovenskih« predložnih napak pri prevajanju iz slovenščine v angleščino (napačni prevodi predlogov so označeni z zvezdico):
*na koncertu – *on / at a concert*
*na trgu - *on / in a square*
PAZITE!
*alergičen na – allergic *on (to)*

*hvaliti se z nečim – to pride oneself *with (on) something*
*nanašati se na – to apply *for (to)*
*odločiti se za – to decide *for (on)*
*ostati na večerji – stay *on (for) dinner*
*ponosen na – proud *on (of)*
*rešitev za (problem) – solution *for (to) a problem*
*vplivati na – to influence *on (Ø* – nobenega predloga!)
*zainteresiran za – interested *for (in)*
*značilen za – typical *for (of)*

KOMPLEKSNEJŠI PROBLEM: *na postaji – *on /at/in a station* – toda ne kot sopomenki! Prim.: *I want to get off at the next station. – Is there a waiting room in the station?*
(Fox and Combley 2014, 1791) [topic entry with abundant exemplification]

PRETVORBA ENOT [EN conversions of units]: Tu gre predvsem za probleme, povezane z upoštevanjem različnih merskih enot – utežnih, dolžinskih in votlih – v slovenščini in angleščini. Ali n.pr. vemo ali vsaj znamo poiskati, kakšna je velikost Slovenije, izražena ne v kvadratnih kilometrih, ampak v kvadratnih *miljah*? Pa še nekaj: kako se to v angleščini zapiše? Pri tem se pojavijo včasih tudi razlike med britansko in ameriško rabo: n.pr. britanska utežna enota *stone* (6,35 kg) je neznana v ameriški rabi, *galona* pa sicer obstaja v obeh, a ni enaka – ameriška je namreč skoraj 20% manjša (AmE 3,79 l, BrE 4,55 l)! Pri navajanju n.pr. porabe goriva moramo upoštevati ne le pravilno pretvorbo milj v kilometre in galon v litre, temveč tudi drugačen splošni vzorec: v SI govorimo o »litrih na 100 km«, v EN pa o »prevoženih miljah na galono« (EN *to do ___ miles per gallon* [N.pr. *the car does about 40 miles per gallon*). Prim. UnitConverters.net. (https://www.unitconverters.net/) [topic entry with encyclopedic explanations]

Slovenia – Slovene ali ***Slovenian***? V angleščini imamo pri prevodu pridevnika *slovenski* dve možnosti. Zato bodo vsaj nekateri uporabniki veseli citata iz znanega angleškega slovarja jezikovne rabe: "An inhabitant of the country in south central Europe is a *Slovene*; the derived adjective is *Slovenian*. The capital is Ljubljana." (Todd 1997, 382) [quotation-type issue and the solution]

SOPOJAVLJANKA ali **kolokacija** [EN collocation]: S tem izrazom označujemo pogoste besedne zveze z neprenesenim pomenom, ki se med jeziki neredko razlikujejo na nepredvidljiv način glede ubeseditve oz. omejitev pri združljivosti, n.pr.
SI ***imeti*** *predavanje* – EN ***to give*** *a lecture*,
SI ***močan*** *dež* – EN ***heavy*** *rain*,
SI ***trdovraten*** *kašelj* in ***trdovraten*** *madež* – EN ***persistent*** *cough* in ***stubborn*** *stain.*

škorpijon – obstajata DVA prevoda v EN, in sicer s pomenskim razločkom: žival je **scorpion**, znak v horoskopu pa **Scorpio**. [interlingual non-congruence: divergent polysemy]

ŠTEVNOST [EN countability]: Nekateri samostalniki v slovenščini in njihove ustreznice v angleščini se ločijo glede na slovnično lastnost *številnosti*. *Števni* samostalniki imajo tudi množino, *neštevni* pa praviloma ne – torej imajo le edninsko obliko. Primeri takšnih razlik so n.pr.: *information – informacija/-je, advice – nasvet/-ti, election(s) – volitve, evidence – dokaz/-zi, interest – obresti, pyjamas* ali *pajamas – pižama, real estate – nepremičnina/-ne, unrest – nemir(i), turbulence – turbulenca/-ce* (v angl. je vedno možna le ednina); *door/doors – vrata.* Vendar pa je v angleščini po potrebi pluralnost pri neštevnih samostalnikih pogosto možno izraziti z zvezo samostalnik + *of*, n. pr. *nasvet – a piece of advice*. (prim. npr. Beare 2018a)
Dodatna težava je lahko tudi to, da neštevnost in številnost lahko včasih pri isti besedi v angleškem jeziku povzročita tudi spremembo pomena, n.pr. samostalnik *liberty* (nešteven, le edninska oblika) pomeni 'svoboda', *liberties* (števen, le množinska oblika) pa 'svoboščine.' [topic entry with abundant exemplification]

teden: Angleški prevod te samostalniške besede je seveda *week*. Kaj je torej razlog za to geslo? To je manj znano dejstvo, da je v britanski rabi *teden* obdobje od ponedeljka do nedelje, v ameriški angleščini pa od nedelje do sobote. To dejstvo kar v definiciji prvega pomena navajajo tudi nekateri učni slovarji angleščine – n.pr. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* v tiskani verziji (Fox in Combley 2014, 2067) ali v spletni verziji na https://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/week. [unexpected encyclopedic difference between American and British English – non-specific contrastivity]

weight ali ***weigh***? Obe besedi sta lahko pravilna izbira, toda prva (*weight*) je samostalnik s pomenom 'teža', druga (*weigh*) pa je glagol s pomenom 'tehtati'. [confusables]

ZANIKANJE [EN negation]: V zborni slovenščini – v nasprotju z angleščino – lahko rabimo več nikalnih oblik v istem stavku, v standardni angleščini pa le eno (pri prvi možnosti za zanikanje v stavku), n.pr. ***Nikoli*** *mi* ***ni ničesar*** *povedal.* – EN *He has* ***never*** *told me anything.* Med specifičnimi kontrastivnimi problemi naj omenimo predvsem zanikanje tipa *tudi ne / tudi ni*, kjer je standardni EN prevod *not … either* (in ne **also not*), n.pr. *Tudi tam ga ni. – He is not there either.* | *Prav takó je ni v kuhinji. – She is not in the kitchen either.* [topic entry]

3 Conclusion

Again, as it turns out, there are virtually no bilingual usage dictionaries of any language pair in existence, which is why we need to know a lot more not only about the principles underlying the creation of such a reference work but also, more broadly, about its nature and rationale; moreover, it is likewise essential to look into *how* users of such a work go about using it and *why* and *when*, and into *who* exactly is likely to need it and consult it on a regular basis. Sensitivity to both user language-reference needs and user responses to queries as well as entry and entry-format testing should therefore be a desideratum to be kept in mind at all times.

A useful and user-friendly bilingual usage dictionary, and in the framework of this paper specifically one with English as an L2 and Slovene as an L1, must be based on clear principles that try to, first, make the most of the existing monolingual-type English usage dictionaries,

particularly the EFL variety; and second, draw extensively on, one, foreign-language teachers' and translators' notes, findings, ideas and observations stemming from their own (practical) language work, and two, the existing empirical work resulting from largely corpus-based contrastive research involving both languages in question, that is, English as an L2 and Slovene as an L1.

References

Aarts, Bas, Sylvia Chalker, and Edmund S.C. Weiner. 2014. *The Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Algeo, John. 1991. "Sweet Are the Usages of Diversity." *Word* 42 (1): 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1991.11435829.

Allen, Robert E. 2009. "Dictionaries of Usage." In *The Oxford History of English Lexicography, Volume II: Specialized Dictionaries*, edited by Anthony P. Cowie, 339–60. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Beare, Kenneth. 2018a. "Countable and Uncountable Nouns: The Basics." ThoughtCo.com. https://www.thoughtco.com/countable-and-uncountable-nouns-1210697?utm_campaign=grammartip&utm_medium=email&utm_source=cn_nl&utm_content=16516592&utm_term=.

—. 2018b. "Commonly Confused Word Pairs for ESL Learners." ThoughtCo.com. https://www.thoughtco.com/commonly-confused-word-pairs-p2-1209091.

Brians, Paul. (2004) 2013. "Common Errors in English." Washington State University, The Web Site of Professor Paul Brians. https://brians.wsu.edu/common-errors/. [Also a printed book: Brians, Paul. [2004] 2013. *Common Errors in English Usage*, 3rd ed. Wilsonville, OR: William, James & Co.]

Brown, Keith, and Jim Miller. 2013. *The Cambridge Dictionary of Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Butterfield, Jeremy, ed. 2015. *Fowler's Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Collins. 2020a. "Browse all Official Collins Dictionaries." https://www.collinsdictionary.com/browse/.

—. 2020b. "Browse the English Usage." https://grammar.collinsdictionary.com/browse/english-usage/.

Fowler, Henry Watson. 1926. *Modern English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fox, Chris, and Rosalind Combley, eds. 2014. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 6th ed. Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education. https://www.ldocelonline.com.

Garner, Bryan A. 2016. *Garner's Modern English Usage*. Rev. 4th ed. of *Garner's Modern American Usage*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Garner, Bryan A., and Robert L. Greene. 2012. "Which Language and Grammar Rules to Flout." *The New York Times*, September 27, 2012. https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2012/09/27/which-language-and-grammar-rules-to-flout.

Garrett, Peter. 2010. *Attitudes to Language*. *Key Concepts in Sociolinguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gilman, E. Ward, ed. 1989. *Webster's Dictionary of English Usage*. *A Merriam-Webster*®. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster.

Gómez González, María de los Ángeles, J. Lachlan Mackenzie, and Elsa M. González Álvarez, eds. 2008. *Current Trends in Contrastive Linguistics*. *Studies in Functional and Structural Linguistics*, Vol. 60. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Granger, Sylviane. 2015. "Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis: A Reappraisal." *International Journal of Learner Corpus Research* 1 (1): 7–24. https://doi.org/10.1075/ijlcr.1.1.01gra.

Hands, Penny, ed. 2019. *Collins COBUILD English Usage,* 4th ed. Glasgow: Collins/HarperCollins Publishers.

Hartmann, R.R.K., and Gregory James. 1998. *Dictionary of Lexicography*. London and New York: Routledge.

James, Carl. 1980. *Contrastive Analysis*. Rptd. with corrections 1983. Harlow, Essex: Longman Group.

Longman. n.d. "Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online." https://www.ldoceonline.com/.

McIntosh, Colin, ed. 2013. *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 4th ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Merriam-Webster. 2020. "Merriam-Webster Learner's Dictionary." https://learnersdictionary.com/.
Meyer, Charles F. 1993. "Investigating Disputed Usages." In *Language Variation in North American English: Research and Teaching*, edited by A. Wayne Glowka and Donald M. Lance, 302–12. New York: Modern Language Association of America.
Nordquist, Richard. 2020a. "An Introduction to Punctuation." ThoughtCo. https://www.thoughtco.com/punctuation-definition-1691702.
—. 2020b. "Glossary of Usage: Index of Commonly Confused Words." ThoughtCo. https://www.thoughtco.com/commonly-confused-words-s2-1692693.
Partridge, Eric H. (1942) 1999. *Usage and Abusage: A Guide to Good English*, 3rd ed. Edited by Janet Whitcut. London: Penguin Books.
Punctuation Guide, The. 2011–2020. https://www.thepunctuationguide.com/.
Schwarz, C.M., and M.A. Seaton, eds. 1985. *Chambers Concise Usage Dictionary*. [Edinburgh:] W & R Chambers.
Sinclair, John McH., ed. 1992. *Collins COBUILD English Usage for Learners*. Glasgow: HarperCollins Publishers.
Stein, Gabriele. 2013. *A Usage Dictionary English-German / German-English*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
Swan, Michael. (1980) 2016. *Practical English Usage*, 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [4th ed. abandons the A–Z format in favor of a thematic arrangement]
Todd, Loreto. 1997. *The Cassell Dictionary of English Usage*. London: Cassell.
Trask, Robert Lawrence. 2001. *Mind the Gaffe: The Penguin Guide to Common Errors in English*. London: Penguin Group/Penguin Books.
Turton, Nigel D., and John Brian Heaton. 1996. *Longman Dictionary of Common Errors*, 2nd ed. Harlow, Essex: Addison Wesley Longman.

Paul Onanuga
Federal University Oye-Ekiti, Nigeria
Rotimi Taiwo
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 61-82(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.61-82
UDC: 81'42:[343.72:004.738.5]

Discursive Features of Nigerian Online Ponzi Schemes' Narratives

ABSTRACT

Although Ponzi schemes have existed since the 1800s, contemporary financial challenges have rejuvenated them while the Internet has enhanced their proliferation, particularly in developing countries. The present study analyses select discursive features for digital deception in Nigerian online Ponzi schemes. We identify the use of stance and linguistic engagement, formulaic expressions and politeness strategies, narrativity, naming, and lexical range as techniques used by scheme creators. These linguistic and discursive choices are wielded as tools to attract customers and, ultimately, to deceive. The overt propagation of financial gains has underlying ideological implications, as it projects a sense of communality and encourages financial leverage which are in turn exploited to con unsuspecting – often greedy – subscribers. We conclude that language use in Ponzi schemes is intentionally crafted to appeal to diverse individual sentiments, particularly within developing economies where poverty is widespread and people seek to make money through any means in order to survive.

Keywords: Ponzi schemes, digital deception, internet scam, discourse analysis, linguistic strategies

Diskurzivne značilnosti naracije v nigerijskih spletnih Ponzijevih shemah

POVZETEK

Čeprav Ponzijeve sheme obstajajo že od 19. stoletja, so jih sodobni finančni izzivi pomladili, internet pa je povečal njihovo širjenje zlasti v državah v razvoju. Ta študija analizira izbrane diskurzivne značilnosti za digitalno zavajanje v nigerijskih spletnih Ponzijevih shemah. Kot tehnike, ki jih uporabljajo ustvarjalci shem, lahko prepoznamo rabo stališča in jezikovne zavzetosti, formularnih izrazov in strategij vljudnosti, narativnosti, poimenovanja in leksikalnega obsega. Te jezikovne in diskurzivne izbire se uporabljajo kot orodja za privabljanje pokroviteljev in za zavajanje. Odkrito razširjanje finančnih dobičkov ima dejanske ideološke posledice, saj projicira občutek skupnosti in spodbuja finančni vpliv, ki se nato izkorišča za nič hudega sluteče, pogosto pohlepne naročnike. Sklepamo, da je uporaba jezika v Ponzijevih shemah namerno zasnovana tako, da vpliva na različna čustva posameznikov, zlasti v državah v razvoju, kjer je razširjena revščina in ljudje skušajo zaslužiti na kakršen koli način, da bi preživeli.

Ključne besede: Ponzijeve sheme, digitalna prevara, spletna goljufija, diskurzna analiza, jezikovne strategije

CC BY SA

1 Introduction

Around the middle of 2016 in Nigeria, there was a sudden rise in testimonies about a 'legitimate' money-making venture which promised 30% for all financial investments lodged. Suddenly in the consciousness of a national audience, millions of desperate Nigerians, evidently encouraged by the downturn in the nation's economic fortunes, joined the bandwagon. The frenzy was generated by MMM, short for *Mavrodi Mundial Moneybox*, a Ponzi scheme of Russian roots which had operations in several other countries (Hess and Soltes 2018). In spite of warnings from the Nigerian government, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) and the Nigeria Deposit Insurance Corporation (NDIC), many people decided to join the Ponzi scheme. However, when the bubble burst upon the sudden freezing of mavros – a virtual currency created by the MMM managers – prior to the December 2016 Christmas festivities and consequent insolvency of MMM, it was estimated that about three million Nigerians lost billions of naira, the Nigerian currency. MMM Nigeria was created in November 2015, spent a few months growing its subscriber base, hit the heights and lasted for a little over a year in total – the brief duration of its existence being customary of Ponzi schemes. Although it made a comeback in the middle of 2016, it never regained its former popularity. Since its collapse, several schemes have leveraged the publicity which MMM generated. The rate at which these schemes mushroomed daily, enticing subscribers with unrealistic and unjustifiable returns, coupled with the way in which Nigerians thronged to them, justify the present study. Luukkonen (2014, 5) underlines the necessity of exploring Ponzi schemes by saying:

> Ponzi and pyramid schemes are a topical, complicated phenomenon that can be studied from several viewpoints: their internal structures and impact on surrounding economy can be remarkable, not to mention their impact on individual lives; they arouse questions of ethics and justification in regards to prevailing social problems; and they can also be fascinating examples on persuasion, deception and manipulation.

Ho et al. (2016, 394) also claim that "linguistic features can provide crucial cues to detect deception". The present study examines how linguistic choices perform interpersonal, attitudinal and ideological functions on Nigerian Ponzi scheme webpages. Specifically, attention is paid to lexical choice, stance and linguistic engagement, commissives, politeness strategies, and narrativity. We identify these as language choices for persuasive purposes in the self-presentation on the webpages of selected Nigerian Ponzi schemes. The features are studied particularly with a view towards how these linguistic strategies resonate with the interrelated themes of persuasion and deception of potential victims.

2 Digital Marketing and Digital Deception

The availability of the internet as well as the integration of technology into business has had far-reaching consequences. The resultant efficiency and the inexpensive ways of connecting businesses and disseminating information to consumers have ensured that more businesses rely on these platforms. According to Onanuga (2017), these transactions are aided by media like smartphones, interactive channels, banner ads, digital outdoor marketing, and social networking platforms. A critical feature of digital marketing which enhances public appeal is its multimodal nature (accommodation of text, images, music, video, etc.), which

is completely different from traditional communication platforms (Tsikerdekis and Zeadally 2014). However, digital marketing has also been blighted by increasingly widespread and fraudulent practices. These digital deceptive engagements are encouraged by the relative anonymity which the digital space affords users.

Digital deception is occasioned by the perpetration of unwholesome practices online. Hancock (2007, 289) defines digital deception as "the intentional control of information in a technologically mediated message to create a false belief in the receiver of the message". This is manifested through stealing users' identities, creating phoney webpages to hack into users' bank accounts and fronting false businesses through which unsuspecting members of the public are swindled. Deception has been identified as a regular occurrence in many daily activities (Hancock et al. 2007). Although studies have identified deception as usually being spontaneous, Whitty et al. (2012) observed that lies are also planned, especially in asynchronous interactions – as is the case on the webpages which are being studied. Hancock further classifies digital deception into: identity-based deception (realised through "false manipulation of a person's or organization's identity", see Palasinski and Bignell 2015, 6446) and message-based deception (which involves deception in the communication between two or more interlocutors).

One must, however, note that there are overlaps in this dichotomy. Through a computerised text analysis of online dating data, Toma and Hancock (2010) identify two forms of linguistic cues in digital deception – emotional (negative emotion words, negation and psychological distancing) and cognitive (split into exclusive and motion words). The underlying assumption in these studies is that language is central to deceptive practices online (Choudhury 2014). This is supported by Buller et al. (1996, 269), who identify language as a "key component of deceptive behaviour", what Galasinski (2000, viii) regards as the "primary mechanism by and through which a deceptive message can be passed from the deceiver to the target".

Choudhury (2014) identifies the use of sense words as hackneyed in deceptive language, but also observes other-oriented pronouns and references, speech disfluencies, as well as linguistic hedges for the purpose of "content mitigation" (Fraser 2010, 201, as quoted in Choudhury 2014). However, it must be stressed that Choudhury (2014) used both textual and oral data whereas the present study is wholly reliant on the former. Hancock et al. (2007) explore the linguistic patterns and peculiarities of deceptive communication online and find that there are identifiable markers of deceptive language even in computer-mediated communication. For instance, third-person pronouns (singular and plural) were identified as more preponderant than first-person singular pronouns in order to shift the focus from the deceiver to others.

Armistead (2011) and Arciuli, Mallard and Villar (2010) also observe that linguistic analyses and identified linguistic cues could potentially yield refreshing insights into the detection of digital deceptive practices. This is corroborated by Schafer (2007, 40), who indicates that deception in digital texts is realised through a "constellation of cues".

In addition, the linguistic analysis of digital deception has been studied with respect to varying platforms, extending across domains such as online dating, scam mails, phishing (obtaining sensitive information for fraudulent purposes), (micro)blogs, etc, including in Blommaert and Omoniyi (2006), Heyd (2008), Chiluwa (2010, 2015a), Okafor and Unachukwu

(2015), and Taiwo (2012, 2017). Taiwo (2012) focuses on a metafunctional analysis of email scams and identifies a linguistic metamorphosis from an assertive and confident language use in early scam correspondence to a "non-confident, naïve, vulnerable, and ignorant" one in more recent scam texts, all geared towards achieving their persuasive tenor. However, studies on the linguistics of digital deception in Ponzi schemes are rare, with very few examples (cf. Luukkonen 2014). This earlier work studied an American Ponzi scheme from the perspective of persuasion with a focus on three integral viewpoints – the medium, the audience and the deceiver. The present study seeks to provide further insight into a banal yet understudied phenomenon. Ponzi schemes constitute platforms for digital deception because they are essentially created to swindle unsuspecting and greedy investors. The focus of this work is the discursive features and markers of deception in Nigerian online Ponzi schemes.

3 Dimensions of Internet Scams and the Proliferation of Ponzi Schemes in Nigeria

Scams and fraudulent practices have grown in recent years, owing to advances in technology, and they come at a huge cost to economies (Zahra, Priem, and Rasheed 2007; Tian and Keep 2002). Fraudulent schemes are rife globally and have morphed over the years from Charles Ponzi's postal stamp scam to forms ranging from phishing, phone call frauds, email scams, identity theft, dating and romance scams, and so on. Gong, McAfee and Williams (2014, 1) elaborate on the proliferation of these schemes and their financial exploitation concerns as follows:

> Modern frauds include Ponzi and pyramid schemes, securities frauds, corporate accounting financial scandals, medical and automobile insurance frauds, sophisticated art forgeries, the shell game, and the "Nigerian scam", to name just a few.

Internet-based scams have adapted to the terrain provided by technological advances in telecommunications and financial services. These online mass marketing frauds exploit mass communication media. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (2001, 1) defines internet fraud as:

> any fraudulent scheme in which one or more components of the Internet, such as Web sites, chat rooms and e-mail, play a significant role in offering non-existent goods or services to consumers, communicating false or fraudulent representations about the schemes to consumers, or transmitting victims' funds, access devices, or other items of value to the control of the scheme's perpetrators [1]

While some of these frauds are reliant on mass marketing, casting a wide net and hoping that inquisitive receivers would fall in the trap, others use bulletin boards or social media platforms, "offer 'unbelievable' opportunities or 'get rich quick' schemes to subscribers/ browsers of such boards" (Fried 2003).

Moore, Han and Clayton (2012, 41) acknowledge internet scams as "postmodern" because while most of the subscribers are knowledgeable enough to comprehend prospective fraud,

[1] See https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/internet-fraud-crime-problems.

they go ahead hoping to make a "profit by joining early" and withdrawing their funds before the inevitable collapse. In a study of the forms, discourse structures and pragmatic analyses of email hoaxes, Heyd (2008) terms the proliferating internet-based scams as digital lies. However, while such scams are informal and faceless, web-based schemes exude an air of officialness and provide a verisimilitude of authenticity which encourages patronage from subscribers. Capitalising on widespread greed, contemporary scam artists either wilfully infringe the privacy of would-be victims or lure them through multifarious gimmicks. In addition to playing on their ignorance, these scams employ persuasive language and promises of financial gains to convince their victims. Such manipulative tendencies, whether employed online or in face-to-face relations, ensure that victims often live in delusion, unconvinced that they are involved in an intricately woven scam until the scammer has succeeded.

In Nigeria, swindling, deception and racketeering are subsumed under the nomenclature '419'. A Nigerian creation, the 419 phenomenon has attracted and enjoys global attention (Igwe 2007, 6). Tive (2006, 3) ties the history of 419 to Section 419 of the Nigerian criminal code, a section dealing with fraud, "related to stealing, cheating, falsification, impersonation, counterfeiting, forgery and fraudulent representation of facts". The upsurge in the availability, affordability and subscription to the internet in Nigeria has had phenomenal implications on the social fabric of life (Taiwo 2010), and has inevitably led to the "increasing application of internet resources to the practise of digital deceptions/online financial scams" (Chiluwa 2010, 3), even finding intertextual references in Nigerian popular music (Onanuga 2020). In recognition of the global acknowledgement that Nigeria is arguably the headquarters of email scams (Smith 2007), Blommaert and Omoniyi (2006) identify the communicative content of such correspondence. They identify competencies along the line of technology, culture and linguistics, all of which are intricately woven by scammers in convincingly crafting their fraudulent proposals and in appealing to the sensibilities of prospective victims regardless of their locations.

Systematic fraudulent ventures have a history in Nigeria. These were initially started through pyramid schemes, which involved multi-level marketing that required old members' referral of newly registered participants to move up the ladder (Lewis 2012). The more people they introduced, the higher the dividends. Examples include the NOSPETCO Oil and Gas Company (which promised over 100% return on investment), the 1991 Umanah E. Umanah established Resource Managers Nigeria Limited (which offered a 60% return), Planwell Watershed, Arise and Shine Trust Company, and Forum Business Finance, among others. These schemes involved illegal entrepreneurs who were not recognised by regulatory bodies and who capitalised on public greed. This chequered cycle was a craze in Nigeria before the popularity of MMM, a Ponzi scheme, in 2016. MMM's popularity and substantial patronage encouraged the creation of more of such schemes. A Ponzi scheme, according to *Black's Law Dictionary* (Garner and Black 2009, 1278), is:

> a fraudulent investment in which money contributed by later investors generates artificially high dividends for the original investors, whose example attracts even larger investments. Money from the new investors is used directly to repay or pay interests to old investors, without any operation or revenue producing activity other than the continual raising of new funds.

While some of the scams under discussion exhibit traits of pyramid schemes, since they encourage and reward referral, this is not the norm. Unlike pyramid schemes which require down-lines sourced by the participants, Ponzi schemes operate via a peer-to-peer matrix and progress is not directly tied to personal promotion towards gaining new members. What is, however, not in doubt is that the more new members join, the faster the rewards come in. This undoubtedly encourages subscribers to join.

The hardship witnessed in Nigeria following the sudden fall of crude oil prices in the international market coupled with the stifling economic programmes of the newly elected government in 2015 kindled the urge for illicit money-making ventures to cushion the effects of the harsh economic situation. MMM made the first incursion in 2015, and gradually gained a reputation for providing substantial profits. Structured as a counter-hegemonic platform to rupture the deep-rooted global financial cycle instituted by the rich against the poor, the exchange of money was couched in the idea of providing help for someone and receiving one's initial investment plus enticing percentages as interest back. Obviously cyclical in administration, the attraction was in the fact that the higher the investment capital, the higher the profit. As the lengthiest period to recoup one's investment was a month, several individuals, buoyed by the promise of sudden success and blinded by greed, borrowed money to participate in the scheme. Some bank staff also, in advisory roles, persuaded their customers to invest in the Ponzi scheme in view of its high interest rate compared to the abysmal one provided by the banks. The tales of students who diverted their school fees and employees who deceitfully misappropriated official funds in order to make rapid earnings also came to light and made the news upon the collapse of MMM, roughly a year after its commencement.[2,3]

The scheme's sudden suspension of the 'Get Help' provision a week before the Christmas period in 2016 signalled looming troubles. The decision came on the heels of rumours that the so-called guiders, persons who were at the peak of the scheme's administration, had been making millions of naira without actually providing any help. This implied that they had been gaining massive amounts of money without putting anything into the scheme. Alongside this was the fear that the scheme might not be able to provide enough money to meet the huge number of people who had invested in it and awaited bumper payments towards the traditionally expensive festive period. Naturally, the suspension led to a panic, with participants unwilling to provide help, while those whose funds had matured were unable to retrieve their money. Although the scheme promised to stage a comeback in January 2017, a promise it indeed fulfilled, public trust had waned, and this was coupled with changes that the scheme introduced, which meant that investors from before 2017 were unable to get their funds.[4,5] The dissolution into irrelevance of the MMM scheme was also fast-tracked by the emergence of tens of similar schemes which promised the same or even better percentage of returns on an investment. At the peak of the craze there were as many as 150 Nigerian

---

2 See http://www.informationng.com/2017/03/student-laments-investing-school-fees-mmm-ponzi-scheme.html.

3 See http://punchng.com/put-school-fees-project-money-mmm-varsity-students-lament/.

4 See https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38340457.

5 See https://www.pulse.ng/bi/finance/ponzi-scheme-mmm-returns-and-clearly-states-that-there-is-no-money-back-guarantee/ekxkvl0.

Ponzi schemes with an online presence (Onanuga and Taiwo 2019). In addition to the use of websites to promote their activities, these schemes have further used chat platforms like WhatsApp to accelerate the spread and reach of their activities. The patronage of these schemes cut across all social and educational divides. While the underlying motivation was the desire for rapid financial gains, the present study attempts an analysis of the language use on the schemes' webpages with the assumption that these pages, as advertisements, contain tools for convincing and attracting existing and prospective participants.

4 Stance and Linguistic Engagement in Digital Discourse

As in all human interactions, language is an integral feature on digital platforms. In the context of deceptive communication, Buller's and Burgoon's Interpersonal Deception Theory (1996) foregrounds the fact that "interaction between a sender and a receiver is a game of iterative scanning and adjustments to ensure deception success" (Tsikerdekis and Zeadally 2014, 75). Scammers employ various linguistic features to convince and appeal to the sense of reasoning of readers, thus widening the net for prospective victims. Stance constitutes one of those linguistic strategies (Taiwo 2016), with Chiluwa and Odebunmi (2016, 98) describing Biber's notion of stance as the theoretical concept "used to describe how speakers or writers express their viewpoints, opinions, judgements and attitudes about a topic being conveyed through lexico-grammatical options". Ochs (1990, 2) identifies two forms of stance as epistemic and affective, where epistemic stance is a "socially recognised disposition" while affective stance is a "socially recognised feeling, attitude, mood or degree of emotional intensity". Because they are social-oriented, these two forms of stance enable a writer to "stamp their personal authority onto their arguments or step back and disguise their involvement" (Hyland 2005, 176). Since communication involves both referential and non-referential information, words/expressions are complemented by the attitudes, emotions, feelings, moods or dispositions of the speakers or writers. Through stance, one can therefore identify and deconstruct writers and their texts since they provide clues about themselves, their judgements, opinions and commitments, as well as their relationship with others (Chiluwa 2015b, 1).

Relying on the interpersonal aspect of discourse, which is established from Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, stance is used to depict the construction of social roles, identities and relationships via language use. A close concept to stance with regard to the interpersonal aspect of discourse is engagement. This emanates from Martin and White's (2005) theory of evaluative language, which appraises the negotiation of meanings among interlocutors (Križan 2016). Martin and White (2005, 94) further assert that the appraisal – split into three main aspects: Attitude, Engagement and Graduation – involves the analysis of "meanings in context and towards rhetorical effects rather than towards grammatical forms". Engagement evaluates a speaker's commitment and occurs when "writers acknowledge and connect to others, recognising the presence of their readers, pulling them along with their argument, focusing their attention, acknowledging their uncertainties, including them as discourse participants and guiding them to interpretations" (Hyland 2005, 176). These linguistic perspectives are acknowledged in the current study, as emphasis is placed on stance and linguistic engagement, commissives, politeness strategies and narrativity, and how these are used to negotiate and establish social presence and obliterate distance for the purpose

of persuasion and deception. I contend that these discursive features are central to digital deception since "all forms of frauds on the internet begin from the point of using language in a particular way, to entertain, persuade and eventually convince" (Chiluwa 2010, 3).

5 Methodological Details

Drew and Drew (2010) underline the necessity of quantitative and qualitative assessment of Ponzi schemes in order to forestall their recurrence. The present study is qualitative, and the data is a self-compiled corpus from the webpages of 50 Nigerian online Ponzi schemes. The primary selection criterion was the popularity of these webpages based on user traffic. This is apposite, because the webpages serve as platforms for advertisement and investor participation, and both prospective and existing investors visit them. Aside from the textual information from the site creators, we integrate instances of investor feedback, as documented on the pages, in the discussion. The analysis relies on the postulations of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA). CDA perceives language as social practice, and therefore studies the contexts of language as crucial in ascertaining the meanings and implications behind texts and utterances. This theoretical perspective is applied to Galasinki's (2000) three-fold strategy – deception, persuasion, and manipulation – which is appropriated by online scammers. We accommodate these tripodal strategies in the identification and analysis of language use in Nigerian Ponzi data. Chiluwa and Chiluwa (2020), in their engagement of indexicality in Nigerian Ponzi schemes, posit that CDA allows the interrogation of how language is used to legitimise deceit while exploiting members of the public. The power of language in deceptive practices also ensures that people often still cling to deception even when it becomes obvious that there is the possibility that they are being lied to (Vrij, Mann, and Leal 2012). Language use has also been found to correlate to appealing to certain affinity groups (Bosley and Knorr 2018).

The overarching theoretical frame of CDA used in this study comes from Fairclough (2003), and this perspective considers discourse analysis as interfacing between a focus on texts and the 'order of discourse', which refers to the social structuring and networking of social practices. To Fairclough, texts embody elements of social events which have implications in the real world. Consequently, and while targeted at analysing discursive practices within texts, the theory is employed to focus on how Ponzi discourses construct stance and linguistic engagement, commissives, politeness strategies, and narrativity through language choices and how these contribute to positive self-presentation and ideology in the process of persuasion and ultimately, manipulation and deception. In achieving this, we analyse the nexus of linguistic structures and relate textual structures to ethnographic/contextual realisations.

In our subsequent analysis, we consider naming, use of formulaic expressions and politeness strategies, suasive language, commissive acts, narrativity and their ideological implications in the achievement of digital deception within the domain of Nigerian Ponzi schemes. Formulaic expressions are verbal expressions that are fixed in form and imbued with attitudinal nuances (Ambele, Yusop, and Buddharat 2018). As used in this study, they play significant roles in shaping persuasion and politeness. Within this context also, politeness involves maintaining and saving face as well as claiming positive social values in the Ponzi narratives (Spencer-Oatey 2008; Sorlin 2017), while suasive language and commissive acts require the Ponzi scheme creators to use

language to convince readers to take action and be committed to future actions, respectively. To further assert their identities as real and their products as authentic, these schemes use relatable stories to convince prospective participants. This is narrativity. Finally, these identified discursive features are related to the ideological significance of the Ponzi schemes in Nigeria.

6 Analysis and Discussion of Findings

6.1 Naming in Ponzi Schemes: An Analysis of Structures

Names play important roles in businesses. Consequently, to attract attention while also conveying the focus of the business, owners use names that are also forms of advertisements. Since the concerns of Ponzi businesses lie in convincing the public on the genuineness of their ability to provide instant financial gains with minimal effort or investment by participants, their names are targeted at legitimising their illegitimate trade. In addition and as exemplified below, such schemes possess names that are substantially nominal groups. In English grammar, nominal groups are noun-headed, and can be simple or complex. The possible structures realisable in the nominal group are: Head: (Modifier)+Head, Head+(Qualifier); (Modifier)+Head+(Qualifier). The bracketed structures are not obligatory. Below is an analysis of the names of the schemes:

Nominal Groups:

> **H:** *Help Givers, Greenspeer, Loopers, GiversLink, MMM, NNN, Ogive, Crowdrising, Somapay, Doublecash.me, Twinkas, Liftcareer, Farewealth, Exearn, MegaCycler, eCo-operative, Salicyls, Kaynation, Claritta, Bravelink Nigeria, MoneyLink, QMM, iCharity, Payee Cycler, Tetris Mart*
>
> **MH:** *iCharity Club, Givers' Forum, Money Hub, Determined Millionaire, Soft Cash, Spring Cash, Joyful Donor, Ultimate Cyclers, Mingler's Donations, Accumulating BTC, Mutual Grant, Team 1 Bitcoin, Pay Doublers, Naira Cyclers*
>
> **MMH:** *MyLibertyFamily, Money Link Forum, My Charity Loan, The Helper's Club, Quick Cash Forum, ExtraCoolCash, My Sure Cash, Instant Money Doublers, Wealth Creation Tip, My Charity Loan, Money Flow PH Room, Paradise Payment Nigeria*
>
> **MHQ:** *Changing Lives Online; 360 Money Plus*

It is notable that the MHQ structure, which is the most complex of the nominal group structure, is rarely realised. This suggests that Ponzi scheme creators target simple and catchy names for their schemes (Burgoon et al. 2003; Newman et al. 2003; Picornell 2011), as seen in the profuse realisations of H, MH and MMH. These structures are usually heavy with noun heads and pre-modifiers, suggesting that images and descriptions are involved in the names. There is also a functional conversion involving *eCo-operative*, normally an adjective but which, when used as a name, has been converted to function as a noun. Also explicitly identifiable is the schemes' focus on money/wealth creation, as the names indicate – *cash, money, pay(ment), naira* and *wealth*. However, down-toners that detract from the fraudulent nature of the schemes are also rife in the names. Down-toners are words or phrases which reduce the force of another word or phrase (Strohm and Klinger 2018) and some of these

are *donations, charity, grant, donor, givers,* and *helper*, which serve as validation for the illegal practices. These names also indicate that since the schemes are created online – signals which are showcased in the retention of domain names in some of the names – the customers they seek can come from both within and beyond Nigeria. While the names in Ponzi schemes have a preponderance of nominal phrases, some non-phrasal naming realisations are as follows:

> **Simple sentence** – *Money Is Power*
>
> **Command without Vocative** – *Get Help Worldwide, Help Naija, PairMe, Give2me, PairMe, Smile 2 Charity*

Another identifiable feature in the names involves the use of internet language, which is a testament to the contemporariness of the schemes. This also constitutes a delineation of social space, since such the writing styles are global conventions of internet language (Al-Kadi and Ahmed 2018). Crystal (2011) notes the growing informality of language online, recognisable in the use of numbers to replace words, deletion of space between letters and words, abbreviations, use of (i) and (e) as premodifiers to adjectives as well as the addition of domain names to word endings. Apart from signalling digital flexibility and prowess, the features have emotive influences: they reveal the creators as socially close to the users since they share less formal and official linguistic forms. This is useful since the ideological framing of the platforms is financial leverage for marginalised demographics. Instances in the data are:

> *iCharity, eCo-operative, Doublecash.me, Give2me, Smile 2 Charity, ExtraCoolCash, MoneyLink*

Beyond the naming strategy in Ponzi schemes, the names also have riders, which function as sources of additional information to a main item. In the Ponzi scheme advertisements, riders are manipulatively wielded to provide legitimising information to the readers. These extend from stimulating a sense of community and togetherness, encouraging unrestricted giving and 'helping', and preaching financial prosperity. Some of such realisations are:

> *Let's join hands* (360 Money Plus)
>
> *Your true source to inexhaustible income* (Better Naija)
>
> *Your journey to financial freedom starts here* (Revo Squad)
>
> *Our vision is to provide a financially stable future for our clients* (Cash Rush)
>
> *Let's free you financially* (Executive Donations)
>
> *A community of people providing each other financial help on the principle of gratuitousness, reciprocity and benevolence* (Get Help Worldwide)
>
> *Getting help to own your house* (Givers Forum)
>
> *Community of Helpers* (HelpGivers)
>
> *Together, we can change the world* (MMM)
>
> *Givers never lack!* (GiversLink)
>
> *Community of people helping people* (NNN Nigeria)
>
> *Built by the people for the people* (Ultimate Cycler)

We Rise By Lifting Others (The Helpers' Club)
Giving opens the way for receiving (Twinkas)

The lexical range revolves around the idea of membership which will result in financial freedom. The riders affirm the stance established in the names – businesses which are solely for financial benefits – however, the discursive thread is extended through the riders which seek to push the onus onto the members. Consequently, the realisations indicate that the schemes are altruistic in orientation. Through the community which has been established, financial security, monetary freedom, and communal *joie de vivre*, among other positive values, are encouraged. The underlying ideological implication is that being financially stable will ultimately lead to equitable global political structures, since the current structures are hinged on discriminatory dichotomies – Developed vs. Developing, Rich vs. Poor, Elite vs. Masses, etc. The simplicity and directness of expression evoke Holt and Graves' (2007) assertion that scammers intentionally employ simple structures and expressions in their correspondence. This may be in order to minimise the risk of making avoidable mistakes or providing too much information which may breed doubts in prospective subscribers. This consciousness is however underlain by the desire for control (Leeper Piquero, Exum, and Simpson 2005).

6.2 The Use of Formulaic Expressions and Politeness Strategies

The schemes employ the use of openings which constitute introductory lines to welcome participants to the schemes. These are realised through the use of formulaic expressions and serve as politeness strategies to assure participants. Some examples are:

Welcome to Claritta (Claritta)
Welcome to Executive Donations (Executive Donations)
Hello people (NNN)

These expressions lend legitimacy and officialise the claims made by the schemers, since they imitate linguistic practices in other legitimate businesses. In addition, rhetorical questions to whet the appetite are also identified, as in the following examples:

Are you financially stranded? (Changing Lives Online)
So you have decided to participate in BetterNaija.org, what to do? (BetterNaija)

The use of rhetorical questions serves as an emotional bridge between the scheme creators and the viewing public. It familiarises the prospective subscriber with the purpose of the schemes as well as specifies the need which the subscriber yearns to have met. According to Jacobs and Schain (2011), such emotional framing through language use often interferes with a prospective participants' logical reasoning, especially as there is a strong desire to make money.

Politeness strategies are also marked in the information pages of the Ponzi schemes. According to Taiwo (2012, 150), politeness strategies are usually found in the introductory lines of deceptive correspondences. They are used to establish a "decent personality" and positive face/affect in the mind of the reader (Zhou et al. 2004), and help to maintain the "interpersonal identity of individuals in communication" (Scollon and Wong Scollon 1995, 34–36).

Politeness is used to reinforce the ultimate desire of the scheme creator in engendering an interpersonal affiliation which will ensure that the reader is convinced to commit to the scheme (Holt and Graves 2007). Examples of this are:

> *You can join me together let's make this platform a source of income for us all…* (PairMe)

The auxiliary verb 'can' for instance is used to suggest that the prospective subscriber is not being forced to participate in the scheme, and that the eventual decision to do so lies with them. However, the progression remarked by the use of pronouns – from 'you' to 'me' and to 'us' – suggests the aim of the schemers.

> *It sounds like magic, this is how it works. I am telling you today that with this you can achieve your financial dreams. The registration is totally free of charge so you don't have to pay to register. Making money in Nigeria is no longer hard, all you need to do, is just to be smart about the money making thing.* (Arigak)

Lexical choices which reinforce the scheme creators' need to establish and sustain interpersonal affiliations in the above excerpt are the juxtaposition of pronouns (you/your vs. I/Me) and the assertion of shared interests (*together, network, us, financial dreams, making money*). In the use of pronouns, we identify that there is an overt reference to progression – you + me = us. Language is therefore used as a signal to inform prospective subscribers that once they become members of the scheme, "making money…is no longer hard". This establishes a form of alternation between in-groupness and out-groupness, where only those who are willing to belong are provided with the secrets of success, thus breaking the chain of poverty. The realisations constitute indexical positioning, which Chilton (2004) regards as indicative of the use of language in the construction of socio-cultural identities and ideological leanings. Newman et al. (2003) affirm that deceptive communicators tend to avoid or make minimal use of self-oriented references, since such linguistic choices suggest agency or taking ownership of a statement. On the other hand, the significant presence of other-focus references assists in maintaining a distance from the lies being told. However, some webpages simply go ahead with an introduction of the scheme:

> *iCharity is an international network of donors.* (iCharity)
>
> *Pairme is a special group (community) of believers coming together to selflessly help each other in times of need with no conditions attached in the principle of sowing and reaping, gratuitousness, reciprocity and benevolence.* (Pairme)

The anonymisation identified with the choices of pronoun use, the presence of emotionally toned words as well as politeness-laden expressions assist in the establishment and assertion of a linguistic style for deceptive communicative practices (Feldman Barrett, Williams, and Fong 2002).

6.3 Use of Suasive Language

In engendering inclusivity, the schemes employ language to convince prospective subscribers of their philosophy. For instance, MMM states that it is a "community of people providing

each other financial help on the principles of gratuitousness, reciprocity and benevolence". The promoters also state that the scheme is a "technical platform which helps millions of participants worldwide to connect those who need help with those who are ready to provide help for free" (see also Urowayino 2017). This resonates with the alluring proposition on which MMM is founded – that of rearranging the globally disproportionate distribution of wealth in society. The persuasive inclination is further emphasised with the constant reminder that the schemes are wholly 'donations' or 'help' from 'member to member'. This allays the fear of prospective participants who may thus readily conclude that the schemes are indeed established to tackle the status-quo and close the wealth gap. CrowdRising, while appealing to the sense of judgment of the reader, unequivocally affirms its genuineness as it says: "ZERO Admin Fees – and is totally free. No SCAMS, No gimmicks".

Some other forms of suasion are in the use of percentages, amounts and timeframes. These function as interest-sustaining strategies employed by digital scammers (Chiluwa 2009). According to Druyd (2005), scammers appeal to the greed of their prospective victims, and examples of this in the data are as follows:

*Get **300%** of your donation in **24 hours***

***30%** in **30 days** local currency; **50%** in **30 days** BITCOIN* (Get Help Worldwide)

*Get **100% (x2)** of your investments minimum of **5 mins** and maximum of **14 days*** (Loopers)

*Provide Help, Get Help, Receive **30%** of the help you provided per month* (MMM)

40%** of investment in **5 hours (Salicyls.com)

*Grow your money **35%** every **3 weeks*** (NNN Nigeria)

Apart from the use of textual financial inducements, some of the schemes also provide information on the number of times they have paid out to participants. This is to create an air of genuineness, formality, and professionalism. These realisations serve as reassurance strategies to encourage patronage (Cialdini 2001) and, in line with Choudhury (2014, 79), validate the assertion that "language is a key component of deceptive behaviour".

6.4 Use of Commissive Acts

Commisives are speech acts which "commit the speaker […] to some future course of action" (Searle 1976, 11). In the data studied, commissives are employed by the scheme creators to inform the public and subscribers that their program is fraud-free and has rewarding prospects. Often incorporating directives in the promissory intent, this linguistic strategy is also used in building confidence in the smooth running of the schemes. Instances of such realisations are:

We don't update, We upgrade (Naira Propeller)

MMM PAYS! (MMM)

Join our community and start earning (BetterNaija)

NetElites is an online donation network, platform to connect ordinary people selflessly

Join Now For More Cash (Xencash)

Commissives are employed in the data simply for communicative and (re)assurance purposes to convince prospective victims to participate, since the endgame is actually to lure them for the scams. This realisation markedly contrasts with Adegbija's (1995) claim that the felicity or efficacy of commissives is hinged on the ability of a person who utters the act to have the wherewithal of fulfilling them. The flouting of this fulfilment requirement therefore implies that assertions are made only for the purpose of establishing belief and trust in prospective participants (Button et al. 2014), although the trust is subsequently broken by the scheme creator. Through the promissory statements and the resultant elicitation of commitments, claims like "NNN is owned by the participants" are engendered and reinforced. The use of language here for deceptive purposes is what Greenspan (2009) typifies as appealing to gullibility or a foolish act, since the assurance being suggested should otherwise serve as red flags to discerning public. He defines gullibility as an event/situation when "someone goes ahead with a socially or physically risky behavior in spite of danger signs, or unresolved questions which should have been a source of concern for the actor" (Greenspan 2009).

6.5 Narrativity and the Construction of Deception

Many previous studies on lying and deception note that liars often refrain from being expressive and wordy in their correspondence. This is because wordy messages may lead to the provision of more than the necessary details and thus raise the chance of errors which may give them away (Burgoon et al. 2003; DePaulo et al. 2003). However in this study, as well in some more recent studies like Zhou et al. (2004) and Hancock et al. (2007), it was found that the earlier assertions may not be altogether correct. Instead, these deceptive correspondences/texts were found to contain more words. One significant strategy for this is through the use of narrativity. In line with Heyd (2008), narrativity is an elementary and important quality of human discourse. It provides a stream of discursive interactivity reliant on the shared experiential knowledge of realities and aiding smooth exchanges between the interactants.

Applied to the data in this study, narrativity involves the creation of make-believe stories and exaggerated assertions in a bid to be convincing. Consequently, promises are made and a sense of camaraderie is cultivated. While promising bogus returns, the discourse reiterates the sense that the schemes are established to reverse the injustices long sustained in global financial practices which further empower the rich and trample upon the poor (Krige 2012). *PairMe*, one of the data sources, puts it thus: "the goal here is to willingly help one another overcome the world unjust financial system that helps the rich to get richer while the poor get poorer". The narrative is further asserted in such a way that while the participant obviously knows that the schemes do not have a workable and long-lasting business model, against their better judgment they invest with the belief in the conspiracy theory that they are merely retrieving or enjoying from the funds which the rich had kept for themselves. Some participants also knowingly risk their investment, hoping that the schemes do not collapse before they reap the benefits. The narratives constructed online however are two-fold – from the scheme creators and from the participants (albeit at the instigation of the creators). The data from the scheme creators is emphatic in its insistence on the veracity of their promises, while the testimonies from subscribers serve as validation of the genuineness of the schemes. Samples from the Ponzi narratives are:

NNN is owned by the participants. It's a community by the people and for the people. A team of freedom lovers in America headed by an influential Yoruba man came up with a logic ad tested it offline in New York City in 2014. In September 2015, these men held a conference in VI Lagos where they introduced logic… Today, the founders choose to remain anonymous as they have no control over the system, it is automated with a secret code that no one knows. NNN website is run and hosted by the participants — the live chat, support, seminars, etc. So you too can help as NNN belongs to me and you, bring your talents and suggestions to work for NNN and let us make it better. (NNN – Scheme creator)

A worldwide channel to connect participants to share donations and receive incentives in return. A group of ordinary people, selflessly helping each other. (Monie Hub – Scheme creator)

NetElites is an online donation network, platform to connect ordinary people selflessly Which is involved in helping each other. Netelites Login have aimed to empower and improve upon the standard of living, The procedures and everything involved is very simple and straight forward: one participant to present his choice other candidates and above, the Giver receives help from two other participants according to the package chosen. The system is based on the latest technology and designed to designed concept … I am telling you today that With this you can achieve your financial dreams. Making money in Nigeria is no longer hard all you need to do, is just to be smart about the money making thing. (Arigak – Scheme Creator)

My name is Joshua but people call me Commando and I live in Lagos. I am a member of MMM Nigeria. On the 31st of October, I provided help 500,000 and on the 2nd of November I provided another help of 1,000,000 totalling 1,500,000. On the 29th of November, I got help of 1,945,000. (Participant)

The narrative presented by NNN relies on a number of Nigerian contextual realities. For one, the central creator is said to be Yoruba, a member of one of the three dominant ethnic groups in Nigeria, thus appealing to Nigerians since, unlike MMM for instance, which has Russian roots, it is 'owned' by a fellow citizen who thus probably has some altruistic sense at heart. By positioning the movement of the idea and establishment of the scheme from the United States of America (New York) to Nigeria (Lagos), the business acumen of these "freedom lovers" is established. Lagos and New York are business hubs, and these references depict the scheme creators as professionals in their business. More attractive for prospective participants however is the surrendering of 'control' so that "NNN belongs to me and you". This is strengthened with the request for "talents and suggestions" to move the platform forward. These forms of narratives are sustained in the information from Arigak and MonieHub. MonieHub claims that it has a global orientation, while its motivation is to aid "a group of ordinary people, selflessly helping each other". This view is repeated in the message from Arigak. These are ultimately aimed at convincing prospective participants on the authenticity of the promises as well as the reality of the payments of the schemes, as against those of some other schemes which have crashed. Expressions such as "Nobody Will Scam You", "All Donations are made directly to member bank account", "There is no central account where all the system money flows into" are employed to appeal to the emotions of subscribers. The creators also assert their neutrality in influencing the directions of the schemes, insisting that

the sustenance, survival and efficiency of the schemes lie in their consistency and effective marketing. On the other hand, the participants' testimonials, often with the support of the scheme creators, serve as launching pads to encourage more patronage. Hinged on structural equivalence and repetition in the form of Personal pronoun (I) + Active lexical verb (live, am, provided, got), there is the insistence on the testimonies of 'ordinary' people, since these are deemed weighty in convincing the public to also exploring the stated opportunity. These are made more real with the use of names and other specifiers of identity. Consequently, what is evoked is the sense that if someone like me has been benefiting, why should I not do the same? What is further remarkable in some of these narratives is that they betray grammatical, vocabulary, and orthographic (punctuation, run-on sentence and paragraphing conventions) infelicities (Holt and Graves 2007; Schaffer 2012) that ordinarily should serve as a warning to prospective subscribers. These resonate with Woker's (2003, 237) claim that "some are highly sophisticated operations with skilled and articulate promoters whilst others are quite crude."

In addition, the narratives also rely on the introduction of new terminologies, particularly those related to virtual currencies like Bitcoin, Ripple, Monero, Litecoin, Dogecoin, Onecoin, etc., which are gradually gaining ground in their use for internet-based transactions. The schemes capitalise on the obvious ignorance of most participants through the provision of naira or dollar equivalents of the virtual currencies, which makes the proceeds eye-catching and mouth-watering. These realisations are in line with Chiluwa (2009), who recognises that narrativity is a potent resource wielded as a discourse strategy by online scammers in strengthening their proposals. Newman et al. (2003, 671) also submit that a successful lie usually involves "the manipulation of language and the careful construction of a story that will appear truthful".

7 Ideological Implications

It is important to stress that these rhetorical and linguistic findings do not exist in a vacuum. This is in line with Fairclough's (2003) claim that language use has implications in the real world. Consequently, the composers of the Nigerian Ponzi narratives have ideological bases for their language use. To Van Dijk (2006, 115), ideologies organise a group's "identity, actions, aims, norms and values, and resources as well as its relations to other social groups". In this study, ideology implies Ponzi scheme creators' self-representations through linguistic choices, as already identified above, and what these are used to achieve with (prospective) subscribers. An obvious aim is embodied in the interventionist representation of the self which the scheme creators assert. They recognise the glaring poverty endemic in Nigerian society and the need for people to find additional sources of income. They capitalise on this by presenting themselves as facilitators and opportunity-creators who are solely interested in the financial independence of the public. This altruistic self-portrayal is further achieved without employing a forceful, in-your-face marketing strategy (Rejón-Guardia and Martínez-López 2014). Instead of pressuring prospective victims, they use of subtle linguistic markers (lexis, formulaic polite expressions, positive narratives, etc.), textual financial inducements (through the use of percentage profits), emotive expressions, and testimonies from existing subscribers (Onanuga 2017; Onanuga and Taiwo 2019).

Allied to the preceding ideological construct is the overt manipulation which is used to convince subscribers that they will enjoy financial independence and leverage through participation (Woker 2003). Relying on claims that they seek to rupture perceived global financial strangulation of the lower class of the society (Krige 2012), the scheme creators reinforce the Western stereotypes of African economic situations (Smith 2009) and state their readiness to contribute to financial freedom. MMM boldly reveals this as its 'ideology' when it states: "the goal is not the money. The goal is to destroy the world's unjust financial system". Consequently, participants are motivated to join and provide mutual aid, even when the sources of the promised profits are unclear. Justification for ignoring pragmatic reasoning is aptly captured by the rider from Twinkas: "giving opens the way for receiving". This has religious undertones, evoking Holt and Graves' (2007) identification of religious motifs in scam narratives. The financial objective in Nigerian Ponzi schemes is further reinforced through the repetitive use of percentages, figures and sums alongside images of currencies and gold coins. One must be mindful of the contextual peculiarities here, as targets are residents of developing countries which are often subject to economic and social challenges. Consequently, the schemes seek to exploit the loopholes in such systems.

The emphasis on communality and the cultivation of a sense of assistance in the narratives is used to divert attention from the improbabilities of the claims and limitations of the schemes. Since financial freedom with minimal entrepreneurship or effort constitutes the claims of the schemes, one encounters ideological couching of activities through opaque expressions like "peer to peer direct donations" and "Provide Help, Get Help" to refer to the exchange of funds. This ensures that the participants do not see the schemes for what they really are. In addition, participants are urged to encourage more members to join. The introduction of new members implies that more people are being rescued from poverty. More importantly however, the future of the schemes relies on the continuous provision of help (Basu 2014). By making participants believe that they function within a community of 'helpers', the sense of risk is shared and the fear of collapse is suspended. Regrettably, after the collapse of MMM, it was identified that the bulk of the funds went to the guiders or scheme creators who siphoned the accrued monies while circulating leftovers among subscribers. The appeal to the economic situation and emotions of the public are in tandem with Greenspan's (2009) claim that these factors contribute to the success of most Ponzi schemes. In realising this, we have justified the role of language as a legitimising tool.

8 Conclusion and Recommendations

> What's remarkable about Ponzi's legacy is that, no matter how many times investors lose money, new schemes keep coming forward. And greedy, naïve people of all sorts line up to throw good money after bad. (Walsh 1999, 14)

An analysis of the discursive practices in Nigerian Ponzi schemes reveals linguistic cues to deception and persuasion in the public engagement and information dissemination strategies of the scheme creators, and similar conclusions have been reached by Armistead (2011), Arciuli, Mallard and Villar (2010) and Schafer (2007). The present study identifies that language use in digital scams appropriates several discursive strategies. For one, there is a reliance on the

establishment of cordiality through the use of polite expressions, endearing introductions, juxtaposition of pronouns as well as through the use of simple and direct expressions. In addition, lexical range (with words expressing money and the ease with which it can be made), reassurance strategies and the establishment of the sense of community through stance and narrativity are intentionally harnessed as discursive strategies by Ponzi scheme creators. This particular use of language in scam/deceptive discourses helps in attracting participants and deceiving them into committing their funds. They are then subsequently ripped off. Despite the fact that the texts on the homepages of the Ponzi schemes contain grammatical and stylistic errors, they enjoyed patronage across the socio-economic and educational divides of the Nigerian populace (Blommaert and Omoniyi 2006; Chiluwa 2010). Tive (2006), Tanfa (2006) and Adomi and Igun (2008) recognise the transnationality of scams in terms of their language use, hinged on the necessity to appeal to a generic audience. Thus language is used to deceptively validate the needs and desires of a wide range of prospective victims. The gimmick succeeded in Nigeria since the overriding need for financial security in the face of a biting economic crisis during the period led many citizens to throw caution to the wind. In addition, widespread unemployment and underemployment meant that people readily explored alternative means to ensure their survival.

Linguistic studies on digital deception and online fraudulent practices draw attention to realisations and events which constitute safety concerns for those online. Not only are they exposed to identity hacks and online data mining through the kinds of platforms they engage with, they are also susceptible to manipulations by scammers and their schemes. More linguistic studies are thus recommended on the discursive practices used in Ponzi schemes, because scam discourses have been recognised to be constantly mutating (Walsh 1999), especially when hitherto established deceptive styles no longer yield victims. It is further recommended that researchers should carry out multimodal analyses of Ponzi scheme narratives, as this will provide insights into how texts and images are employed in what is an international cybercrime.

References

Adegbija, Efurosibina. 1995. "'I, Major-General X'. Discourse Tacts in Military *Coup* Speeches in Nigeria." *Text* 15 (2): 253–70. https://doi.org/10.1515/text.1.1995.15.2.253.

Adomi, Esharenana, and Stella E. Igun. 2008. "Combating Cybercrime in Nigeria." *The Electronic Library* 26 (5): 716–25. https://doi.org/10.1108/02640470810910738.

Al-Kadi, Abdu M. Talib, and Rashad Ali Ahmed. 2018. "Evolution of English in the Internet age." *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 7 (3): 727–36. https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v7i3.9823.

Ambele, Eric A., Yusop Boonsuk, and Chamaiporn Buddharat. 2018. "Processing English Formulaic Expressions in Situation-Bound Utterances: Strategies Used by Francophone ESL Learners in Thailand." *Arab World English Journal* 9 (3): 163–75. https://doi.org/10.24093/awej/vol9no3.11.

Arciuli, Joanne, David Mallard, and Gina Villar. 2010. "'Um, I can tell you're lying': Linguistic Markers of Deception versus Truth-Telling in Speech." *Applied Psycholinguistics* 31 (3): 397–411. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0142716410000044.

Armistead, Timothy W. 2011. "Detecting Deception in Written Statements: The British Home Office Study of Scientific Content Analysis (SCAN)." *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 34 (4): 588–605.

Basu, Kaushik. 2014. "Ponzis: The Science and Mystique of a Class of Financial Frauds." *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper* (6967). https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2466780.

Blommaert, Jan, and Tope Omoniyi. 2006. "Email fraud: Language, Technology, and the Indexicals of Globalization." *Social Semiotics* 16 (4): 573–605. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330601019942.

Bosley, Stacie, and Knorr Maggie. 2018. "Pyramids, Ponzis and Fraud Prevention: Lessons from a Case Study." *Journal of Financial Crime* 25 (1): 81–94. https://doi.org/10.1108/JFC-10-2016-0062.

Buller, David, and Judee K. Burgoon. 1996. "Interpersonal Deception Theory." *Communication Theory* 6 (3): 203–42. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.1996.tb00127.x.

Buller, David, Judee K. Burgoon, Aileen Buslig, and James Roiger. 1996. "Testing Interpersonal Deception Theory: The Language of Interpersonal Deception." *Communication Theory* 6 (3): 268–89.

Burgoon, Judee. K., J. P. Blair, Tiantian Qin, and Jay F. Nunamaker Jr. 2003. "Detecting Deception through Linguistic Analysis." In *Intelligence and Security Informatics, First NSF/NIJ Symposium, ISI 2003, Tucson, AZ, USA, June 2–3, 2003 Proceedings,* edited by Hsinchun Chen, Richard Miranda, Daniel D. Zeng, Chris Demchak, Jenny Schroeder, and Therani Madhusudan, 91–101. https://doi.org/10.1007/3-540-44853-5_7.

Button, Mark, Carol McNaughton Nicholls, Jane Kerr, and Rachael Owen. 2014. "Online Frauds: Learning from Victims Why They Fall for These Scams." *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 47 (3): 391–408. https://doi.org/10.1177/0004865814521224.

Chilton, Paul. 2004. *Analysing Political Discourse*: *Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge.

Chiluwa, Innocent. 2009. "The Discourse of Digital Deceptions and '419' Emails." *Discourse Studies* 11 (6): 635–60. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445609347229.

—. 2010. "The Pragmatics of Hoax Email Business Proposals." *Linguistik Online* 43 (3): 3–17. https://bop.unibe.ch/linguistik-online/article/view/409/648.

—. 2015a. "E-mail Fraud." In *International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction*, edited by Karen Tracy, Cornelia Ilie, and Todd Sandel, 503–8. Boston: Wiley Blackwell.

—. 2015b. "Radicalist Discourse: A Study of the Stances of Nigeria's *Boko Haram* and Somalia's *Al Shabaab* on Twitter." *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 10: 214–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/17447143.2015.1041964.

Chiluwa, Innocent, and Akin Odebunmi. 2016. "On Terrorist Attacks in Nigeria: Stance and Engagement in Conversations on *Nairaland*." *Communication and the Public* 1 (1): 91–109. https://doi.org/10.1177/2057047315624926.

Chiluwa, Isioma M., and Innocent Chiluwa. 2020. "'We Are a Mutual Fund:' How Ponzi Scheme Operators in Nigeria Apply Indexical Markers to Shield Deception and Fraud on Their Websites." *Social Semiotics*. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2020.1766269.

Choudhury, Farzana. 2014. "Can Language Be Useful in Detecting Deception? The Linguistic Markers of Deception in the Jodi Arias Interview." *Diffusion – The UCLan Journal of Undergraduate Research* 7. https://diffusion.uclan.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/16-58-1-PB.pdf.

Cialdini, Robert. 2001. *Influence: Science and practice*, 4th ed. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Crystal, David. 2011. *Internet Linguistics: A Student Guide*. London: Routledge.

DePaulo, Bella M., James Lindsay, Brian Malone, Laura Muhlenbruck, Kelly Charlton, and Harris Cooper. 2003. "Cues to Deception." *Psychological Bulletin* 129: 74–118.

Drew, Jacqueline M., and Michael E. Drew. 2010. "The Identification of Ponzi Schemes." *Griffith Law Review* 19 (1): 51–70. https://doi.org/10.1080/10854668.2010.10854668.

Druyd, M. 2005. "'I Brought You a Good News': An Analysis of Nigerian 419 Letters." *Proceedings of the 2005 Association of Business Communication Annual Convention*, 1–11.

Fairclough, Norman. 2003. *Analysing Discourse*. *Textual Analysis for Social Research.* London and New York: Routledge.

Feldman Barrett Lisa, Nathan L. Williams, and Geoffrey T. Fong. 2002. "Defensive Verbal Behavior Assessment." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 28 (6): 776–88. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0146167202289007.

Fraser, Bruce. 2010. "Hedging in Political Discourse." In *Perspectives in Politics and Discourse*, edited by Urszula Okulska and Piotr Cap, 201–14. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.36.16fra.

Fried, Robert B. 2003. "Cyber Scam Artists: A New Kind of .con." SANS Institute Information Security Reading Room. Accessed November 26, 2019. https://www.sans.org/reading-room/whitepapers/threats/cyber-scam-artists-kind-con-482.
Galasinski, Dariusz. 2000. *The Language of Deception: A Discourse Analytical Study*. London: Sage Publications.
Garner, Bryan A., and Henry Campbell Black. 2009. *Black's Law Dictionary*. St. Paul, MN: West.
Gong, Jiong, Randolph Preston McAfee, and Michael A. Williams. 2014. "Fraud Cycles." *Social Science Research Network*, February 14, 2014. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1762583.
Greenspan, Stephen. 2009. "Fooled by Ponzi (and Madoff), How Bernard Madoff Made Off with My Money." *Skeptic* 14 (4). https://www.skeptic.com/eskeptic/08-12-23/#feature.
Hancock, Jeffrey T. 2007. *"Digital Deception*: When, Where and How *People Lie Online."* In *Oxford Handbook of Internet Psychology*, edited by Adam N. Joinson, Katelyn Y. A. McKenna, Tom Postmes, and Ulf-Dietrich Reips, 287–301. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hancock, Jeffrey T., Curry Lauren E., Goorha Saurabh, and Woodworth Michael. 2007. "On Lying and Being Lied To: A Linguistic Analysis of Deception in Computer-Mediated Communication." *Discourse Processes* 45 (1): 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/01638530701739181.
Hess, Sarah, and Soltes Eugene. 2018. "Russia's Greatest Ponzi Mastermind is Dead, but his Legacy Lives on in the Crypto World." *Quartz Online*, April 25, 2018. https://qz.com/1259524/mmm-and-bitcoin-russian-ponzi-mastermind-sergeimavrodi-is-dead-but-his-legacy-lives-on-in-crypto/.
Heyd, Theresa. 2008. *Email Hoaxes*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Ho, Shuyuan Mary, Jeffrey T. Hancock, Cheryl Booth, and Xiuwen Liu. 2016. "Computer-Mediated Deception: Strategies Revealed by Language-Action Cues in Spontaneous Communication." *Journal of Management Information Systems* 33 (2): 393–420. https://doi.org/10.1080/07421222.2016.1205924.
Holt, Thomas J., and Danielle C. Graves. 2007. "A Qualitative Analysis of Advance Free Fraud Email Schemes." *International Journal of Cyber Criminology* 1 (1): 137–54.
Hyland, Ken. 2005. "Stance and Engagement: A Model of Interaction in Academic Discourse." *Discourse Studies* 7: 173–92. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1461445605050365.
Igwe, Chidi. 2007. *Taking Back Nigeria from 419: What to Do about the Worldwide E-mail Scam – Advance Fee Fraud*. Bloomington: iUniverse.
Jacobs, Pearl, and Linda Schain. 2011. "The Never Ending Attraction of the Ponzi Scheme." *Journal of Comprehensive Research* 9: 40–46.
Krige, Detlev. 2012. "Fields of Dreams, Fields of Schemes: Ponzi Finance and Multi-Level Marketing in South Africa." *Africa* 82 (1): 69–92. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0001972011000738.
Križan, Agata. 2016. "The Language of Appraisal in British Advertisements: The Construal of Attitudinal Judgement." *ELOPE* 13 (2): 199–220. https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.13.2.199-220.
Leeper Piquero, Nicole, M. Lyn Exum, and Sally S. Simpson. 2005. "Integrating the Desire-For-Control and Rational Choice in a Corporate Crime Context." *Justice Quarterly* 22: 252–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820500089034.
Lewis, Mervyn K. 2012. "New Dogs, Old Tricks. Why Do Ponzi Schemes Succeed?" *Accounting Forum* 36: 294–309.
Luukkonen, Tiina. 2014. "'This Will Not Be A Ponzi Scheme': Persuasion in an American Ponzi Scheme." MA Thesis, Department of Languages, University of Jyväskylä.
Martin, James R., and Peter R. White. 2005. *The Language of Evaluation. Appraisal in English*. Hampshire and New York: Macmillan.
Moore, Tyler, Jie Han, and Richard Clayton. 2012. "The Postmodern Ponzi Scheme: Empirical Analysis of High-Yield Investment Programs." In *Financial Cryptography and Data Security*, edited by Angelos D. Keromytis, 41–56. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-32946-3_4.
Newman, Matthew L., James W. Pennebaker, Diane S. Berry, and Jane M. Richards. 2003. "Lying Words: Predicting Deception from Linguistic Styles." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 29: 665–75. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0146167203029005010.
Ochs, Elinor. 1990. "Cultural Universals in the Acquisition of Language: Keynote Address." *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development* 29: 1–19.

Okafor, Godson Okwuchukwu, and Ozioma Perpetua Unachukwu. 2015. "Lying in Mobile Phone Conversations: An Emerging Social Syndrome in Nigeria." *Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities Research* 1 (1): 1–7.

Onanuga, Paul. 2017. "Language Use in Nigerian Spam SMSs: A Linguistic Stylistic Analysis." *Language Matters* 48 (2): 91-116. https://doi.org/10.1080/10228195.2017.1337805.

—. 2020. "When Hip-Hop Meets CMC: Digital Discourse in Nigerian Hip-Hop." *Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 34 (4): 590–600. https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2020.1757038.

Onanuga, Paul, and Rotimi Taiwo. 2019. "Multimodality in Selected Nigerian Ponzi Schemes' Narratives." *Ekpoma Journal of Languages and Literary Studies* 12 (1–2): 327–51.

Palasinski, Marek, and Simon Bignell. 2015. "Seeking Patterns of Digital Deception." In *Encyclopedia of Information Science and Technology, Third Edition*, edited by Mehdi Khosrow-Pour, 6446–54. Hershey, PA: Information Science Reference. https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-4666-5888-2.ch633.

Picornell, Isabel. 2011. "The Rake's Progress: Linguistic Strategies for Deception." In *Proceedings of the International Association of Forensic Linguists' Tenth Biennial Conference*, edited by Samuel Tomblin, Nicci MacLeod, Rui Sousa-Silva and Malcolm Coulthard, 153–68. Birmingham, UK: Centre for Forensic Linguistics, Aston University. https://www.forensiclinguistics.net/IAFL10proceedings.pdf.

Rejón-Guardia, Francisco, and Francisco J. Martínez-López. 2014. "Online Advertising Intrusiveness and Consumers' Avoidance Behaviors." In *Handbook of Strategic e-Business Management*, edited by Francisco J. Martínez-López, 565–86. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-39747-9_23.

Searle, John R. 1976. "A Classification of Illocutionary Acts." *Language in Society* 5 (1): 1–23. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4166848.

Scollon, Ron, and Suzanne Wong Scollon. 1995. *Intercultural Communication: A Discourse Approach*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Schaffer, Deborah. 2012. "The Language of Scam Spams: Linguistic Features of 'Nigerian Fraud' E-Mails." *A Review of General Semantics* 69 (2): 157–79. https://www.jstor.org/stable/42579182.

Smith, Andrew. 2009. "Nigerian Scam E-Mails and the Charms of Capital." *Cultural Studies* 23 (1): 27–47. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380802016162.

Smith, Daniel Jordan. 2007. *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Sorlin, Sandrine. 2017. "The Pragmatics of Manipulation: Exploiting Im/Politeness Theories." *Journal of Pragmatics* 121: 132–46. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2017.10.002.

Spencer-Oatey, Helen, ed. 2008. *Culturally Speaking: Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory*. New York: Continuum.

Strohm, Florian, and Roman Klinger. 2018. "An Empirical Analysis of the Role of Amplifiers, Downtoners, and Negations in Emotion Classification in Microblogs." Paper presented at *2018 IEEE 5th International Conference on Data Science and Advanced Analytics (DSAA), Turin, Italy*, 673–81. IEEE. https://doi.org/10.1109/DSAA.2018.00087.

Taiwo, Rotimi. 2010. "'The Thumb Tribe': Creativity and Social Change through SMS in Nigeria." *California Linguistic Notes* XXXV (1): 1–18.

—. 2012. "Discursive Manipulation Strategies in Virtual Scams in Global Contexts." In *Computer-Mediated Communication across Cultures: InternationaI Interactions in Online Environments*, edited by Kirk St. Armant and Sigrid Kelsey, 143–54. Hershey, Pennsylvania: IGI Global. https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-60960-833-0.ch010.

—. 2016. "Cognitive Verbs and Stance Taking in Nigerian Jobs and Careers Portals Online." *Marang: Journal of Language and Literature* 27: 1–19.

—. 2017. "Discursive Forms and Functions of Digital Deceptive Communication in Nigerian Online Discourse." In *Deception and Deceptive Communication*, edited by Innocent Chiluwa, 245–74. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Tanfa, Denis Yomi. 2006. "Advance Fee Fraud." PhD diss., University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Tian, Kelly, and Bill Keep. 2002. *Customer Fraud and Business Responses: Let the Marketer Beware*. Westport CT: Quorum Books.

Tive, Charles. 2006. *419 Scam: Exploits of the Nigerian Con Man.* Bloomington, IN: iUniverse.
Toma, Catalina L., and Jeffrey T. Hancock 2010. "Reading between the Lines: Linguistic Cues to Deception in Online Dating Profiles." *CSCW 2010,* February 6–10, 2010, Savannah, Georgia, USA.
Tsikerdekis, Michail, and Zeadally Sherali. 2014. "Online Deception in Social Media." *Communications of the ACM* 57 (9): 72–80. http://dx.doi.org/10.1145/2629612.
Urowayino, Jeremiah. 2017. "MMM: As the Bubble Bursts." *Vanguard*, March 23, 2017. https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/03/mmm-bubble-bursts/.
van Dijk, Teun A. 2006. "Ideology and Discourse Analysis." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 11 (2): 115–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/13569310600687908.
Vrij, Aldert, Samantha Mann, and Sharon Leal. 2012. "Deception Traits in Psychological Interviewing." *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology* 28: 115–26. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11896-013-9125-y.
Walsh James. 1999. "How Ponzi Schemes, Pyramid Frauds Work." *Consumers' Research Magazine* 82 (6): 10–14.
Whitty, Monica T., Tom Buchanan, Adam N. Joinson, and Alex Meredith. 2012. "Not All Lies Are Spontaneous: An Examination of Deception across Different Modes of Communication." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 63 (1): 208–16. https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.21648.
Woker, T. A. 2003. "If It Sounds Too Good to Be True It Probably Is: Pyramid Schemes and Other Related Frauds." *South African Mercantile Law Journal* 15 (2): 237–49.
Zahra, Shaker A., Richard L. Priem, and Abdul A. Rasheed. 2007. "Understanding the Causes and Effects of Top Management Fraud." *Organizational Dynamics* 36 (2): 122–39.
Zhou, Lina, Judee K. Burgoon, Jay F. Nunamaker, and Doug Twitchell. 2004. "Automating Linguistics-Based Cues for Detecting Deception in Text-Based Asynchronous Computer-Mediated Communications." *Group Decision and Negotiation* 13 (1): 81–106.

Magda Sučková
Masaryk University,
Brno University of Technology, Czechia

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 83-100(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.83-100
UDC: 811.111'242(437.3)

Acquisition of a Foreign Accent by Native Speakers of English Living in the Czech Republic

ABSTRACT

First language attrition has been shown to affect many areas of linguistic performance in immigrants to other countries. In phonetics, there is often a shift towards the majority language phonetic features, and, in some cases, the speakers may cease to be perceived as native altogether. This article presents the results of a foreign accent rating study, showing that even Anglophone expatriates are not immune to L1 attrition despite the (relative) lack of pressure to linguistically assimilate due to the status of their mother tongue as a prestigious and desirable-to-master language. The quantitative results are augmented by personal narratives of the expatriate informants, showing that what is often dismissed as mere anecdotal evidence may in fact bear a strong correspondence to the quantitative data.

Keywords: first language attrition, expatriates, native speakers of English, accent, intelligibility

Usvajanje tujega naglasa pri rojenih govorcih angleščine, ki živijo v Republiki Češki

POVZETEK

Dokazano je bilo, da izguba značilnosti prvega jezika vpliva na uspešno jezikovno rabo pri izseljencih v tujini. V izgovarjavi pogosto pride do premika k fonetičnim značilnostim večinskega jezika, in v nekaterih primerih govorci niso več dojemani kot domači. V članku so predstavljeni rezultati študije ocenjevanja tujih naglasov, ki kažejo, da tudi anglofonski izseljenci niso neobčutljivi za izgubo jezikovnih značilnosti svojega maternega jezika kljub (relativni) odsotnosti pritiska na jezikovno asimilacijo zaradi statusa njihovega maternega jezika kot prestižnega in zaželenega. Kvantitativni rezultati se dopolnjujejo z osebnimi pripovedmi tujcev, ki kažejo, da se anekdotični dokaz močno ujemajo s kvantitativnimi podatki.

Ključne besede: izguba prvega jezika, izseljenci, rojeni govorci angleščine, naglas, razumljivost

1 Introduction

First language attrition, or "changes (usually a decline) in an individual's abilities in a language, induced by decreased use of and input in this language" (Bergmann, Nota, Sprenger, and Schmid 2016, 72), has been shown to manifest itself in many areas of linguistic performance (including phonetics) in immigrants to other countries (Schmid 2004, 2016).

The present investigation[1] is concerned with first language attrition in the accent of Anglophone expatriates living in the Czech Republic. This particular population differs from other groups of immigrants in several respects, which are potentially preventive of L1 attrition (e.g. the high amount of L1 use, and low L2 use and proficiency). English is a prestigious language and Czech city dwellers typically have some knowledge of it; therefore, the pressure and need for the Anglophone expatriates to linguistically (and otherwise) assimilate is not as pronounced as with other immigrant groups. In fact, the opposite may often be the case in the Czech context, i.e. Czechs requiring the expats to communicate with them in English in order to practice this language. As a result, the L1 use rate is very high within this immigrant group (and can remain at 100% in the "expat bubble" in the capital). On the other hand, the source of L1 attrition for the Anglophone expatriates may well be the constant stream of "Czenglish" input, ranging in quality from heavily accented speech of beginner L2 English users, to the near-native-like speech of advanced ones. The speakers of American English may experience yet another influence on their L1, namely that of British English, as this variety is given preference in the Czech education system.

From the body of previous research (which I discuss below) and anecdotal accounts stem the following research questions I address in the present paper: Do the native speakers of English residing in the Czech Republic acquire a foreign, non-native sounding accent? Do they come across as more intelligible than the controls? Do the accents of American expatriates acquire a British flavour? And how well do the foreign accent rating (FAR) scores correspond to the personal narratives of the expatriates obtained in in-depth interviews concerning L1 attrition?

To obtain answers to these research questions I recorded three groups of participants retelling a short movie clip: a group of native speakers of English residing in the Czech Republic,[2] a control group of native speakers of English living in England, and a control group of highly proficient Czech users of English. In line with the philosophy that accent is "in the ear of beholder", a group of assessors (highly proficient L2 users of English) listened to the speech samples and evaluated them in terms of the degree of foreign accentedness and intelligibility. I provide the full sample description and data collection procedure in the Method section of the present article. A thorough analysis of the quantitative data is then presented in the Results section. In order to obtain yet another perspective on the acquisition of L2 (Czech) accent, I conducted in-depth sociolinguistic interviews with the expatriate participants about their experience with L1 attrition (including the accent). I discuss these personal accounts and their relation to the quantitative data in the Narratives section.

[1] The study represents a part of a PhD thesis supervised by Prof. Ludmila Urbanová at Masaryk University, Brno.

[2] Henceforth referred to as expats or expatriates.

2 Review of the Literature

Regarding L1 attrition in phonetics, empirical research shows there is often a shift towards the surrounding/majority language phonetic features, and, in some cases, the speakers may no longer be perceived as native. A compelling explanation why this may be so is offered by Flege's influential *Speech Learning Model* (Bergmann, Nota, Sprenger, and Schmid 2016; Flege 2002). This model posits the existence of a common phonological space in which the phonic elements of a bilingual's L1 and L2 interact with each other. If an L2 sound is identified by the L2 learner as being very similar to an L1 one, the two sounds are merged into a single category, and, as the L2 learner becomes more proficient, this merged category assumes a kind of intermediate value, a value which is different from both L1 and L2. This process is called phonetic category assimilation. The process of phonetic category dissimilation, on the other hand, is activated when an L2 sound is identified as different from an L1 sound and forms a distinct category in the phonological space. In order to maintain the L1 and L2 contrast, however, both L1 and L2 sounds drift away from the monolingual norms to more extreme positions (Flege 2002). This can, in fact, be seen as a form of hyper-correction. In other words, the *Speech Learning Model* hypothesises a bidirectional influence of L1 and L2 elements' phonetic characteristics (Bergmann, Nota, Sprenger, and Schmid 2016). These subtle changes in individual phonemes as well as overall prosody may over time result in some immigrants failing to be perceived as native speakers of their first language.

Let us now turn to the individual studies reporting phonetic L1 attrition (or cross-linguistic influence) in immigrants. On the level of phonetic detail, voice onset time (VOT, or the degree of aspiration) in fortis plosives is a particularly well-researched variable shown to be vulnerable to L1 attrition (Bergmann, Nota, Sprenger, and Schmid 2016). Flege (1987) demonstrated that Americans living in France displayed significantly shorter VOTs in their L1 (English) /t/ than the control groups living in the USA. Similar shortening of fortis plosive VOTs was observed by Major (1992) in Americans residing in Brazil. By contrast, Brazilian Portuguese fortis plosive VOTs *lengthen* upon a stay in the Anglophone environment, as was recently demonstrated in a study by Kupske and Alvez (2016). That the cross-linguistic influence on phonemes may be only of a temporary nature was suggested by Sancier and Fowler (1997). In their case study, they followed a single participant – a native speaker of Brazilian Portuguese with advanced command of English, as she alternated between Brazil and the USA, spending long stretches of time in each. The participant's plosives (in both languages) lengthened and shortened in accordance with the recent linguistic environment.

As regards a global foreign accent, or "the degree to which an L2 speaker's productions are perceived to differ from those of a native speaker" (Riney, Takada, and Ota 2000, 713), with which the present article is mainly concerned, there have not been many studies focusing on the acquisition of a foreign accent in one's first language to date (Bergmann, Nota, Sprenger, and Schmid 2016). In Sancier and Fowler's (1997) case study, mentioned above in connection with VOTs, their L1 Brazilian Portuguese informant's read utterances were judged to be more accented after she had spent several months in the USA. De Leeuw (2008) employed recordings of spontaneous speech and some of her sample of L1 German speakers living in the USA or in Netherlands were rated as sounding non-native-like. Similar results on both

group and individual levels were reported in a recent study by Bergmann, Nota, Sprenger, and Schmid (2016) for native speakers of German residing in the USA and Canada. Hopp and Schmid (2013), on the other hand, found no difference on the group level between L1 German monolinguals and L1 German bilinguals living abroad. In a rather small-scale accent rating study (Sučková 2012) I reported some preliminary evidence suggesting there may be accent changes in Anglophone expatriates living in the Czech Republic. However, to the best of my knowledge, no other larger-scale foreign accent rating studies or accent intelligibility studies with English L1 attriters have been published to date (see also Bergmann, Nota, Sprenger, and Schmid 2016).

To summarise, signs of L2 influence on L1 pronunciation have been reported both on the level of individual phoneme characteristics and the overall accent impression. With respect to phonetic L1 attrition among native speakers of English living abroad, Flege (1987) and Major (1992) reported shortening of the VOTs in Americans living in France and Brazil respectively. Some preliminary findings and anecdotal evidence concerning changes in the global accent were reported in Sučková (2012). This study attempts to fill the gap in this area and thus provide a large-scale investigation of global foreign accent in Anglophone expatriates residing abroad, namely in the Czech Republic.

3 Method

3.1 Speakers

The sample of speakers consisted of three groups: L1 English expatriates living in the Czech Republic (N = 18), L1 English controls living in the UK (N = 16), and Czech controls (N = 5) – advanced Czech users of English living in the Czech Republic.

Expatriates: 10 Americans and eight Britons (from various regions of the two respective countries), M_{age}= 38 SD_{age}= 8.7, raised in monolingual families, with a length of residence (LOR) in the Czech Republic of over one year (M_{LOR}= 9.5 years, SD_{LOR}= 6.9), working mostly as teachers of English or in IT/corporate jobs, with varying degrees of L2 Czech proficiency. The sample were recruited through personal contacts of the researcher and via snowballing.

L1 English Controls: One American and 15 Britons recruited through opportunity sampling, M_{age}= 34, SD_{age}= 12, raised in monolingual families and living in the UK. The participants were not monolingual: they had all studied one or more foreign languages in the course of their lives; however, no participant was an early bilingual, and only four reported having a good or very good proficiency in one of their foreign languages and using them on a regular basis at the time of data collection.

Czech Controls: Five[3] highly proficient Czech speakers of English living in the Czech Republic (M_{age}= 26, SD_{age}= 3.3); the speakers had all been learning and using English since their early

[3] Originally, there were six Czech controls. However, it later transpired from the notes on the rating questionnaires that the majority of the raters were able to identify one Czech control, having recognised her voice. Therefore, I decided to exclude the ratings obtained for this participant from the analysis and only present data for the five remaining Czech participants.

childhood, had visited English-speaking countries, and reported using English for 20-85% of their daily communication at the time of recording. The sample were recruited through personal contacts of the researcher.

3.2 Procedure – Speech Samples for Foreign Accent Rating

To elicit free speech data, the Charlie Chaplin task was utilised as described in Schmid (2011). The participants (the expatriates, the L1 English controls, the Czech controls) were asked to watch and then retell a short clip from Charlie Chaplin's 1936 motion picture *Modern Times* while being recorded. The recording sessions took place in a quiet university office or classroom, or at the informant's home.

From each recording a short sample was extracted for the accent rating. The speech samples all contained the description of the opening scene, in which Chaplin is being released from prison and applies for a job at a shipyard. The decision to include only one scene (as opposed to a random excerpt) was motivated by the need to standardise the samples as much as possible (de Leeuw 2008) and eliminate the possible intervening variable of surprise or confusion, and thus further cognitive strain on the part of the raters. The samples varied slightly in length (12–16 s) as it was decided, in accordance with de Leeuw (2008), to present naturally complete utterances and not cut the speaker off mid-sentence. In addition, pauses longer than 1s were clipped and stuttered utterances edited out in several samples. This was motivated by the fact that while pauses and stuttered utterances may be indicative of L1 attrition in mental lexicon (Schmid 2011), they may also present confounding elements in otherwise perfectly native-like accent (de Leeuw 2008). In other words, a speaker's performance would potentially not be judged by their accent but by their inability to retrieve a word, which would be undesirable.

Finally, a single sound file (featuring all speech samples as described above, i.e. the descriptions of the opening scene) was created for the accent rating. The speech samples were pseudo-randomised, each speech sample was included only once, and the order of the speech samples was the same for all raters. At the end of each speech sample, there were 14s of silence in order to give the raters time to complete the corresponding entry. Two additional speech samples – training samples – were added to the beginning of the file to help manage potential confusion and anxiety. The overall duration of the foreign accent rating sound file was 21 min. As the speech samples featured varied considerably in maximum intensity peaks, the sound file was normalised utilising audio level adjusting software, The Levelator® 2 (Sharpe et al. n.d.).

3.3 Raters and FAR Questionnaire

Raters: Eighty-seven university students or graduates of English language (64 females, 23 males; M_{age} = 23.7 years, SD_{age} = 6.1, MOD_{age} = 21). The L1 of the raters was mostly Czech or Slovak; almost 60% of raters reported being near-native or native-like L2 users of English. While it would have been desirable to utilise L1 monolingual English speakers as raters, previous research has shown that L2 users of a language can reliably distinguish between native and non-native speakers of that language (Major and Baptista 2009). Furthermore, a high L2 users' interrater reliability was reported previously, indicating that L2 users perceive

the level of foreign accent in a very similar way (Schmid and Hopp 2014). Regarding the difference between native monolingual and non-native bilingual (L2 user) raters, it appears that bilingual raters tend to judge monolingual native speakers as being more strongly accented than the native monolingual raters, and the ratings of L1 attrition group speakers and L2 user speakers do not differ (Schmid and Hopp 2014).

A FAR questionnaire (based on de Leeuw 2008)[4] was created for the raters to assess the degree of global foreign accent of the speech samples. Figure 1 below shows the layout of the FAR questionnaire. Following de Leeuw (2008) and Schmid and Hopp (2014), the forced choice paradigm was utilised: the raters were asked whether the speaker is a native or non-native speaker of English, and how confident they were in their judgment on a three-point scale – certain, semi-certain, uncertain (Items 1, 2). Item 3 was added to investigate the perceived intelligibility of a speaker and its potential relatedness to the level of global foreign accent. Less intelligible speakers may be considered "genuine native speakers" in the ears of L2 users, and *vice versa*. Additionally, Item 4 asked the raters to indicate where they think the speaker originally came from (thus revealing the potential Britishisation or Czechisation of native accents). Item 5 (optional) provided space for the raters to comment on how they arrived at their judgment and what they based it on. Lastly, at the very end of the questionnaire, the raters were asked to provide information about their age, gender, nationality, L1, and proficiency in English on a 1–6 scale (1 = complete beginner, 6 = native-like).

speaker	**1) native status**	**2) confidence**	**3) easy or hard to understand?**	**4) country**	**notes**
speaker 1	□ native □ non-native	I am… □ certain □ semi-certain □ uncertain	easy 1 2 3 4 5 hard		

Figure 1. Foreign Accent Rating (FAR) questionnaire layout

3.4 Procedure – FAR Data Collection

The majority of the raters listened to the Charlie Chaplin excerpts in one of several classroom group sessions; in addition, 12 raters were played the audio file on an individual basis. First, the researcher explained the aim of the study and described the structure of the questionnaire and the composition of the audio file. The raters were asked to fill in the questionnaire as they listened and not to worry if they missed a speaker or two. After a brief Q&A session, the FAR audio file (as described above) was played either through loudspeakers to the whole group (in the group sessions) or through headphones (in the individual sessions). The order of the speech samples was the same for each rater. The raters were rewarded for their time and effort with extra credit towards their final grade in one of their phonetics-related courses (when applicable) or some candy.

[4] Who, in turn, adopted Moyer's approach (1999, as cited in de Leeuw 2008).

3.5 In-depth Interviews – Qualitative Data

I conducted semi-structured in-depth sociolinguistic interviews with the expatriates in order to obtain a more personal, qualitative perspective on the L1 attrition they may have been experiencing. The interviews were conducted together with the Charlie Chaplin data collection task. To obtain narratives on the potential accent changes, I asked the following questions: *Has your accent changed in any way since you have moved to the Czech Republic? Has anybody (your friends or family members back at home) ever told you that you sounded different now? What dialect do you speak? Do you speak your native/regional dialect?* I then obtained more details by asking follow-up questions, e.g. *How did you feel? Do you think it's true? Why do you choose not to speak your native dialect?*

The narratives were then transcribed and theme-coded with the aim of identifying recurring themes, emotions and attitudes. I analyse the themes in the Narratives section of the present article. One of the themes, the Britishisation of the English of American expatriates, was used to inform the Britishisation research question tested quantitatively in the FAR questionnaire.

4 Results

4.1 FAR Scores

Combining Items 1 and 2 of the FAR questionnaire provided a six-point Likert scale: "6=certain of non-native speaker status, 5=semi-certain of non-native speaker status, 4=uncertain of non-native speaker status, 3=uncertain of native speaker status, 2=semi-certain of native speaker status, 1=certain of native speaker status" (de Leeuw 2008, 50). In other words, a score of 6 means the rater perceived the speaker as having a strong non-native accent, while a score of 1 indicates a perfect native-like accent. The scores obtained by the individual participants were averaged into a mean FAR score. Missing datapoints (N = 18, not systematically distributed) were substituted with scores closest to the speaker's mean FAR score. The descriptive statistics, including separate means for British and American expatriates, are provided in Table 1 below. Figure 2 below displays the boxplot of mean FAR scores for the three respective groups.

Table 1. Mean FAR scores – descriptive statistics.

	Expatriates			**L1 English controls**	**Czech controls**
statistics	Britons	Americans	pooled	pooled	
N	8	10	18	16	5
M	3.38	3.76	3.59	2.99	4.41
SD	0.84	0.8	0.82	0.84	0.73

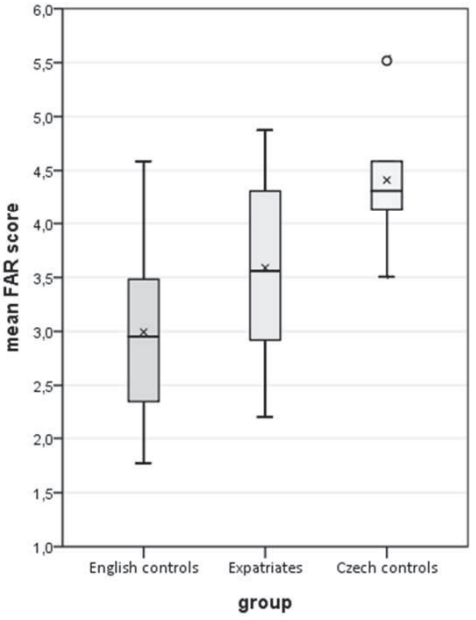

Figure 2. Boxplot of mean FAR scores.

From Table 1 and Figure 2 it can be observed that the control group exhibit the lowest FAR scores (i.e. the most native-like), followed by the expatriate group and then the Czech controls, who have the highest (i.e. the most non-native) FAR scores. Within the expatriate group, the Americans tended towards higher (i.e. less native-like) scores.

The distributions of mean FAR scores were examined for normality. The expatriates' FAR scores histogram showed a bimodal distribution, and the Czech control sample was too small to reliably assess the score distribution. Therefore, although all Shapiro-Wilk tests of normality were non-significant (all *p*'s > .4), it was decided to utilise a non-parametric alternative to the t-test, namely the Mann–Whitney *U* test, to determine whether the differences between the three groups are statistically significant. Further, as the British expatriates exhibited a slightly lower (i.e. more native-like) mean FAR score than the American expatriates, it was important to test whether the two groups are statistically different, in which case the country of origin would present a confounding variable. A Mann–Whitney *U* test was conducted, showing no statistical difference between the two subgroups of the expatriate group (the mean ranks of the expatriate Britons and Americans were 8.1 and 10.6, respectively; U = 29, Z = -0.98, p = .36).

Having established that the American and British expatriates do not exhibit statistically different mean FAR scores, a set of Mann–Whitney U tests was conducted to establish differences between the expatriates, the L1 English controls, and the Czech controls. The significance level was Bonferroni adjusted to $\alpha = .017$. The test did not indicate a difference between the expatriates and L1 English controls (the mean ranks were 20.7 and 13.9 respectively; U = 86.5, Z = -1.98, p = .046). Likewise, no difference was found between the expatriates and Czech controls (the mean ranks were 10.7 and 16.8, respectively; U = 21, Z = -1.8, p = .08). The only difference in mean FAR scores found to be statistically significant

was between the Czech controls and L1 English controls (the mean ranks were 17.3 and 9.0, respectively; U = 8.5, Z = -2.6, p = .006).

Thus the hypothesis that the expatriates as a group have acquired a foreign accent as compared to the L1 controls was not supported. On the other hand, the tests also indicated that no difference existed between the mean FAR scores of the Czech controls and the expatriates. In such situations it is best to examine the data of individual participants. Figure 3 below shows the FAR scores of individual participants by group.

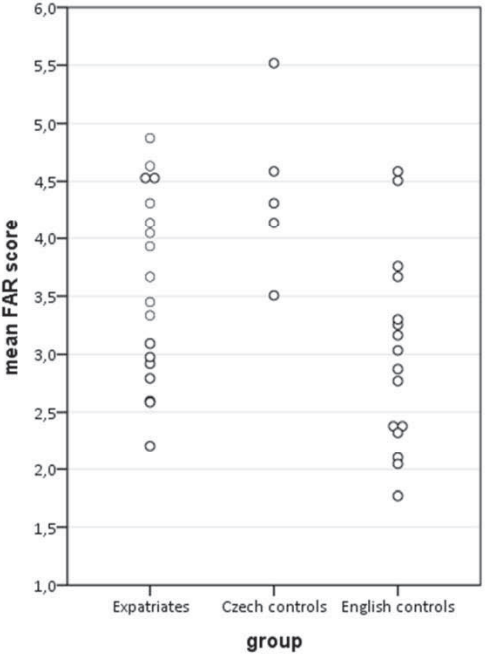

Figure 3. Individual mean FAR scores by group.

As can be observed, all expatriate scores are higher than the L1 English control minimum at 1.8. Only four (25%) L1 English controls obtained scores in the Czech controls' range, as compared to nine (50%) expats. If the Czech controls' score range is considered to be a benchmark of having acquired a (slight) foreign accent, then there are clearly expatriate informants whose accents do not appear to have been influenced, but also those who do sound like (very proficient) L2 users. With regard to the two extreme L1 English control participants who were also rated as having a foreign accent, one utilised a prominent hesitant rising intonation, which, according to the raters' comments in the FAR questionnaire led at least some to label this speaker's accent as non-native; the other L1 English control speaker with a high mean FAR score is the only American in this group, in fact a speaker living outside her native variety, which also might have given rise to a sort of "mixed" accent impression.

Overall, then, even though the hypothesis that the Anglophone expatriates have acquired a foreign accent into their L1 was not supported on the group level, high mean FAR scores indicate foreign accent acquisition in some individuals from the expatriate group. The degree

of this foreign accent is comparable to that of highly proficient Czech users of English. This claim is further elaborated in the later section of the present article, which provides an analysis of the qualitative interview data.

4.2 Intelligibility Scores

To establish whether the expatriates' accent became more intelligible to the L2 users' ears, the raters were asked if they found the speaker easy or hard to understand on a five-point Likert scale: 1 (easy) – 5 (hard) (Item 3 of the FAR questionnaire). For each participant, a mean intelligibility score was then calculated from the obtained ratings. The lower the mean intelligibility score, the greater the overall intelligibility. Figure 4 below shows a boxplot of the mean intelligibility scores for the three respective groups, while Table 2 provides the descriptive statistics, including those for the two subgroups (i.e. the British and Americans) of the expatriate group.

Table 2. Mean intelligibility scores – descriptive statistics.

	Expatriates			L1 English controls	Czech controls
statistics	Britons	Americans	pooled	pooled	
N	8	10	18	16	5
M	1.73	1.78	1.76	1.91	1.42
SD	0.45	0.41	0.41	0.35	0.14

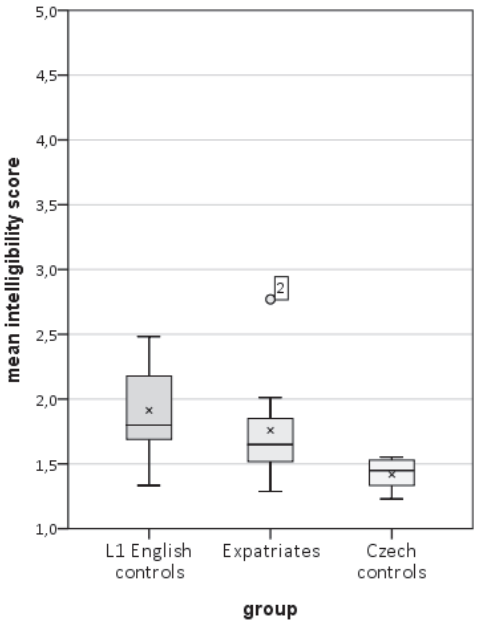

Figure 4. Intelligibility scores by group.

As can be observed from Figure 4 and Table 2, the lowest intelligibility scores indicating the greatest intelligibility were obtained by the Czech control group, followed by the expatriates and then by the L1 English controls. Overall, the raters did not find any of the speakers to be very hard to understand. The British and American expatriates do not exhibit any big differences in their intelligibility scores; in fact, each of these subgroups features an outlier (as seen in Figure 4). The recordings of both expatriate speaker outliers in question feature relatively fast stretches of speech, with a high degree of word-linking. In addition, the American outlier expatriate's voice is somewhat "shaky", which may make him slightly harder to understand.

Next, the distributions of mean intelligibility scores were examined for normality. Both the expatriates' and L1 English controls' histograms showed a positive skew; in addition, the expatriates' Q-Q plot hinted at a deviation from the normal distribution. This was also supported by the result of a Shapiro-Wilk test of normality (p = .001). The Czech control sample was too small to reliably assess the normality of mean intelligibility scores distribution. Therefore, it was decided to utilise a non-parametric alternative to the t-test, namely the Mann–Whitney U test.

A set of Mann-Whitney U tests was conducted in order to determine whether the differences between the three groups are statistically significant. The significance level was Bonferroni adjusted to α = .017. The test did not indicate a difference between the expatriates and L1 English controls (the mean ranks were 14.8 and 20.6, respectively; U = 94.5, Z = -1.71, p = .088). Likewise, no difference was found between the expatriates and Czech controls (the mean ranks were 13.6 and 6.1, respectively; U = 15.5, Z = -2.2, p = .024). The only difference in mean intelligibility scores that was found to be statistically significant was between the Czech controls and L1 English controls (the mean ranks were 4.3 and 13.1, respectively; U = 6.5, Z = -2.8, p = .003). Thus, to the ear of (mostly) Czech and Slovak raters, advanced Czech users of English were the most intelligible group, there being no statistically significant difference between the two L1 English groups.

Of interest is the relationship between mean FAR scores and mean intelligibility scores: it is possible that the less intelligible speakers received more native-like ratings, and vice versa. The Kendall correlation, however, did not indicate any relationship between foreign accent and intelligibility (Kendall's τ_B = -.05, p = .65). In other words, intelligibility does not seem to have played a role in the perception of speakers' global foreign accent.

4.3 Country of Origin

Item 4 of the FAR questionnaire inquired about the possible country of origin of the individual speakers. Two hypotheses were being tested with this: 1) Anglophone expatriates will be labelled as Czechs/Slovaks[5] more often than L1 native controls; 2) American expatriates will

[5] While the raters were mainly Czechs, there was also a number of Slovaks among them. The Slovakian accent in English does not differ greatly from Czech, there are many similarities. To an untrained ear, a proficient Czech speaker of English may sound undistinguishable from a proficient Slovak speaker. Slovak raters were more prone to award "Slovak" labels, possibly because their home country would be the first to come to mind. For these reasons it was decided to collapse the "Czech" and "Slovak" perceived country of origin labels into one category. Further, several instances of label "middle Europe" and "central Europe" were included in the cz/sk category as well.

be labelled as British more often than British expatriates as Americans. These hypotheses were based on the following. Firstly, if the FAR scores indicate a difference between the groups, the expatriates must logically differ from L1 English controls in the perceived country of origin as well; and, if it is the case that the Czech accent was acquired, there would be more "Czech" or "Slovak" labels. Secondly, in the in-depth interviews American expats often claimed that their English had become Britishised, and the responses to Item 4 may confirm or reject this impression.

Figure 5 shows a bar chart for country of origin labels (in %) awarded to expatriates and L1 English controls. The information provided by raters was coded in the following manner: 1 – hit (the speaker's country of origin was identified correctly),[6] 2 – cz/sk (Czech or Slovak Republic indicated as the country of origin), 3 – empty (no country of origin provided), 4 – other English-speaking country[7] (i.e. not the actual Anglophone country of origin), 5 – other (any other country).

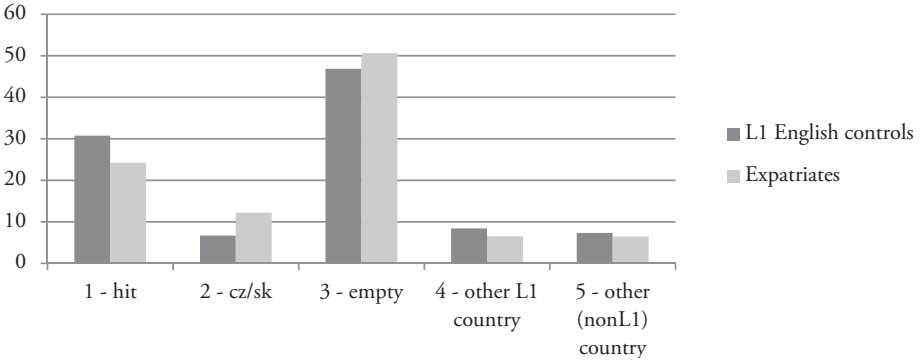

Figure 5. Country of origin as guessed by the raters in %.

The bar chart indicates that it was often difficult for the raters to guess the country of origin of the speaker, as no country was provided almost 50% of the time (this also holds for the Czech control group whose data, however, are not included in the chart). Regarding the differences between the two Anglophone groups, the only one that is salient is the percentage of hit and cz/sk labels, with expatriates (represented by lighter bars) receiving slightly more cz/sk labels (and, in turn, fewer hits and other L1 country labels) than the L1 English controls (darker bars). These results are in keeping with the mean FAR score pattern, in which some expatriates were perceived as more non-native (i.e. received a higher mean FAR score) than the L1 controls.

Another bar chart (Figure 6) was constructed to visualise the differences between British and American expatriates with regard to the perceived country of origin. The purpose of this analysis was to investigate whether the raters perceived any Britishisation in the accents of American expatriates. Three (slight) differences can be observed: firstly, Americans (represented by the darker bars) were identified correctly slightly more often than the British (lighter bars); secondly,

[6] Canada and the USA were collapsed into one category for the purposes of this analysis, as American and Canadian accents may be very similar in many instances.

[7] For the purposes of the present analysis, only Kachru's (e.g. 1990) Inner Circle countries (i.e. the UK, USA, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa) are included under this label.

they received fewer inaccurate Anglophone labels; and thirdly, Americans were more frequently considered to be Czechs than their British counterparts. These results do not indicate that the English of American expatriates has become Britishised. The fact that the Americans received more cz/sk and non-L1 country of origin labels is in keeping with the slight (and statistically non-significant) difference in British and American expatriates' mean FAR scores.

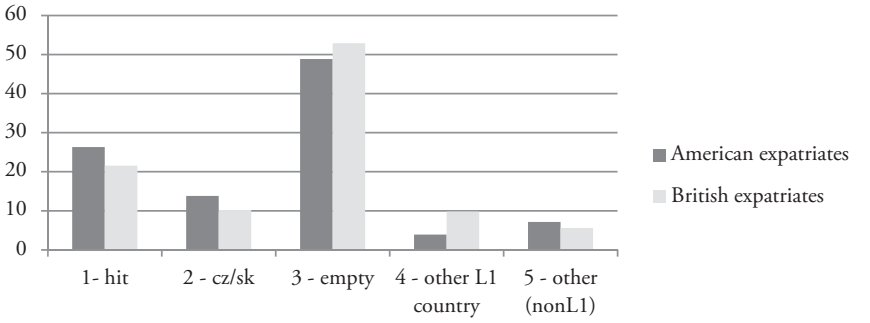

Figure 6. British and American expatriates' perceived country of origin in %.

The hypothesis based on personal accounts of the American expatriates that their L1 is becoming Britishised was not supported by the data from this accent rating study. In fact, it was the British accents that were slightly more difficult to identify for the raters. However, as can be seen from the charts in Figs. 5 and 6, 50% of the time no country of origin was provided by the raters. This can be interpreted in several ways. The raters may have been short of time (despite the fact that the questionnaire had been piloted and adjusted accordingly in order to prevent this), may have lacked confidence (despite the study being anonymous), may have genuinely been at a loss as to where the speakers came from, or a combination of all of the above. Clearly, fewer missing data would have been desirable in order to draw firmer conclusions.

5 Narratives

The idea for this research started several years ago when a friend of the researcher from the expat community remarked that he spoke "like Dracula, too", comparing himself to another expat who had arrived a couple of years earlier. All too often researchers are guilty of brushing personal stories similar to this one aside as mere "anecdotal evidence", or, on the other extreme, relying solely on personal narratives without employing more objective quantitative methods of enquiry. This section presents an attempt to interconnect the personal narratives of the expatriate informants obtained through the in-depth socio-linguistic interviews with the quantitative foreign accent rating study results, which were presented above.

One of the most frequently recurring themes, mentioned by almost all expatriate informants, was the need to slow down and speak more clearly, "enunciate", in order to be more easily comprehended by the Czech users of English, including co-workers, students, and their partners' families. However, this does not seem to be mirrored in the results reported above, as the expatriates were not rated to be more easily intelligible than the L1 English controls. There are at least two possible explanations for this. Firstly, the sample of raters was comprised

of university students or graduates of English, i.e. above-average users of L2 English, who can easily comprehend "unmodulated" speech. And secondly, it is possible that the L1 English control participants actually modulated their speech in the same way as the expatriates in the formal context of being recorded by a non-native speaker for an audience of non-native speakers. In fact, a t-test conducted to compare the speech rates (operationalised as words per minute) of Charlie Chaplin clip retellings revealed no difference between the expatriates and L1 English controls ($t(32) = 0.39$, $p = .7$). The third possibility is, of course, that the expatriates only imagine slowing down, but actually do not, or that they wished to present themselves as helpful and forthcoming conversation partners; this, however, does not seem plausible since it would objectively lead to communication difficulties (as some expatriates discovered soon upon arrival).

Another theme that came up frequently was abandoning the local dialect in favour of Standard British or General American for the same reason as above – to be more intelligible to the L2 users who may not be familiar with many regional varieties. As one informant remarked about her accent, "It's lost a lot of colour, like local colours are kind of washed out". The American expats sometimes said that they felt their English was becoming Britishised ("I still sound like textbooks, except it's *New English File*,"[8] said participant EG04,[9] an American teacher of English). However, the examples of such Britishisation provided by the informants were predominantly from the domain of lexis, not phonetics. This showed in the FAR study results: there was no wholesale mistaking Americans for British (although it should again be noted that in about 50% of cases the raters did not provide any guess as to the country of origin). Participant EG14, another American expat teacher of English, commented thusly on the status of American English: "One Czech will feel that British English is more proper, which it isn't […], the other one will feel that American's more money. So […] I'll get jobs because they feel that by speaking American they'll get some kind of *um* I don't know *um* business acumen". One's dialect is thus seen as influencing one's job opportunities, based on the students' preferences, but there seems to be market for both varieties. It is worth noting here that most interviews were conducted before the Brexit referendum, and it is unclear what impact this major event might have had upon the students' preferences.

Finally, six out of 18 expat informants recalled an occasion when they were told by a family member, friend, or complete stranger that they do not sound native-like. Additionally, three informants remembered an occasion when they had been identified as coming from a different English-speaking country (EG07: "I sound native. But sometimes people were just confused about what native I am."). EG12, an American teacher of English and an editor, told the following story: "There was another time, when I was having lunch, that I was speaking on the phone in English, and some old man – I told you about this – some man came up and yelled at me. And he was like 'Speak Czech!' like he thought I was Czech and I was putting on airs speaking English, like 'What do you,' you know, 'speak your native language!' And I told him I'm not Czech, I'm from America, and he didn't believe me." This story was related as one would tell an anecdote, with a lot of laughter, exaggerated gestures and facial expressions,

[8] A popular British English series of textbooks.

[9] Expatriate Group participant nr. 4.

and with several repetitions of what the stranger had said. This humorous attitude to and amusement at one's first language attrition experiences (see also EG04's *New English File* comment above) emerged as a common pattern in the narrative data, and can be interpreted as a coping strategy in the face of a potentially threatening situation, as has been described by psychologists (e.g. Martin 2007 for an overview).

Not all narratives carried an element of humour, however; some contained a sense of irritation. EG13's story is in stark contrast to that of participant EG12 quoted above. Participant EG13 had been "accused a couple of times of being Danish, Scandinavian". When I commented on the use of the word 'accused', she added, "Well, because I'm obviously *not* and it's just really weird". Her story also contains one interesting detail. Unlike EG12 (who, in fact, provided the only narrative where it was implied he had a *Czech* accent), EG13 had been told she had an accent of a different country than the Czech Republic. Typically, however, the informants had their accent described in much less specific way: they sounded "somewhat oddly", spoke "different", their accent had "changed a little bit". Some, like the British expatriate EG05, had been asked where they had learned their very good English, which implies that the interlocutors did not consider the informant to be a native speaker of the language, but merely a very successful learner.

These narratives of having acquired a non-native accent systematically complement the quantitative data: the informants with stories of a perceived change in accent cluster within the

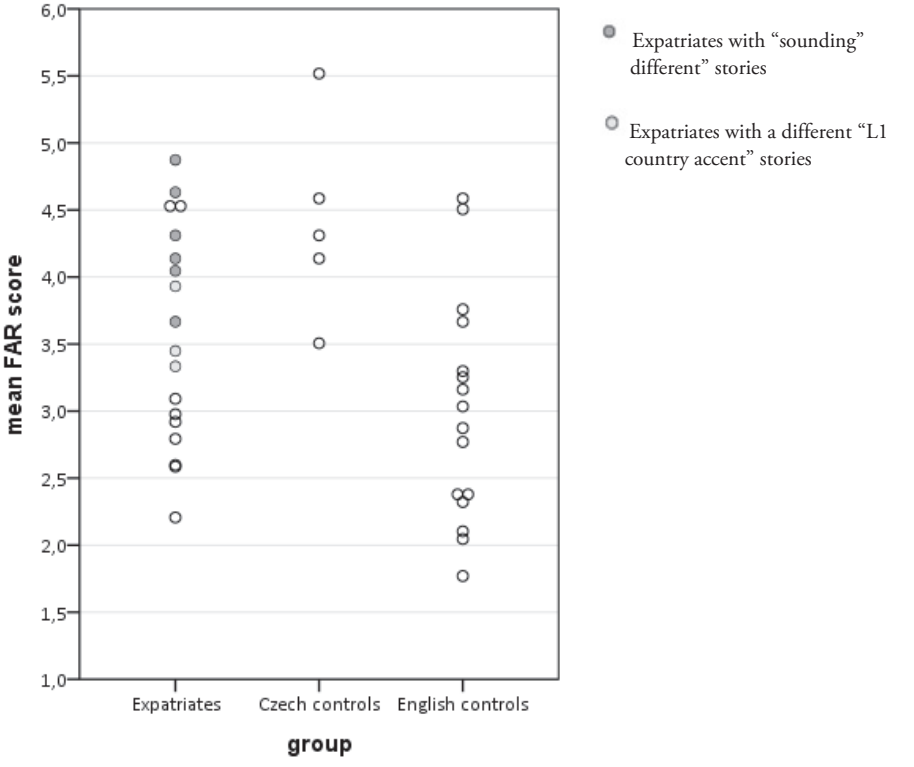

Figure 7. Individual mean FAR scores and the qualitative data.

Czech controls' FAR score range, and no participant with the FAR score lower than 3.3 had any such experience. This is illustrated in Figure 7 below, showing individual FAR scores for the three groups and highlighting informants with L1 attrition stories. The fact that the expatriate participants who have received comments hinting at L1 attrition tend to receive higher FAR scores supports the claim that even though statistically there is no difference between the expatriate and L1 English control groups as to the degree of perceived foreign accentedness, at least some expatriate informants have indeed acquired a degree of a foreign accent.

6 Discussion

The aim of the present article was to investigate three hypotheses regarding the accents of Anglophone expatriates living in the Czech Republic, namely that: (a) the expatriates acquired a slight foreign accent in their L1; (b) the American expatriates acquired a British accent; and (c) that the English of the expatriate participants has become more intelligible as compared to the controls. In order to test these hypotheses, a foreign accent rating experiment was conducted, whereby a group of raters listened to the recordings of the expatriates and two control group participants (L1 Czech controls and L1 English controls) and assessed them in terms of the degree of foreign accent, intelligibility, and perceived country of origin. These quantitative data were then complemented with qualitative data obtained through in-depth interviews with the expatriate participants.

With regard to the first hypothesis, that the expatriates acquired a foreign accent in their L1 English, or in other words that they exhibited signs of L1 attrition in their accent, this was not supported at the group level, with the difference between the expatriates' and L1 controls' mean FAR scores not being statistically significant. At the same time, there was a statistically significant difference between the Czech controls and L1 English controls, but not between the expatriates and Czech controls, hinting at the lack of statistical power of the tests under Bonferroni correction. Thus, it may be speculated that with a bigger sample size of both the expatriates and raters, the statistical tests would potentially reach significance. The fact that the raters were L2 users of English has also undoubtedly influenced the resulting FAR scores (for a detailed discussion see Schmid and Hopp 2014). However, the complementary expatriates' narratives showed that the participants who in the past had been told that their accent had changed received higher mean FAR scores which were within the Czech control range. Those who did not report any such experience also received lower (i.e. more native-like) ratings. These facts lend support to claim that at least some participants exhibit changes in their accent that may to ears of some (be it their family and friends or the raters in the experiment) sound foreign.

The country of origin data obtained using FAR questionnaire did not support the hypothesis that the accent of American expatriates became Britishised under the influence of the preferred dialect (i.e. Standard British English) in the host country. The changes towards British English (if any) possibly remain predominantly on the level of lexicon.

Finally, although slowing down and enunciating for the sake of the L2 interlocutor were a frequently recurring theme in the expatriates' narratives, the FAR questionnaire data did not indicate any greater intelligibility of the expatriates' accents as compared to the L1 controls. There may be several explanations for this disagreement of qualitative and quantitative results.

Firstly, there was a statistically significant difference between the Czech control group and the L1 English controls, but not between the Czech controls and the expatriates, which suggests the lack of statistical power of the test utilised under Bonferroni correction. Secondly, both groups knew there would be a further audience (i.e. the raters in the foreign accent rating experiment), so both could have accommodated in the same manner towards this. What should be also taken into consideration is the advanced level of English of the raters, who found all speech samples rather easy to understand, which created a kind of ceiling effect. It may be speculated that the three groups would be better distinguished in terms of intelligibility with lower proficiency raters. Finally, there is the possibility that the expatriates believe that they do accommodate towards the less proficient Czech users of English (the "subjective dimension of accommodation", as proposed by Thakerar, Giles, and Cheshire, and cited in Platt and Weber 1984), but in fact they do not ("objective dimension of accommodation"). This, however, does not seem plausible, as it would objectively give rise not only to the inability to get the message across, but also of coming across as disrespectful, arrogant, and rude, as was implied by several expatriates in the qualitative interviews.

The present study is not without shortcomings. The L1 English informants and the expatriates were not matched with regard to several socio-demographic variables, country of origin being the most glaring one. Further, some informants had only spent a relatively short time in the Czech Republic in comparison to that needed for the effects of L1 attrition to fully develop. In addition, bigger sample sizes and greater homogeneity in terms of length of residence would certainly have been desirable in order to draw firmer conclusions. Unknown remain the possible effects of self-selection bias, given the relative difficulty of participant recruitment: the volunteering informants may have either suffered more L2 influence/L1 attrition (and therefore volunteered to participate, feeling they had "something to say" on the topic) or a lesser amount thereof (and therefore felt less vulnerable to volunteer). Finally, having native speakers as raters would possibly have led to slightly different results (as demonstrated in Schmid and Hopp 2014).

In order to provide a different, more personalised angle and to partially compensate for the shortcomings listed above, the quantitative data analyses were augmented with a qualitative analysis of the expats' narratives, which showed a good degree of correspondence to the FAR score data, thus supporting the hypothesis that some participants have acquired a slight foreign accent while living and working in the Czech Republic. The narrative data also showed emotions associated with this phenomenon, namely amusement and sometimes irritation.

7 Conclusion

First language attrition is a fascinating (and still understudied) area in the field of bilingualism. In this paper, I presented evidence suggesting that even Anglophone expatriates, who are able to use their L1 on daily basis and do not need to acquire the L2 of the country of residence, are not completely immune to it, at least on the phonetic level. The questions that remain open for future investigations include which factors are facilitative of L1 attrition in this population (in particular what role the amount of Czenglish input plays), and which factors help prevent it.

References

Bergmann, Christopher, Amber Nota, Simone A. Sprenger, and Monika S. Schmid. 2016. "L2 Immersion Causes Non-Native-Like L1 Pronunciation in German Attriters." *Journal of Phonetics* 58: 71–86. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wocn.2016.07.001.

Chaplin, Charlie, dir. 1936. *Modern times.* Leipzig: Kinowelt Home Entertainment, 2010. DVD.

Flege, James Emil. 1987. "The Production of "New" and "Similar" Phones in a Foreign Language: Evidence for the Effect of Equivalence Classification." *Journal of Phonetics* 15 (1): 47–65. http://www.jimflege.com/files/Flege_new_similar_JP_1987.pdf.

—. 2002. "Interactions Between Native and Second-Language Phonetic Systems." In *An Integrated View of Language Development: Papers in Honor of Henning Wode,* edited by Petra Burmeister, Thorsten Piske, and Andreas Rohde, 217–44. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier.

Hopp, Holger, and Monika S. Schmid. 2013. "Perceived Foreign Accent in First Language Attrition and Second Language Acquisition: The Impact of Age of Acquisition and Bilingualism." *Applied Psycholinguistics* 34 (2): 361–94. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0142716411000737.

Kachru, Braj B. 1990. "World Englishes and Applied Linguistics." *World Englishes* 9 (1): 3–20. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.1990.tb00683.x.

Kupske, Felipe Flores, and Ubiratã Kickhöfel Alves. 2016. "A fala de imigrantes brasileiros de primeira geração em Londres como evidência empírica para a língua como um Sistema Adaptativo Complexo." *Revista Virtual de Estudos da Linguagem-ReVEL* 14 (27): 173–203. http://www.revel.inf.br/files/e166bf461eec067bb8459c6617d5fd52.pdf.

Major, Roy C. 1992. "Losing English as a First Language." *The Modern Language Journal* 76 (2): 190–208. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/329772.

Major, Roy C., and Barbara O. Baptista. 2009. "First Language Attrition in Foreign Accent Detection." In *Recent Research in Second Language Phonetics/Phonology: Perception and Production*, edited by Michael A. Watkins, Andreia S. Rauber, and Barbara O. Babtista, 256–69. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Martin, Rod A. 2007. *The Psychology of Humour: An Integrative Approach*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

de Leeuw, Esther. 2008. "When Your Native Language Sounds Foreign: A Phonetic Investigation into First Language Attrition." PhD diss., Queen Margaret University Edinburgh.

Platt, John, and Heidi Weber. 1984. "Speech Convergence Miscarried: An Investigation into Inappropriate Accommodation Strategies." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1984 (46): 131–46. https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1984.46.131.

Riney, Timothy J., Mari Takada, and Mitsuhiko Ota. 2000. "Segmentals and Global Foreign Accent: The Japanese Flap in EFL." *Tesol Quarterly* 34 (4): 711–37. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.2307/3587782.

Sancier, Michele. L., and Carol A. Fowler. 1997. "Gestural Drift in a Bilingual Speaker of Brazilian Portuguese and English." *Journal of Phonetics* 25 (4): 421–36. https://doi.org/10.1006/jpho.1997.0051.

Schmid, Monika S. 2004. "Language Attrition Research: An Annotated Bibliography." In *First Language Attrition: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Methodological Issues*, edited by Monika S. Schmid, Barbara Köpke, Merel Keijzer, and Lina Weilemar, 317–48. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

—. 2011. *Language Attrition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—. 2016. "First Language Attrition." *Language Teaching* 49 (2): 186–212. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444815000476.

Schmid, Monika S., and Holger Hopp. 2014. "Comparing Foreign Accent in L1 Attrition and L2 Acquisition: Range and Rater Effects." *Language Testing* 31 (3): 367–88.

Sharpe, Bruce, Malcom Sharpe, Norman Lorrain, Russell Heistuman, and Doug Kaye. n.d. *The Levelator® 2,* Vers. 2.1.1. http://www.conversationsnetwork.org/levelator.

Sučková, Magda. 2012. "Phonetic Changes in the Speech of Anglophone Expatriates." MA thesis, Masaryk University.

Milica Vuković Stamatović, Vesna Bratić, Igor Lakić
University of Montenegro, Montenegro

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 101-113(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.101-113
UDC: [808.1:001.8]:378(497.16:73)

Vocabulary of L1 and L2 Graduation Theses Written by English Philology Students: Academic Writing of Montenegrin and US Students Compared

ABSTRACT

The paper explores the lexical profile of graduation theses written by the students at the University of Montenegro and compares it against that of BA theses authored by native speakers of American English. We study their lexical level (LFP method), lexical variation (sTTR method), and share of academic vocabulary according to the New Academic Word List. We aim to determine how different L2 academic writing is and where the lexical differences may lie, so that pedagogical recommendations can be made. The results show that the Montenegrin theses are readable at 4,000 words, which means that CEFR B2 learners can read them at a reasonable level. In contrast, the theses written by native speakers can be read at 7,000 words, i.e. only by those commanding good C levels. As this is in line with our expectations, we conclude that the Montenegrin theses display a sufficient vocabulary size. Since the students still underuse academic vocabulary, we recommend that more emphasis should be placed on it during their studies.

Keywords: lexical profile, lexical variation, LFP, sTTR, academic vocabulary, NAWL

Besedišče prvega in drugega jezika v diplomskih nalogah študentov angleškega jezika: Primerjava akademskega pisanja črnogorskih in ameriških študentov

POVZETEK

Članek obravnava leksikalni profil diplomskih nalog študentov Univerze v Črni gori in ga primerja s profilom nalog govorcev ameriške angleščine. Razišče njihovo leksikalno raven (metoda LFP), leksikalno variacijo (metoda sTTR) in delež akademskega besedišča po seznamu New Academic Word List. Ugotavljamo, kako drugačno je akademsko pisanje v drugem jeziku in kje se lahko pojavljajo leksikalne razlike. Iz ugotovitev izhajajo priporočila za pedagoško obravnavo. Rezultati kažejo, da so črnogorske naloge berljive na ravni 4000 besed, kar pomeni, da jih lahko razmeroma dobro berejo učenci na ravni B2 po SEJO. Po drugi strani pa naloge, ki so jih napisali rojeni govorci, zahtevajo poznavanje 7000 besed, ki je dosegljivo le učencem na ravneh C. Rezultat je pričakovan, zato zaključimo, da črnogorske diplomske naloge kažejo zadostno velikost besedišča. Ker črnogorski študenti premalo uporabljajo akademsko besedišče, priporočimo večji poudarek na njegovi obravnavi tekom študija.

Ključne besede: leksikalni profil, leksikalna variacija, LFP, sTTR, akademsko besedišče, NAWL

CC BY SA

1 Introduction

In this paper, we study the lexical profile of the diploma papers written by the students graduating from the Department of English Language and Literature, at the University of Montenegro. The aim is to explore their writing in terms of its lexical level and variation, as well as their command of academic vocabulary, and observe how it compares against the academic writing of the native students graduating from the same field. Therefore, this study is both descriptive and contrastive in nature and, based on the results, we aim to draw some pedagogical implications related to developing vocabulary and writing skills in these students.

To achieve these aims, we use a corpus linguistic methodology. Namely, to measure the vocabulary level or load, we employ the Lexical Frequency Profiling (LFP) method, which will also be used to measure the coverage of academic vocabulary in our corpus. To calculate lexical variation, we use the standardised Type-to-Token Ratio (sTTR) method. The resulting lexical profile of our corpus is compared against the lexical profile of a corpus of bachelor theses written by native speakers of American English to determine where the lexical differences may lie.

2 Theoretical Background

In this section of the paper, we briefly cover two broad topics – the corpus linguistic methods and how L2 writing generally compares against L1 writing in terms of vocabulary.

2.1 Corpus Linguistics

It was not before the early 1980s that the name of the discipline dealing with the creation and description of corpora – *corpus linguistics* – entered general use (McCarthy and O'Keeffe 2010, 5). Corpus linguistics falls within the umbrella concept of *descriptive linguistics*, which can yield objective, quantitative results, the analysis of which typically continues using other linguistic methods, so as to interpret the obtained data in a qualitative way. Therefore, corpus linguistics by no means represents an end in itself: it is a research tool which can be used in most linguistic disciplines based on exploring authentic language, i.e. language in use.

The basic procedure in corpus linguistics involves work with sets of authentic texts called *corpora*, the largest of which amount to as many as half a billion words. These can be processed automatically via various software, producing vast amounts of various data on language patterns and behaviour. The next research step is to statistically interpret the data thus obtained, making use of more or less complex techniques in the process. Patterns are sought and meaning(s) are interpreted as a function of context. There are several methodologies in corpus linguistics, which prove most useful when examining vocabulary and morphological categories. This method boasts the advantages of objectivity and systematicity in processing vast amounts of authentic data.

In the following subsections we briefly present the corpus linguistic methods which will be employed in this study, as stated in the introduction.

2.1.1 Lexical Frequency Profiling and Word Lists

The method of Lexical Frequency Profiling (LFP) was developed in 1995 by Laufer and Nation, and is used for quantifying the lexical richness of a text as well as the productive size of the learner's vocabulary. The method is based on the following procedure: a corpus is "entered" into a specialised program alongside one or several word lists (e.g. these lists can feature high-frequency vocabulary, academic vocabulary, technical vocabulary, etc.). The program calculates the amount of coverage of each of these lists in the corpus loaded. The obtained results can then be compared to those for other corpora, which reveals how lexically complex a certain corpus is in comparison to others.

Being the best-known frequency-based measure of vocabulary, the LFP is very often used in EFL research and teaching, most typically to determine the lexical complexity of certain texts. Although it is not the sole method for calculating lexical richness, the LFP has been found to produce results that to a great extent match those obtained using other methods (Lindqvist Gudmundson, and Bardel 2013). Even though the results obtained in this way are numerical, which certainly contributes to their clarity and verifiability, the method has met with some criticism. The most prominent fault found is that it shows a bias towards receptive knowledge. In addition, when the lexical profile is "reduced" to just word frequencies, some "information loss" seems to be inevitable (Crossley, Cobb, and McNamara 2013). Nevertheless, over the course of the past two decades this method has been widely used (Cobb and Horst 1999; Morris and Cobb 2004; Read and Nation 2006; Douglas 2015 etc.).

Today word lists are normally compiled from large authentic corpora. The ones containing the most frequent general-purpose vocabulary are most typically employed in teaching General English. Others are more narrowly specialised for certain domains, such as academic word lists for tertiary-education cycle students or ESP learners' lists. They are typically employed as teaching and learning resources (Khani and Tazik 2013), as well as guidelines for developing EFL and ESP textbooks, curricula and courses (Wang, Liang and Ge 2008).

One word list in particular, the General Service List (GSL, West 1953), was influential for decades. It was extracted from a five million-word corpus manually and contains the most frequent 2,000 word families[1] of English. The GSL was widely used until quite recently, its updated replacements having been introduced as late as in 2013. The updated GSLs are known as the NGSLs, standing for the New General Service Lists (Brezina and Gablasova 2013; Browne, Culligan, and Phillips n.d.b) and they outperform the old GSL to a certain degree, as the original GSL is somewhat outdated now.

The Academic Word List (Coxhead 2000) was developed by using the GSL in such a way that the words represented in this word list were excluded, whereby an academic corpus of 3.5 million words was used as a basis for extracting the word list. It was found to cover about 10% of the words in most academic corpora with its 570 word families.

Just as the AWL was built on top of the original GSL, the NAWL (New Academic Word List; Browne, Culligan and Phillips n.d.a) was developed on top of the NGSL (Browne,

[1] A headword and all its inflected and derived forms, for instance, *know, knows, knowing, knew, known, knowledge, knowledges, knowledgeable, unknown*.

Culligan and Phillips n.d.b). Therefore, these can be used together, as is the case with the previous set of word lists (the GSL and the AWL). The NGSL was developed based on a 273 million-word subsection of the Cambridge English Corpus, whereas the NAWL was derived from a 288 million-word academic corpus. In the latter, the NGSL covers 86%, whereas the NAWL covers an additional 6%, according to the dedicated website of Browne, Culligan and Phillips (n.d.b).[2] As can be seen, the newer lists are based on much bigger corpora than the word lists produced earlier and should, therefore, provide more coverage in various texts.

In 2012, the enormous corpus which combined the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) gave birth to a set of frequency-based word lists (Nation 2020): 25 now exist, each featuring 1,000 word families. This set comes alongside four additional word lists, containing proper names, marginal words, transparent (non-hyphenated) compounds and abbreviations. Proper names are generally considered easy to recognise, and their coverage is often calculated together with the word lists containing content words to determine how readable texts are. Some authors also assume that abbreviations (which are typically explained in the texts in which they are used) and non-hyphenated compounds (which are generally easy to decipher from the meanings of their parts when found in context) do not add to the vocabulary load either (Hsu 2014; Vuković Stamatović 2019). The same might be said of marginal words in our case, given that they contain the letters of the alphabet, swear words and exclamations – in our corpus, there are neither swear words nor exclamations, and so the supplementary word list containing marginal words covers only the letters of the alphabet (for instance, "*the example D*"), and these can also be treated as non-words or words which do not add to the vocabulary load. Nation's (2017) set of the described word lists can be used for determining how lexically demanding a corpus is.

2.1.2 TTR and sTTR

The most frequently used methodology for measuring lexical variation is that of the TTR, standing for Type-to-Token Ratio. *Tokens* represent the number of individual words used in a text ("running words") and *types* refer to the number of the unique word forms in that text. The formula is sensitive to the size of the corpus (Kubát and Milička 2013) and, therefore, not very reliable when comparing corpora of different sizes. This has attracted different attempts to improve it. In his *WordSmith Tools*, Scott (2004) integrated a measure called standardised TTR (sTTR), in which a text is divided into chunks of equal length and the TTR is calculated for each of these chunks separately; the final sTTR result represents the average of all the ratios calculated for the equally-sized chunks.

TTR-based methods measure diversity, i.e. variability of the vocabulary. Nevertheless, variation cannot provide an insight into the level of the vocabulary, i.e. what type of words are used and how frequent these words are in general language. For example, a text may display substantial lexical variation and still comprise mainly mid-frequency general-purpose words. Having this in mind, we opted to use both the LFP method and the sTTR measure, as suggested above.

[2] See http://www.newgeneralservicelist.org/nawl-new-academic-word-list.

2.2 Vocabulary and L1 and L2 Writing

L2 writing has been found to vary significantly from L1 writing (Troia 2007). In terms of vocabulary, L2 writing was found to feature a lower lexical variation (Linnarud 1986), use fewer words (Staples and Reppen 2016) and contain errors arising from an inadequate selection of words (Sonomura 1996; Eckstein and Ferris 2018).

Nation (2013) finds that there are approximately 70,000 word families in English, and that an average high-school graduate will know about 20,000 of them. As for L2, Nation and Waring (1997) find that an adult ESL/EFL speaker typically knows fewer than 5,000 word families of English, even though he/she has learned this language for years. As can be seen, there is a big gap between the vocabulary size of native and non-native speakers of English, and vocabulary is certainly one of the major obstacles that non-native speakers face.

Milton (2010, 226) and Capel (2012) attempt correlating vocabulary sizes with the CEFR[3] levels, and determine roughly the following correspondences: A1 level – 1,000 word families; A2 level – 2,000 word families; B1 level – 3,000 word families; B2 level – 4,000 word families; C levels[4] – 5,000+ word families.

These numbers correspond to a learner's receptive knowledge of vocabulary. The best non-native speakers, such as doctoral students studying in English as a medium of instruction, are likely to know the most frequent 9,000 word families of English, Nation estimates (2013, 26).

When it comes to academic vocabulary, learning this has been the focus of teaching English for Academic Purposes (EAP), which is a common course found in the undergraduate curricula pursued by L2 speakers. Moreover, Snow and Ucelli (2009) argue that academic vocabulary is also more challenging than other registers for native speakers, and that it should be explicitly taught to them too.

3 Data and Procedure

Two corpora are used in the paper. One of them is a corpus of 24 diploma papers recently written by the students graduating in English Philology from the Faculty of Philology of the University of Montenegro (after four years of studies). Twelve of these graduation theses belong to the field of linguistics and the other 12 to the field of literary studies. This corpus comprises 180,020 tokens.

The second corpus comprises bachelor theses written by native English speakers – 12 of them are from the discipline of English linguistics and they were taken from the repository of the Department of Linguistics of the Ohio State University (Ohio, USA), while the other 12 are from English literary studies, and these were taken from the repository of the Middlebury College (Vermont, USA). This corpus comprises 324,554 tokens.

[3] Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2001).

[4] Milton (2010, 226) and Capel (2015, 4) do not make a distinction between the C1 and the C2 levels in terms of vocabulary size.

We use a computer programme called AntWordProfiler 1.4.1 (Anthony 2014), a freeware tool[5] developed by Laurence Anthony, which is widely used for determining vocabulary load and corpora complexity.

The research questions we aim to answer are the following:

> RQ1. How lexically rich are Montenegrin graduation theses written by the students of English philology in comparison with BA theses written by their English philology peers from the USA?
>
> RQ2. What is the level of lexical variation in the Montenegrin graduation theses written by the students of English philology in comparison to that of the bachelor theses written by their English philology peers from the USA?
>
> RQ3. How much academic vocabulary do Montenegrin English philology students use in their graduation theses in comparison to their US peers?

The results are presented in the next section.

4 Results and Analysis

When comparing the two datasets, one first notices the difference in the number of words the Montenegrin and the US graduation theses feature. An average Montenegrin thesis contains 7,500 words, which corresponds to an average length of an academic article published in a philological journal. On the other hand, the US theses prove to be much longer, featuring around 13,500 words on average. Of course, these differences are a matter of conventions and a consequence arising from the guidelines given to the students, but they might point to how much importance is given to the graduation piece of writing in the two education systems.

4.1 Lexical Level of Graduation Theses

We first present the coverages reached by Nation's (2017) set of word lists in the two corpora (Table 1). We use the version of these word lists found on Anthony's website.[6] We present the results for the first nine word lists, for convenience, as the remaining 16 word lists featured very little frequency in the corpora.

When analysing the lexical frequency profile in L2 texts, researchers usually first look at how much of the text is covered by the most frequent words – typically, the first 2,000 words (as we have seen, the knowledge of these words generally corresponds to the A2 level according to CEFR). Generally, the higher this percentage is, the simpler the overall vocabulary will be, bearing in mind that less room will be left for the more 'difficult', i.e. generally infrequent words. The first 2,000 words together take up 83.13% and 77.89% in the Montenegrin and the US corpora of graduation theses, respectively, which is a first indication that the graduation writing of the native English speakers will be of a significantly higher level, as expected.

As the writing in question is certainly more advanced than the A2 level, i.e., it goes substantially beyond the most frequent 2,000 words of English, more measures need to be considered, and usually readability of texts is determined as a next step.

---

[5] See https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antwordprofiler/.

[6] See https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antwordprofiler/.

Table 1. Lexical level of graduation theses.

BNC/COCA word lists	Montenegrin graduation theses		US graduation theses		Examples of frequent words from the word lists
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	
Proper names	3.3	3.3	3.34	3.34	English, America, Ann, Midland, Faulkner, Scotland, Rosemary…
Marginal words	0.39	3.69	0.43	3.77	p, l, e, h, b…
Transparent compounds	0.17	3.86	0.2	3.79	southeast, forever, storyteller, afterthought, baseline, lifestyle, lifetime, notebook…
Abbreviations	0.13	3.99	0.2	4.17	al., ttt, En., L1, www, http, UK, org, conj.
1,000 BNC/ COCA	73.96	77.95	67.88	72.05	the, be, of, and, to, read, word, when, can, use, write, at, other…
2,000 BNC/ COCA	9.17	**87.12**	10.01	**82.06**	language, speech, character, sentence, example, argue, introduce…
3,000 BNC/ COCA	6.78	93.9	7.51	89.57	text, discourse, novel, narrate, clause, distinct, notion, plot…
4,000 BNC/ COCA	1.38	**95.28**	2.17	91.74	utter, classification, linguistic, portray, prejudice, feminine, oppress…
5,000 BNC/ COCA	0.85	96.13	1.26	93	verb, cue, intelligible, patriarch, temporal, token, deviate…
6,000 BNC/ COCA	0.60	96.73	1.18	94.18	dialect, creak, syllable, conjunction, protagonist, heroine, accord, denote…
7,000 BNC/ COCA	0.64	97.37	0.82	**95**	vowel, dislocate, cohesion, mutilate, grammatical, psyche, trajectory…
8,000 BNC/ COCA	0.43	97.8	0.56	95.56	lexical, goblin, acoustic, pronoun, elliptical, chaste, permeable…
9,000 BNC/ COCA	0.22	**98.02**	0.36	95.92	slander, zombie, phonetic, stoke, entropy, atone, subjugate…

There are two figures in the literature taken as reading comprehension thresholds – the lower one is a 95% coverage (Laufer 1989), required for "reasonable" or "minimum" reading comprehension. So, how many words are needed to read the graduation theses from our corpus at the level of reasonable comprehension? The Montenegrin theses are read at 4,000 words, if one assumes an easy recognition of the words from the supplementary word lists, as argued in section 2.1.1 (these words are typically taken as not adding to the vocabulary load of a text). On the other hand, to read the US graduation theses at the level of reasonable comprehension, the first 7,000 words are needed, which points to much higher lexical demands. If this is correlated with the CEFR levels, it would mean that an EFL/ESL speaker who is at a B2 level could read the Montenegrin graduation theses, but that the C levels would be needed to read those written by the US students.

If we consider the results with regard to the vocabulary size of the Montenegrin graduating students, we can observe that 95% of their writing consists of the most frequent 4,000 words, and this is their minimum productive vocabulary size as displayed in writing (receptive vocabulary typically exceeds the productive one (Webb 2008)). In the remaining 5% of their writing they also use the more infrequent words, i.e. those from the higher frequency bands. Based on these two pieces of information, we can conclude that they, on average, have a vocabulary at the C levels, which is what is expected of them, given that they are graduating from English philology.

The ideal reading level is reached if one knows 98% of the words used in a text (Nation 2006). Such ideal reading is possible at 9,000 words when Montenegrin graduation theses are in question – which is within the reach of good non-native speakers. Nation (2013, 26) estimates that L2 students doing doctoral studies in English command a vocabulary of at least 9,000 words, and our results fit in with those estimates. However, for the US graduation theses, the whole of Nation's set of word lists did not suffice. Beyond the first 25,000 words of English are typically some specialised words from various fields or some archaic ones. In this case, it would mean that a specialised vocabulary from the field of philology would be needed if one wanted to read the U.S. graduation theses at an ideal level of comprehension.

The differences between the two groups of writers are, of course, expected; however, our goal was to ascertain how big they exactly are. The Montenegrin graduation theses are written by non-native speakers at the C levels (most probably, C1), and can be read by others holding a similar level of English. With this level, the US graduation theses could be read with reasonable comprehension, but only an expert in the field, i.e. one with a good knowledge of the specialised philological vocabulary, could read them at an ideal level.

4.2 Academic Vocabulary in Graduation Theses

We aim to examine how much academic vocabulary Montenegrin students use in comparison to their peers who are native speakers of English. We use the NGSL and the NAWL for this purpose (Table 2), given that this is a recent set of word lists developed from an enormous corpus. These results are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Coverage of NGSL and NAWL in graduation theses (%).

Word list	Montenegrin graduation theses	US graduation theses	Examples of the words from the word list
NGSL	85.81	80.23	the, be, of, and, to, reader, sentence, voice, different, know, how, text, come, same, show, listener, verb, look, here, although, say, first, such, through, among, develop, heart…
NAWL	2.33	3.43	classification, marker, non, publish, precede, temporal, aspect, portray, definite, render, resemble, conception, denote, thereby, progressive, commentary, subtle, sphere, repertoire…
Total	88.14	83.32	/

As can be seen in Table 2, there is more frequent general-purpose vocabulary in the writing of Montenegrin students. The differences range between five and six percentage points and are in line with the results from Table 1.

Browne, Culligan and Phillips (n.d.b)[7] state that the NAWL covers 6% of the academic corpus from which it was derived. We find substantially less academic vocabulary in both corpora, probably resulting from the fact that students are novices at academic writing and not very experienced in it. However, an important finding is that there is considerably less academic vocabulary in the writing of Montenegrin graduating students – they used about 32% less of the NAWL vocabulary in comparison to the US students. And while the differences in the use of frequent and infrequent general vocabulary are expected, bearing in mind the fact that we are comparing native with non-native writers, the big differences in the use of academic vocabulary are less justified by this. Students studying philology are explicitly instructed in using this vocabulary throughout their education, and in the ESL literature it is generally advised to teach academic vocabulary to L2 tertiary students just after their having mastered the basic general vocabulary (for instance, the first 2,000 words of English) (Coxhead 2000). As the academic word lists represent the most frequent academic vocabulary, focusing on one of them as the learning target in undergraduate English philology studies would be the most efficient use of time. For instance, the NAWL list, with its 963 lemmas, is a feasible learning target to be aimed at in these studies, which typically last three to four years.

The gap in the amount of academic vocabulary between the two groups leads to the pedagogical recommendation that some more emphasis on academic vocabulary should be made in the teaching of Montenegrin students of English philology.

4.3 Lexical Variation in Graduation Theses

Finally, we look at how much lexical variation the writing of the two groups of students displays (Table 3).

[7] See http://www.newgeneralservicelist.org/nawl-new-academic-word-list.

Table 3. Lexical variation in graduation theses (%).

Lexical variation measure	Montenegrin Graduation Theses	US Graduation Theses
sTTR for 10,000-Word Chunks	0.2	0.22

Given that the two datasets were of different sizes, we used the standardised TTR measure. As explained earlier, this ratio is obtained when the number of the unique word forms (types) is divided by the number of running words in a given segment (here we opted for 10,000-word-long chunks); the higher the ratio obtained, the more lexical variation a text displays. The results point to a slightly smaller lexical variation in the Montenegrin corpus, but the differences between the two groups are not that large (0.2 vs. 0.22). This finding points to how important it is to take different measures of lexical richness into account when attempting to compare different corpora – the TTR-based measure alone would not have pointed to a significant difference in the two datasets, although the researcher could assume that there would be significant differences. In this case, only the LFP measures pointed to the differences and confirmed the expectation that the writing of the L2 students would be less complex in terms of vocabulary.

5 Pedagogical Implications

The writing of Montenegrin students featured considerably less academic vocabulary in comparison to that of their US peers. Therefore, the Montenegrin students should be encouraged to master and use more academic vocabulary in their graduation theses, bearing in mind that they represent an academic genre governed by certain academic writing conventions, as well as a specific syntax. As with learning any type of vocabulary, providing students with sufficient exposure to it, i.e., input flooding, is essential. A problem here may be that undergraduate L2 students, in general, are not properly equipped to read authentic research papers in English until they have graduated, on account of their vocabularies, as well as their insufficient familiarity with advanced linguistics and literary studies. This problem may be overcome by exposing them to L1 undergraduate seminar and graduation papers, i.e., those written by their L1 peers – typically, these will be less complex in terms of content than a research article written by a scholar, but will expose them to authentic academic vocabulary and good models of academic writing.

We also recommend focusing on a specific academic vocabulary list – all the mentioned corpus-derived lists have been carefully produced to reflect the most frequent vocabulary with best range and distribution in various types of academic writing and across disciplines. They thus provide the largest coverage with the least number of words in academic writing, which makes focusing on them and teaching them strategically a very efficient use of time. They all contain between 500 and 1,000 words, and would thus be feasible learning targets as part of undergraduate L2 philology studies. Hirsh and Coxhead (2009) provide concrete suggestions of the methods of teaching specialised word lists effectively.

Some of the students will continue their postgraduate studies abroad or wish to publish in scholarly journals, and based on our results they would not be entirely ready for this. Therefore, the pedagogical aim should be to work in the direction of overcoming this shortcoming in their academic writing.

6 Conclusion

Based on the results presented above, we can say that the writing of the Montenegrin students displayed sufficient lexical richness, bearing in mind that they are non-native speakers. The amount of the vocabulary they used pointed to their having the C levels, according to the CEFR scale. Their vocabulary size was in line with the level of vocabulary that Nation (2013) suggests the L2 postgraduate students typically have. In addition, we discovered that the writing of Montenegrin students did not feature as much academic vocabulary as is expected in academic writing. Based on this, we recommend that more focus be placed on academic vocabulary and its use in academic writing in philological studies in Montenegro.

As the present study is based on a corpus of 24 Montenegrin graduation theses and the same number of US graduation theses, we note that a larger corpus would produce more reliable results. Bearing in mind that English philology is a diverse field, perhaps some differences in the linguistic and literary theses could be observed or these could be explored separately in further research. Related to this, we suggest a larger cross-comparison of graduation theses amongst additional groups of L1 and L2 students, which could also encompass theses from more universities. A larger-scale study could more reliably point to certain universal differences in the L1 and the L1 academic writing of the graduating students.

References

Anthony, Laurence. 2014. *AntWordProfiler* (version 1.4.1). Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University.

Brezina, Vaclav, and Dana Gablasova. 2013. "Is There a Core General Vocabulary? Introducing the New General Service List." *Applied Linguistics* 36 (1): 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin%2famt018.

Browne, Charles, Brent Culligan, and Joseph Phillips. n.d.a. "The New Academic World List 1.0." New General Service List. http://www.newgeneralservicelist.org/nawl-new-academic-word-list/.

—. n.d.b. "The New General Service List." Accessed September 1, 2019. http://www.newgeneralservicelist.org/.

Capel, Annette. 2012. "Completing the *English Vocabulary Profile*: C1 and C2 Vocabulary." *English Profile Journal* 3 (e1): 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1017/S2041536212000013.

Cobb, Tom, and Marlise Horst. 1999. "Vocabulary Sizes of Some City University Students." *Journal of the Division of Language Studies of City University of Hong Kong* 1: 59–68.

Council of Europe. 2001. *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coxhead, Averil. 2000. "A New Academic Word List." *TESOL* 34 (2): 213–38. https://doi.org/10.2307/3587951.

Crossley, Scott A., Tom Cobb, and Danielle S. McNamara. 2013. "Comparing Count-Based and Band-Based Indices of Word Frequency: Implications for Active Vocabulary Research and Pedagogical Applications." *System* 41 (4): 965–81. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2013.08.002.

Douglas, Scott Roy. 2015. "The Relationship between Lexical Frequency Profiling Measures and Rater Judgements of Spoken and Written General English Language Proficiency on the CELPIP-General Test." *TESL Canada Journal* 32 (9): 43–64. https://doi.org/10.18806/tesl.v32i0.1217.

Eckstein, Grant, and Dana Ferris. 2018. "Comparing L1 and L2 Texts and Writers in First-Year Composition." *TESOL Quarterly* 52 (1): 137–62. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.376.

Hirsh, David, and Averil Coxhead. 2009. "Ten Ways of Focusing on Science-Specific Vocabulary in EAP Classrooms." *English Australia Journal* 25 (1): 5–16.
Hsu, Wenhua. 2014. "Measuring the Vocabulary Load of Engineering Textbooks for EFL Undergraduates." *English for Specific Purposes* 33: 54–65. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2013.07.001.
Khani, Reza, and Khalil Tazik. 2013. "Towards the Development of an Academic Word List for Applied Linguistics Research Articles." *RELC Journal* 44 (2): 209–32. https://doi.org/10.1177%2f0033688213488432.
Kubát, Miroslav, and Jiří Milička. 2013. "Vocabulary Richness Measure in Genres." *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics* 20 (4): 339–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/09296174.2013.830552.
Laufer, Batia. 1989. "What Percentage of Text Lexis Is Essential for Comprehension?" In *Special Language: From Humans Thinking to Thinking Machines*, edited by Christer Laurén and Marianne Nordman, 316–23. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
Laufer, Batia, and Paul Nation. 1995. "Vocabulary Size and Use: Lexical Richness in L2 Written Production." *Applied Linguistics* 16 (3): 307–22. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/16.3.307.
Lindqvist, Christina, Anna Gudmundson, and Camilla Bardel. 2013. "A New Approach to Measuring Lexical Sophistication in L2 Oral Production." In *L2 Vocabulary Acquisition, Knowledge and Use: New Perspectives on Assessment and Corpus Analysis*, edited by Camilla Bardel, Christina Lindqvist, and Batia Laufer, 109–26. European Second Language Association.
Linnarud, Moira. 1986. *Lexis in Composition: A Performance Analysis of Swedish Learners' Written English*. Malmo: Liber Forlag Malmo.
McCarthy, Michael, and Anne O'Keeffe. 2010. "What Are Corpora and How Have They Evolved?" In *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*, edited by Michael McCarthy and Anne O'Keeffe, 3–13. Abingdon, New York: Routledge.
Milton, James. 2010. "The Development of Vocabulary Breadth across the CEFR Levels." In *Communicative Proficiency and Linguistic Development: Intersections Between SLA and Language Testing Research,* edited by Inge Bartning, Maisa Martin, and Ineke Vedder, 211–32. European Second Language Association.
Morris, Lori, and Tom Cobb. 2004. "Vocabulary Profiles as Predictors of the Academic Performance of Teaching English as a Second Language Trainees." *System* 32 (1): 75–87. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2003.05.001.
Nation, Paul. 2006. "How Large a Vocabulary Is Needed for Reading and Listening?" *Canadian Modern Language Review* 63 (1): 59–82.
—. 2013. *Learning Vocabulary in Another Language*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
—. 2020. "The BNC/COCA Word Family Lists." Accessed September 1, 2019. https://www.wgtn.ac.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/1857641/about-bnc-coca-vocabulary-list.pdf.
Nation, Paul, and Robert Waring. 1997. "Vocabulary Size, Text Coverage and Word Lists." In *Vocabulary: Description, Acquisition and Pedagogy*, edited by Norbert Schmitt and Michael McCarthy, 6–19. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Read, John, and Paul Nation. 2006. "An Investigation of the Lexical Dimension of the IELTS Speaking Test." *IELTS Research Reports* 6: 1–25.
Scott, Mike. 2004. *Oxford WordSmith Tools* (version 4.0). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Sonomura, Marion Okawa. 1996. *Idiomaticity in the Basic Writing of American English*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
Staples, Shelley, and Randi Reppen. 2016. "Understanding First-Year L2 Writing: A Lexico-Grammatical Analysis across L1s, Genres, and Language Ratings." *Journal of Second Language Writing* 32: 17–35. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jslw.2016.02.002.
Troia, Gary. 2007. "Research in Writing Instruction: What We Know and What We Need to Know." In *Shaping Literacy Achievement: Research We Have, Research We Need,* edited by Michael Pressley, Alison Billman, Kristen Perry, Kelly Reffitt, and Julia Reynolds, 129–56. New York: Guilford Press.
Vuković Stamatović, Milica. 2019. "Vocabulary Complexity and Reading and Listening Comprehension of Various Physics Genres." *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory.* https://doi.org/10.1515/cllt-2019-0022.

Webb, Stuart. 2008. "Receptive and Productive Vocabulary Sizes of L2 Learners." *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 30 (1): 79–95. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0272263108080042.
Wang, Jing, Shao-lan Liang, and Guang-chun Ge. 2008. "Establishment of a Medical Word List." *English for Specific Purposes* 27: 442–58.
West, Michael. 1953. *A General Service List of English Words*. London: Longman.

Part II

Literature

Parisa Changizi
University of Ostrava, Czechia

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 117-136(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.117-136
UDC: 821.111.09-313.2Le Guin U.K.

"Permanent Revolution" to Effect an Ever-Evasive (Ecological) Utopia in Ursula K. Le Guin's *The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia*

ABSTRACT

This article aims to analyse Ursula Le Guin's *The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia* from an ecological perspective. In her ecologically conscious story, Le Guin explores the (ironic) manifestation and repercussions of humanity's environmental fear, the virtues and ills of an ever-evasive ecological utopian society that is paradoxically informed by eco-friendly and ecophobic propensities in its pursuit of freedom through the vigorous practice of the art of dispossession, and the possibility of transcending the hyper-separated categories of difference that include the human/non-human dichotomy. What Le Guin seeks in her fictional effort above all is a permanent revolution advocating a never-ending diligent and earnest endeavour to effect an improved, preferable society with a revised awareness of its relations to its human and non-human Others, free from the ethic of exploitation rather than a promotion of an already achieved perfect state.

Keywords: ecophobia, dispossession, freedom, biocolonisation, human/non-human dichotomy, ecological utopia

Učinek »stalne revolucije« na izmuzljivo (ekološko) utopijo v romanu Ursule K. Le Guin *Mož praznih rok*

POVZETEK

V članku analiziram roman *Mož praznih rok* Ursule Le Guin z vidika ekologije. V tej ekološko ozaveščeni zgodbi avtorica raziskuje (ironično) udejanjanje in posledice okolijskih strahov človeštva, vrline in slabosti izmuzljive ekološke utopične družbe, ki se v iskanju svobode na način razlastninjenja in možnostjo preseganja vseh dihotomij (tudi človeško/nečloveško) paradoksalno napaja tako iz ekologiji prijaznih, kot tudi iz ekofobičnih praks. Skozi pripoved Ursula Le Guin zasleduje zlasti možnost stalne revolucije, ki se zavzema za nenehno tvorno in predano prizadevanje za boljšo, ustreznejšo družbo na način spreminjanja odnosov do človeških in nečloveških Drugih z zavračanjem etike izkoriščanja, in ne s promocijo že obstoječega stanja popolnosti.

Ključne besede: ekofobija, razlastninjenje, svoboda, biokolonizacija, dihotomija človeško/nečloveško, ekološka utopija

CC BY SA

1 Lord, We Know What We Are, But Know Not What We May Be: Introduction

Ursula Le Guin was writing at a time when the modern environmental movement was beginning to find its way onto the American scene. Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* was published in 1962, Paul Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb* in 1968, and Barry Commoner's *The Closing Circle* in 1971. The First Earth Day took place in 1970, and the First World Environmental Summit held by the UN in 1972. Furthermore, Le Guin's writing career coincided with "the period of United States colonial expansion – into Vietnam, into Central America, into space, and out to the moon" (Bassnett 1991, 52). She was also writing in the middle of the Cold War, and that is probably why her voluntarily isolated near-utopian society, with its constant references to metaphorical and concrete walls, is uneasily reminiscent of East European communist countries (Klarer 1992, 116). Le Guin, in effect, hauls the very earthly conundrums of humanity and our universe as we know it, ecology and politics being at the forefront, to be played out on the stage of her bizarre, and a shade exaggerated alternate worlds. Then she moves to weave the ecological, feminist and pacifist stances of the time coupled with her philosophical and Taoist sensibilities into the fabric of her story. The seemingly alien environments and peoples of her planets prove to be familiarly decipherable. As Lem puts it in his *Solaris* (1961, 72),

> [w]e don't want to conquer the cosmos, we simply want to extend the boundaries of the Earth to the frontiers of the cosmos. For us, such and such a planet is as arid as the Sahara, another as frozen as the North Pole, yet another as lush as the Amazon basin. . . . We are only seeking Man. We have no need of other worlds. We need mirrors.

Le Guin holds up a mirror by imagining forward and onto her exotic, estranging environments to critique the reality of the world as she sees it. In her ecologically conscious story, Le Guin sets out to explore the (ironic) manifestation and repercussions of humanity's environmental fear, the virtues and ills of an ever-evasive ecological utopian society that is paradoxically informed by eco-friendly and ecophobic propensities in its pursuit of freedom through the vigorous practice of the art of dispossession, and the possibility of transcending the hyper-separated categories of difference that include the human/non-human dichotomy.

The Dispossessed (1974), on the surface, is the same old story of "the lone individual succeeding against the odds" (Jose 1991, 189). However, upon closer inspection it becomes a nakedly candid thought-experiment in contemplation of an austere anarchism within the context of extreme ecological scarcity. The story takes place on two neighbouring planets, Anarres and Urras, with occasional references to other worlds. On one hand, the rich and abundant Urras closely resembles our Earth through its three societies: the exploitatively capitalist and hierarchical A-Io with suffering subordinate classes, the centralised authoritarian socialist Thu, and the Third World, post-colonial Benbili. On the other hand, Anarres is a "barren world, a world of distances, silences, desolations" (Le Guin 2002, 300) inhabited by the (self-)exiled anarchists from Urras. Anarresti are followers of a revolutionary female philosopher named Laia Odo who never set foot on the desert planet. The collective survival of the inhabitants is maintained by the Production and Distribution Coordination (PDC) that controls all the

natural resources, even though Anarres lacks any central government, and an inescapable social conscience that mandates a life of austere sacrifice and deprivation. The novel is built around Shevek, a brilliant Anarresti physicist, who dares challenge the rigid status quo of his society with the noble aspiration of pulling down walls through completion of his Theory that will make instantaneous communication possible. He leaves the arid Anarres for the lavish Urras in the hope of finding more tolerance. However, much to his chagrin, he finds himself being used as a pawn in dangerous Urassti political games. Ultimately, Shevek manages to break free and seek asylum from the burnt-out Terra, Earth in the future. With the help of Keng, the Terran Ambassador, he secures universal and equal access to his Theory for all nine Known Worlds. Upon completion of his mission, he returns home to keep fighting the good fight, reinvigorating the true revolutionary spirit of Odonian philosophy that seeks and values freedom above all.

2 Human Judges Can Show Mercy. But Against the Laws of Nature, There Is No Appeal: Tragic Ecophobian Resistance

A sense of place and the natural world around us is an integral part of our experience on planet Earth. As Carroll (2004, 157–58) contends,

> [t]hroughout most of our evolutionary history an alert attentiveness to the natural world would have been crucial to our survival, and the latent emotional responsiveness that attends this adaptive function has not disappeared with the advent of controlled climates and supermarket foods. Responsiveness to the sense of place is an elemental component of the evolved human psyche.

In this "alert attentiveness," we have come to develop two contradictory views of nature: It can be both friend and foe at the same time. Biophilia, "the innately emotional affiliation of human beings to other living organisms" (Kellert and Wilson 1993, 31), defines the positive side of our relationship with the environment. However, we also feel a deep-rooted hostility toward the natural world as our existence is constantly threatened by it. Ecophobia, as a recognisable discourse and one of the hallmarks of human progress, is "an irrational and groundless hatred of the natural world, as present and subtle in our daily lives and literature as homophobia and racism and sexism" (Estok 2009, 208). Simon Estok (2009, 210) believes that ecophobia more than anything is about control, power, and survival:

> Human history is a history of controlling the natural environment, of taking rocks and making them tools or weapons to modify or to kill parts of the natural environment, of building shelters to protect us from weather and predators, of maintaining personal hygiene to protect ourselves from diseases and parasites that can kill us.

As Estok explains in his "Tracking Ecophobia", our ecophobia "must be seen as an adaptive strategy" (2015, 31) ensuring our survival in a decidedly antagonistic world. However, imagining and marketing the "badness" in nature, or rather "writing ecophobia", is a complex affair that has inevitably legitimised our hostile and destructive treatment of the natural world. Imagine Elizabethans who were perfectly familiar with life-threatening problems such as "grain shortages, bad harvests, cold weather, and profound storms" (Estok 2009, 209), and

thus it becomes clear how a dramatist like Shakespeare could have easily written about an unhoused, alienated yet sympathetic king who is victimised by harsh weather in *King Lear*. Analogously, for a modern audience who is familiar with environmental issues such as

> polar ice sheets breaking off, global warming, and [Hurricane] Katrina, we may easily see how our media daily writes nature as a hostile opponent who is responding angrily to our incursions and actions, an opponent to be feared and, with any luck, controlled. (Estok 2009, 210)

Le Guin explores this complex human/Earth relationship in the context of an imaginary society on an imaginary planet. For her utopian society, she does not conjure up a highly advanced economy set in the most abundant of environments in which human beings unburdened from the struggle for their basic needs are left to pursue the highest forms of human flourishing. Instead, she imagines a people that have managed to maintain an acceptable level of liberty and equality regardless of great ecological scarcity. In *The Dispossessed*, those who live in Le Guin's utopia do so under conditions of extreme deprivation in a desert-like environment: "This was a dry world. Dry, pale, inimical" (Le Guin 2002, 100). This could be seen as a response to the years 1972 and 1973, that signalled the fading of the age of abundance enjoyed in the first two decades after the end of WWII. The new scarcity mentality was probably a child begotten of America's defeat in Vietnam, the oil crisis, and the publication of the Club of Rome's *The Limits to Growth* (1972) (Ramírez 2015, 86). Le Guin herself, in an interview (Slaughter 1998, 38), avers that the reason for this setting is that she believes less is more when it comes to her story:

> [W]hen you're doing a novel there's an awful lot of stuff in it, a lot of information to be given. It simplifies life to put it in the desert. If I had had to describe all the different kinds of plants in a rainforest planet, the novel would have just crawled out of the living room. A desert really can simplify things for the writer – large open spaces with people standing around in them.

The description of Abbenay, the centre of Anarres, showcases this idea of utmost clarity in simplicity: "There was a vividness to things, a hardness of edge and corner, a clarity. Everything stood out separate, itself" (Le Guin 2002, 83). Anarresti ideology even exalts this austerity as a form of honest purification from the excesses of life: "Abbenay was poisonless: a bare city, bright, the colors light and hard, the air pure. It was quiet. You could see it all, laid out as plain as spilt salt. Nothing was hidden" (Le Guin 2002, 84). However, this elucidating simplicity, or rather extreme ecological scarcity, could also show one of humanity's most relentless fears: a cold, snowy "dead" place is truly the stuff of nightmares (Le Guin 2002, 128). The aridity and hostility of the environment of this near-utopian society can be seen as a projection of humanity's environmental fear that in a reversal of wish fulfilment has become the object of desire. The heroic endeavour for the Anarresti is to rebel against the very abundance they so desperately crave, and survive regardless of the abject poverty of their environment. However, the catch is that they can run all they want but can never hide from the reality of human existence and its inescapable dependency on its environment. This dependency, of course, challenges the central Anarresti ideal of freedom.

What the anarchists crave above all is absolute freedom, and this freedom, they believe, can be achieved if only they genuinely practice the art of dispossession. That is why, in effect, they dispossess themselves of the abundance of Urras and embrace the paucity of Anarres. Here the Anarresti have all the chances they need to exercise their heroic defiance against complete dependency on an environment that offers nothing more than the absolute bare minimum. Green is definitely not a colour native to Anarres (Le Guin 2002, 82). There is "little running water", and the "'scenic' areas" are rather limited (Le Guin 2002, 148). Strict rationing, mandatory labour drafts, and threat of famine are part and parcel of life on this desert planet (Le Guin 2002, 205, 211). During hard times, people who are sick or too weak to work get half of already anaemic rations (Le Guin 2002, 257). Anarresti are sometimes forced to "recycle urine" due to droughts and water scarcity (Le Guin 2002, 196). And of course, "thirst and hunger", in such circumstances, always outrank "cleanliness" (Le Guin 2002, 196). The conditions are so harsh and dreadful that diseased, fatigued bodies are not seen as aberrations from the norm: "He [Shevek] did not consider himself ill; after the four years of famine everyone was so used to the effects of hardship and malnutrition that they took them as the norm" (Le Guin 2002, 266). All these deprivations stand in sharp contrast to the abundance of Urras, a planet they wilfully abandoned to fashion themselves into free agents. When on Urras, Shevek is struck by the most beautiful view he has ever laid eyes on:

> The tenderness and vitality of the colors, the mixture of rectilinear human design and powerful, proliferate natural contours, the variety and harmony of the elements, gave an impression of complex wholeness such as he had never seen, except, perhaps, foreshadowed on a small scale in certain serene and thoughtful human faces. (Le Guin 2002, 56)

In comparison, any scene from Anarres would fall short: Anarres is "barren, acrid, and inchoate" (Le Guin 2002, 57). The deserts of Southwest Anarres might be beautiful in their own right but they are, at the same time, "hostile, and timeless" (Le Guin 2002, 57). In effect, Anarresti cannot even make up for what they lack in land by rigorous labour: "Even where men farmed Anarres most closely, their landscape was like a crude sketch in yellow chalk compared with this fulfilled magnificence of life, rich in the sense of history and of seasons to come, inexhaustible" (Le Guin 2002, 57). It is only after spending some time on Urras that the dispossessed Shevek begins to read and more importantly fully appreciate, with great pleasure, the works of great Ioti poets when they speak of "flowers, and birds flying, and the colors of forests in autumn" (Le Guin 2002, 112). It is on Urras that Shevek, the man from a deprived environment, walks "in rain" as the Ioti walk "in sunshine, with enjoyment" (Le Guin 2002, 112). He is probably one of the few people on Urras who can fully appreciate the blessings of that world.

Regardless of all these hardships, the Anarresti have made an arguably fragile peace with their "crude sketch" and among themselves. The Odonian way of life clearly dictates against any form of possession, material or human. This idea is reinforced all the more by the inimicality of the environment that in any case forcibly and drastically revises the sense of entitlement and the human desire to possess. Such principles are instilled in people from a very early age. At the nursery, the matron's response to a "knobby baby" who does not want to share

his warm spot, a square of yellow sunlight from a window, with a "fat infant" is that here "[n]othing is yours. It is to use. It is to share. If you will not share it, you cannot use it" (Le Guin 2002, 26). The knobby baby, we find out, is Shevek, and this is the very first description we get of the protagonist of the story (Le Guin 2002, 26). In Pravic, the language spoken on Anarres, the "singular forms of the possessive pronoun […] were used mostly for emphasis; idiom avoided them. Little children might say 'my mother,' but very soon they learned to say 'the mother'" (Le Guin 2002, 50). "Money" and "buy" are foreign Iotic words spoken on Urras (Le Guin 2002, 51). Pravic also lacks any "proprietary idioms for the sexual act" regardless of the fact that it seems people can still experience a sense of belonging and ownership in their partnerships (Le Guin 2002, 47). This idea of dispossession is so potent and central to the Anarresti mindset that people even disdain pair-bonding and mother-child attachment. Vokep, an agricultural chemist travelling to Abbenay whom Shevek meets, argues that as women think they own you, no "woman can be an Odonian" (although Odo herself was a woman). He believes that for "most women, their only relationship to a man is *having*. Either owning or being owned" (Le Guin 2002, 46). He basically sees "half of human race" as propertarians: "What a man wants is freedom. What a woman wants is property. She'll only let you go if she can trade you for something else" (Le Guin 2002, 46). Shevek even wonders if Beshun, his former partner, had the intention to own him as when he was leaving she was crying and pleading with him not to go. Nevertheless, he concludes, "[s]he had not owned him. His own body had, in its first outburst of adult sexual passion, possessed him indeed – and her" (Le Guin 2002, 47). Then Vokep goes as far as blaming motherhood for female inadequacy in matters of anarchism: "Having babies. Makes 'em propertarians. They won't let go" (Le Guin 2002, 47). Similar to Vokep, Shevek himself once pedantically and harshly declares, "[l]ife partnerships is really against the Odonian ethic" (Le Guin 2002, 44). However, he ends up forming such a partnership with Takver, the mother of his two children, which proves to be quite fulfilling after all.

Closely entangled with this core ideal of dispossession is the disciplined abjuration of excess. Any form of excess, or "excrement" in Odo's words, is considered to be poisonous (Le Guin 2002, 84). That is probably why Shevek very quickly notices the profligate ways of non-Anarresti while he is on a ship to Urras. He is surprised to find out they "burn paper", or that they would just throw the cheap pyjamas away instead of cleaning them: "'It costs less,' Shevek repeated meditatively. He said the words the way a paleontologist looks at a fossil, the fossil that dates a whole stratum" (Le Guin 2002, 14). The Anarresti even refuse to enjoy the comfort they can get easily from the "green" energy they harvest:

> No heat was furnished when the outside temperature went above 55 degrees Fahrenheit. It was not that Abbenay was short of power, not with her wind turbines and the earth temperature-differential generators used for heating; but the principle of organic economy was too essential to the functioning of the society not to affect ethics and aesthetics profoundly. (Le Guin 2002, 84)

As Rulag, Shevek's mother, argues, the "self-sacrifice impulse" which might find its apotheosis in "people in the medical arts" does not necessarily lead to "maximum efficiency" (Le Guin 2002, 102). When Shevek expectantly enters a park in Abbenay where they have

the "alien trees" from Urras to "experience the greenness of those multitudinous leaves", he feels ambivalent toward the ostensible wastefulness of the extravagant foliage: "Such trees couldn't thrive without a rich soil, constant watering, much care. He disapproved of their lavishness, their thriftlessness" (Le Guin 2002, 85). Even "privacy", except for sexual activity, is considered to be just another kind of excess, and therefore "not functional": Shevek's "first reaction to being put in a private room [to do his physics research], then, was half disapproval and half shame" (Le Guin 2002, 94). Similarly, Shevek feels guilty when he takes the extra desserts he likes at the Institute refectory: "And his conscience, his organic-societal conscience, got indigestion. Didn't everybody at every refectory, from Abbenay to Uttermost, get the same, share and share alike? […] He stopped taking dessert at the refectory" (Le Guin 2002, 94–95). In line with Vokep's twisted logic, Rulag believes that being "proud" of her child is not only "strange" but "[u]nreasonable or even "[p]ropertarian" (Le Guin 2002, 104). Takver also thinks that she has spoiled her child by breastfeeding her until she was three, when there was nothing good which she could wean her onto (Le Guin 2002, 263). Takver is, in fact, accused of being "propertarian" when she refuses to put her child in nursery full time (Le Guin 2002, 263). Her "maternal ambitions and anxieties" are seen as a hindrance to her robust common sense: "This was not natural to her; neither competitiveness nor protectiveness was a strong motive in Anarresti life" (Le Guin 2002, 268). There is also "considerable feeling against" personal communication at a distance, because it smacks "of privatism, of egoizing" (Le Guin 2002, 209).

As all these instances show, for a society whose core principle is to eschew excess, they certainly practice what they believe excessively. Shevek even ends up perversely glorifying "famine" as, he believes, it would lead to a psychic ablution:

> Now (fed) it appeared to him that the drought might after all be of service to the social organism. The priorities were becoming clear again. Weaknesses, soft spots, sick spots would be scoured out, sluggish organs restored to full function, the fat would be trimmed off the body politic. (Le Guin 2002, 217)

Clearly, this anarchist society borders on fetishising scarcity, as austerity has been sold to the Anarresti as a celebrated form of purification because a life of minimalistic simplicity, highly regulated consumption of natural resources, and vigorous environmental sacrifice is the only plausible way they can survive on Anarres: "What is idealistic about social cooperation, mutual aid," Shevek wonders, "when it is the only means of staying alive?" (Le Guin 2002, 114). Shevek at first cannot bring himself to fully accept and enjoy the abundance and vitality he encounters on Urras, in contrast to the "utter silence of Anarres" where no bird sings:

> And he did feel at home. He could not help it. The whole world, the softness of the air, the fall of sunlight across the hills, the very pull of the heavier gravity on his body, asserted to him that this was home indeed, his race's world; and all its beauty was his birthright. (Le Guin 2002, 66)

However, gradually Shevek begins to get used to the grace and comfort. Although he remains a vegetarian following his failed attempts at eating meat, he becomes a "hearty" eater gaining three or four kilos (Le Guin 2002, 112) while enjoying the "subtleties of flavor" on Urras

(Le Guin 2002, 176). He even becomes accustomed to "the constant use of the possessive pronoun" (Le Guin 2002, 112). Once faced with a glorious heavy snow, Shevek lets go of his pedantic Odonianism for a moment to indulge unreservedly in the abundance:

> The extravagance, the sheer quantity, of the storm exhilarated him. He reveled in its excess. It was too white, too cold, silent, and indifferent to be called excremental by the sincerest Odonian; to see it as other than an innocent magnificence would be pettiness of soul. (Le Guin 2002, 162)

Shevek's disobedience reveals the fundamental flaw and paradox of the Anarresti system.

The whole idea of dispossession, as manifested in the literal and wilful abandonment of Urras and then reinforced involuntarily by the harshness of the environment, is to free people from want and need. Towards the end of novel, Shevek curiously comes to tie the Anarresti freedom with the paucity of their environment. Divorced from all the riches of the worlds, i.e. "[e]nough air, enough rain, grass, oceans, food, music, buildings, factories, machines, books, clothes, history", the Anarresti men and women "possessing nothing, they are free" (Le Guin 2002, 189–90). The anxiety of the inevitable dependency of humanity on a planet for survival and the threat of constant deprivation leads Shevek to adopt an ecophobic attitude that is in effect very much entangled with the assumed centrality of human beings divorced, to a substantial degree, from their environment. What redeems Anarres, in Shevek's mind, is "the splendor of the human spirit", whose manumission only came about after being put on the ugly, dusty, dry, dull, dreary, and meagre Anarres (Le Guin 2002, 189–90). In his passionate speech to thousands of the poor and downtrodden who have gathered in the Ioti Capitol Square on the day of demonstration against the oppressive regime, Shevek argues that it is in pain, poverty, and hunger that they will find their brotherhood:

> We know that there is no help for us but from one another, that no hand will save us if we do not reach out our hand. And the hand that you reach out is empty, as mine is. You have nothing. You possess nothing. You own nothing. You are free. (Le Guin 2002, 247)

For him, brotherhood begins in "shared pain" (Le Guin 2002, 54). He emphatically makes it clear that if they seek Anarres, they must come to it with empty hands: "You must come to it alone, and naked, as the child comes into the world, into his future, without any past, without any property, wholly dependent on other people for his life" (Le Guin 2002, 248). In this, Shevek is not merely pontificating to the crowd, as when his daughter is born he is more than happy that her birth was in the middle of a drought:

> I'm glad Sadik was born now. In a hard year, in a hard time, when we need our brotherhood. I'm glad she was born now, and here. I'm glad she's one of us, an Odonian, our daughter and our sister. (Le Guin 2002, 208)

Shevek maintains that suffering (and not love or solidarity) is the condition they live on (Le Guin 2002, 52–53). The whole point of the Odonian principles of "mutual aid" and "brotherhood", in turn, Shevek argues, is to "*prevent* suffering" (Le Guin 2002, 53). However,

he realises that the system is not perfect. The "social organism" can alleviate pain and suffering by curing diseases and preventing hunger and injustice; however, the fundamental truth of existence cannot be rewritten: "But no society can change the nature of existence. We can't prevent suffering. This pain and that pain, yes, but not Pain. A society can only relieve social suffering, unnecessary suffering. The rest remains. The root, the reality" (Le Guin 2002, 52). Any attempts to live outside of that reality or to evade it, Shevek avers, will "drive you crazy" (Le Guin 2002, 138). He then gives us a clue as to what the root of this suffering is. "Man's problem", he believes, has always been about survival at the level of species, group, or individual, the very thing the natural environment constantly threatens (Le Guin 2002, 188). Therefore, the common factor linking their existence is "the suffering caused by shared environmental conditions" (Pak 2016, 131). In other words, the natural environment is the architect of their shared pain and misery, and their only relief from their ultimate foe is the haven of human solidarity that has its roots in the ideal of dispossession.

However, the prerequisite to ecological emancipation, through cognisance of the root of their shared pain, the practice of perfervid dispossession, and the subsequent embrace of human solidarity, for which Odo's philosophy implicitly calls, is ecological oppression. They are indeed in a Catch-22 situation. And it is exactly in this vicious cycle that one might find the tragedy of Anarresti's life. Shevek, in a conversation with his friend Bedap, blames their misery solely on the meagre environment of Anarres, an environment that was supposed to reinforce their freedom:

> It's not our society that frustrates individual creativity. It's the poverty of Anarres. This planet wasn't meant to support civilization. If we let one another down, if we don't give up our personal desires to the common good, nothing, nothing on this barren world can save us. Human solidarity is our only resource. (Le Guin 2002, 139)

While talking to Takver, Shevek discloses that he is grappling with sterility in his heart and mind, linking it to the impotence of their environment:

> About the time sex began to go sour on me, so did the work. Increasingly. Three years without getting anywhere. Sterility. Sterility on all sides. As far as the eye can see the infertile desert lies in the pitiless glare of the merciless sun, a lifeless, trackless, feckless, fuckless waste strewn with the bones of luckless wayfarers… (Le Guin 2002, 150)

On the "vital, magnificent, inexhaustible world" of Urras (Le Guin 2002, 109), Shevek finds himself in a paradise where he has complete leisure to focus on his work. However, later on, he comes to feel "dry and arid, like a desert plant, in this beautiful oasis" (Le Guin 2002, 108–9). This disappointing turn of events is blamed once again on the barren landscape of Anarres, although he is no longer in that environment: "Life on Anarres had sealed him, closed off his soul; the waters of life welled all around him, and yet he could not drink" (Le Guin 2002, 109). If exuberance is indeed "the essential quality of life" (Le Guin 2002, 155), then, ironically for a dispossession-seeking Anarresti, a sense of hostility toward the paucity of environment on Anarres is warranted. As Shevek writes to Takver when in Abbenay, "it is the climate here that makes misery" (Le Guin 2002, 209) and nothing else. When faced with the Urrasti practice of drinking to escape the sorrows of the world for a night, Shevek resignedly

declares that the woes of their world of nothing but limitation are just "inescapable", with or without alcohol (Le Guin 2002, 68). Therefore, although the Anarresti lead environmentally-conscious lives, the sense of ecophobic Otherness still lingers as nature remains the main target of their frustration.

3 But No Perfection Is So Absolute, That Some Impurity Doth Not Pollute: Trouble in the Edenic Paradise

The Council of World Governments decided in the year 771 to give "the Moon to the International Society of Odonians – buying them off with a world, before they fatally undermined the authority of law and national sovereignty on Urras" (Le Guin 2002, 80). The immigration of the Odonians to Anarres is reminiscent of that of the Europeans to colonial America, adding a peculiarly American character to the novel. When the Settlers come to Anarres there is even an indigenous population, i.e. the miners, who consequently get at least partially misplaced. Seemingly free from any colonial guilt, Gimar, a woman who grew up in Southrising, where the miners are, explains: "Some of them stayed and joined the solidarity. Goldminers, tinminers" (Le Guin 2002, 42). "They still have some feast days and songs of their own," Gimar continues (Le Guin 2002, 42), though the Settlers eventually manage to institute and impose their own traditions and festivals (Le Guin 2002, 194). Similar to the Pilgrims, the anarchist rebels come to Anarres with dreams of establishing their own free society in paradise. However, Le Guin departs from the promise of "Edenic Possibilities" as the central facet of the concept of the American Dream in terms of the environment. The elaborate scheme of "dispossession" taken to its extreme in relation to the environment proves to be self-defeating, after all. Odo's lofty dreams of decentralisation and connected communities through communication and transportation free from capital, establishment, the self-perpetuating machinery of bureaucracy, and the dominance-drive of individuals are hindered by the not-so-generous ground of Anarres: "On arid Anarres, the communities had to scatter widely in search of resources, and few of them could be self-supporting, no matter how they cut back their notions of what is needed for support" (Le Guin 2002, 81). These plans were devised by a woman who after all had never set foot on this barren world: "[S]he [Odo] had lived, and died, and was buried, in the shadow of green-leaved trees, in unimaginable cities, among people speaking unknown languages, on another world. Odo was an alien: an exile" (Le Guin 2002, 86). Therefore, it seems that Le Guin's ambition with this environment is of another kind. She envisions neither the collapse of a civilisation due to violent conflicts over scarce resources, nor the burgeoning of a totalitarian yet sustainable form of government in quest of a perfect state at the time of environmental scarcity. She definitely does not set out to scare people into a state of revised awareness. Instead, she maps out her ambiguous utopia of a fairly thriving people in environmental *hell*. What she faithfully does is to translate the environmentally conscious practice of frugality under the influence of the environmental movement into the widely practiced governing norms of her near-utopic society: "Man fitted himself with care and risk into this narrow ecology. If he fished, but not too greedily, and if he cultivated, using mainly organic wastes for fertilizer, he could fit in" (Le Guin 2002, 155). In this sense, the flawed, antagonistic place becomes ironically the *locus amoenus*, the new Eden, as it engenders all the more the sense of rigorous

cooperation, compassion and solidarity, and advocates widespread eco-friendly practices in virtually every aspect of life.

However, this is not to say that everyone on Anarres is motivated by such a stellar eco-centric understanding of human/nature relationship. As already partly discussed, many Anarresti have come to accept the frugality of their existence only as a perfunctory obligation in the absence of any better choice, as every principal of their society and its supportive logic is built around the environmental paucity of their planet. Such a careful relationship, one might suspect, may not have been possible on a more munificent planet. More than anything else, ironically, the lean environment of Anarres begins to gnaw at the very freedom it first offered the rebellious exiles. Internalising Odo's philosophy of austerity in every minute aspect of life, and PDC's management of all natural resources on Anarres on the one hand provides "a precarious community with the ideological concepts and the material resources necessary for ecological emancipation" (Nadir 2010, 33). However, on the other hand, these very forces at the same time "obstruct freedom because people, their aspirations, and their habits must be managed according to nature's limits" (Nadir 2010, 33). Shevek corrects Chifoilisk, the Thuvian physicist, who describes him as a man from a "little commune of starving idealists" up in the sky: "Chifoilisk, there aren't many idealists left on Anarres, I assure you. The Settlers were idealists, yes, to leave this world for our deserts. But that was seven generations ago! Our society is practical" (Le Guin 2002, 113). He even goes on to revise this statement to accentuate their noticeable departure from their initial plans due to ecological necessities: "Maybe too practical, too much concerned with survival only" (Le Guin 2002, 113–14). In this way the ecological becomes entangled with the social as the environmental priorities can override those dissenting voices, like that of Shevek, which can threaten the social order, or in other words, the greater good.

Therefore, Le Guin does not shy away from launching an even-handed critique of the anarchist society trapped in their ironic environmentally-hellish Eden. Her dissenting characters on the near-utopian Anarres set out to "question what was not questioned" in their society (Le Guin 2002, 40). Her ultimate vision of *détente* does not presume simple solutions and lack of conflict. Rather her goal "requires resistance and rebellion, political force and personal risk to achieve it" (Moylan 2014, 88). Whether successful or not, *The Dispossessed* steadfastly refuses to champion one way of life over another in the dichotomy of the two sister planets. Shevek as the central character of the story best embodies this contradictory state, as he "has a foot on both planets, and [...] indeed traverses the ethical as well as the geographical distance between them" (Burns 2008, 261). Tirin, Shevek's childhood eccentric friend, is one of the first characters who dares question the perfection of environmentally-deprived Anarres, and consequently sow the seeds of doubt in Shevek's mind. Tirin has serious reservations about the Anarresti's aggressive propaganda against Urras: "If it [Urras] was that bad when the Settlers left, how has it kept on going for a hundred and fifty years?" (Le Guin 2002, 39). He even goes as far as suggesting that they are taught to dysfunctionally "hate" Urras, because if they knew what it was really like then some of them would like at least some aspects of that world: "[W]hat PDC wants to prevent is not just some of them [Urrasti] coming here, but some of us wanting to go there [Urras]" (Le Guin 2002, 39). Interestingly, when Shevek goes to Urras, impressed by the lavish beauty and fecundity of the environment, he thinks to himself that "[t]his is what a world is

supposed to look like" (Le Guin 2002, 57). He is so impressed by the "grace and bounty" that later on he comes to "love Urras", though he realises that there is no point to his "yearning love" as he is not part of Urrasti world (Le Guin 2002, 76).

Another instrumental dissenter is the character of Bedap, one of Shevek's closest childhood friends (and later lover). Although Shevek severely disapproves of the "intellectual nuchnibi who had not worked on a regular posting for years", comprising of Bedap and his "erratic and disaffected lot", he takes curious pleasure from "their independence of mind" and "autonomy of conscience" (Le Guin 2002, 145). Bedap manages to effectively destabilise the walls of Shevek's "hard puritanical conscience" (Le Guin 2002, 145). Public opinion, Bedap contends, is "the power structure he's part of, and knows how to use. The unadmitted, inadmissible government that rules the Odonian society by stifling the individual mind" (Le Guin 2002, 138). He criticises the abusive call-out culture of Anarres that stifles people's freedom of speech. "Ecopolitical correctness", stemming not from "the state apparatus but from conformist tendencies", Mathisen avers, is the "greatest menace to individual freedom" in this green society (2001, 75). According to Bedap, Tirin wrote a play that would seem "anti-Odonian" to only "stupid" people (Le Guin 2002, 141). Consequently, he received a severe "[p]ublic reprimand" that eventually drove him over the edge: "Everybody comes to your syndicate meeting and tells you off. It used to be how they cut a bossy gang foreman or manager down to size. Now they only use it to tell an individual to stop thinking for himself" (Le Guin 2002, 141–42). Furthermore, Bedap argues that the PDC basically has evolved into "an archistic bureaucracy" (Le Guin 2002, 139). Thinking for yourself, he contends, is not always easy. On the other hand, finding and settling in a "nice safe hierarchy" where you do not need to "risk approval" would seem much less demanding to many: "It's always easiest to let yourself be governed" (Le Guin 2002, 140). Bedap argues that "the will to dominance is as central in human beings as the impulse to mutual aid is, and has to be trained in each individual, in each new generation" (Le Guin 2002, 140). He continues by condemning the educational system that has become anti-Odonian in spirit: "Nobody's born an Odonian any more than he's born civilized! But we've forgotten that. We don't educate for freedom. Education, the most important activity of the social organism, has become rigid, moralistic, authoritarian. Kids learn to parrot Odo's words as if they were laws – the ultimate blasphemy!" (Le Guin 2002, 140). A static, ossified utopia may not be far from metamorphosing into a full-fledged dogmatic dystopia. This dynamicity is not a given, and must be perpetually pursued by individual members. Bedap quite eloquently dissects the "spiritual suffering" of the people for Shevek:

> And I speak of spiritual suffering! Of people seeing their talent, their work, their lives wasted. Of good minds submitting to stupid ones. Of strength and courage strangled by envy, greed for power, fear of change. Change is freedom, change is life – is anything more basic to Odonian thought than that? (Le Guin 2002, 139)

The malaise of his society is precisely the dereliction of the spirit of change: "But nothing changes anymore! Our society is sick. You know it. You're suffering its sickness. Its suicidal sickness!" (Le Guin 2002, 139). A revolutionary society, properly conceived, is permanently revolutionary; it is and it will forever be "an ongoing process" (Le Guin 2002, 147).

The point Bedap makes regarding the social conscience, its infringement upon people's freedoms and individuality, and the fear of change speak to the core of the story and its central rebellion:

> We've let cooperation become obedience. On Urras they have government by the minority. Here we have government by the majority. But it is government! The social conscience isn't a living thing anymore, but a machine, a power machine, controlled by bureaucrats! (Le Guin 2002, 139–40)

Of course, more than Tirin or Bedap, it is Shevek who stands to melt the ice around the frozen state of their utopian society; however, he is not unwaveringly determined in his cause from the onset. As Burns (2005, 207) contends, Shevek is

> an erstwhile 'tragic' hero, who is placed by Le Guin in a situation where he is confronted by two conflicting moral duties, one as a citizen of Anarres to uphold the values of his own society, the other as a scientist and citizen of the world to pursue 'the truth' come what may for the benefit of all human kind.

On deprived Anarres, there is always an emergency that would override every other concern as Sabul, the older, jealous rival of Shevek, berates the latter during the time of the drought, stating "[t]his is a bad time for pure science, for the intellectual" (Le Guin 2002, 218). In a place where everything should be "geared to practicality", the "abstruse, irrelevant" research of Shevek has a whiff of "disaffection, a degree of privatism, of nonaltruism", Sabul rationalises (Le Guin 2002, 220). When Shevek tries to justify the value of his research, he inevitably seeks to prove that temporal physics is "a centrally functional activity" (Le Guin 2002, 220). In this way, control and censorship are openly and hypocritically practiced and justified due to ecological necessities. An incomplete and heavily edited version of *Principles of Simultaneity* is printed in Abbenay with Sabul and Shevek as "joint authors" (Le Guin 2002, 200). Commenting on the manipulation of Shevek's work by Sabul, Dr Chifoilisk asserts, "[h]uman nature is human nature" everywhere (Le Guin 2002, 59–60). Sabul tells Shevek that he is not to share the Urrasti books written in Iotic as they are not "for general consumption" (Le Guin 2002, 89). Upon scrutiny, Shevek concludes that Sabul's attempt to keep the new Urrasti physics "*private*" is just an act of ownership of a property to guarantee that he has "power over his colleagues on Anarres" (Le Guin 2002, 93). To add insult to injury, Shevek later on realises that "[t]he most brilliant insights of Sabul's own works on Sequency were in fact translations from the Iotic, unacknowledged" (Le Guin 2002, 91). Sabul even blocks Shevek from teaching, as the faculty-student Syndicate of Members does not "want a quarrel" with the former (Le Guin 2002, 133). To Shevek, Sabul is "competitive, a dominance-seeker, a profiteer" (Le Guin 2002, 99). Rulag, imparting belated maternal wisdom, tips off his young son that people play "dominance games" at the Institute, and that it takes some experience to figure out how to "outplay" them (Le Guin 2002, 104). At the end of the day, it seems, the only difference between Anarres and Urras is that possessiveness (greed and jealousy) is a "psychopathy on Anarres" whereas it is a "rational behavior on Urras" (Le Guin 2002, 229).

A social conscience and hypocrisy are the reasons why Shevek feels sceptical about his rebellion at first. He fears the violence and hate he could face from his fellow Anarresti.

Takver is the one who convinces him that the journey to Urras is the right galvanising move they so desperately need. She believes that they have more sympathisers that it might seem, and if Shevek "opened the door, they'd smell fresh air again, they'd smell freedom" (Le Guin 2002, 312). Her remark underscores the fact that freedom is slipping away from the hands of the Anarresti. She even has a contingency plan in case the smell of freedom is not intoxicating enough:

> […] if people are still so hostile and hateful, we'll say the hell with them. What's the good of an anarchist society that's afraid of anarchists? We'll go live in Lonesome, in Upper Sedep, in Uttermost, we'll go live alone in the mountains if we have to. There's room. There'd be people who'd come with us. We'll make a new community. If our society is settling down into politics and power seeking, then we'll get out, we'll go make an Anarres beyond Anarres, a new beginning. How's that? (Le Guin 2002, 312)

Shevek leaves Anarres for Urras, impelled by his revolutionary spirit. However, over there he is faced with yet another dilemma: "On Anarres he had chosen, in defiance of the expectations of his society, to do the work he was individually called to do. To do it was to rebel: to risk the self for the sake of society" (Le Guin 2002, 225). But on Urras his rebellion, he finds out, does not work for the greater good: "Here on Urras, that act of rebellion was a luxury, a self-indulgence. To be a physicist in A-Io was to serve not society, not mankind, not the truth, but the State" (Le Guin 2002, 225), as his Theory will eventually become "a property of the State" for which he does not want to work (Le Guin 2002, 243). On Anarres, Shevek's aspirations to freedom are straightjacketed by the ecological realities that make their hostile environment the greatest threat to human life and freedom. On Urras, however, successful navigation of the landscape of politics proves to be the gravest task for the visiting scholar. The love he first feels for Urras' opulent environment eventually turns into bitter jealousy, especially when he finds himself caught up in devious Urrasti political games:

> Watching from the train window Shevek found his restless and rebellious mood ready to defy even the day's beauty. It was an unjust beauty. What had the Urrasti done to deserve it? Why was it given to them, so lavishly, so graciously, and so little, so very little, to his own people? (Le Guin 2002, 172)

He becomes so disgruntled with the greed and squandering in a world whose basic moral assumption is "mutual aggression" (Le Guin 2002, 173) that he comes to believe that even the "sweet tunes" of birds sing of ownership: "*Ree-dee,* they sang, *tee-dee. This is my properteee-tee, this is my territoree-ree-ree, it belongs to mee, mee*" (Le Guin 2002, 171). This bitter jealousy and harsh judgement eventually turn into a nostalgia for his ecologically deprived home and of course his family: "The thought [of going home] threatened to break down the gates and flood him with urgent yearning. To speak Pravic, to speak to friends, to see Takver, Pilun, Sadik, to touch the dust of Anarres" (Le Guin 2002, 226). However, a more balanced judgement of Urras only comes about after learning about the ugly, poor, and unjust side of Urras: insane asylums, poorhouses, executions, thieves, beggars, homeless people, rent-collectors, thousands unemployed, war taxes, dead babies in ditches, and so forth (Le Guin 2002, 234, 240, 243). He realises that his ancestors abandoned this ugly Urras, not the

dignified and beautiful one, "preferring hunger and the desert and endless exile" (Le Guin 2002, 235). Nonetheless, the ugly Urras does not become the "real Urras" for him: "To him a thinking man's job was not to deny one reality at the expense of the other, but to include and to connect. It was not an easy job" (Le Guin 2002, 235). This realisation is a clear sign of Shevek's maturation.

There is one more environment-related issue that would cast Anarresti in yet another hypocritical light. Biological colonisation or biocolonisation is "the extension of colonization to the biological resources and knowledge of Indigenous peoples" (Harry and Kanehe 2005, 105), which historically has proved to be utterly destructive, especially to environments where the climates were more temperate, and the native flora and fauna were less resilient to the invading organisms. Anarres, at first, with its limited ecology, was not exactly a target for large-scale colonisation, biological or otherwise: "For two hundred years after the first landing Anarres was explored, mapped, investigated, but not colonized" (Le Guin 2002, 80). In the Third Millennium on Urras, the astronomer-priests located a specific region that "grew green before all others in the lunar new year", and called it "Ans Hos, the Garden of Mind: the Eden of Anarres" (Le Guin 2002, 80). However, the first manned ship found this "most favored spot" to be, to the traveller's surprise,

> dry, cold, and windy, and the rest of the planet was worse. Life there had not evolved higher than fish and flowerless plants. The air was thin, like the air of Urras at a very high altitude. The sun burned, the wind froze, the dust choked. (Le Guin 2002, 80)

Nevertheless, this anomalous "great green plain" becomes the mind and centre of Anarres, i.e. Abbenay (Le Guin 2002, 82). Furthermore, the ecology of Anarres is so narrow that the colonisers had to exercise extreme prudence:

> No animals were introduced from Urras to imperil the delicate balance of life. Only the Settlers came, and so well-scrubbed internally and externally that they brought a minimum of their personal fauna and flora with them. Not even the flea had made it to Anarres. (Le Guin 2002, 155)

And only in Abbenay and "on the warm shores of the Keran Sea did the Old World grains flourish. Elsewhere the staple grain crops were ground-holum and pale mene-grass" (Le Guin 2002, 82). However, regardless of all these limitations, Urras eventually manages to biocolonise Anarres: "In fact, the Free World of Anarres was a mining colony of Urras" (Le Guin 2002, 79), and the annual eight-time visits from Urras prove to be "a perpetually renewed humiliation" to some Anarresti (Le Guin 2002, 78). To his surprise, Shevek discovers that it is not just petroleum and mercury that go back and forth between the two sundered worlds, but also books and even letters (Le Guin 2002, 92). Moreover, the fear of an invasion from the "war-making propertarians" for their "shortage of certain metals" (Le Guin 2002, 70) lurks in the Anarresti consciousness, though they have had peace for seven generations: "It would cost the Urrasti more to dig the ores themselves; therefore they don't invade us. But if we broke the trade agreement, they would use force" (Le Guin 2002, 79). All these discoveries force Shevek to acknowledge his naïveté regarding the perfection of Anarres.

4 Something There Is That Doesn't Love a Wall: Moving Beyond the Dichotomy of Human/Non-human

One of the defining features of Anarres, besides its narrow ecology (Le Guin 2002, 155), is its isolation. The Anarresti have cut themselves off from the rest of the universe (Le Guin 2002, 284). When Shevek is arguing to be allowed to travel to Urras, his proposal is not met with open arms but with threats of violent reprisal. He believes that his fellow Anarresti are "cutting awfully close to the basic societal bond, the fear of the stranger" (Le Guin 2002, 299). In fact, the whole story of *The Dispossessed* begins with a description of a seemingly insignificant "wall" separating Anarres from the rest of the universe:

> THERE WAS A WALL. It did not look important. It was built of uncut rocks roughly mortared. [...] But the idea was real. It was important. For seven generations there had been nothing in the world more important than that wall. (Le Guin 2002, 5)

It is not readily apparent what the ultimate aim of this wall is:

> Looked at from one side, [...] [i]t enclosed the universe, leaving Anarres outside, free. Looked at from the other side, the wall enclosed Anarres: the whole planet was inside it, a great prison camp, cut off from other worlds and other men, in quarantine. (Le Guin 2002, 5)

Later on, when Shevek is quarantined as a precaution against contagion for his own protection on the freighter *Mindful*, he declares that "[t]o lock out, to lock in" is basically "the same act" (Le Guin 2002, 13). Shevek's committed decision to leave Anarres and finish his Theory on Urras is due to this very insular situation in which he finds himself: "Here I'm walled in. I'm cramped, it's hard to work, to test the work, always without equipment, without colleagues and students" (Le Guin 2002, 311). For Shevek, isolation is the most horrendous curse, a curse in which he participates wilfully while he is on Anarres (Le Guin 2002, 49). But he comes to fear this isolation more than he fears death itself: "To die is to lose the self and rejoin the rest. He had kept himself, and lost the rest" (Le Guin 2002, 9). On Urras, the sense of "loneliness" and "the certainty of isolation" makes Shevek pass severe judgement on his homeland and himself: "He was alone, here, because he came from a self-exiled society. He had always been alone on his own world because he had exiled himself from his society. The Settlers had taken one step away. He had taken two" (Le Guin 2002, 76). The source of his "inward isolation", as Shevek knows it himself, is that he is "unlike anyone else he knew" (Le Guin 2002, 90). Even his father cannot show him how to exercise his freedom as an individual in that society:

> But Palat had not had this curse of difference. He was like the others, like all the others to whom community came so easy. He loved Shevek, but he could not show him what freedom is, that recognition of each person's solitude which alone transcends it. (Le Guin 2002, 90)

However, whether he likes it or not, he eventually makes a virtue out of his "peculiarities" (Le Guin 2002, 207). The source of "outward isolation" is of course the fear of disruption to the delicate balance of the ecologically limited Anarres.

Le Guin herself was "a Taoist humanist concerned with how we can become disalienated and stop insisting on divisions and function within a mode of interdependency" (Marcellino 2009, 209). The very inviolability of Anarres walled-off from the rest of cosmos undermines its rectitude as it rejects Otherness and difference: "Those who build walls are their own prisoners" (Le Guin 2002, 273). Even within the walls of Anarres, difference is kept under close check by the members of their society. This repudiation of separatism, resting at the very core of the novel, could be extended to the human/non-human dichotomy. When Shevek is a child, one night he dreams that he is on "a road through a bare land" where he comes across a "dense, dark, and very high" wall standing "from horizon to horizon" across the plain (Le Guin 2002, 30). Painfully and angrily fearful, Shevek realises that the wall stands uncompromisingly between him and home (Le Guin 2002, 30). Then he sees his parents transcending the boundary that strictly separates the human from the animal: "It seemed to him [Shevek] that she [Rulag] and Palat were both on all fours in the darkness under the wall, and that they were bulkier than human beings and shaped differently" (Le Guin 2002, 31). It is his animal-like parents that point Shevek towards a piece of dark stone on the sour dirt on or inside of which the number 1 is written (Le Guin 2002, 31). Upon Shevek's euphoric realisation that "the primal number" which is "both unity and plurality" is the "cornerstone", the wall disappears and he finds himself at home (Le Guin 2002, 31). On a similar note, Takver seems to have broken the hyper-separatedness of human/non-human categories to enjoy being part of the wholeness. There are no large animals on Anarres (Le Guin 2002, 22), and Shevek is quite surprised when he sees a donkey on Urras. He wonders if Takver would have handled herself better in such an environment:

> She had always known that all lives are in common, rejoicing in her kinship to the fish in the tanks of her laboratories, seeking the experience of existences outside the human boundary. Takver would have known how to look back at that eye in the darkness under the trees. (Le Guin 2002, 22)

Shevek has noticed this passionate bond between Takver and natural environment on Anarres:

> There are souls, he [Shevek] thought, whose umbilicus has never been cut. They never got weaned from the universe. They do not understand death as an enemy; they look forward to rotting and turning into humus. It was strange to see Takver take a leaf into her hand, or even a rock. She became an extension of it: it of her. (Le Guin 2002, 154)

Takver, in fact, laments the queerly unnatural isolation of Anarres in contrast to the Old World. She believes that the eighteen phyla of land animal, countless species of insects and so forth would inevitably compel humanity to see itself as an extension of that world: "Think of it: everywhere you looked animals, other creatures, sharing the earth and air with you. You'd feel so much more a *part*" (Le Guin 2002, 155). However, people on Urras, the affluent world of natural beauty and grace, do not have this grand realisation. What she does not recognise is that, as a "fish geneticist" living on Anarres (Le Guin 154), Takver has seen the foul side of life on land and the fair side of it in the seas. She has experienced "the completeness of being," possession and dispossession, and in that she has found fulfilment: "If you evade suffering you also evade the chance of joy. Pleasure you may get, or pleasures, but you will not be fulfilled. You will not know what it is to come home" (Le Guin 2002, 275). Embracing

the two sides of a contradiction and finding the Truth within the wholeness lies at the very core of Shevek's trouble with regard to incorporating both the Sequency and Simultaneity theories of time into his General Temporal Theory that transcends the either/or thinking associated with the logic of scientific discovery (Burns 2008, 103–5). Unification of separate domains informs Shevek's "interest in social reform" and his mission to discover "a unified field theory" (Pak 2016, 132). This fusion of (phallic) linearity and (vaginal) circularity is also manifested in the central cosmological imagery of the novel (Klarer 1992, 113). Looking at Urras that circles around a common centre with Anarres, Tirin declares, "[o]ur earth is their Moon; our Moon is their earth" (Le Guin 2002, 37). Bedap then wonders where "Truth" is (Le Guin 2002, 37). Analogously, the dichotomy of sexuality is undermined on Anarres with quite common experimentation with homosexuality and bisexuality. The Anarresti children all have "sexual experience freely with both boys and girls" (Le Guin 2002, 45).

Beyond the philosophical implications mentioned above, it is indeed the practical outcome of Shevek's Theory that makes him a true hero. Pae, a physicist on Urras, informs Shevek that an Ioti engineer has developed the plans for "an instantaneous communication device" called ansible. All the engineers need is for Shevek to finish his Theory (Le Guin 2002, 228). After hearing about Shevek's Theory, Keng, the Ambassador from Terra, realises that it can change the lives of all the billions of people on the nine Known Worlds:

> It would make a league of worlds possible. A federation. We have been held apart by the years, the decades between leaving and arriving, between question and response. It's as if you had invented human speech! We can talk – at last we can talk together. (Le Guin 2002, 284)

Through the character of Shevek, whose hope in mankind and science persists throughout the novel, Le Guin introduces an ambivalent attitude toward technoscience. She "draws a distinction", Latham contends, "between military-industrial technologies designed for violent purposes, whether warfare or resource extraction, and *communication* technologies, which allow for the exchange of ideas and information" (2007, 118). Shevek finds himself working in secret to try to secure universal access to his temporal theories in the hope of tearing down walls and bringing everyone together. His plan ultimately comes to fruition only when he manages to transcend the wildly opposed political and geographic boundaries of both Anarres and Urras. The violation of the set boundary of the physical wall on Anarres is what starts the whole journey for Shevek. He then goes on to guarantee equal access to his Theory for everyone instead of giving his "lifework as a present to Sabul, all the Sabuls, the petty, scheming, greedy egos of one single planet" (Le Guin 2002, 311). All that leads to things breaking loose a little on Anarres, and Shevek claims that this has been his objective from the very onset:

> It was our purpose all along – our Syndicate, this journey of mine – to shake up things, to stir up, to break some habits, to make people ask questions. To behave like anarchists! All this has been going on while I was gone. (Le Guin 2002, 316)

Upon returning home, he violates the wall once again by bringing Ketho, a stranger, to Anarres (Le Guin 2002, 318). Moreover, his legacy of challenging the boundaries does not

end now that he has an outsider from Urras on Anarres: "If it [the Revolution] is seen as having any end, it will never truly begin", Shevek argues (Le Guin 2002, 296). For Shevek and Takver, as "the means are the end" Odonians (Le Guin 2002, 120), "there was no end. There was process: process was all" (Le Guin 2002, 275). There are always "walls behind the walls" (Le Guin 2002, 302), and people need to perpetually push forward to bring walls down one by one as they move ahead.

5 Paradise Is for Those Who Make Paradise: Conclusion

The issues of ecology and politics indubitably sit at the very core of Le Guin's *The Dispossessed*. Written in the context of the post-abundance period of the early 1970s, and the burgeoning of the modern American Environmental movement, Le Guin explores the complexities of the human relationship with the natural environment. The story contemplates the ills and virtues of a utopian anarchist society that, in its assiduous pursuit of Odonian freedom through dispossession, has set its austere city upon a barren hill. In their heroic defiance of human dependency on natural environment, and their sacred pursuit of utmost freedom, the Anarresti wilfully and ironically realise their ecophobic nightmare of environmental hell by abandoning the abundant Urras for the meagre Anarres. The Anarresti manage to lead laudably environmentally conscious lives; however, they later on come to understand that the paucity of their environment is in effect constantly infringing upon their most prized and arguably only possession, i.e. their freedom. Furthermore, as Le Guin was writing at the time of the Cold War, she was pushing for a more effective way of communication across the boundaries of difference to effect a greater connectivity. This greater connectivity could be established between any categories of difference, human/non-human included, that could promote more balanced and fair relationships. Another significant task she takes upon herself is to circumvent the desire to prescribe a specific and therefore unambiguous manner of living that would at the same time resolve our social, political and ecological tribulations. That is exactly why she so meticulously scrutinises the flaws and contradictions of her near-utopian society beside its irrefutable and numerous virtues. In fact, Le Guin does not pine after an ideal society; the steadfast quest for such a society itself is what she promotes. In other words, what she seeks in her ambiguous utopia is a permanent revolution advocating a never-ending diligent and earnest endeavour to effect an improved, preferable society with a revised awareness of its relations to its human and non-human Others free from the ethic of exploitation rather than a promotion of an already achieved perfect state. More than anything, what she extends to her readers is the audacity to aspire to imagine alternative ecologically-conscious lifeways hitherto restrained by social, political, economic, and even religious hegemony, as she does with her curiously dispossessed and ambiguous utopia.

This text is a result of the project SGS04/FF/20189 "Ecocritical Perspectives on 20th and 21st-Century American Literature" supported by the internal grant scheme of the University of Ostrava.

References

Bassnett, Susan. 1991. "Remaking the Old World: Ursula Le Guin and the American Tradition." In *Where No Man Has Gone Before: Essays on Women and Science Fiction*, edited by Lucie Armitt, 50–66. London: Routledge.

Buell, Lawrence. 2005. *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination*. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.
Burns, Tony. 2005. "Science and Politics in The Dispossessed: Le Guin and the 'Science Wars'." In *The New Utopian Politics of Ursula K. Le Guin's* The Dispossessed, edited by Laurence Davis and Peter Stillman, 195–215. Lanham: Lexington Books.
—. 2008. *Political Theory, Science Fiction, and Utopian Literature: Ursula K. Le Guin and* The Dispossessed. Plymouth: Lexington Books.
Carroll, Joseph. 2004. *Literary Darwinism: Evolution, Human Nature, and Literature.* New York: Routledge.
Estok, Simon C. 2009. "Theorizing in a Space of Ambivalent Openness: Ecocriticism and Ecophobia." *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment* 16 (2): 203–25. https://doi.org/10.1093/isle/isp010.
—. 2015. "Tracking Ecophobia: The Utility of Empirical and Systems Studies for Ecocriticism." *Comparative Literature (University of Oregon)* 67 (1): 29–36. https://doi.org/10.1215/00104124-2861991.
Harry, Debra, and Le'a Malia Kanehe. 2005. "The BS in Access and Benefit Sharing (ABS): Critical Questions for Indigenous Peoples." In *The Catch: Perspectives in Benefit Sharing*, edited by Beth Burrows, 102–22. Edmonds, Washington: The Edmonds Institute.
Jose, Jim. 1991. "Reflections on the Politics of Le Guin's Narrative Shifts." *Science Fiction Studies* 18 (2): 180–97. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4240058.
Kellert, Stephen R., and Edward O. Wilson, ed. 1993. *The Biophilia Hypothesis.* Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
Klarer, Mario. 1992. "Gender and the 'Simultaneity Principle': Ursula Le Guin's 'The Dispossessed'." *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal* 25 (2): 107–21. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24780621.
Latham, Rob. 2007. "Biotic Invasions: Ecological Imperialism in New Wave Science Fiction." *The Yearbook of English Studies* 37 (2): 103–19. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20479304.
Le Guin, Ursula K. 2002. *The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia.* London: Gollancz.
Lem, Stanisław. 1961. *Solaris.* Translated by Joanna Kilmartin and Steve Cox. London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Marcellino, William. 2009. "Shadows to Walk: Ursula Le Guin's Transgressions in Utopia." *The Journal of American Culture* 32 (3): 203–13. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1542-734X.2009.00711.x.
Mathisen, Werner Christie. 2001. "The Underestimation of Politics in Green Utopias: The Description of Politics in Huxley's Island, Le Guin's *The Dispossessed*, and Callenbach's *Ecotopia*." *Utopian Studies* 12 (1): 56–78.
Moylan, Tom. 2014. *Demand the Impossible: Science Fiction and the Utopian Imagination.* Edited by Raffaella Baccolini. Bern: Peter Lang.
Nadir, Christine. 2010. "Utopian Studies, Environmental Literature, and the Legacy of an Idea: Educating Desire in Miguel Abensour and Ursula K. Le Guin." *Utopian Studies* 21 (1): 24–56. https://doi.org/10.5325/utopianstudies.21.1.0024.
Pak, Chris. 2016. *Terraforming: Ecopolitical Transformations and Environmentalism in Science Fiction.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
Ramírez, J. Jesse. 2015. "From Anti-Abundance to Anti-Anti-Abundance Scarcity, Abundance, and Utopia in TwoScience Fiction Writers." *RCC Perspectives* 2015 (2): 83–90.
Slaughter, Jane. 1998. "Ursula Le Guin." *Progressive* 62 (3): 36–39.

Mohammad Reza Hassanzadeh Javanian, Farzan Rahmani
University of Tehran, Iran

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 137-147(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.137-147
UDC: 82.0-2:792.01

The Art of Laughing: A Study of the Tempo-Spatial Matrix in Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*

ABSTRACT

Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773) was staged only two weeks after the publication of his *Essay on the Theatre*, in which he famously compared sentimental comedies with what he described as laughing comedies. The play thus illustrates Goldsmith's principles for his ideal laughing comedy. One of the aspects of this type of comedy, which has rarely been addressed, is its representation of the matrix of temporal and spatial elements, or what Mikhail Bakhtin calls a chronotope. The present study is thus aimed at investigating *She Stoops to Conquer* in terms of Bakhtinian chronotope. The study argues how different chronotopes have influenced the behaviours as well as the decisions of characters in the play. Moreover, it shows that the chronotopic framework can shed new light on the play's portrayal of the class divisions in the eighteenth century, when the middle class was emerging in England's social system.

Keywords: chronotope, Mikhail Bakhtin, Oliver Goldsmith, sentimental comedy, laughing comedy

Umetnost smeha: Študija časovno-prostorske matrice v komediji *She Stoops to Conquer* Oliverja Goldsmitha

POVZETEK

Komedija She Stoops to Conquer (1773) Oliverja Goldsmitha je bila uprizorjena le dva tedna po izidu njegovega vplivnega razmisleka o gledališču »Essay on the Theatre«, v katerem je primerjal sentimentalne komedije s tem, kar je imenoval komedije smeha. Igra torej udejanja Goldsmithova načela za idealno komedijo smeha. Eden od vidikov tovrstne komedije, o katerem do zdaj ni bilo veliko govora, je značilna reprezentacija časovnih in prostorskih elementov oziroma tega, kar Mihail Bahtin imenuje kronotop. Pričujoča študija analizira She Stoops to Conquer z vidika bahtinovskega kronotopa, njen namen pa je pokazati, kako različni kronotopi vplivajo na vedenje in odločitve likov v tej komediji. Članek tudi ugotavlja, da lahko upoštevanje kronotopskega okvirja pomembno prispeva k razumevanju predstavljenih razrednih razlik v 18. stoletju, ko se je v angleškem družbenem sistemu začel oblikovati srednji razred.

Ključne besede: kronotop, Mihail Bahtin, Oliver Goldsmith, sentimentalna komedija, komedija smeha

CC BY SA

1 Introduction

Very few – if any – literary critics would bother to regard the eighteenth century in terms of its dramatic productions. And while it is true that the age did not produce many remarkable plays – especially when compared to the previous century, dubbed 'the golden age of English drama' – it was a time when a few exceptional playwrights contributed to, sometimes significantly, the development of drama in Britain.

None of these exceptional dramatists was "at once so loved and so misunderstood" (Bredvold 1966, 137) as Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774). The versatile Irish author produced a diverse range of literary works that mostly addressed social issues of the day. While it was not difficult for Goldsmith to gain the support of the public, as well as influential contemporary authors such as Samuel Johnson and Thomas Gray, in his lifetime, his reputation has been on the decline since his death.

Goldsmith's drama is now chiefly remembered as a reaction to the then prevalent and popular sentimental comedy. However, with regard to *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773) – the play which was performed in London two weeks after the publication of Goldsmith's brief but famous *Essay on the Theatre, or, A Comparison between Laughing and Sentimental Comedy* (1773) – very few studies have endeavoured to analyse the play's matrix of temporal and spatial elements, or what Mikhail Bakhtin describes as a chronotope.[1]

Bakhtin expressed his idea of the chronotope as part of his theory of dialogism. In his essay "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel", Bakhtin defines a chronotope as the "intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" (1981, 84). He states that in literary chronotopes,

> spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history. This intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope. (1981, 84)

Very much under the influence of Kant, Bakhtin believes that a subject can only experience the world through time and space; that is, time and space are for Bakhtin epistemological entities. In other words, according to Bakhtin, chronotopes are constitutive elements of the fictional worlds in which the subjects exist. Each subject constructs their worldview according to their surrounding chronotopes. Thus, such 'chronotopic seeing' only occurs in relation to human actions, without which the chronotopes would lose all their meanings and

[1] James Evans (2015) has studied the intertexual links between Goldsmith's play, George Farquhar's *The Beaux' Stratagem* (1707) and William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595). Evans notes that Goldsmith's working on the concept of space is unique because the play's "setting adds resonance to his comic representation of status and gender" (2015, 35). In another remarkable study, Christopher K. Brooks (1992) has stated that the play entails a unique space that enables lovers to interact independently of their social classes. The only other notable instance in this regard is Marshall Brown's study of Kantian time and space before the advent of romanticism. Brown argues that Goldsmith's approach toward time and space in *She Stoops to Conquer* serves to "define but not yet quite to perfect what romanticism was to know as organic form" (1991, 9).

effects. Keith Harrison opines that "Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope allows for a concrete understanding of the significant temporal-spatial design choices that authors make that enable narration and dramatization" (2017, 31). As *She Stoops to Conquer* was Goldsmith's dramatic attempt to offer the English stage an alternative to sentimental comedies, the research will investigate how Bakhtin's chronotope can be used as an analytical tool to revisit the play, and demonstrate how the Irish playwright achieved his purpose.

2 Goldsmith's Characters and Chronotopic Behaviours

In his discussion of the physical instances of chronotope, Bakhtin contends that castles, provincial towns, roads, thresholds, inns, etc. have long been the locus of action in a literary work. Any change in these chronotopes in a single work leads to important alterations which, in turn, create crucial moments in the course of events and fate of characters. The plot of *She Stoops to Conquer* is basically made up of comic incidents that ensue from mistaking the chronotope of an inn for that of a mansion. This not only affects the course of events but creates significant changes in the behaviours of the two guests, Marlow and Hastings, who inadvertently treat the owner of the mansion, Mr. Hardcastle, as an innkeeper. The chronotopic framework of the play is nevertheless set even before the arrival of Marlow and Hastings. From the very beginning of the play, Goldsmith portrays Mr. Hardcastle and his wife as representatives of two opposing chronotopes. While Mr. Hardcastle is fond of the country chronotope and "every thing that's old: old friends, old times, old manners, old books, old wine," Mrs. Hardcastle despises "such old-fashioned trumpery" ([1773] 1998, 96), as it deprives her of living in her beloved town chronotope. Mrs. Hardcastle thinks her engagement with the town is enough to make her superior to her neighbours:

> We Country persons can have no manner at all. I'm in love with the town, and that serves to raise me above some of our neighbouring rustics; but who can have a manner, that has never seen the Pantheon, the Grotto Gardens, the Borough, and such places where the Nobility chiefly resort? ([1773] 1998, 116)

But for Mr. Hardcastle, his wife's ideal chronotope is nothing but a time-place element that "cannot keep its own fools at home" ([1773] 1998, 96).

The clash between past and present chrono-makers as well as the conflict between rural environment and urban area topo-makers can be interpreted as Goldsmith's concern over the social impact of the rapid process of urbanization in eighteenth-century England. Peter Borsay argues that "in the eighteenth century the British Isles became the most dynamic area of urban development in Europe, and – perhaps – in the world" (2002, 196). John Rule carried out a comprehensive study of the growth of urban population in England throughout the century, and maintains that

> in 1700 it has been estimated that 13.4 per cent of the population lived in towns of 10,000 or more inhabitants. By 1800, 24 per cent did so, and this compared with just 10 per cent for north and west Europe minus England. (2002, 128)

Similar studies have also shed light on the increase in the proportion of the urban population over the eighteenth century across England. Goldsmith's country-versus-city chronotopic

struggle is thus the dramatist's comic illustration of the deepening chasm between two ways of living as well as two modes of thinking; a concern he frequently touched upon during his career as an author and critic, especially in his 1770 poem *The Deserted Village*.

Town and countryside are not the only conflicting chronotopes of the play. Tony Lumpkin, Mrs. Hardcastle's son from her previous marriage, has his own desirable chronotope, which is strongly denounced by his mother and stepfather. He likes hanging out at the ale-house and enjoying the present moment. Tony's chronotope, thus, is in sharp contrast with that of his stepfather, both in terms of temporal and spatial elements. In the words of his stepfather, Tony does not deserve to live in the mansion chronotope and must be relegated to "the ale-house and the stable" ([1773] 1998, 97). Tony himself prefers the ale-house chronotope as it allows him not only to defy his parents' restrictions, but to make fun of all the rules and regulations imposed by social and religious institutions, such as school and church. Interestingly, Tony is spending time in his favourite chronotope when he comes up with his decisive joke and deceives Hastings and Marlow into believing that Hardcastle's mansion is an inn.

The inclination of Goldsmith's characters toward a particular chronotope has influenced not only their personalities but their decisions and behaviours. Mrs. Hardcastle's longing for London has made her an avid fan of "the Scandalous Magazine" and "Ladies Memorandum-book" ([1773] 1998, 116). Mr. Hardcastle's love for everything that is old is reflected in his interest in telling old stories. In fact, he is offended by Marlow's behaviour chiefly because he dares to interrupt one of his best stories: "When I was in my best story of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, he asked if I had not a good hand at making punch" ([1773] 1998, 120). Mr. Hardcastle's main source of frustration is, in other words, his guest's irreverent attitude to his most cherished chronotope.

The impact of chronotopes on the behaviours of characters in *She Stoops to Conquer* is perhaps best manifested in Marlow's dialogues with Mr. Hardcastle and Kate before and after he realizes his mistake. When deceived by Tony, Marlow mistakes Hardcastle's mansion for an inn. He describes Mr. Hardcastle as "a very impudent fellow" ([1773] 1998, 111) and "a very troublesome fellow" ([1773] 1998, 109) whom he ventures to make fun of. Marlow's unexpected behaviour irks Mr. Hardcastle, who can't put up with "such a brazen dog" ([1773] 1998, 110) and decides to throw him out of his house. For Mr. Hardcastle, Marlow's "modern modesty" resembles "old-fashioned impudence" ([1773] 1998, 111); a comparison which once again confirms the influence of chronotope on the characters of the play. The change in Marlow's behaviour is also clear in his conversations with Kate. While Marlow keeps addressing Kate as 'madam' when he talks to her as Hardcastle's daughter, he uses words such as "child", "dear me" ([1773] 1998, 132), and "my pretty simplicity" ([1773] 1998, 133) when he chats with her as a barmaid. Once Marlow realizes his mistake – which we might call a chronotopic mistake – he is so disturbed that he thinks "there's no bearing this; it's worse than death" ([1773] 1998¸ 146). He is, in fact, struck by the incongruity of his behaviour at the Hardcastles'. Bakhtin contended that "the image of man is always intrinsically chronotopic" (1981, 85). Marlow's image was contaminated because his behaviour didn't match the conduct that was expected from him when he was situated in the tempo-spatial matrix of the mansion.

3 Chronotope and Eighteenth-Century Social Classes

Although Marlow's behaviour toward Mr. Hardcastle is a reflection of the chronotopic influence on the characters' demeanours in Goldsmith's comedy, his interactions with Kate reveal that a chronotope can even form one's perception of the social class system. Goldsmith's play was produced in the context of the eighteenth-century ferment over social classes. Nicolas Hudson notes that due to "the advent of industrialism and later the panic sown by the French Revolution" in this era, "we can speak adequately of an English 'class' system" (2003, 11). It was also the time when "modern theories of identity – particularly class, gender, and sexuality came into being" (Straub 2009, 5). While Britain was facing the emergence of the middle class for the first time, the interactions among different classes of the society remained a disputable topic. P. J. Corfield contends that "an endless debate about the number and nature of social classes began in the 18th century" (1987, 39). So strong was the debate over social classes that it even invoked numerous variations of the Great Chain of Being: "A well-ordered sequence of ranks and degrees in human society was part of a divinely-ordained hierarchy that embraced the whole of creation" (1987, 40). The middle class, in particular, was not a coherent division of the society. Paul Langford argues that there wasn't

> necessarily much resemblance between the middling countryman, a substantial tenant farmer soon to be dignified perhaps by the title of gentleman farmer, and his urban counterparts, the businessman, doctor, and lawyer, who throve on early industrial society. (2000, 55–56)

Goldsmith's representation of country and city chronotopes is a reflection of the growing split within this "diverse and highly differentiated group" (Berg 2005, 195), one known as the middle class.

Within this context, it is not surprising that Goldsmith addressed this new field of inquiry, i.e. social classes, in *She Stoops to Conquer*. While Goldsmith shows no interest in making or even inspiring changes in the British social class system, his concern over the status of the newly-formed middle class is explored in the play.[2] Kate and Marlow emerge from the same social class. However, as the bashful guest is uncomfortable in the company of women of his own class, Kate stoops to the working class and pretends to be a maid in order to conquer him. Kate's plan is, in fact, stooping from the chronotope of the mansion to that of the inn. Although Kate's act of degradation defies the rules of her class, she does it only temporarily in order to prove to Marlow that he is indeed able to connect with a woman of his own middle class.

Kate's scheme works as Marlow's behaviour completely changes when he finds himself in the company of a maid and not Hardcastle's daughter. In other words, the chronotope that Marlow associates Kate with determines her class. And this social class, in turn, directs his

[2] Some critics, including Robert W. Seitz, argue that Goldsmith admired the English middle class due to his Irish experiences. Seitz states that "this veneration was prepared for by the relative non-existence of such a class in Ireland. Upon his arrival in England he became acutely aware that he was the victim of this defect in his early environment" (1937, 405). Seitz also opines that "the English middle class of which Goldsmith became the self-appointed champion are, at least in their preoccupation with festival celebrations, curiously reminiscent of the country-folk he had known in his youth" (1937, 405).

attitude and behaviour, and shapes his two different characters. Kate draws attention to Marlow's opposing behaviours when she asks:

> In which of your characters, Sir, will you give us leave to address you. As the faltering gentleman, with looks on the ground, that speaks just to be heard, and hates hypocrisy; or the loud confident creature, that keeps it up with Mrs. Mantrap, and old Miss Biddy Buckskin, till three in the morning; ha, ha, ha. ([1773] 1998, 146).

Here, Goldsmith is inviting his audience to notice a distinction between two families or "social classifications" (Flint 1995, 137) of the eighteenth-century middle class, separated by their domineering chronotopes.

The character of Marlow makes it clear that a chronotopic change can alter the conduct of a person tremendously, even if their social class remains the same. Marlow's reserve can also be investigated in light of the chronotope that has surrounded him for most of his life: London. The process of urbanization and the rise of the middle class created new standards for social conduct in populated cities across England. At the centre of such standards was urban politeness, as promoted by periodicals, including those produced by Addison and Steele, as an indispensable element of interpersonal communication. Catharina Löffler maintains that London as a place where people lived

> to see others and to be seen by others demanded proper conduct to prevent social interactions from failing on the one hand and to prevent one's own inappropriate or even embarrassing behaviour and, consequently, bad reputation on the other. (2017, 83)

The results of Löffler's research again indicate that chronotopes can form and direct the behaviours of human subjects in certain ways. The urban middle-class section of society allows for certain conduct and excludes others. In other words, the chronotope is not limited to a background for Marlow's behaviours and deeds; rather, it comes to the foreground and becomes part of his character and a driving force behind his actions. Marlow "is possessed of more than a competence already, and can want nothing but a good and virtuous girl to share his happiness and encrease it," but his fortune can't give him enough courage and self-esteem to establish a relationship with a girl of his own class whose "fortune is but small" ([1773] 1998, 138). In other words, Marlow's behaviour toward Kate, as Mr. Hardcastle's daughter, is much more influenced by the chronotope of the city than his financial superiority.

We also need to take into consideration the fact that Kate's shift of social class could imply that shreds of the old social order still, consciously or unconsciously, remained in the society as well as the literary world. This social order, which was disturbed by the emergent middle class of the time, could define categories only in terms of aristocrats and peasants. Thus, as Marlow was not yet accustomed to the new social order, he was unable to strike a chord with a middle-class woman like Kate. As a result, Kate had no choice but to drop down a class in order to entice Marlow. This could be seen as an indication that Goldsmith and English society as a whole were not yet adapted to the new social order and, as a result, the emergence of a new class created confusion in at least some social contexts, such as courtship.

4 Chronotope and the Ethically Acting Subject

One of the significant aspects of Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope is its relevance to the category of ethics. The tempo-spatial perspective is concerned with

> the evolution of a certain mode of representation where the individual consciousness is involved in a living engagement with the historical environment. The 'chronotope' is a concept borrowed from biology and refers to when an individual organism co-evolves with its environment. (McCaw 2016, 7)

In this regard, Liisa Steinby defines chronotope as 'chairlogical', meaning that a chronotope is "time and place not in the physical sense but in the sense of the (right) moment for certain kinds of human action" (2013, 116). In other words, certain chronotopes entail certain human actions specific to them. By the same token, they also inhibit the possibilities of human actions. If a certain chronotope calls for a certain experience or decision for a character, it also rules out other experiences as well. Therefore, the decisions taken by human subjects, their experiences, and their characteristics are very much under the influence of their surrounding time and space.

But this implies that human subjects do not possess free will, and that whatever they do is being orchestrated by the external forces in the world. Bakhtin, however, disagrees. It is true that chronotopes affect people's decisions and conditions, but they are not powerful enough to completely deprive human beings of their capacity for free decision-making. Steinby elaborated that "the idea of chronotopic determination of the possible time-space of action in no way diminishes for Bakhtin the characters' responsibility for their acts" (2013, 121). In his *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, Bakhtin also studied how the aesthetic form arises from characters that – though conditioned by the locality – are left with the freedom of an ethical choice. Bakhtin tells readers that Dostoevsky's fiction is marked by his insistence on the personality "because of its extraordinary internal freedom and its utter independence from the external environment" (1984, 11–12). Therefore, although characters might be conditioned by the chronotopes, they are nevertheless ethically responsible for their actions.

As discussed earlier, Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* makes great use of various chronotopes. While contributing to the comic aspect of the play, these also raise important questions about the morality of characters. The peculiar and mistaken perception of reality leads to particular behaviours and decisions from characters. But are these decisions dictated by the chronotope, or are the characters capable of acting based on their will when situated in such tempo-spatial perspectives?

In her study of social problems in eighteenth-century Britain, Joanna Innes investigates the revival of interest in the reformation of manners movement in later decades of the century. Innes argues that "concern about the corrupt state of contemporary morals formed a persistent theme in English thought, engaging the attention of people at many different social levels throughout the eighteenth century" (2009, 180). This interest and concern over the revival of morals in society also affected the agenda of literary circles and communities. In the following paragraphs, we discuss how Goldsmith addressed the issue of making moral decisions in *She Stoops to Conquer* in the light of prevailing chronotopes of the play.

In the course of the play, Marlow is faced with various moral dilemmas. In Act IV, he is awarded the chance to be alone with Kate in a room, but he mistakenly thinks it is just an empty room of an inn and Miss Hardcastle an inn barmaid. Although he is not good at conversing with women of the upper class, Marlow has had a rather fine history with women of the working class. This is evidenced by his boasting to his friend Hastings. Therefore, when he is afforded the opportunity of being alone with a barmaid, the idea of making sexual advances fills up his mind. Marlow doesn't see any shame in this decision. When Hastings scolds him about robbing the girl's honour, Marlow simply answers that "we all know the honor of the bar-maid of an inn. I don't intend to rob her, take my word for it, there's nothing in this house, I shan't honestly pay for" ([1773] 1998, 129). His mindset is directed by the fact they are at an inn, or so he believes. In other words, it is the chronotope that prompts this line of thought. This is where Marlow is presented with a moral decision. What he chooses in this dilemma is the high, ethical road, which is made all the more impressive since the surrounding chronotope – an inn – makes it acceptable for him to steal the maid's honour. Reminded by Hastings about the girl's virtue, Marlow replies that "if she has, I should be the last man in the world that would attempt to corrupt it" ([1773] 1998, 129). Although in their first encounter Marlow acts freely and makes a few attempts to kiss Kate, he confesses later on that he is seeking "an honourable connexion" ([1773] 1998¸ 133), which is impossible due to their differences in rank and position. He elaborates on his intentions, stating that "I can never harbor a thought of seducing simplicity that trusted in my honour, or bringing ruin upon one, whose only fault was being too lovely" ([1773] 1998, 133). Therefore, although Marlow thinks Kate is a barmaid, and the inn chronotope urges him to make a move on her, he refuses to act unethically.

The same pattern of moral dilemma in the face of a chronotope could be seen with regard to Hastings. Unlike Marlow, he finds out early on that he is actually at Mr. Hardcastle's mansion, and not at an inn. However, he uses this information to serve his own interests and refuses to reveal the truth to Marlow. Where Marlow acts morally in his ignorance, Hastings acts immorally in his enlightenment, surrendering to what the chronotope dictates. Marlow himself acknowledges that Hastings left him in his ignorance to be "rendered contemptible, driven into ill manners, despised, insulted, laugh'd at" ([1773] 1998, 136). Although Hastings is in the same predicament as Marlow, he selfishly decides against informing his friend of his mistake, for this trickery would serve his own purpose:

> In the meantime, my friend Marlow must not be let into his mistake. I know the strange reserve of his temper is such, that if abruptly informed of it, he would instantly quit the house before our plan was ripe for execution. ([1773] 1998, 112)

His concern with 'our plan' drives away any thought about how things would turn out for his friend Marlow; a behaviour issued and influenced by his recognition of the chronotope.

It is in the character of Tony Lumpkin that Goldsmith's desire for reviving social ethics is mostly displayed. Like Marlow and Hastings, Tony grapples with ethical doubts. He is perhaps the most intriguing character in the entire play, setting up the confusion that results in the odd conduct of Marlow and Hastings in Hardcastle's mansion, playing a bit-part villain in the early stages of the play and, at the end, turning unexpectedly to save

Hastings and Miss Neville. From the very first act of the play, it becomes evident that Tony is a spoiled child who has no regard for academic life and spends most of his time at inns and ale-houses in company of people of low rank. He even shuns his intended, Miss Neville, and has his eyes set on a country girl. When we do see him in Mr. Hardcastle's mansion, he's only doing one of the two things: either trying to get back to the inn again, or trying to play a trick to further his self-interest. Thus, it makes sense for him to help out Hastings with his courtship of Miss Neville, because that means he won't have to marry her. Things, however, take a turn at the end of Act IV when Hastings and Miss Neville's plot is discovered, and Miss Neville is forced to leave Mr. Hardcastle's mansion to live in Aunt Pedigree's house. Although it was Tony himself who inadvertently ruined their plans, he offers to help her flee the mansion:

> Meet me two hours hence at the bottom of the garden; and if you don't find Tony Lumpkin a more good-natur'd fellow than you thought for, I'll give you leave to take my best horse, and Bett Bouncer into the bargain. ([1773] 1998, 138).

Exhibiting ethical behaviour in the face of external forces, Tony doesn't give in to chronotopic dictations of the locale. His immersion in the ale-house chronotope would urge him to act only in his own interests and disregard others. However, he rejects these forces and decides to do a selfless deed instead.

Marlow, Hastings, Tony, and to a lesser degree, the remaining characters in *She Stoops to Conquer*, all face moral dilemmas. Regardless of their decisions to choose the ethical path or not, Goldsmith's characters exhibit the possibilities of human individuals to act on their own when they are subject to a dominant tempo-spatial matrix. They exhibit the possibility of the existence of free will and conscious decision-making even in the presence of a dominant chronotope.

5 Conclusion

In *She Stoops to Conquer*, Oliver Goldsmith dramatizes the principles that he considered essential for a laughing comedy, a type of play which he thought was the remedy for the English stage after years of suffering from sentimental drama. Within its chronotopic framework, this research argued that *She Stoops to Conquer* makes extensive use of tempo-spatial perspectives which serve to fulfil multiple purposes. As "chronotopes are mutually inclusive, they co-exist, they may be interwoven with, replace or oppose one another, contradict one another or find themselves in ever more complex interrelationships" (Bakhtin 1981, 252), the current study showed that the complex interrelationships of chronotopes in the play assisted Oliver Goldsmith in establishing a dialogic network in which contending voices find room to confirm or challenge each other.

The simultaneous use of different chronotopes in the play first of all serves to explain the different and sometimes opposing attitudes and behaviours of the characters. The tension between city, village, inn, and ale-house chronotopes[3] creates comic moments in the play.

[3] Jordan-Haladyn describes this tension as the interaction of various chronotopes "dialoguing with each other" (2014, 25).

It also helps the playwright to establish a dialogic network among his characters. Thanks to the interrelated chronotopes, Goldsmith's characters display distinctive behaviours, but they are able to make a coherent and dialogic whole that can be called a laughing comedy. This is in line with the conclusion of Daphna Erdinast-Vulcan's study of Bakhtin's philosophical contributions to literature, where she noted that

> a text may be constituted by more than a single chronotope, and it is often the relation of the conflicting modes of perception and the tension between them in a single text that render it valuable for the study of culture, since these interactions cross the lines of demarcation between authors, characters, performers, listeners, and readers. (2013, 119–20)

This study also demonstrated that the eighteenth-century debate over the interactions among the newly-defined social classes, as represented in *She Stoops to Conquer*, could be investigated as part of the chronotopic matrix of the play. As this paper argued, this is more palpable in the study of the relevance of the emergent middle class to its surrounding chronotopes. As the central course of measure in the play, Kate's act of 'stooping to conquer' Marlow involves several chronotopic transformations which help Goldsmith shed light on the unique features of each class (or subclass) when it comes to differentiating between the middle class members in big cities and those in rural areas in eighteenth-century England.

Finally, the study concludes that Bakhtin's chronotopic matrix can provide the conditions for the co-existence and co-development of the individual's free will and the external temporal and spatial forces which seek to direct human subjects to make decisions or take actions in a particular way. Our research findings suggest that Bakhtin's idea of chronotope can be a novel and useful tool for studies that intend to delve into the mechanisms of the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century comedies; plays that urge their audience to laugh and not to "sit at a play as gloomy as at the tabernacle" (Goldsmith 1773, 402).

References

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*. Translated by Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson. Texas: University of Texas Press.

—. 1984. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Translated by Caryl Emerson. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Berg, Maxine. 2005. *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Borsay, Peter. 2002. "Urban Life and Culture." In *A Companion to Eighteenth-century Britain*, edited by H. T. Dickinson, 196–209. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Bredvold, Louis I. 1966. *The Literature of the Restoration and the Eighteenth Century 1660 – 1798*. New York: Collier Books.

Brown, Marshall. 1991. *Preromanticism*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Brooks, Christopher K. 1992. "Goldsmith's Feminist Drama: *She Stoops to Conquer*, Silence and Language." *Papers on Language and Literature* 28 (1): 38–51.

Corfield, P. J. 1987. "Class by Name and Number in Eighteenth-Century Britain." *History* 72 (234): 38–61.

Erdinast-Vulcan, Daphna. 2013. *Between Philosophy and Literature: Bakhtin and the Question of the Subject.* California: Stanford University Press.

Evans, James. 2015. "Adapting the Stratagem: Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*." *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes, and Reviews* 28 (1): 34–38. https://doi.org/10.1080/0895769X.2015.1036829.

Flint, Christopher. 1995. "'The Family Piece': Oliver Goldsmith and the Politics of the Everyday in Eighteenth-Century Domestic Portraiture." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29 (2): 127–52.

Goldsmith, Oliver. 1773. "An Essay on the Theatre; or, a Comparison Between Laughing and Sentimental Comedy." *Westminster Magazine* January: 398–402.

—. (1773) 1998. "She Stoops to Conquer." In *Four Georgian and Pre-Revolutionary Plays*, edited by David Thomas, 93–151. London: Macmillan Press.

Harrison, Keith. 2017. *Shakespeare, Bakhtin, and Film: A Dialogic Lens*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hudson, Nicholas. 2003. *Samuel Johnson and the Making of modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Innes, Joanna. 2009. *Inferior Politics: Social Problems and Social Policies in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jordan-Haladyn, Miriam. 2014. *Dialogic Materialism: Bakhtin, Embodiment, and Moving Image Art*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Langford, Paul. 2000. *Eighteenth-Century Britain: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Löffler, Catharina. 2017. *Walking in the City: Urban Experience and Literary Psychogeography in Eighteenth-Century London*. Wiesbaden: J.B. Metzler.

McCaw, Dick. 2016. *Bakhtin and Theatre Dialogues with Stanislavsky, Meyerhold and Grotowski*. New York: Routledge.

Rule, John. 2002. "The Labouring Poor." In *A Companion to Eighteenth-century Britain*, edited by H. T. Dickinson, 196–209. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Seitz, Robert W. 1937. "The Irish Background of Goldsmith's Social and Political Thought." *PMLA* 52 (2): 405-411. https://doi.org/10.2307/458598.

Steinby, Liisa. 2013. "Bakhtin's Concept of the Chronotope: The Viewpoint of an Acting Subject." In *Bakhtin and his Others: (Inter)subjectivity, Chronotope, Dialogism*, edited by Liisa Steinby and Tintti Klapuri, 105–127. London and New York: Anthem Press.

Straub, Kristina. 2009. *Domestic Affairs: Intimacy, Eroticism, and Violence between Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Goutam Karmakar
Sidho-Kanho-Birsha University,
West Bengal, India

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 149-164(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.149-164
UDC: UDK 821.111(73).09-1Bhatt S.
UDK 821.111.09-1Chatterjee D.

Formulating the 'Alternate Archives' of Produced Locality: Locating the Diasporic Consciousness in the Select Poems of Sujata Bhatt and Debjani Chatterjee

ABSTRACT

The present paper aims to outline the diasporic consciousness in two Indian diasporic women poets namely, Sujata Bhatt and Debjani Chatterjee. The poets' diasporic consciousness is strewn with the nostalgia for lost homes, pangs of homelessness, fractured identity, the disintegrated historiography of displaced individuals, persistent 'post-memory' and continuous struggle to assimilate into the environment of 'hostland'. This assimilation is achieved by transcending the geographical and psychological borders of 'homeland' as seen in the selected poems of Bhatt and Chatterjee. The paper also attempts to show how the poets formulate 'alternate archives' by delineating their discourses of displacement (Hirsch and Smith 2002) of produced locality.

Keywords: diasporic consciousness, homeland, hostland, identity, memory, nostalgia

Oblikovanje 'alternativnih arhivov' ustvarjene lokalnosti: Prisotnost diasporske zavesti v izbranih pesmih Sujate Bhatt in Debjani Chatterjee

POVZETEK

Članek zariše diasporsko zavest v pesmih indijskih diasporskih pesnic Sujati Bhatt in Debjani Chatterjee. Njuno diasporsko zavest zaznamuje nostalgija za izgubljenimi domovi, bolečina brezdomskosti, zlomljena identiteta, razpadla historiografija dislociranih posameznikov, vztrajni 'po-spomin' in nenehni poskusi vključevanja v 'gostiteljska' okolja. Izbrane pesmi Sujate Bhatt and Debjani Chatterjee kažejo, da je takšno vključevanje mogoče s preseganjem geografskih in psiholoških meja 'domovine'. V prispevku pokažem tudi, kako pesnici oblikujeta 'alternativne arhive' z zarisom diskurzov dislociranosti (Hirsch in Smith 2002) ustvarjene lokalnosti.

Ključne besede: diasporska zavest, domovina, gostiteljsko okolje, identiteta, spomin, nostalgija

CC BY SA

1 Introduction

> Literature is an interim report from the consciousness of the artist. […] Literature is made at the frontier between the self and the world, and in the act of creation that frontier softens, becomes permeable, allows the world to flow into the artist and the artist to flow into the world. (Rushdie 1991, 427)

The word 'diaspora', etymologically derived from the Greek verb *diaspiero* which means 'I scatter between or across', refers to the displacement of people with the same territorial origin from their native homeland. This displacement always carries a sense of alienation, a search for identity and a desire to return to the homeland where the nostalgic memory of home and the reality of hostland intermingle to form an individual's diasporic consciousness. Taken from the Latin word *sciare*, which means 'to know', consciousness implies a state of perception, awareness and being 'with knowledge'. Considering consciousness within the parameters of human creativity, and knowledge and literature within the socio-culturally constructed and shaped spatial dimensions, consciousness locates and expresses artistic interventions and self-referral quests. In the case of diaspora literature, the reflections, expressions, explorations of certain ethnic, national, psychological and national issues, cultural creolisation and social amalgamation of immigrants or displaced individuals are exposed through a complex and multi-dimensional phenomena called 'diasporic consciousness'. Within the process of acculturation and assimilation, this diasporic consciousness verbalises an individual's sense of alienation, fear, humiliation in a hostland, displacement, memory and nostalgia, hybridity, celebration of homeland, and makes an attempt to maintain an aboriginal identity within the transnational and transcultural corpus. While James Clifford describes diasporic consciousness as "a sense of attachment elsewhere, to a different temporality and vision" and as "a sense of rupture, of living a radically different temporality" (1994, 312–18), Anne-Marie Fortier considers it as a part of a wider movement "where the spatial takes precedence over the temporal in understanding social change" (2005, 182). At the same time, Home K. Bhabha and Stuart Hall focus on a displaced individual's "enduring condition of dischronotopicality – of conflict between the way time-space constructions governed subjectivity, community and memory in the homeland and the way they govern subjectivity, community and memory in the place of dispersal-the resulting hybridity" (Peeran 2007, 74). Carol Breckenridge and Arjun Appadurai observe how diasporic consciousness captures the trajectory of the trails of a displaced individual's collective memory that within another time and place formulate new maps of attachment and desire and "compounding the awareness of multilocality, the 'fractured memories' of diaspora consciousness produce a multiplicity of histories, 'communities' and selves- a refusal of fixity often serving as a valuable resource for resisting repressive local or global situation" (Vertovec 2009, 7). By taking into account the discursive terrains of diasporic consciousness propounded by theorists and critics of diaspora and memory studies, this paper aims to unveil the poetic corpus of Sujata Bhatt and Debjani Chatterjee, two noted diasporic Indian women poets writing in English, to explicate how their diasporic chronotopes are governed, shaped and reshaped by the process of dualism and exclusion, producing a double consciousness.

2 Imagining the Communities: Diasporic Consciousness and the Poetry of Sujata Bhatt

> I am the one
> who always goes
> away with my home
> which can only stay inside
> in my blood my home which does not fit
> with any geography. (Bhatt 1997, 63)

By showcasing her craft in poetry collections such as *Brunizem* (1988), *The Monkey Shadows* (1991), *The Stinking Rose* (1995), *Point No Point* (1997), *Augatora* (2000), *The Colour of Solitude* (2002) and *Pure Lizard* (2008), Sujata Bhatt delineates her mastery over her culture, history, and time. Apart from being aware of the manifold persecutions prevalent in society, Bhatt also sketches her eagerness to break all limitations and restrictions of an immigrant woman as she believes that an acceptance or rejection of the homeland cannot form or reduce the whole diasporic experience. It is worth mentioning that Bhatt does not focus on her feelings of displacement from the homeland like other diasporic writers because of an eagerness to carry the memories of her home. Instead, she chooses to deviate from the norm where 'home' can be defined by a geographical location and boundary. She carries her 'home' everywhere and internalises the experience of 'home' that exists beyond any physical bound. 'Home' for Bhatt forms a part of her psyche, disseminating through her system, that is inseparable and incorrigible. For Bhatt home stands at a spatial and temporal distance where "the homing desire" does not necessitate the "ideology of return" (Brah 1996, 194). In these lines from her poem "The One who Goes Away", she writes: "But I never left home/I carried it away/with me-here in my darkness/in myself" (Bhatt 1997, 23); these lines show her ways of carrying home along with her displacement. Thus, home becomes a lived place of desire and experience in her diasporic space of inclusion and exclusion. She seems to echo what Roza Tsagarousianou opines in the following:

> The notion of home therefore is much more complex than approaches to diasporas premised on the power of nostalgia would want us to believe. It is intrinsically linked with the way in which the process of inclusion or exclusion operates and is subjectively experiences under given circumstances. (2004, 52)

Born in Ahmedabad in 1956 and brought up in Pune, Sujata Bhatt moved to New Orleans when her father's work as a virologist compelled her to leave India. At the age of twelve, she moved to Connecticut and all these experiences of moving, shifting and finally leaving India cast an ineradicable impression on her works. For Bhatt, home is something beyond the family rituals, legends, memories, nostalgia, cultures, ethos, customs, relationships and history of the native land. Even the poverty and wretched condition of Ahmedabad and the violence of Hindu-Sikh riots in Delhi find an authentic expression in her poetry. Displacement creates a pain in Bhatt and compels her to memorialise the history of her homeland, and as a result its partition.

This history of India is best expressed in the section "History is Broken Narrative". In the poem "Partition", the poet maps the pathetic condition of those subjected to the unprecedented geographical divide. Hunger, poverty and alienation were the results of the partition of India in 1947. The poem throws light on the other side of displacement that is involuntary, forced and pathetic. The horrible sounds and pathetic cries of uprooted and homeless people in Ahmedabad railway station arouse the burning question: "How could they/ have let a man/ who knew nothing/ about geography/divide a country?" (Bhatt 2000, 34). Explaining how history is carved out of some narrative in her poem "History is a Broken Narrative", she writes: "History is a broken narrative./Pilka story and see where/It will lead you./You take your language where you get it/or do you" (Bhatt 2000, 40–41). By examining the displacement through the complex process of confluence that neither accepts a facile transplantation nor allows a super imposition of one culture on another, Bhatt tries to draw equality between the narrative of one's diasporic self and the broken narrative of one's history. Describing "history is a broken narrative/where you make your language/when you change it" (Bhatt 2000, 43), she here challenges the conventional concept of linear history that subjects a narrative to the hegemony of homogenisation. Bhatt's history is an assemblage of fragments of narrative that is narrated not in one language, rather in several. Because of Bhatt's staying in an in-between space or the 'Third Space'- a term used by Homi K. Bhabha, her history "displaces the narrative of the Western nation which Benedict Anderson so perceptively describes as being written in homogeneous, serial time" (Bhabha 1994, 37).

Fragmentation, assimilation and renewal break the narrative of human history, and often a translation may fail to recreate that original aura created by the writer whose work is translated. For this reason, when Bhatt reads translations of the German poet Johannes Bobrowski's works, she misses the poet's actual German sounds, and in her poem "Language" Bhatt expresses this as follows: "In the end, the birch tree/didn't break and the ice melted/ and I could walk beside the river/with your words/a mediated, un-translated in my mouth" (Bhatt 2000, 55). Due to her ambivalent and ever-changing spatial dimension, her dislocated and disintegrated poems challenge the authenticated, unifying and homogenising notions of human history. Here she echoes the words of Homi K. Bhabha, who observes:

> The intervention of the Third Space of enunciation, which makes the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process, destroys this mirror of representation in which cultural knowledge is customarily revealed as an integrated, open, expanding code. It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read a new (1994, 37).

Bhatt's experience of displacement transforms her narrative into a multi-lingual one, and at the same time as a diasporic individual she problematises "your language". She is willing to personalise the foreign language as her 'own', but there lies a gap in between personalising and adopting a language. Dwelling on the liminal space of linguistic-culture, she embodies the hybrid identity, constituting the multitude. Through diasporic consciousness, Bhatt makes her readers aware of dislocation, misfortune, alienation, disengagement and the quest for

identity. In her poem "Point No Point", she expresses all these feelings as her search for a home in a hostland and her notion of dislocation highlight her desperate condition, and she writes: "Why name a place Point No Point?/Does it mean we are nowhere/when we reach it?/Does it mean we lose our sense/of meaning, our sense of direction/when we stop at Point No Point?" (Bhatt 1997, 11). Language remains one of her safe areas, because through her language she tries to capture her culturally hybrid identity. Her multicultural experiences fail to erase her attachment to and the languages of her homeland. Her hybrid identity creates liminal or in-between space where the negotiation and transition occur to produce the 'Third Space.' as Bhabha states: "For me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge" (Rutherford 1990, 211). Bhatt asks a very pertinent question in her *Augatora*: "what happened when the Gujarati/and the Marathi and the Hindi/I spoke/made room for the English words" (Bhatt 2000, 45). Thus, through these questions mentioning vernacular languages, Bhatt creates a space for herself where home and a diasporic subject's fluid identity can mingle.

Bhatt's language is constantly in flux as she experiences the problems of dual identities, but her identity of 'origin' seems to remain, and she writes: "Constantly changing its colours/as if trying to win me over/with its simmering starlets and blacks/then always slipping out of my grasp – and yet/refusing to go away" (Bhatt 2000, 45). Through her multilingual poetry, Bhatt tries to shed her nostalgia as she always looks forward to asserting her identity and home, and thus her writings often overcome the restraints of negotiable identity and ethnicity. With her 'Third Space' her poems, having no primeval unity or fixity, become ambivalent, where cultural meaning and identity can create new possibilities because "in-between spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood-singular or communal-that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contradiction" (Bhabha 1994, 1–2).

Bhatt incessantly attempts to revive her roots while living in the USA. In her poem "Search for My Tongue", she describes her anxiety over losing her mother tongue, Gujarati, and her identity as a Gujarati woman. Realising that it is not easy to use both her native language and English at the same time, she often forgets her mother tongue, but it haunts her in dreams only to encourage her to regain her cultural identity. Imparting a pictorial description of her mother tongue blooming like a flower out of her mouth to cast away her anguish, disaffection and anxiety at losing her roots, Bhatt writes: "it grows back, a stump of a shoot/grows longer, grows moist, grows strong veins,/it ties the other tongue in knots,/the bud opens, the bud opens in my mouth,/it pushes the other tongue aside" (Bhatt 1998, 52).

Issues related to linguistic amalgamation and collision are reiterated in the poem "Augatora" to show how one's native tongue gives one the privilege and opportunity for devout verbalisation, but one's hostland may not provide such an opportunity, and there arises the tension of multilingualism. Issuing from the dualism of 'us-then' to the mutual state of 'both/and' binaries, Bhatt's identity forms a bicultural hybrid space that is "celebrated and privileged as a kind of superior cultural intelligence owing to the advantage of in-betweeness, the straddling of two cultures and the consequent ability to negotiate the difference" (Hoogvelt 1997, 158). The poet symbolises her native language as an eye-gate which can measure the

sun and welcome the sunlight. Here the sun symbolises her roots, culture, ethos and identity. Thus Bhatt writes: "Keep an eye on the house/Keep an eye on the child/Don't let the child fall out of the window/Don't throw your house out of the window" (Bhatt 2000, 16). Her poems constantly convey the angst and anxiety of a diasporic individual, who sustains the pain of a fractured identity emerging from the loss and struggle to gain, regain and retain her stand. But at the same time, she tries to resist by using code-switching or language alteration in her poems.

Bhatt begins to clarify her diasporic aesthetic to acknowledge her cross-cultural and multilingual interconnectedness which create a cosmopolitan space. Symbolising the analogy between linguistic and cultural practice, her poetry echoes Steven Vertovec's concept of "xenophilia or penchant for diversity" that elaborates the fact that how "the experience of living in conditions of diaspora, or in fact, engaging in transnational life spread across two or more global settings, exposes individuals to cultural differences that may give rise to such cosmopolitan views" (Vertovec 2010, 64). Being multicultural and multilingual in nature, Bhatt's poetry produces a cosmopolitan space where hybridity and multiple identities are embedded to create a structure based on "an orientation, a willingness to engage with the other […] an intellectual and aesthetic openness toward divergent cultural experiences" (quoted in Vertovec 2010, 64). For Bhatt, the discourses of history and language are interrelated, and it is through the assimilation of pieces of language that history is constructed. Experiencing incapacitation after witnessing the history of India that ruptures the narrative of different regional languages, she dreams of a nation where people will value the language they use. Though her English language finds a suitable space in her consciousness, this foreign language cannot replace the native ones. While staying in an alien land, Bhatt dreams of her homeland and utters in an optimistic voice: "It will give you time/time to gather up the fallen pieces/of your language - one by one/with your mouth, with your mouth - you need time/to pick up the scattered pieces of your language" (Bhatt 2000, 40).

Migration to another land often compels Bhatt to change her perspectives, and at this juncture her dire need to construct a 'home' pushes her to try and adjust to the customs, languages, ethos and culture of the alien land. For example, her poem "Jane to Tarzan" delineates how Jane's world is changed by Tarzan, and Tarzan takes everything out of Jane. Jane utters: "Already you have changed/my language, my sleep/ […] How could you make me want/to change myself so much" (Bhatt 2000, 57–59). The poet shows how a foreign land can snatch everything away from a migrant to signify a double displacement.

During moments of crisis, Bhatt talks about her mother and the memories associated with her. In her "My Mother's Way of Wearing a Sari", the poet charts the duties and responsibilities of Indian women in general through the image of her mother. The figure of her mother in a sari colours her idea of an ideal mother and motherhood. The sari worn by her mother shapes her Indian sensibility, and her mother becomes a representative of the Indian culture and ethos that make her cling to her 'home' away from 'home'. This idea reclaims the fact that home is not bound to a geographical area, but rather is a plastic space, flexible enough to shape into one's sensibility at any latitudinal location. Here Bhatt's concept of home echoes the notion of 'the diasporing of home' given by Avtar Brah, who believes that

> home is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense it is a place of no return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of 'origin'. On the other hand, home is also the lived experience of a locality. (1996, 188–89)

Bhatt's poetry encompasses the concurrent multifarious spatial dimensions of homeland and hostland within the parameters of 'time/space compression' – a term used by Zygmunt Bauman. Displacement creates a pain in Bhatt, but she tries her best to accept the world as it is. She thinks of a world where borders do not create any divide as she focuses on peace, harmony and universalism. She tries to adjust and adapt in the places she goes, and "she adapts to new surroundings in new countries trying to assimilate the best from everywhere" (Namavat 2011, 177). Thus, in the poem "Distances", she writes: "And every place slides/ through my fingers with the filthy/just breaking waves, relentless/salty water" (Bhatt 2001, 100). By taking the freedom of mobility with her poetic corpus, Bhatt's poems set in motion the space-fixing localising definition of home. Here Bhatt's concept of home is shared by Zygmunt Bauman in his study of home and globalisation in our postmodern world:

> All of us are, willy nilly, by design or by default, on the move. We are on the move, even if physically we stay put: immobility is not a realistic option in a world of permanent change. Some of us are fully and truly 'global'; some are fixed in their 'locality'- a predicament neither pleasurable nor endurable in a world where the 'globals' set the tone and compose the rules of the life game. (1998, 2)

Bhatt's notion of diasporic consciousness is personal and collective at the same time, since immigrants often share a collective memory, as noted by William Saffron: "They retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland-its physical location, history, and achievements" (1991, 83). Triggered by the feelings of loneliness and nostalgia, Bhatt's poetry narrates her memory of the past to acknowledge her homeland. For example, her poem "A Different History" traces the ethos and customs prevalent in India – thinking every tree as sacred, finding gods in monkeys and snakes, showing reverence and godly respect for books, which symbolise the Indian goddess Sarasvati, and thus not touching them with one's feet. At the same time, she does not hold back from attacking the superstitious activities of the ignorant. Expressing her diasporic consciousness coupled with irony, she writes: "You must learn how to turn the pages gently/without disturbing Sarasvati,/without offending the tree/from whose woods the paper was made" (Bhatt 1988, 47).

Bhatt's memories of home do not always depict the factual reproductions of her fixed past, but also "are fluid reconstructions set against the backdrop of the remembering subject's current positionings and conceptualizations of home" (Stock 2010, 24). Femke Stock further says how "contestations of home" and "social ascriptions" (2010, 24) shape an immigrant's conceptualisations to recall the past, interpret the present and orient towards the future. At the same time, notions of prior homes and feelings of being there both physically and metaphorically symbolise belongingness. In the case of Sujata Bhatt, poems like "A Memory from Marathi" and "The Dream" vibrate with her childhood memories to delineate the intricacies of memory and nostalgia that have shaped her complex consciousness. Dreaming of a snake which changes its colour and her father's advice to console her when the snake

slips out of her reach symbolise two things – first, her childhood memories which erupt into nostalgia while living in the hostland, and second, her reluctant acceptance of a foreign culture, along with its customs and ethos. She has to accept the lived reality of dual identity, and there is no escape from it. Thus, the following lines said by her father in the poem "The Dream" vividly capture her diasporic consciousness: "Don't resist/You must accept it/Then is no point/in fighting with the snake" (Bhatt 2000, 15). During this process of creating a dual identity where the homeland becomes a symbol of longing and the hostland is seen "as the object of efforts to belong" (qtd. in Stock 2010, 25), Sujata Bhatt's poetry uses the "empowering paradox of diaspora" (Clifford 1994, 322) to form a fluid and plastic identity, as Femke Stock observes: "The moving between a multiplicity of home spaces, the experience of ambivalently belonging both here and there, can open up new spaces to reflect on and critique essentialist discourses of nation, ethnicity or origin, and to creatively construct new homes and identities that are deemed hybrid, syncretic or fluid" (2010, 26).

Childhood memories of the poet are narrated again in her poem "A Memory from Marathi", which shows her father's killing a snake with a stick and then burning it. The snake symbolises Bhatt's painful memories as an immigrant, and just like the burnt snake she wants to burn off those disturbing images as she writes: "It bled and bled/I could never forget/the redness streaming out/of the broken skin" (Bhatt 2000, 20). The blemishes of broken skin ooze out as she erases her torturous consciousness.

Bhatt's diasporic consciousness extends to Indian philosophy and religion in her poem "A Detail from Chandogya Upanishad" that traces the importance of the Sanskrit language and Indian mythologies. So, it can be said that Bhatt's poetry portrays her affection and love for her home, and that her diasporic consciousness in an unceasing and continuous way makes her local experience a global one. Here her diasporic consciousness is marked by "dual or multiple identifications", where her awareness of "de-centred attachments" continuously creates "home away from home, here and there" (Vertovec 2009, 6). She identifies and links herself to more than one society and culture. Through her diasporic consciousness, she not only creates a national identity and culture in her poetry but also imagines a unified nation/home in her compositions. Exhibiting an awareness of multi-locality and ever-changing spatial dimensions, Bhatt's poetry comes up with "an imaginary coherence" (Hall 1990, 224) for a set of ductile identities – an idea formulated by Stuart Hall. Bhatt's poetry shows how she tries her best to create a transnational identity through her shared imagination, while her notion of displacement creates multiple homes to make a strong connection between her homeland and hostland. Her local images become global when she swiftly moves across continents, and thus her shared space faithfully captures her diasporic consciousness. Her poems remind the readers of what Robin Cohen says:

> The central idea is that transnational bonds no longer have to be cemented by migration or by exclusive territorial claims. In the age of cyberspace, a diaspora can, to some degree, be held together or recreated through the mind, through cultural artefacts and through a shared imagination. An identification with a diaspora serves to bridge the gap between the local and global, even if the outcome is a cultural artefact rather than a political project. (1996, 516)

3 Memory and Nostalgia: Diasporic Consciousness and the Poetry of Debjani Chatterjee

> When I left, my eyes caressed
> each grieving street, each screaming rooftop.
> The memory of my home
> Forever burst into my smouldering heart. (Chatterjee et al. 2012, 12)

Because of her frequent moving from India to Bangladesh, Japan, Hong Kong, Egypt and Morocco before her final settlement at Sheffield in the UK, Debjani Chatterjee, one of the notable Indian-born British poets, always operates within a multicultural and multilingual framework. Within this pluralistic space, Chatterjee's diasporic consciousness along with issues of marginalisation, memory, nostalgia and estrangement are cleverly explored in a number of volumes of poetry, namely *I Was that Woman* (1997), *Albino Gecko* (1998), *Animal Antics* (2000), *Another Bridge* (2012), *Do You Hear the Storm Sing?* (2014), *British Raj in the Peak District: Threads of Connection* (2015), *Spinning a Yarn: Weaving a Poem* (2018), and *Smiling at Leopards* (2018). From her very first volume, memories and histories of Chatterjee's homeland create a connection between her individual and collective past as she intends to construct the notion of 'our homes' – a term used by Vijay Agnew, who observes: "The past is always with us, and it defines our present; it resonates in our voices, hovers over our silences, and explains how we came to be ourselves and to inhabit what we call 'our homes'" (2005, 3). Agnew further elaborates on this by telling how an immigrant revisualises, recreates and responds in multifarious ways to construct the 'home' that is left behind. Although different histories, memories, identities, genealogies, and consciousnesses construct contested experience of the past and present, "what we call the past is merely a function and production of a continuous present and its discourses" (McDowell 1989, 147).

In the case of Debjani Chatterjee, the formation of 'our homes' is perceived by her depiction of traumatic discourses of Indian history, especially partition narratives. In the poem "Nazrul" from *I Was that Woman*, the poet depicts how the partition of India in 1947 not only created a Muslim homeland called Pakistan, but also began the process of inclusion and exclusion of Hindus and Muslims. The poet writes: "you were Muslim, you were Hindu,/a prophet of the Motherland/that breathed so fiercely in your dreams" (Chatterjee 1997, 18). Apart from leaving a lasting impression upon the body and mind of the poet, this political incident not only enables her to memorialise the history of her homeland by creating the idea of a 'homing desire' (Brah 1996, 180), but also relates her to those displaced people whose wounded memories symbolise the impossibility of a return to their homeland. While Dhooleka Raj argues that "partition is remembered and recounted or forgotten and hidden, but sometimes it emerges in specific contexts" (1998, 58), Vijay Mishra delineates how the remembrance of displacement disrupts the romantic idealisation of home by making the diasporic individuals aware of it before they formulate a comfortable past: "diasporic imaginary is a particular condition of displacement and disaggregation" and "the postmodern nation-state is a complex socio-economic formation with multiple cultural repertories in which diasporas are always provisionally and problematically inserted" (1996, 442–43). Chatterjee also ruptures

the romantic affiliations of home in her poem "Home", where her diasporic consciousness compels her to remember "each grieving street, each screaming rooftop" (Chatterjee et al. 2012, 12). The memory is burnt forever into her scrupulous heart that experiences the pangs of a displaced mother who loses everything at the time of partition. The poet persona utters: "This cursed space spawned my one surviving child;/mottled fruit of blasphemy, rare blossom of rape and rage. It nurtures too the wild-eyed orphan/that still suckles at my shrivelled breast" (Chatterjee et al. 2012, 12).

Like the mother, displaced people often find it extremely difficult to stay in an alien land and to rebuild their homes and lives, and even set their temporary accommodation on fire to leave nothing there before their journey towards 'home". The poet writes: "This place was only a shelter through the dragging years –/a makeshift pain – it was never home" (Chatterjee et al. 2012, 12). Thus, imagining the homeland as an alien place, Chatterjee breaks the imposed border in the land created years ago as she wants to re-establish the convoluted ethics of borderland and identity. She believes that "the imagining of the homeland, in a lost *desh*, particularly bridges the age, class, and economic divide between different sites and waves of migration. Partition and diaspora memories, literary or testimonial, invariably converge on a village or city complicating the meaning of home, nation, and identity" (Roy and Bhatia 2008, xxv). Thus, while living in the UK Chatterjee tries her best to create the ambience of her homeland, and writes poems mentioning the food, culture, customs and ethos of India.

At the same time, the poet delineates how the personal, collective and cultural memories of traumatic events pass down to the 'hinge generation' that not only overwhelmingly inherits those memories, but also grows up realising the effects of the events from the past. This indirect experience is termed 'postmemory' by Marianne Hirsch. The pains of the traumatised history are imagined and further perceived by oral history, photography, documentary and other forms of writing by those who were not directly involved and did not personally experience the horror and trauma. As Hirsch puts it: "Postmemory is a powerful form of memory precisely because its connection to its object or source is meditated not through recollection but through projection, investment, and creation" (1997, 22). Hirsch further says that postmemory serves as a medium "to describe other second-generation memories of cultural or collective traumatic events and experiences" (1997, 22). In her poem "Home", Chatterjee throws light on the impact of partition upon the second or third diasporic generations, especially on children who will also perceive the experience of being displaced from their homeland: "Today, as we turn to face the long march back,/I ache for the cool of welcoming streets and rooftops./But the memory of the place is forever burnt/into my children's eyes and its cinders ignite my fear" (Chatterjee et al. 2012, 13).

Chatterjee's memories of homeland often record histories of events, and she retells those with a difference; this repetition makes the past "a site to struggle over individual and collective memories and memorization" (Hua 2005, 197). In this context, Matt K. Matsuda aptly says: "No history can be pure event, pure evolution; each is rather a repetition, a return to a story which must be retold, distinguished from its previous retelling. The past is not a truth upon which to build, but a truth sought, a re-memorizing over which to struggle" (1996, 16). At the same time for Chatterjee, this remembrance and repetition of many traumatic events of

her homeland make a clear distinction between memory as a medium of nostalgic yearning, and memory as an "archaeology of living memory" – a term used by M. Jacqui Alexander, who notes: "There is a difference between remembering when – the nostalgic yearning for some return – and a living memory that enables us to re-member" (2002, 96). Alexander further says how by invoking and excising the past, memory consciously remembers certain narratives to intentionally ponder certain issues.

Chatterjee knowingly portrays certain pictures of her homeland to depict the realities of the present, in order to create awareness and showcase her diasporic consciousness. In her poem "Tagore", she feels pity on seeing the withered condition of Bengal, the land of Rabindranath Tagore. Seeing the socio-political, religious, cultural and economic corruption of modern Bengal, the poet says: "The same society which wore you/Romantic on its sleeve, now withered./In words, like bamboo piercing city/Pollution: struggling, breathing, hunting" (Chatterjee 1997, 17). Visualising and memorialising home as an ideal space where different races and classes can exist peacefully, her poem "Ganapati" necessitates the humanistic demand to embrace people of a different class, caste and religion in her homeland, only to make it a lovely place to stay. As she states: "We saw that we should embrace the children of two races;/ they are the strong links of connection and bear your blessings,/they are rainbows spanning gulfs of silence, swamps of intolerance,/You wanted to stretch our notions of humanity" (Chatterjee 1997, 51). So apart from making the reader aware, Chatterjee's poems also show how the poet carries home with herself.

By depicting her socio-cultural, intellectual and familiar resources in poetry, Chatterjee attempts to construct a personal and social identity in an alien land that remains fractured and fragmented to her perception. She conceives the memory of her homeland as a process through which she shapes "the past into a set of meanings that makes sense" to her poetic corpus in the present, only to necessitate "a recognition of the ways in which this process involves the individual psyche and historically specific public ideologies" (Giles 2002, 24). Giles further says how memories do not act only as the projector and protector of facts, but also formulate meaning. Chatterejee creates a space where home operates as a signifier of security and belonging, as well as a storehouse where the best of her past and present meet. Her poem "The Question" begins like this: "Being Indian, I live abroad/In England, Germany, Disneyland,/Wherever my rainbow spirit beckons" (Chatterjee 1997, 13). While going through "throbbing bazaars" in India, images of "flies and charlatans", "bulls and pot-bellied banias", oozing sores and gleaming bangles", mud, cow-dung and vermilion remind of her Indianness, and she asks herself: "Am I in this, or is this part of me?/Does the lotus unfold within me,/And am I its muddy bed?" (Chatterjee 1997, 13).

In her poem "Animal Regalia", Chatterjee again talks about her memory which faithfully captures images of halal meat, *surma*, *saris*, hunger, Hinduism and a "third world hernia", along with "visas, arranged marriages, immigration,/ethnic monitoring and paraphernalia" (Chatterjee 1997, 20). At the same time, she compares the people coming from India with animals that are exported, as she says: "Elephants, horses, camels come from India,/just like you! came the logical assumption" (Chatterjee 1997, 20). While living in different countries, she constantly creates and recreates the memory of her homeland and thus she continuously

attempts to make sense of her past in a present that is changing. Her stories become oral narratives, and history is "not just in factual statements but is pre-eminently an expression and representation of culture, and therefore includes not only literal narrations but also the dimension of memory, ideology and subconscious desires" (Passerini 1979, 84). At the same time, Alessandro Portelli defines memory as the non-passive depository of facts as he talks about how the personal involvement of the narrator formulates a standard version of collective memory, and thus narrated stories become the "part of a collective tradition which preserves memory of the group's history beyond the range of the lives of individual members" (1981, 102). Chatterjee's "An 'Indian Summer'" is one such poem that captures the images of an Indian summer in Sheffield, where she lives in the UK. Narrating on behalf of other immigrants living there, she shows how "the high Himalayas drum with roaring rivers", "the dragonfly flits in the Yorkshire afternoon/while Mandakini descends in roaring waters" (Chatterjee et al. 2012, 14) to vividly symbolise Indianness there. Here the mentioning of the River Mandakini, the name of the River Ganges when it flows in Heaven, and the final lines "whenever she is called, Ganga meditates/on Summer rippling the clam of English rivers" (Chatterjee et al. 2012, 14) project how immigrants, like the poet, visualise the image of an Indian summer in an alien land.

While Leo Spitzer defines nostalgia as "the selective emphasis on what was positive in the past" (1999, 153), and McDermott observes that "nostalgia is often seen as a conservative and regressive impulse, a form of escapism in which the past is idealized in contrast to an unsatisfactory present" (2002, 390), Gayle Greene thinks that nostalgia, being impulsive and conservative, harks back to the past with a desire to remember, rethink, and recollect certain memories, a view of the past in a foreign country where "they do things differently" (1991, 297). Furthermore, considering the specific meaning of nostalgia from feminist point of view, Greene states: "Nostalgia is not only a longing to return home; it is also a longing to return to the state of things in which women keep the home and in which she awaits, like Penelope, the return of her wandering Odysseus" (1991, 297). Debjani Chatterjee's memories of her homeland and family become the "wandering Odysseus" as in her poem "Namaskar, Sir Walter", she remembers the loving memory of her *Dadus* – Rai Sahib S N Chatterjee and Sri P N Mukherjee. Here she talks about her paternal and maternal *Dadus* who live in Timarpur and Mussoorie, and their love of books, travel and history inspire the poet to feel their presence in Edinburgh too. Here the poet's memory urges her to remember and visualise her *Dadus* in an alien land, and thus she ends the poem by saying: "Having roamed with you in the craggy Highlands, the buzzing Borders,/the great castles and, of course, the regal streets of Edinburgh,/I stand at last before your statue. Namaskar, Sir Walter,/from the bottom of my heart. Please accept these Indian greetings" (Chatterjee et al. 2012, 10).

In another poem, "Reflection", Chatterjee describes a picture of her grandparents, their smart and smiling grandchildren, her shy cousin who is "married now to a business tycoon", her sensible brother who standing at the edge "manages to give the impression/that he is shepherding us children in", her sister's "expression of concentration", her grandmother wearing "a red bordered white sari" and her careful observation of some typical Indian rules (Chatterjee 1997, 45). Apart from all this, she also remembers the game she used to play with her sisters and cousins as she writes: "I remember all the adventures/of that garden just beyond

the picture frame:/the crocodile and bank game we played,/especially hilarious in monsoon weather" (Chatterjee 1997, 45). While in her poem "My Family" Chatterjee shows how her grandmother's faith and her "children's love and laughter" shape her family (Chatterjee 2014, 9), her poem "Home is Where the Heart is" faithfully captures her diasporic consciousness, her desire to revisit her family in India and her loneliness while staying in an alien land without them. Her grandma's voice seems to echo her thoughts: "Grandma was a bag-packer,/ moving between us siblings./'Daughter, I feel most at home/with my children,' she told me" (Chatterjee 2014, 8). As such, Chatterjee's diasporic sensibilities are coupled with her notion of memory and nostalgia. While putting these personal stories in the public domain via poems, her memories not only imply her present but also share interactive responses where the readers "draw on their own preoccupations, desires, and cultural understanding in order to make themselves at home in the stories they encounter" (Giles 2012, 25). Here Chatterjee's memory links with Graham Dawson's notion of physic composure, where desire, nostalgia, remembrance and displacement are experienced as psychic and social realities. Chatterjee's poems thus deal with Dawson's cultural, social and historiographical epistemologies that emphasise that "an effort towards composure is an inescapably social process. Stories are always told to an audience, actual or imagined, from which different kinds of response and recognition are elicited" (Dawson 1994, 23).

Underpinning the distinction between memory and nostalgia, Annette Kuhn argues that memory-work should be used as "an aid to radicalized remembering [that] can create new understandings of both past and present, while yet refusing a nostalgia that embalms the past in a perfect, irretrievable, moment" (1995, 8). Distinguishing nostalgia into two tropes as "restorative and reflexive", Svetlana Boym remarks: "Restorative nostalgia puts emphasis on *nostos* and proposes to build the lost home and patch up memory gaps. Reflexive nostalgia dwells in *algia*, in longing and loss, the imperfect process of remembrance" (2001, 41). Taking Boym's distinction as the point of departure, Debjani Chatterjee's poems reflect a restorative nostalgia because they reconstruct her past and at the same time emphasise a reflexive nostalgia which "lingers on ruins, the patina of time and history, in the dreams of another place and another time" (Boym 2001, 41). In her poem "Heirlooms", the poet shows how the various ornaments of her *amma*, grandma and mother make her nostalgic and compel her to visualise her home. She says: "Golden earring from Ammi,/A pearl necklace from Mummy,/ Old ivory from Granny,/All are memories of home and family" (Chatterjee 2018, 2). In her poem "Tri-Colour", the poet remembers her childhood days when her grandmother wore white, her mother brown and she was dressed in green. While the colour white makes her remember the jasmine flower and the aesthetic beauty of an Indian grandmother, brown symbolises her mother's roots and identity coupled with an Indian sensibility. At the same time, she writes regarding the colour of her dress: "My colour is bright green/like the sugarcane fields/ remembered from childhood" (Chatterjee 2014, 10). These three colours thus make her remember the native land and family there.

In the poem "Home Thoughts" the poet fails to answer the exact time of return to home, "In one sense I never left home, not really;/or at least I am not now the one who left" (Chatterjee 1998, 20). This work marks the beginning of her acceptance of culture, ethos, notions and language of her hostland, and there she formulates her cultural identity that is "a matter of

becoming and as well as of being" (Hall 1990, 225). In the poem "Learning the Imperialist's Language", the poet says how she slowly learns the coloniser's language as she has nothing to do but to accept it to survive in Sheffield, where people mostly speak English. Regarding her acceptance of this language, she says: "Encountering you was all/the delight of illicit romance" (Chatterjee 1998, 21). Thus, she begins to create her hybrid identities "which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference" (Hall 1990, 235).

4 Conclusion

Through the imagery and symbolic description of homeland, nostalgic memories of families, hybrid identity in the hostland and Indian history, both Sujata Bhatt and Debjani Chatterjee formulate their identities by recalling and sharing a past on the basis of their diasporic consciousness. They conform to Paul Connerton's notion of "acts of transfer" that not only "make remembering in common possible", but also act through "crucial importance, commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices" to lead them to see their "images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past are conveyed and sustained by performances" (Connerton 1989, 39–40). These performances by Bhatt and Chatterjee through 'alternate archives' show how as feminists they use their oral history, rituals, music, visual images, popular and material culture to capture everyday lives, particularly those of excluded, marginalised and disenfranchised populations (Hirsch and Smith 2002, 12). Both these poets construct a cultural memory that is "the product of fragmented personal and collective experience articulated" through their poetry "that shape even as they transmit memory" through the "acts of performance, representation, and interpretation" (Hirsch and Smith 2002, 5).

Through their individual voices and bodies, Bhatt and Chatterjee eschew the homogenising and generalising tropes of diasporic communities, and living in alien lands they portray the consciousnesses that they only develop there. Maurice Halbwachs makes this point clear by saying that "it is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories" (1992, 38). Both these poets carry the images of their homes in their work. Through their stories of homeland and their diasporic consciousness, they give their alien lands a nativity and structure of feeling. Both the poets faithfully submerge in the constituting process of carrying homes on their backs, and thus recreate the local within a global platform which Arjun Appadurai terms as "The production of locality", where "the many displaced, deterritorialized, and transient populations that constitute today's ethnoscapes in the construction of locality, as a structure of feeling, often in the face of the erosion, dispersal, and implosion of neighborhoods as coherent social formations" (Appadurai 1996, 199).

References

Agnew, Vijay. 2005. *Diaspora, Memory, and Identity: A Search for Home*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Alexander, M. Jacqui. 2002. "Remembering *This Bridge*, Remembering Ourselves: Yearning, Memory, and Desire." In *This Bridge We Call Home: Radical Visions for Transformations*, edited by Gloria E. Anzaldúa and Analouise Keating, 81–103. New York and London: Routledge.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Bauman, Zygmunt. 1998. *Globalzation: The Human Consequences*. Cambridge: Polity.
Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
Bhatt, Sujata. 1988. *Brunizem.* New York: Carcanet.
—. 1997. *Point No Point.* Manchester: Carcanet.
—. 2000. *Augatora*. New York: Carcanet.
—. 2001. *Monkey Shadows*. New York: Carcanet.
Boym, Svetlana. 2001. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.
Brah, Avtar. 1996. *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting identities*. London: Routledge.
Chatterjee, Debjani. 1997. *I was that Woman*. Calcutta: Writers Workshop.
—. 1998. *Albino Gecho*. Salzburg: University of Salzburg.
—. 2014. *Do You Hear the Storm Sing?* Barnsbury: Core Publications.
—. 2018. *Smiling at Leopards*. Clevedon: The Hedgehog Poetry Press.
Chatterjee, Debjani, Brian D'Arcy, Simon Fletcher, and Basir Sultan Kazmi. 2012. *Another Bridge*. Sheffield: Sahitya Press.
Clifford, James. 1994. "Diasporas." *Cultural Anthropology* 9 (3): 302–38. https://doi.org/10.1525/can.1994.9.3.02a00040.
Cohen, Robin. 1996. "Diasporas and the Nation-State: From Victims to Challengers." *International Affairs* 72 (3): 507–20. https://doi.org/10.2307/2625554.
Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Dawson, Graham. 1994. *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities*. London: Routledge.
Fortier, Anne-Marie. 2005. "Diaspora." In *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, edited by David Atkinson et al., 182–87. New York: I. B. Tauris.
Giles, Judy. 2002. "Narratives of Gender, Class, and Modernity in Women's Memories of Mid-Twentieth Century Britain." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28 (1): 21–41. https://doi.org/10.1086/340907.
Greene, Gayle. 1991. "Feminist Fiction and the Uses of Memory." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 16 (1): 290–321. https://doi.org/10.1086/494661.
Halbwachs, Maurice. 1992. *On Collective Memory*. Translated and edited by Lewis Coser. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
Hall, Stuart. 1990. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." In *Identity*: *Community, Culture, Difference*, edited by Jonathan Rutherford, 222–37. London: Lawrence & Wishart Limited.
Hirsch, Marianne. 1997. *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Hirsch, Marianne, and Valerie Smith. 2002. "Feminism and Cultural Memory: An Introduction." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28 (1): 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1086/340890.
Hoogvelt, A. 1997. *Globalization and the Postcolonial World: The New Political Economy of Deelopment*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
Kuhn, Annette. 1995. *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination*. New York: Verso.
Matsuda, Matt K. 1996. *The Memory of the Modern*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
McDermott, Sinead. 2002. "The Gender of Nostalgia: Memory, Nostalgia, and Gender in A Thousand Acres." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28 (1): 389–407. https://doi.org/10.1086/340916.
McDowell, Deborah E. 1989. "Negotiating between Tenses: Witnessing Slavery after Freedom – *Dessa Rose*." In *Slavery and the Literary Imagination*, edited by Deborah E. McDowell and Arnold Rampersad, 144–63. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
Mishra, Vijay. 1996. "The Diasporic Imaginary: Theorizing the Indian Diaspora." *Textual Practice* 10 (3): 421–47. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502369608582254.
Nimavat, Dushyant B. 2011. *The Cassandras in Exile: A Study of the Diasporic Sensibility in the Poetry of Meena Alexander, Sujata Bhatt, Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni, Moniza Alvi and Jean Arasanayagam*. PhD diss., Saurashtra University. https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/handle/10603/4658.

Passerini, Lucia. 1979. "Work Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism." *History Workshop Journal* 8 (1): 82–108. https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/8.1.82.
Peeran, Esther. 2007. "Through the Lens of the Chronotope: Suggestions for a Spatial-Temporal Perspective on Diaspora." In *Diaspora and Memory: Figures of Displacement in Contemporary Literature, Arts and Politics*, edited by Marie-Aude Baronian, Stephan Besser and Yolande Jansen, 67–78. The Netherlands: Rodopi.
Portelli, Alessandro. 1981. "The Peculiarities of Oral History." *History Workshop Journal* 12 (1): 96–107. https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/12.1.96
Raj, Dhooleka. 1998. *Where Are You From? Middle-Class Migrants in the Modern World*. Berkley: University of California Press.
Roy, Anjali Gera, and Nandi Bhatia. 2008. *Partition Lives: Narratives of Home, Displacement, and Resettlement*. New Delhi: Pearson Longman.
Rutherford, Jonathan. 1990. "Interview with Homi Bhabha: The Third Space." In *Identity*: *Community, Culture, Difference*, edited by Jonathan Rutherford, 207–21. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
Saffron, William. 1991. "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return." *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1 (1): 83–99. https://doi.org/10.1353/dsp.1991.0004.
Spitzer, Leo. 1999. *Hotel Bolivia: The Culture of Memory in a Refuge from Nazism*. New York: Hill & Wang.
Stock, Femke. 2010. "Home and Memory." In *Diasporas: Concepts, Intersections, Identities*, edited by Kim Knott and Seán McLoughlin, 24–28. New York: Zed Books.
Tsagarousianou, Roza. 2004. "Rethinking the Concept of Diaspora: Mobility, Connectivity and Communication in Globalized World." *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 1 (1): 52–65. https://doi.org/10.16997/wpcc.203.
Vertovec, Steven. 2009. *Transnationalism*. New York: Routledge.
—. 2010. "Cosmopolitanism." In *Diasporas: Concepts, Intersections, Identities*, edited by Kim Knott and Seán McLoughlin, 63–68. New York: Zed Books.

Yana Manova-Georgieva
South-West University Neofit Rilski, Bulgaria

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 165-176(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.165-176
UDC: 821.111.09-312.9Pratchett T.:81'367.622.12

What's Behind a Name? Origins and Meaning of Some of the Recurrent Characters in Terry Pratchett's Discworld

ABSTRACT

Nominative symbolism in fantasy is a tool to attribute certain traits to literary characters and thus to convey meaning which enriches the readers' comprehension of the fictitious personality. Proper names in the English naming tradition are not generally seen as means of alluding to the character of a person, yet they have sometimes been chosen purposefully by writers so as to reveal the idea that a symbolic name tries to convey. The paper therefore aims at investigating the origin and author's intended meaning behind the names of some recurrent literary characters in Terry Pratchett's *Discworld* series from the viewpoint of their structure and the allusions they evoke in the reader's imagination. The analysis includes five names presenting three different structures: neologisms based on syntactic composition, imitations of borrowed structures that are foreign to the English model of naming, and typical English naming models where name symbolism is due to the lexical choice of the components in the name.

Keywords: onomastics, literary onomastics, proper names, allusiveness, literary names, charactonyms

Kaj se skriva za imenom? Izvori in pomeni imen nekaterih likov v seriji romanov Plošča Terryja Pratchetta

POVZETEK

V fantazijskem žanru je nominativni simbolizem orodje za pripisovanje določenih lastnosti književnim likom, simbolni pomeni pa bogatijo bralsko dojemanje fiktivnih likov. V angleški poimenovalni tradiciji lastna imena praviloma ne služijo prikazu osebnih lastnosti, jih pa pisci tu in tam načrtno izberejo prav zaradi njihovih simbolnih pomenov. V prispevku raziskujem izvor in namen imen likov, ki se pojavljajo v Pratchettovi seriji romanov Plošča s stališča njihove strukture in asociacij, ki jih sprožijo v domišljiji bralstva. Analiza vsebuje pet imen, ki predstavljajo tri različne strukture, in sicer neologizme, ki temeljijo na sintaktični kompoziciji; imitacije izposojenih struktur, ki so tuje angleškemu modelu poimenovanja; in tipične angleške poimenovalne modele, kjer se simbolni pomen imena ustvarja z leksikalnim izborom sestavin imena.

Ključne besede: onomastika, književna onomastika, lastna imena, nanašanje, književna imena, karaktonimi

CC BY SA

1 Introduction

Names in literature, referred to as "charactonyms" (Fowler 2012, 187) or literary names, often prove to be the result of research undertaken with the purpose of devising a name with the most appropriate meaning it is intended to possess and convey. Depending on the genre, charactonyms can serve various functions and reveal different ideas. Naming in children's literature, for instance, is usually closely related to the physical features the personages possess, thus easily reaching the target audience. In adult literature, however, finding the significance of a proper name is a far more challenging and difficult task. This is by no means a hindrance, since it makes the literary name a more powerful "weapon" in the hands of the author and inevitably leads to a stronger emotional and more thorough understanding of a piece of writing by the reader.

A genre where one can truly take pleasure in reading and deciphering meaningful names is fantasy literature. There, charactonyms are not only symbolic, they are also quite interesting from a linguistic point of view, since they present newly coined phonological, morphological and syntactic structures, which make it possible for the name to suggest interpretative features attributed to a character. Following Vlahov and Florin, in order a name to serve a meaningful function it has to possess certain characteristics, the first one being *allusiveness*, i.e. the proper name should allude to a real folklore, literary, or proverbial character. Another characteristic proper names should possess so that they are seen as symbolic or meaningful is the presence of a phonetic form that can promote a certain effect of the name itself (Vlahov and Florin 1990, 233). Therefore, this paper aims at finding the etymology of five of the recurrent characters in the Discworld series written by Terry Pratchett, the author of many best-selling fantasy novels. Following the analysis of the origin of names, different structures of names will be discussed – neologisms which are based on "syntactic compositions" (Boyadzhieva 2007, 240); names, which are imitations of borrowed structures, foreign for the English naming tradition; and names which follow the typical English naming models but the name symbolism is seen in the lexical choice of the components of the name.

2 Theory and Analysis

2.1 Preliminary Remarks

Names can be perceived as an interdisciplinary phenomenon, as they are primarily relevant to onomastics, given the etymology and distribution of a certain anthroponym over a certain region at a given time; yet possessing subsidiary connection to the fields of morphology and syntax, semantics, sociolinguistics and theory of translation, where the symbolism of names is to be sought. Literary names to some extent resemble ordinary proper names, yet are used in some cases by the author to attach certain features to the character of the bearer, thus making the image of a literary figure more prominent and easily perceived by the reader. As Fowler suggests,

> the habit of finding moral meanings in all sorts of names led to their being regarded as ideals of behaviour, especially for the bearer of the name. One's name was to be lived up to, and valued because of embodying reputation: it might therefore be of ultimate importance. (Fowler 2012, 15)

Ragussis gives an interesting interpretation of what names are with regard to how they relate to etymology. He claims that

> each name comes into being in the present, with a discrete significance. In contrast, etymology seeks not to strip a name of its associations, but to restore to the name its many historical associations, and thereby to bring into being all the names hidden within the name under investigation. (Ragussis 1987, 178)

Van Langendonck (2007, 22) further suggests that proper names possess lexical, associative and emotive meaning, which lies in the core of nominative symbolism.

Gibka (2015) quotes Aleksander Wilkoń who proposed a typology of the functions of literary proper names including "one primary function – denoting particular people and places – and five secondary functions: the localizing, sociological, allusive, expressive and semantic." When translation is concerned, Boyadzhieva (2017, 17) adds that: "special pre-translating research is essential for the professional translator aiming at retaining the message contained in the original name as far as possible." Boyadzhieva's approach is not only relevant to translation, as it encompasses the whole process of identification and understanding of a certain literary name.

Names of literary characters, also called "speaking" names (Boyadzhieva 2017; Manova-Georgieva 2016, 2017), depending on the genre, can appear meaningful and thus have a revealing symbolism. Examples of "speaking" names can be *Little Red Riding Hood* (after the fairy tale of the same name); *Cruella De Vil*, the villainess from *101 Dalmatians*; and *Pinocchio* (from Italian "a pine tree"), the wooden boy created by the Italian writer Carlo Colody.

When talking about adult literature, a point is to be made that not all proper names in a piece of writing are considered "speaking" ones. In reality, only a small percentage of all names of characters in a literary work appear meaningful. However, the Discworld series is an exception.

Sir Terence David John Pratchett (1948–2015), better known as Terry Pratchett, an English author of fantasy novels and comical books as well as novels for children, purposefully chose specific names for his characters so as to complete the image the character conveys, to elicit certain traits they possess, or to parody the picture of the character in the reader mind.

These preliminary remarks close with the following from Lutterer (1982, 63), which should be borne in mind throughout this paper:

> firstly, the author is simply the person who wrote the book, the author's situational context refers to the circumstances accompanying the process of writing and especially of inventing names. The name is the linguistic sign given to an entity as its label, and the object is the entity.

2.2 Corpus and Methodology

As already mentioned, the current paper is aimed at the analysis of five recurrent characters in the Discworld series, namely *Visit-the-Infidel-with-Explanatory-Pamphlets, Cut-Me-Own-*

Throat Dibbler, Leonard of Quirm, Cheery Littlebottom and *Ponder Stibbons*, where the focus is on the nominative symbolism concealed in all of them. The analysis includes the etymology of the first and family names of the personages, as well as the peculiarities in their form. The names are classified in accordance with their difference in structure from a linguistic point of view, and hence are divided into three categories. The first group presents names appearing as neologisms based on compound syntactic structures. The second category is the one showing a typical English naming pattern, whereby the nominative symbolism lies in the lexical meaning of the proper name of the personage. The last one encompasses those names the naming pattern of which presents borrowed structures.

2.3 Analysis

The Discworld series comprise a set of forty-one novels, the first twenty-six of which were published within over 18 years. The series starts with *The Colour of Magic*, written in 1983, where the basic plot is established and then develops between Ankh-Morpork and the hub. It continues in time and settings to include the Unseen University, Death's Domain, the Kingdom of Lancre, as well as various other places. After 2001 several short stories, science books together with reference works appeared, although only loosely related to the Discworld. The novels are usually not divided into chapters, and there are certain main characters that continuously appear throughout the storyline (Death, Granny Weatherwax, Nanny Ogg, Cut-Me-Own-Throat Dibbler, Lord Havelock Vetinary, etc.). The books parody J.R.R. Tolkien, Charles Dickens, William Shakespeare, and others on various occasions (Butler 2001).

In relation to the characters of the Discworld, what has to be taken into consideration is the variety of names and name structures Pratchett uses. As the number of personages is too large, the current paper focuses on the basic naming structures that are related to five characters.

2.3.1 Neologisms Based on a Specific Syntactic Structure

Cut-Me-Own-Throat Dibbler, his full name being *Claude Maximillian Overton Transpire Dibbler*, is a character that first appears in *Guards! Guards!* (1989) as s seller of goods and later in *Moving Pictures* (1990), *Reaper Man* (1991), *Witches Abroad* (1991), *Men at Arms* (1993), and other titles. He is a businessman mainly seeking to profit by selling his *Sausage inna bun* (a kind of a hotdog). Since his disgusting sausages make people who eat them feel sick, he continuously tries to improve his business either by changing the ingredients of the sausages or by lowering their price. In *Witches Abroad* he is introduced under the name *Grand Master Lobsang Dibbler* giving "fong shooey" advice as well as martial arts lessons.[1] In *Soul Music* he becomes the first character in the Discworld to become the manager of a music band. Cut-Me-Own-Throat Dibbler even finds employment as the writer of the Discworld version of the *National Enquirer*, a weekly tabloid where he entertains readers with sensational stories for the *Ankh Morpork Times* newspaper.

[1] *Discworld Wiki*, s.v. "Cut-Me-Own-Throat Dibbler," accessed August 23, 2019, https://discworld.fandom.com/wiki/Cut-Me-Own-Throat_Dibbler.

Concerning the etymology and meaning of his name, Dibbler's first name is a shortened form of his own claim: "Selling this at such a low price that it's cutting me own throat" which is related to the verbal manipulation by means of which he can successfully sell his products. The whole first name of the personage is in fact a syntactic composition of an imperative clause where the different parts of the clause are hyphenated. The structure of the collocation leads to the conclusion that it is *Cut-Me-Own-Throat* that is the personage's first name and Dibbler his family name.

The full name of the character *Claude Maximillian Overton Transpire Dibbler* provokes further thinking with regard to its origin. The first component of the compound name is clearly of French origin. *Claude* is a male or female form of *Claudius*, common since the 7th century, later imported to Britain in the 16th century by the Hamilton family, bearing the meaning "lame".[2] *Maximillian* is also a male first name, found in English, German, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish in various forms. The name *Maximillian* is derived from *Maximus*, having first appeared in the 3rd century as the name of a saint and martyr. The second forename of Dibbler means "greatest".[3]

Overton is a family name associated most often with Joseph P. Overton. It is usually found in the collocation *the Overton Window*, alluding to a political novel by Glenn Beck released in 2010, or, more probably, to the term itself, presenting policies which are politically acceptable for the mainstream population at a certain time. The next element of the name, *transpire*, means to become known, and *Dibbler*, occupying the surname position, can be related to the slang word *dibs* meaning "money", or "a right to have or get something from someone, or to use something",[4] as alluding to the mercantile aspirations of all the characters that share the name. However, there may be another explanation, as according to Wikipedia *dibbler* is the common name for *Parantechinus apicalis*, an endangered species of marsupial. *Me*, respectively, is the non-standard form of *My,* which might refer to a non-elite belonging of the personage.

There are several Dibblers living in different regions of Discworld who appear in the series. Each of them is spelled in a different way following the same syntactic pattern, yet bringing different cultural allusions to the reader. The Omnian (alluding to the Middle East) D'blah's name is *Cut-Me-Own-Hand-Off* (in *Small Gods*), and the Auriental (alluding to the Far East) Dibhala's is *May-I-Disembowel-Meself-Honourably* (in *Interesting Times*). Similarly to Ankh Morpork's *Cut-Me-Own-Throat*, these names can function alone. Thus, the hyphenated syntactic compositions fulfil an identifying function by referring to unique entities, meaning that they serve as given names, while *Dibbler* (and its phonetic variants *D'blah* and *Dibhala*) refer to the family of the Dibblers and are to be analysed as surnames (Boyadzhieva 2017).

Visit-the-Infidel-with-Explanatory-Pamphlets, sometimes referred to as *Visit-the-Ungodly-with-Explanatory-Pamphlets*, is an Omnian, among the several human members of Ankh-

2 *Online Etymology Dictionary*, s.v. "Claudius," accessed July 15, 2019, https://www.etymonline.com/word/claudius.
3 *Behind the Name*, s.v. "Maximilian", accessed July 15, 2019, https://www.behindthename.com/name/maximilian.
4 *Cambridge Dictionary*, s.v. "dibs," accessed August 23, 2019, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/dibs.

Morpork, who first appears in *Feet of Clay* (1996) and later in *Hogfather* (1997) as well as *Jingo* (1997), *The Fifth Elephant* (1999) and *Thud!* (2005). His appearance is positive, smiling and optimistic. Pictured as a young man of foreign origin, holding a leaflet, he talks to people, enters pubs and various other places in order to express and defend his religious ideas. He is a preacher, not believing or trusting other religions different from the cult of Om, suggesting that all other religions are "misguided" and "false".[5] Although he has a rather long name, he is often referred to as just "Visit", which is in fact his main occupation – going from house to house, infuriating his neighbours and fellow citizens with his stories and pamphlets. *Visit-the-Infidel-with-Explanatory-Pamphlets* is also known by the nickname of *Washpot*.

Structurally, the name of *Visit-the-Infidel-with-Explanatory-Pamphlets* appears to be a personal first name. There is no part of the entity which points to possessing the characteristics of a family name for two reasons. First, not even one part of the name is separated from the main entity, i.e. all parts are hyphenated, which is typical for the so-called syntactic compositions. Second, no noun is post-positioned with regard to the hyphenated structure of the name. If one looks at the name and concludes that it is only a compound first name, then an imperative clause can be elicited. Semantically, the whole name can be realised as showing the actions of Constable Visit in several aspects. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary gives a definition of *infidel* as "an unbeliever with respect to a particular religion; one who acknowledges no religious belief".[6] The definite article preceding the count singular noun *infidel* suggests a collective noun, or else referring to a group of people possessing the characteristics of unbelievers. The common noun *infidel* is followed by an adverbial modifier of accompanying circumstances introduced by the preposition *with*. The whole first name semantically follows a classical syntactic structure, yet it is seen as a neologism, since names in the English naming system are not traditionally constructed as clauses. This evokes an effect of parody with the creation of the personage.

Considering the nickname given to *Constable Visit*, *washpot* can be regarded as "a large metal pot used outdoors for boiling clothes over an open fire".[7] Yet it can refer to the biblical phrase "Moab is my wash pot, over Edom will I cast out my shoe: Philistia, triumph will become on me."[8] A washpot was a type of small bath in which people washed their feet for religious reasons. In relation to *Visit*, he might be considered "the bath" where the unbelievers wash and change their views towards religion in general and Om in particular.

2.3.2 Typical English Naming with Specific Lexical Choice by the Author

Cheery Littlebottom is a dwarf, introduced in *Feet of Clay* (1996) and appearing in three more books (*Jingo* (1997), *The Fifth Elephant* (1999) and *Thud!* (2005)). Cheery has a beard, wears boots and an iron helmet. Despite her dwarfish look – being plump, bearded, and short, wearing layers of clothing – she seems to be different from other common dwarfs in the aspect

5 *Discworld Wiki*, s.v. "Visit-The-Infidel-With-Explanatory-Pamphlets," accessed August 24, 2019, https://discworld.fandom.com/wiki/Visit-The-Infidel-With-Explanatory-Pamphlets.

6 *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. "infidel," accessed August 26, 2019, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/infidel.

7 *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. "washpot," accessed August 26, 2019, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/washpot.

8 *Biblehub*, s.v. "Psalm 60:8," accessed August 27, 2019, https://biblehub.com/commentaries/psalms/60-8.htm.

that she dislikes beer and gold, and is even the first female dwarf member of the Watch in Ankh-Morpork. The public demonstration of her feminine nature causes a Cultural Revolution in Dwarfdom, which starts with the introduction of the pronouns *she* and *her* in Dwarfish. This causes notable unrest among the dwarf population of Discworld, which is otherwise gender-blind. The immediate effect of her appearance is that many young dwarves start wearing make-up and high-heeled boots, and also stop hiding the issue of belonging to a third sex.

In relation to the name, the forename *Cheery* phonologically follows Walt Disney's pattern of creating classical dwarfish names such as *Sleepy, Dopey, Grumpy* etc. But it does not derive from the English root *cheer* as she herself prefers the pronunciation /ˈtʃeri/ to /ˈtʃi:ri/.

According to Pratchett's official webpage, *Cheery* is "apparently a literal translation" of her original dwarfish name which is *Sh'rt'azs*. Yet, there might be another equally acceptable interpretation, namely that the word *Sh'rt'azs* is a Dwarfish family name, the English pronunciation of which is very close to *shortarse*, literally translated as *Littlebottom,* holding a humorous reference either to her race or her sex, or both.

Another possibility is that her name derives from a well-known British nonsense phrase *Cheery Bum* which is a mispronunciation of the title of an Italian song "Ciribiribin" as Cheery Bum, with the original recorded by Grace Moore in 1934 and gaining popularity through such singers as Frank Sinatra. This explanation is also acceptable because it holds the semantic relation between *bum*, the colloquial word for *bottom*, and the head noun in the compound *Littlebottom*, which is in fact Cheery's family name.

There is yet another relation Cheery's name (pronounced /ˈtʃeri/) may allude to, one that is based on a historical fact. In March 1833 Lieutenant General James Thomas Brunedell, 7th Earl of Cardigan was allowed the command of the 11th Light Dragoons that later became famous as the 11th Hussars. As he wished his officers to be as aristocratic, flamboyant and stylish as he was himself, he spent £10,000 on the regiment so the 11th Hussars soon became the smartest cavalry regiment in the service. Because of the cherry-red colour and tightness of their overalls, they became known as the "cherry-bums" where *bum* is a euphemism of *bottom*. The term *cherry bum army* is also recorded in *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon and Cant* (Barrère and Leland [1889] 1967).

There is also a direct allusion with Cheery's striving for elegance and desire to stand out from the regular members of the Watch. Very often her taste for unusual attire causes embarrassing episodes, such as wearing a miniskirt during an interrogation as well as the use of make-up and nail polish. At the end of *Feet of Clay* she even hopes to receive her friend Angua's dresses after she decides to leave the Watch and join the werewolves back in Überwald, something unheard of in the world of the dwarves.

Littlebottom is Cheery's family name, and thus she declares that this is the name her father and her family take pride in. Morphologically the surname *Littlebottom* is a compound noun and lexically it is a coinage. Structurally, its postposition infers its primary function of a nickname, showing the physical characteristics of the bearer. The postposition of the family name also leads to the conclusion that it was originally a nickname that started to be used

as a family name. Weekley (1914), Van Langendonck (2007) as well as Withycombe (1947) suggest that family names are to be categorized as inherited, showing location or place of living, profession, and last but not least, having been derived from nicknames which show the physical or psychological characteristics of the bearer. According to Weekley (1914, 2), "every surname must be (i) personal, from the sire or ancestor, (ii) local, from the place of residence, (iii) occupative, from trade or office, (iv) a nickname, from bodily attributes, character, etc."

All of this leads to the conclusion that *Cheery* is the forename and *Littlebottom* is a family name derived from a nickname related to physical appearance.

Ponder Stibbons, a male human who at first sight looks similar to Harry Potter, is a student wizard who is first introduced in *Moving Pictures* (1990). He is later seen in *Lords and Ladies* (1992) as a member of the faculty, and in *The Last Continent* (1998), where he is trapped together with Mustrum Ridcully, the Bursar and Librarian on a desert island. He is also appointed as the creator of Hex (a somewhat magical computer full of mice and ants), and appears to be far more intelligent than even Terry Pratchett might have imagined him to be.[9] He advances to become the Head of Inadvisably Applied Magic, a lecturer as well as reader in invisible writings, among several other positions, which makes him capable of dealing with all the work in a faculty. The strange circumstances under which he graduated are related to completing a test which was meant for an absent student, Victor Tugelbend, and which in reality contained only one question. Although he resembles Harry Potter he cannot be seen as a parody of the famous boy wizard, since the first Harry Potter book was published seven years after Ponder's first appearance.

With regard to his forename, Ponder seems a typically male name judging by its ending. It resembles Rodger, Peter, etc. Semantically, Cambridge Dictionary defines the verb *ponder* as "to think carefully about something, especially for a noticeable length of time". Concerning its origin, the first account of the word *ponder* goes back to the early 14th century, meaning "to estimate the worth of, to appraise", the Latin root of the word *ponderare* "ponder, consider, reflect", literally "to weigh", from *pondus* (genitive *ponderis*) "weight", from the stem of *pendere* "to hang, cause to hang; weigh".[10] The definition of the forename fully reflects the profile of the personage, as he is presented as clever, somewhat strange, yet one who can always get a job done at the Unseen University.

As far as the family name *Stibbons* is concerned, its etymology and literal meaning is quite unclear. First, one can conclude that *Stibbons* is in fact a family name because it is post-positioned with regard to the forename of the personage. Second, the orthographic structure of the name also points to the fact that this is the case. Family names ending in *-s* were popular in the late 13th century in Wales, and this gives grounds to assume that the family name *Stibbons* might be of Welsh origin.

Another interpretation of the family name related to the *-s* morpheme is that it can be seen as a flexion for plurality, leading to the assumption that the family name might refer to *the people*

---

9 *Discworld Wiki*, s.v. "Ponder Stibbons," accessed August 27, 2019, https://discworld.fandom.com/wiki/Ponder_Stibbons.

10 *Cambridge Dictionary*, s.v. "ponder," accessed August 27, 2019, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/ponder.

of Stibbon. The same *-s* can also be interpreted as a marker for the genitive case to express possession, i.e. family affiliation (Netsova 2016, 63). All of the above-stated hypotheses about the family name *Stibbons* seem probable, yet the most credible one for me is that the *-s* morpheme shows family affiliation.

Etymologically speaking, the family name *Stibbon* can be identified in the Old Norse, *Styrbjörn*; the Danish, *Stybe*; the German, *Stibane*; a personal name.[11] A variation of the name can also be recognised in the Scandinavian *Styrbjörn the Strong* (the name of a prince who died circa 985 AD). The son of the Swedish King Olof, he was believed to have been given the name *Björn*, as for *Styr-*, it was added after his growing up as an epithet meaning *restless, controversially forceful and violent*.[12] As a result, it can be concluded that the family name of Ponder Stibbons orthographically and phonetically resembles the contemporary English adjective *stubborn.* The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary gives the meaning of *stubborn* as "a stubborn person is determined to do what he or she wants and refuses to do anything else; things that are stubborn are difficult to move, change, or deal with".[13] This meaning completes the image of the personage – a bit lazy at first, however, having grown to be persistent and thoughtful, yet strange for some of his acquaintances.

2.3.3 Imitations of Borrowed Structures

Leonard of Quirm is a representative of the human race, who appears in several parts of the Discworld series, among which are *Wyrd Sisters* (1988), *Men at Arms* (1993), *Jingo* (1997), and *The Fifth Elephant* (1999). Although his age is unknown, his image suggests a genius of elderly nature with a balding forehead and white hair. His outer appearance fully corresponds to the deeds he is occupied with. As his name suggests, he is originally from Quirm, yet he moves to Ankh-Morpork at some point in time, and upon being introduced on the Disc is a permanent guest-companion of Lord Havelock Vetinary, the Patrician. Ironically enough, the Patrician firstly plots to murder him Leonard yet later finds a good listener and advisor, so Vetinary just keeps him "imprisoned" in his own castle. "Imprisoned" might not serve the best word to express the way Leonard feels at the Patrician's palace, as he finds great peace there. The only traps around this so-called prison are the ones he has constructed himself.

Apart from being an engineer, obvious in *The Fifth Elephant* where he constructs a device with a destructive nature, he also invents other creations such as the Going-Under-The-Water-Safely-Device, the Very Fast Coffee Machine as well as the Engine for the Neutralising of Information by the Generation of Miasmic Alphabets. Moreover, his talent for inventing machines does not stop with this. He finds special names for them, varying from the above-stated inventions to *the Gonne*, a portable firearm, which, Leonard, being left-handed and writing backwards, initially writes as *ENNOGEHT*. "The names Mr. Doodle and Detritus are given to Leonard da Quirm because of his handwriting and terrible ineptitude in naming his inventions" (Gibka 2015, 56).

---

[11] *Forebears*, s.v. "stibbon," accessed August 28, 2019, https://forebears.io/surnames/stibbon.

[12] *Nordic Names*, s.v. "Styrbiǫrn," accessed August 28, 2019, https://www.nordicnames.de/wiki/Styrbi%C7%ABrn.

[13] *Cambridge Dictionary*, s.v. "stubborn," accessed August 28, 2019, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/stubborn.

Together with his creative mind, Leonard also shows a talent for painting. The name of the personage follows the original name structure in Italian, alluding to the great painter Leonardo da Vinci. This allusion is further substantiated with the relationship between Vetinary and Leonard of Quirm and the one between da Vinci and the families of the Medici and Borgias, who commissioned several projects from the painter, as also discussed in Boyadzhieva and Kalapsazova (forthcoming).

One of da Quirm's most famous paintings is *Mona Ogg*, a parody of da Vinci's *Mona Lisa*. The discrete, magnificent smile of Mona Lisa is in this substituted for a grin on the face of Mona Ogg in *Men at Arms.*

Concerning his name, the forename of Leonard can be found in English, Dutch, German, and French. Its pronunciation is *LEHN-ərd* (English), *LAY-o-nahrt* (Dutch), and *LEH-o-nart* (German). Semantically, the forename bears the meaning of "as brave as a lion", having derived from the Germanic elements *lewo* (from Latin) and *hard* (brave, hardy). Variations of the name close to the personage of interest here are *Léonard* (French), *Leonardo* (Italian), *Leonardo* (Portuguese) and *Leonardo* (Spanish).[14] Taking into consideration his occupation and his paintings, *Mona Ogg* (*Mona Lisa*) and *Woman Holding Ferret* (*Lady with an Ermine*), one can easily conclude that he is a parody of Leonardo da Vinci. The phonological form of his name also alludes to the Italian artist. Moreover, at times he is just called *Leonardo*, or *da Quirm*, when his first name is skipped.

Leonard's interests in engineering and technology also allude to another prominent historical figure, namely Nikola Tesla, an inventor and engineer, known for his creations related to electricity as well as for giving names to his inventions, yet there is no resemblance with regard to the name of the inventor and that of the character.

3 Conclusion

Literary names, also called charactonyms, are a specific part of the camouflage of a writer. When used purposefully and wisely, they succeed to convey the full idea of the image an author has aimed at presenting to the reader. Gibka (2015) refers to authors as "middlemen". They are the ones who create the images, name them, and if the name is a successful choice they are able to draw the nuances of the character of the personage. With a prolific and sophisticated author such as Terry Pratchett, the invention of symbolic names involves a lot of forethought and analysis, allusive thinking as well as broad encyclopaedic knowledge and linguistic creativity.

The names analysed in the paper are complex semantically and structurally, as well as thought-provoking with regard to choices made by the author. Although challenging, it is not impossible to elicit categories of symbolic names in the Discworld series. The names of interest fall into three categories based on their syntactic structure, etymology and semantic meaning.

[14] *Behind the Name*, s.v. "Leonard," accessed August 28, 2019, https://www.behindthename.com/name/leonard.

The category most conducive to analysis is that of borrowed structures. A consideration of the occupation and interests of Leonard of Quirm leads to the allusion to the famous inventor and painter. The structural resemblance of the Italian naming pattern makes the name recognizable and thus allusive.

The category related to the typical English naming system, yet with concealed lexical symbolism, is usually the most challenging, since a certain character might exhibit the qualities that their name suggests or they might parody them. In the case of the dwarf *Cheery Littlebottom*, the symbolic nature is clear as it is related to the physical characteristics of the bearer, whereas with the other representative of the category, *Ponder Stibbons*, the literary name carries a far more complicated message.

The most interesting category from a syntactic point of view is that of syntactic compositions, the forenames of which are hyphenated imperative clauses. This category is relatively new in literary onomastics in general terms, yet not uncommon in fantasy. The concealed meaning of these structures gives liberty to the reader to perceive the character of a personage in a more visible and clearer way.

Given the phonological, lexical and syntactic analysis presented in this study, the Discworld series provides the researcher with a great number of literary names and interesting lexical or syntactic structures, and therefore this paper addresses only a small part of the universe of charactonyms invented by Terry Pratchett.

References

Barrère, Albert Marie Victor, and Charley Godfrey Leland, eds. (1889) 1967. *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon and Cant, Embracing English, American, and Anglo-Indian Slang, Pidgin English, Tinker's Jargon, and Other Irregular Phraseology.* Detroit: The Ballantyne Press. https://archive.org/details/adictionaryslan00lelagoog.

Beck, Glenn. 2010. *The Overton Window.* New York: Threshold Editions / Mercury Radio Arts.

Boyadhzieva, Ellie. 2007. "Reflections on a New Word-Formation Pattern in Bulgarian Newspaper Language." In *Za choveka i ezika*, edited by Alexandra Bagasheva, 232–44. Sofia: Sofia, St. Kliment Ohridski University Publishing House.

—. 2017. "Name Symbolism and the Bulgarian Translations of Terry Pratchett's Discworld Characters." *International Scientific and Practical Conference "WORLD SCIENCE"* No. 8 (24), Vol. 2, August 2017: 16–31.

Boyadzhieva, Ellie, and Elena Kalapsazova. Forthcoming. "The Hermeneutic Power of Names." *Contemporary Literature*.

Butler, Andrew. 2001. *Terry Pratchett*. Harpenden, UK: Pocket Essentials.

Fowler, Alastair. 2012. *Literary Names: Personal Names in English Literature.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gibka, Martyna Katarzyna. 2015. "The Functions of Proper Names in the Literary Work of Art." *Symbolae Europaeae* 8: 79–90.

Lutterer, Ivan. 1982. "Onymical Mistake in the Naming Process." In *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences (Cracow, August 21–25, 1978). Vol. II,* edited by K. Rymut, 63–67. Wrocław: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Manova-Georgieva, Yana. 2016. "Name Choice and Symbolism In Literature – An Overview of William Thackeray's 'The Book of Snobs'." *RS Global Journals 4* (6): 29–31. https://rsglobal.pl/index.php/ws/article/view/957.

—. 2017. "A Look into Symbolism in Literature from the Perspective of 'Vanity Fair' by William Thackeray." *Ezikov svyat "Orbis Linguarum"* 15 (2): 54–64.
Netsova, Milena. 2016. *Система на английските фамилни имена* [The System of English Family Names]. Sofia: Iztok-Zapad.
Ragussis, Michael. 1986. *Acts of Naming: The Family Plot in Fiction*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Weekley, Ernest. 1914. *The Romance of Names*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.
Withycombe, Elizabeth. 1947. *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Van Langendonck, Willy. 2007. *Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs: Theory and Typology of Proper Names*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
Vlahov, Sergey, and Sider Florin. 1990. *Непреводимото в превода* [The Untranslatable in Translation]. Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo.

Part III

English Language and Literature Teaching

Irena Dimova
Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski", Bulgaria

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 179-193(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.179-193
UDC: 811.111:37.091.3(497.2)

In Search of the Way Forward: Implementing the Pedagogical Perspective of English as an International Language in Bulgaria

ABSTRACT

This article examines current ELT in the Bulgarian cultural context and suggests a possible path it may take in the future. It highlights the characteristic features of English pedagogy in Bulgaria and identifies a monocentric approach to the English language, i.e. one which views English as monolithic and homogeneous rather than as pluralistic and diverse. The main argument is that such an approach runs counter to the current pluralistic views about the nature of English and its pedagogy, as well as to the linguistic needs of present-day Bulgarian learners of English, who are increasingly likely to use the language for communication with speakers of different world Englishes. Therefore, this contribution argues for the need to broaden the focus of traditional English pedagogy in Bulgaria so as to incorporate the linguistic, cultural and functional diversity of English. It proposes a pedagogical framework, suitable for tertiary advanced-level education, in which students pass through three stages when encountering the variability of the language (awareness-raising, experiential and analytic stage), and gives examples of specific learning activities which can be employed at each stage.

Keywords: English pedagogy, teaching English as an international language, English language teaching in Bulgaria, teaching English at tertiary level

Iskanje poti naprej: Uresničevanje pedagoške perspektive angleščine kot mednarodnega jezika v Bolgariji

POVZETEK

Članek proučuje poučevanje angleškega jezika v bolgarskem kulturnem kontekstu in predlaga možno pot, ki bi jo lahko ubralo v prihodnosti. Izpostavljene so značilnosti angleške pedagogike v Bolgariji. Opredeljen je monocentrični pristop k angleškemu jeziku, to je tisti, ki angleščino vidi kot monolitno in homogeno, ne pa kot pluralistično in raznoliko. Glavni argument sedanje razprave je, da je tak pristop v nasprotju s sedanjimi pluralističnimi pogledi na naravo angleščine in njene pedagogike, kakor tudi z jezikovnimi potrebami današnjih bolgarskih učencev angleščine, ki vse pogosteje uporabljajo jezik za komunikacijo z govorci različnih svetovnih jezikov. Prispevek ugotavlja, da je treba razširiti središče tradicionalne angleške pedagogike v Bolgariji tako, da se vključi jezikovna, kulturna in funkcionalna raznolikost angleščine. Predlagan je pedagoški okvir, primeren za terciarno izobraževanje na višji stopnji, v katerem učenci preidejo skozi tri stopnje, ko se srečujejo z variabilnostjo jezika (stopnja ozaveščanja, izkustvena in analitična stopnja). Podani so primeri posebnih učnih dejavnosti, ki jih je mogoče uporabiti na vsaki stopnji.

Ključne besede: angleška pedagogika, poučevanje angleščine kot mednarodnega jezika, poučevanje angleščine v Bolgariji, poučevanje angleščine na tretji stopnji

CC BY SA

1 Introduction

The internationalisation of present-day English is an indisputable reality. The growth of the language into a global means of expression and interaction has altered its sociolinguistic character to a great extent. Today, English plays an important role in different globalised spheres of social life, such as international relations, travel, tourism, science and technology, and serves to connect people that are otherwise separated from each other due to linguistic and cultural barriers. In its function as a global communicative tool it is frequently employed by members of different lingua-cultural communities who may adjust it to suit their specific interactional and identity construction needs. As a result, the shapes that English takes these days tend to proliferate and the language emerges as a family of different Englishes rather than as a single homogeneous entity. Indeed, diversity is a defining characteristic feature of English today.

The new sociolinguistic character of global English is largely the reason why views about both what it is and how it should be taught have changed through time. Descriptions of the nature of English have witnessed a major ideological shift from monocentric to pluricentric views, that is, approaches which regard the language as uniform and monolithic have been superseded by ones that emphasise its plurality, diversity and heterogeneity. For instance, within the Kachruvian model of world Englishes (1985) the language is considered to be a collection of different varieties functioning in specific contexts of acquisition and use. The contexts themselves can be subsumed under three broad categories: inner circle (traditional native speaker contexts where English is acquired as a first language, such as the UK, US, Australia, New Zealand), outer circle (multilingual non-native speaker territories where English is used as a second, often official language, such as India, Nigeria, the Philippines) and expanding circle (non-native speaker areas where English is learned as a foreign language, such as Bulgaria, Poland, Japan). Clearly, this classification treats English as pluralistic by highlighting its diversity on a national level. It is a divergence perspective which brings to the fore the manner in which national varieties of English differ from one another in terms of structural features, pragmatic norms as well as functional uses.

Another strand of analysis which takes a pluralistic view of English and stresses the diversity it displays in terms of linguistic features and norms of use is research into English as a lingua franca (ELF), that is, the employment of the language for communication among speakers of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Seidlhofer 2001, 2004; Jenkins 2002, 2006; House 2003; Mauranen 2010). The main argument of this analytic perspective has been that the linguistic codes used in lingua franca international communicative encounters often vary on different levels (phonology, grammar, lexis, pragmatics), displaying features which diverge in one way or another from the well-established native speaker patterns and norms. More recently, some scholars have emphasised even more the heterogeneity and fluidity of the English used in lingua franca contexts by claiming that the forms employed in such cases rarely pre-exist interaction, and are negotiated and constructed during the communicative process itself (Canagarajah 2007; Friedrich and Matsuda 2010). Lingua franca interaction usually brings together speakers of diverse Englishes, who often need to apply negotiation strategies to cope with any linguistic and cultural differences they have and then construct

a shared communicative code. What comes to the fore in this line of thought is a view of English as a contextualised construct emerging in particular interactional encounters and taking diverse shapes across situations depending on the specific set of participants, their lingua-cultural background and expectations about appropriate language use.

Apart from descriptions of the nature of English, beliefs about the manner in which it should be taught have also undergone significant changes. It could be argued that views about what constitutes efficient English pedagogy have also moved beyond monocentrism towards plurality. Monocentric approaches to English language teaching (ELT), which remain too close to native speaker linguistic codes and communicative patterns and require that the exclusive focus should be on the Anglo-American form of English and its cultural conventions, have been called into question (Modiano 2001; McKay 2003; Baker 2012; Kirkpatrick 2014). There have been suggestions for broadening the scope of traditional English pedagogy so as to take into account the plurality of English. A number of scholars have stressed the importance of teaching English as a truly global language, taking into account the fact that it is diverse in forms, users and functions (McKay 2002; Sharifian 2009; Alsagoff et al. 2012; Matsuda 2012; Zacharias and Manara 2013; Canagarajah 2014; Marlina and Giri 2014). It all testifies to the emergence of a new pedagogical English as an international language (EIL) perspective which, as Matsuda (2018, 25) points out, "acknowledges the linguistic, functional, and cultural diversity associated with the English language today", and attempts to incorporate it into the classroom. Indeed, the hallmark of this more inclusive pedagogical approach is highlighting the need to expose students to the variability of English, encourage them to adopt positive attitudes towards its various forms as well as urge them to develop skills to deal with the complexity of its present-day use.

The discussion up to this point clearly shows that there have been calls for altering approaches to teaching English in an attempt to capture its new sociolinguistic realities. However, studies conducted in different parts of the world, especially in Kachru's expanding circle, continue to report the existence of some discrepancies between the changed discourse about ELT and what actually happens in the classroom (Matsuda 2002, 2003; Park and Kim 2014). Such research tends to indicate that teaching practices remain largely traditional by disregarding the emerging pluralistic views about English pedagogy and adhering to a monocentric approach which lays stress on the Kachruvian inner circle with its speakers and cultures, and gives priority to British or American English. This article adds to the discussion by presenting the Bulgarian cultural context as another example of a situation in which there appears to be a gap between the new pluralistic perspectives on English pedagogy and actual ELT policy and practice.

Despite the fact that ELT in Bulgaria has been revised and transformed to embrace more modern pedagogical perspectives, such as communicative language pedagogy and intercultural awareness building, it seems to be traditional in its predominantly monocentric approach to the language with a focus on inner circle contexts, the Anglo-American form of English and its cultural conventions. This could be explained by the fact that Bulgaria is a typical expanding circle context in Kachru's (1985) terminology, and is therefore norm-dependent, i.e. it uses the inner circle as a framework of reference. It is common practice in

expanding circle situations to use British/American educated native speaker norms as points of reference in acquiring and using English. However, the main argument of this paper is that monocentric pedagogical practices run counter to the needs of present-day Bulgarian learners of English, who are increasingly likely to use the language for communication with speakers of different world Englishes. Indeed, they should be ready to meet the diversity of English in the age of globalisation. Therefore, the present contribution argues for the need to incorporate an EIL perspective into traditional ELT in Bulgaria. This new element should stress the globalisation and diversification of English, and equip students with the knowledge, skills and attitudes they need to deal with the complexity of English language use today. It should take into account the existence of world Englishes and the employment of English as a lingua franca. It is important to note that in the current article the term 'English as an international language' (EIL) is used to describe the expanded scope of English as a global language associated with its spread around the world and the increase in its linguistic and functional variability, whereas 'world Englishes' (WE) and 'English as a lingua franca' (ELF) both serve more specific purposes: the former refers to the different varieties of English existing in the world, the latter to a specific use of the language in communicative encounters which involve speakers of diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds.

The following discussion focuses on the dominant characteristics of present-day ELT in Bulgaria and attempts to suggest a possible path it may take in the future. First, this article gives an overview of current English language pedagogy in the Bulgarian cultural context, specifying its features and providing a snapshot of problematic points. Then, it proposes some means through which traditional pedagogical practices could be revised so as to address as well as acknowledge the internationalised and diversified nature of English today. This paper presents a way of broadening the traditional scope of the Bulgarian English language classroom in tertiary advanced-level education and incorporating the plurality of English by introducing a three-part teaching framework. According to this framework, students' encounter with the linguistic and cultural diversity of English goes through three stages: awareness-raising, experiential and analytic. The present discussion also gives examples of specific teaching practices or learning activities that can be used at each stage.

2 ELT in Bulgaria – An Overview

ELT in Bulgaria has undoubtedly gone through a process of transformation in the past 30 years or so. A survey of its current state will show that it has been modernised to a great extent in an attempt to offer Bulgarian learners a chance to join the global exchange of ideas, products and services. Pedagogical practices have incorporated recent popular developments in foreign language teaching methodology laying emphasis on communication, authentic language use, developing the four language skills in an integrated manner, and assessment in terms of language abilities and skills, to name but a few. Communicative language pedagogy has come to reign supreme (for a description of salient features, see Nunan 1991; Brown 1994; Richards 2006). This has led to an increased emphasis on teaching English in a communicative manner. Priority has been given to appropriate language use in different interactional contexts. As a result, pedagogical goals have been expanded to include not just mastery of the linguistic code (i.e. knowledge of grammar, vocabulary, phonetic rules) and

skills of accurate language usage, but also knowledge of how to use language appropriately in specific situations (i.e. ability to employ language in such a way that contextually relevant factors such as setting, interlocutor, goal of interaction, topic, etc. are taken into account). Indeed, there has been a shift from linguistic towards communicative competence as the ultimate goal of English language teaching. Attempts at specifying its components and identifying the most relevant means of developing them in the classroom were already at hand in the 1990s.

An illustrative example of endeavours to describe the pedagogical goal of communicative competence is the "Entrance–Exit Level" (1993–1995) collaborative project between Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski" and the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science. It aimed at adapting the Council of Europe's "Threshold Level 1990" document (van Ek and Trim 1991) so that it would meet the needs of Bulgarian learners and be applicable in Bulgarian primary and secondary school classrooms. The "Entrance–Exit" publications (Patev et al. 1993; Patev et al. 1995) proposed a model of communicative competence consisting of three elements (linguistic competence, subdivided into structural and functional, sociocultural competence and strategic competence) and presented specific ways of developing them. This involved listing particular language functions, notions, text types and linguistic material which learners needed to master. Emerging as typical communicative syllabi, these publications contributed to the spread and implementation of communicative language pedagogy on Bulgarian soil. Almost alongside the "Entrance–Exit Level" endeavour, another Finnish-Bulgarian joint project was carried out. The "Consulting Services for Foreign Language Training Upgrading in Bulgarian Schools" (1994–1995) research project of the University of Helsinki and the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science aimed at assessing foreign language education in the Bulgarian classroom and offering recommendations as to how it could be brought into line with European standards and recent foreign language teaching methodologies. Some of the recommendations that were made involved specific suggestions for strengthening the communicative element in the Bulgarian classroom: e.g. introducing constructivist pedagogy, laying emphasis on authentic communication, providing exposure to real-life practical topics, developing the ability to function in unrehearsed contexts, engaging students in communicative activities such as pair work and role plays, etc. (see Tella, Yli-Renko, and Mononen-Aaltonen 1996, 92–110). It could be argued that communicative language pedagogy has become an important feature of ELT in Bulgaria as a result of efforts such as the abovementioned projects. Today, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2001) with its model of communicative competence, consisting of linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic elements, as well as levels of language proficiency, is used as a reference point in the process of teaching and assessing foreign languages.

Apart from the adoption of communicative language pedagogy, another notable transformation that ELT in Bulgaria has witnessed is the expansion of the teaching target itself to include the development of intercultural communicative competence in students (Byram 1997; Georgieva 2002), and thus the ability to function well in communicative contexts which bring together speakers of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. This new pedagogical goal involves encouraging students to acquire skills in identifying and coping with cultural differences in

language use, worldview and behaviour. The addition of the intercultural component to the list of teaching goals has been reflected in the publication of local English language textbooks which give priority to the idea of cultural variability. For example, locally published textbooks such as *A World of English* (Grozdanova et al. 1996), *Moving On* (Grozdanova, Georgieva, and Nedkova 1998) and *Links* (Rangelova and Grozdanova 2001) contain tasks which engage learners in the activities of intercultural communication, identifying similarities and differences between cultures and sharing one's own culture with representatives of others (see Grozdanova 2002). The publication of such textbooks has been accompanied by the creation of a cultural studies syllabus (Davcheva and Docheva 1998) whose main argument is that alongside linguistic competence, students should also develop intercultural communicative competence. Aimed at supplementing a typical English language course, it specifies the skills one needs to develop in order to be able to deal with cultural diversity: e.g. reading and listening in a critical way, comparing and contrasting cultural content, research and ethnographic skills as well as ability to interpret standpoints different from one's own (Davcheva and Docheva 1998, 14). More recently, there have been explicit calls for integrating the development of intercultural communicative competence into both secondary and tertiary education (Tsvetkova 2012, 2018). In addition, specific suggestions for pedagogical frameworks intended to facilitate the acquisition of such competence have been made. For instance, Tsvetkova (2013) proposes a teaching framework targeted towards the inclusion of intercultural communicative competence at secondary level. The framework lays considerable emphasis on the development of intercultural skills, tolerance of cultural difference and ability to establish links between one's own culture and the culture of the foreign language(s) being learned (Tsvetkova 2013, 314). Likewise, Catalan, Stoicheva and Tsvetkova's (2013) framework designed to be applied at tertiary level gives priority to the development of intercultural knowledge, skills and attitudes in the domains of theory, texts and interpersonal relationships.

All the developments in ELT reported in the preceding paragraphs have found their place in the current national curricula in English as a foreign language for secondary education in Bulgaria (Ministry of Education and Science 2020). They lay stress on teaching English in a communicative way, give priority to real-life language use in context and aim at stimulating students to acquire both linguistic and sociocultural competences. Another objective of the curricula is raising learners' intercultural awareness and urging them to become open-minded and tolerant with respect to cultural diversity. The specified means of achieving these objectives involve an interactive, task-based approach which engages learners in authentic interaction, helps them acquire the four language skills of reading, listening, speaking and writing in an integrated manner and urges them to develop critical thinking.

The analysis so far indicates that ELT in Bulgaria has been transformed in such a way that it is in line with modern language teaching approaches which give priority to the communicative idea and interculturality to a significant degree. Nevertheless, it appears that English pedagogy in the Bulgarian cultural context continues to be traditional in its predominantly monocentric approach to the language. English tends to be regarded as uniform, monolithic and homogeneous, rather than as diverse, pluralistic and heterogeneous. This approach can be uncovered in the current national English language curricula for secondary education (Ministry of Education and Science 2020). Their rhetoric clearly displays a monocentric stance. For

instance, one of the goals of ELT specified in the highest-level B2.1 curriculum is connected with encouraging students to adopt positive attitudes towards the English language and its culture (Ministry of Education and Science 2018, 7). This indicates that both the language and its cultural background are approached in the singular. Another objective associated with ELT in the curriculum states that when helping students to acquire intercultural knowledge, skills and attitudes in the process of learning English, stress should be laid on English-speaking countries and more specifically, the UK and US (Ministry of Education and Science 2018, 8). The act of reducing the cultures of English to just two of its native speaker contexts also reveals a monocentric perspective on the language. It could be argued that this approach to English goes beyond the boundaries of the national curricula and reaches the English language classroom where inner circle conventionalised norms, the Anglo-American form of English and its cultural aspects tend to constitute the usual focus of attention. A possible explanation for this is related to the fact that state schools have an obligation to follow the requirements of the English language curricula and choose from a fixed set of teaching materials carefully selected and approved by the Ministry of Education and Science to meet those requirements. As a result, the monocentric approach of the curricula discussed above can easily permeate the teaching practices in the English language classroom.

A qualitative analysis of two randomly selected textbooks accepted for use in the higher levels of secondary schools by the Ministry of Education and Science can serve to illustrate the aforementioned monocentric approach which gives priority to Anglo-American English and its culture, and treats the language as monolithic. For instance, *Teen Zone* (Petkova and Spasova 2020), a B1.1 textbook for the eleventh and twelfth grades, clearly aims at exposing learners to the widely accepted standard Anglo-American grammatical and lexical norms. What comes to the fore is its significant focus on British and American culture, which appear to be collectively regarded as the target culture of the English language. This focus is accompanied by an increased emphasis on providing students with the opportunity to investigate aspects of their own Bulgarian culture and learn how to share them with the rest of the world. Indeed, it seems that in the textbook the development of intercultural skills takes place predominantly on the basis of a three-part distinction: the UK, US and Bulgaria. Likewise, *Jetstream* (Harmer, Revell, and Vasileva 2020), a B2.1 textbook for the eleventh and twelfth grades, focuses on the well-established conventionalised Anglo-American grammatical and lexical norms. In terms of cultural content, it keeps the traditional presentation of British and American culture. In addition to this, the textbook expands the perspective to include a global focus and present students with information about various cultural practices and traditions from different parts of the world. Indeed, the textbook sets itself the clear goal of familiarising students with the cultural diversity existing on a global scale. However, in the process of expanding the cultural focus, English seems to be assigned the role of acting mainly as a suitable tool to access and learn about this diversity. It should be noted that there is little explicit information about the cultural, linguistic and functional diversity existing within the scope of the English language today. For instance, there is hardly any information about how English varies in terms of forms and norms of use, how it becomes embedded in specific cultural contexts and how different sociocultural assumptions tend to shape its use. As a result, English emerges as monolithic and uniform, which brings to the fore a typically monocentric approach to the language.

Research conducted in the Bulgarian cultural context has addressed the impact that the focus on the Anglo-American form of English and its cultural aspects might have on learners' idea about the nature of present-day English and its scope. For example, in an investigation carried out among first-year university students it was found that learners' view about the character of English is abstract, vague and to a large extent incomplete (Dimova 2018). The findings that emerge from the analysis indicate that the informants adopt a monocentric approach to the language by restricting it to two of its native speaker varieties: British and American English. They assess these two forms of English very positively, consider them suitable as a framework of reference in the process of acquiring English, and can describe them in detail. The results also show that the study participants know very little about other varieties of English, and often evaluate these other variants in negative terms. Indeed, what comes to the fore is a perspective on English that treats it as being synonymous with Anglo-American English, a view which is incomplete and fails to take into account the tremendous diversity that the language displays today. A key issue which emerges is that students who have such a reduced, incomplete idea of global English might be confronted with serious problems when they encounter the linguistic and functional diversity of English in real-life communicative exchanges. As already mentioned, communicative encounters in English today often bring together speakers of different Englishes. Indeed, as Matsuda (2018, 29) argues, learners of English who have an abstract, limited idea of global English and have not been exposed to its variability "may be startled, surprised, confused, overwhelmed or feel unprepared for such situations". All this might prevent them from taking an active and efficient part in communication through the use of English.

A wide variety of reasons as to why Bulgarians may decide to learn English can be uncovered. Their motivation ranges from integrative, i.e. joining an English-speaking community, to instrumental, i.e. pragmatic reasons such as social advancement, better career opportunities, getting access to information and social domains of international importance, for instance, international travel, business, science, education, etc. (see Chavdarova, Penkova, and Tsvetkova 2013; Markova 2016; Dimova 2018; Markova and Yaneva 2020). It could be argued that what stands out against this diversity of specific reasons for learning English is an overarching common motivation related to a desire to participate in the global marketplace of ideas, products and services, participation which in itself often involves international lingua franca communication across linguistic and cultural boundaries. In such communicative encounters Bulgarian students of English are likely to use English not just for communication with speakers of Anglo-American English, but also with speakers of a wide range of other world Englishes. Therefore, the current paper argues for the need to broaden Bulgarian learners' predominantly monocentric idea of English by exposing them to its diversity within the boundaries of the English language classroom itself. A possible means of achieving this is incorporating an EIL perspective into traditional English pedagogy. This article equates the act of including an EIL element into traditional ELT with expanding the monocentric focus on Anglo-American English and its cultural aspects, and providing opportunities for students to encounter the linguistic and functional variability of the language even within the four walls of the classroom.

It should be noted that the present contribution does not suggest that the traditional focus on Anglo-American English should be dispensed with altogether. British and American

English are well-established in the Bulgarian cultural context, and are used effectively as an instructional model and framework of reference in the process of teaching/learning English. In addition, Bulgarian students of English have been repeatedly shown to have positive attitudes to British and American English (Dimitrova 2011; Georgieva 2011; Dimova 2017). As a result, the stance adopted in the current discussion is that the transformation of traditional teaching practices should not get rid of the exposure to Anglo-American English, but should expand the pedagogical focus by incorporating world Englishes and the use of English as a lingua franca – two key elements which illustrate the linguistic, cultural and functional diversity of present-day English and which are likely to be an essential part of Bulgarian learners' communicative encounters in English. The next section suggests possible means of broadening the scope of traditional English classes by presenting a three-stage framework through which the linguistic, cultural and functional variability of the language can be given priority.

3 Towards Introducing Diversity into the Bulgarian English Language Classroom

The need to expose students to the linguistic, sociocultural and functional diversity of English as well as encourage them to build the skill of coping with this variability is a recurrent claim in the literature on the status of English as an international language and its implications for pedagogical practices (Marlina 2014). A growing body of research is engaged in the design and construction of materials, curricula and frameworks for teaching English as an international language (Brown 2012; D'Angelo 2012; McKay 2012; Sharifian and Marlina 2012). The present article contributes to this literature by introducing a comprehensive three-part pedagogical framework which can be incorporated into English classes in the Bulgarian cultural context to provide students with knowledge and competences for dealing with the variability and complexity of present-day English (for a similar step-by-step approach to raising English language teachers' awareness of English as an international language, see Bayyurt and Sifakis 2017). It should be noted that the proposed model may be applied in English classes at tertiary education, where language curricula in English tend to be more flexible and less fixed in comparison with those in secondary education. The framework is especially suitable for tertiary students of philology who aim to become teachers or language experts able to function in different spheres of social life. In addition, it is readily applicable in classes involving more advanced learners of English, such as 'independent users' and 'proficient users' according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2001), since it aims not only to raise learners' awareness of the plurality of English, but also to engage them in specific activities which require that they explore this diversity and reflect on their experience with respect to coping with it. Indeed, the stance adopted in the present discussion is that advanced students of English should take at least three steps when approaching the variability of English: they should learn about it, experience it and then reflect on it. This three-stage approach should help them develop a more specific and detailed idea about the scope of global English and equip them with the skills necessary for functioning well in its increasingly more complex situations of use. Learners' encounters with the diversity of English should pass through the following stages:

1. awareness-raising stage: students are exposed to the linguistic, cultural and functional diversity of English;
2. experiential stage: students engage in activities which help them gain hands-on experience with respect to coping with the variability of English;
3. analytic stage: students reflect on their encounter with the diversity of English so as to develop critical, analytic skills and be able to deal with the complexity of English on their own.

In essence, Stage One aims to raise students' awareness of the nature and status of English as a pluralistic language. It involves engaging students in activities that urge them to acquire knowledge about the diverse character of present-day English. During this stage, learners can be exposed to materials (scholarly research, non-fiction texts, videos, lectures, interviews, etc.) which in one way or another bring to the fore the diversified nature of English. The materials should be carefully selected to provide students with information about the spread of English worldwide, its current presence in various domains such as international travel, politics, education, science and technology, as well as its typical varieties, contexts of acquisition/use and some common functions it performs.

Indeed, exposing learners to different varieties of English is a crucial factor in raising their awareness of the plurality of English. Therefore, they should read about the diverse shapes that English takes in different cultural contexts, not only native, but also non-native. Apart from British and American English, students should learn about other world Englishes such as Australian, New Zealand, South African, Indian English, etc. When reading and discussing specific texts about varieties of English, they should pay special attention to variation on the levels of phonology, grammar, lexis and pragmatics.

Furthermore, the analysis of some typical contexts of English language acquisition and use should also go beyond the traditional native speaker inner circle contexts (where more often than not the language is acquired as a mother tongue and is used for a wide range of both formal and informal purposes) to include examples of outer circle contexts (where English is acquired as an additional language and often serves important functions as a link language in a multilingual environment) and expanding circle contexts (where English is learned as a foreign language and is used mostly for international communication across national boundaries). Indeed, special emphasis should be laid on the employment of English as a lingua franca in both intra- and international contexts among speakers of diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds. Students should be made aware of the typical features of such communicative encounters (e.g. employment of diverse English varieties, presence of code-switching, code-mixing and translanguaging practices, transfer of mother tongue elements, etc.) and the way in which the form of English is frequently subjected to negotiation. Learners may be exposed to contextual phenomena which lead to variability in such contexts (e.g. the social background of the participants, the topic of discussion, the existence of cross-cultural variation in communicative expectations and conduct, etc.) as well as negotiation strategies which might be used to overcome any linguistic and cultural differences. A possible means of putting all this into practice is encouraging students to read different scholarly articles or non-fiction texts, as well as watch videos which discuss the characteristics of lingua franca

use. Engaging learners in a discussion of sociolinguistic research which explains how different social factors lead to linguistic variability in specific communicative contexts can also serve a useful function.

During the experiential Stage Two, students perform activities which provide them with the opportunity to understand how the diversity of English functions in real life and get practical experience when it comes to dealing with it. Suitable tasks which learners can perform at this stage are reading as well as discussing specific texts which are written in different world Englishes (e.g. journalistic articles, online social network discourse, etc.), and then exploring variation on the level of grammar, lexis and pragmatics. They may analyse variation on the level of pronunciation by listening to speakers with different accents. Another activity which students may undertake is doing ethnographic research of various communities characterised by differences in lingua-cultural background and exploring their use of English. Such tasks will improve students' understanding of how English may become embedded in specific sociocultural communities, and how culturally marked beliefs about what constitutes appropriate communicative behaviour might affect the shape that English takes. In addition, students may be asked to carry out tasks which involve real-life online or offline communication in lingua franca contexts. This will give them the chance to put into practice the knowledge about lingua franca use which they have acquired during Stage One.

The analytic Stage Three is aimed at engaging students in reflective tasks with respect to their encounters with the variability of English. For example, students may be asked to reflect upon their performance in real-life interactions. They may gather examples of online and offline situations in which they use English as a lingua franca and analyse their features and both positive and negative aspects. Students should pay special attention to any problematic cases, such as breakdowns in communication, and search for solutions to the identified problems through improving their strategy use. All this should help students develop analytic/critical skills, enhance their independence as learners and make them better prepared to get to grips with the complexity of English on their own. Indeed, there is no single pedagogical model which can expose students to the diversity of English in all its shapes and forms. Therefore, classroom practices should equip learners with the skills of autonomous functioning and decision making in the increasingly more varied and unpredictable situations of English language use.

4 Conclusion

This article focused on the diversified nature of present-day English and traced arguments for a shift from monocentric to pluricentric approaches towards its nature and teaching. It noted the existence of a gap between the pluralistic discourse about English and teaching practices in the Bulgarian cultural context. It provided an overview of ELT in Bulgaria and highlighted its monocentric approach which treats English as a monolithic, homogeneous entity and gives priority to its Anglo-American form and cultural conventions. The present discussion thus argued for the need to expand the traditional focus of English pedagogy in light of the changing linguistic needs of Bulgarian learners, who are likely to communicate with speakers of world Englishes in the age of globalisation. In relation to this, a framework intended to

broaden the scope of traditional pedagogical practices was proposed. It involves incorporating an EIL perspective which lays stress on the linguistic, cultural and functional diversity of English, and urges students to pass through three stages when encountering its variability: awareness-raising, real-life experience and analysis. In this way, the proposed model aims to encourage students to develop a more detailed and comprehensive view of global English.

Further research might focus on the application of the proposed framework in the context of the tertiary English language classroom in Bulgaria. It is important to examine issues related to the possible reception it gets from teachers and students, which in its part will provide valuable information as to how the model might be refined to increase its efficiency. The idea of teaching English as an international language and addressing its diversity is a relatively recent phenomenon. It will take time to test the applicability of the proposed new EIL pedagogical frameworks. However, taking into account the opinions of learners and teachers – the two groups which are directly involved in the application of the models – will speed the process up.

References

Alsagoff, Lubna, Sandra Lee McKay, Guangwei Hu, and Willy Renandya. 2012. *Principles and Practices for Teaching English as an International Language*. New York: Routledge.

Baker, Will. 2012. "Global Cultures and Identities: Refocusing the Aims of ELT in Asia through Intercultural Awareness." In *Innovating EFL Teaching in Asia*, edited by Theron Muller, Steven Herder, John Adamson, and Philip Brown, 23–34. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bayyurt, Yasemin, and Nicos Sifakis. 2017. "Foundations of an EIL-aware Teacher Education." In *Preparing Teachers to Teach English as an International Language*, edited by Aya Matsuda, 3–18. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Brown, H. Douglas. 1994. *Teaching by Principles: An Interactive Approach to Language Pedagogy*. New York: Longman.

Brown, James. 2012. "EIL Curriculum Development." In *Principles and Practices for Teaching English as an International Language*, edited by Lubna Alsagoff, Sandra Lee McKay, Guangwei Hu, and Willy Renandya, 147–67. New York: Routledge.

Byram, Michael. 1997. *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Canagarajah, Suresh. 2007. "Lingua Franca English, Multilingual Communities, and Language Acquisition." *The Modern Language Journal* 91: 923–39. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2007.00678.x.

—. 2014. "In Search of a New Paradigm for Teaching English as an International Language." *TESOL Journal* 5 (4): 767–85. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesj.166.

Catalan, Zelma, Maria Stoicheva, and Nikolina Tsvetkova. 2013. "Translating and Mediating between Cultures: The Bulgarian Experience within the PICT Project." In *Language, Identity and Culture in Language Education. Edited Volume of the 20th ICC Annual Conference 2013*, 57–63. Sofia: British Council and Macmillan.

Chavdarova, Albena, Rossitza Penkova, and Nikolina Tsvetkova. 2013. "School Leavers' Attitudes to, Evaluation of and Perspectives on Language Learning." *Foreign Language Teaching* 40 (1): 27–38.

Council of Europe. 2001. *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

D'Angelo, James. 2012. "WE-Informed EIL Curriculum at Chukyo: Towards a Functional, Educated, Multilingual Outcome." In *Principles and Practices of Teaching English as an International Language*, edited by Aya Matsuda, 121–39. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Davcheva, Leah, and Yana Docheva. 1998. *Branching Out. A Cultural Studies Syllabus*. Sofia: British Council and Tilia.

Dimitrova, Snezhina. 2011. "English as a Lingua Franca and the Teaching of English Pronunciation at Sofia University in Bulgaria." In *English Studies in a European/Global Context: Current Issues, Future Trends*, edited by Zoran Ančevski and Rumena Bužarovska, 63–72. Skopje: Blaže Koneski Faculty of Philology.

Dimova, Irena. 2017. "English as an International Language: Speakers' Attitudes and Their Implications for Teaching Practices." In *New Paradigms in English Studies: Language, Linguistics, Literature and Culture in Higher Education*, edited by Emilia Slavova, Bozhil Hristov, Jonathan McCreedy, Rositsa Ishpekova, Alexandra Glavanakova, Nelly Yakimova, and Angel Igov, 67–81. Sofia: "St. Kliment Ohridski" University Press.

—. 2018. "English as an International Language and the Attitudes in the Bulgarian Cultural Context." *Sociolinguistic Issues: Social Processes and Their Impact on Language* 13: 390–97.

Friedrich, Patricia, and Aya Matsuda. 2010. "When Five Words are not Enough: A Conceptual and Terminological Discussion of English as a Lingua Franca." *International Multilingual Research Journal* 4: 20–30. https://doi.org/10.1080/19313150903500978.

Georgieva, Maria. 2002. "On Developing Intercultural Communicative Competence in EFL Learners." In *Smaller Languages in the Big World: Sociolinguistics and FLT*, edited by Desmond Thomas and Maria Georgieva, 146–59. Sofia: British Council/Lettera Publishers.

—. 2011. *Global English in Bulgarian Context*. Varna: Silueti Publishing House.

Grozdanova, Lilyana. 2002. "Cultural Diversity in a Unifying World – A New Challenge for English Textbook Writers." In *Smaller Languages in the Big World: Sociolinguistics and FLT*, edited by Desmond Thomas and Maria Georgieva, 126–45. Sofia: British Council/Lettera Publishers.

Grozdanova, Lilyana, Maria Georgieva, and Marieta Nedkova. 1998. *Moving On*. Plovdiv: Lettera.

Grozdanova, Lilyana, Maria Georgieva, Marieta Nedkova, Nellie Mladenova, and Diana Vesselinova. 1996. *A World of English*. Plovdiv: Lettera.

Harmer, Jeremy, Jane Revell, and Niya Vasileva. 2020. *Jetstream: Student's Book for the 11th–12th Grades (B2.1 CEF)*. Sofia: Prosveta and Helbling Languages.

House, Juliane. 2003. "English as a Lingua Franca: A Threat to Multilingualism?" *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7 (4): 556–78. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2003.00242.x.

Jenkins, Jennifer. 2002. "A Sociolinguistically Based, Empirically Researched Pronunciation Syllabus for English as an International Language." *Applied Linguistics* 23 (1): 83–103. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/23.1.83.

—. 2006. "Points of View and Blind Spots: ELF and SLA." *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 16 (2): 137–62. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1473-4192.2006.00111.x.

Kachru, Braj. 1985. "Standards, Codification and Sociolinguistic Realism: The English Language in the Outer Circle." In *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures*, edited by Randolph Quirk and Henry Widdowson, 11–30. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kirkpatrick, Andy. 2014. "Teaching English in Asia in Non-Anglo Cultural Contexts: Principles of the 'Lingua Franca Approach'." In *The Pedagogy of English as an International Language: Perspectives from Scholars, Teachers, and Students*, edited by Roby Marlina and Ram Giri, 23–34. London: Springer International Publishing.

Markova, Zarina. 2016. "Straight from the Horse's Mouth: Motivation to Learn English." *E-Newsletter. Bulgarian English Teachers' Association* 22: 36–49. https://www.beta-iatefl.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/BETA_E-Newsletter_March_April_2016.pdf.

Markova, Zarina, and Dessislava Yaneva. 2020. "The Motivation of University Students of International Relations to Learn English." *English Studies at NBU* 6 (1): 5–28. https://doi.org/10.33919/esnbu.20.1.1.

Marlina, Roby. 2014. "The Pedagogy of English as an International Language (EIL): More Reflections and Dialogues." In *The Pedagogy of English as an International Language: Perspectives from Scholars, Teachers, and Students*, edited by Roby Marlina and Ram Giri, 1–19. London: Springer International Publishing.

Marlina, Roby, and Ram Giri. 2014. *The Pedagogy of English as an International Language: Perspectives from Scholars, Teachers, and Students*. London: Springer International Publishing.
Matsuda, Aya. 2002. "Representation of Users and Uses of English in Beginning Japanese EFL Textbooks." *JALT Journal* 24 (2): 182–216.
—. 2003. "Incorporating World Englishes in Teaching English as an International Language." *TESOL Quarterly* 37 (4): 719–29. https://doi.org/10.2307/3588220.
—. 2012. *Principles and Practices of Teaching English as an International Language*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
—. 2018. "Is Teaching English as an International Language All about Being Politically Correct?" *RELC Journal* 49 (1): 24–35. https://doi.org/10.1177/0033688217753489.
Mauranen, Anna. 2010. "Features of English as a Lingua Franca in Academia." *Helsinki English Studies* 6: 6–28.
McKay, Sandra. 2002. *Teaching English as an International Language: Rethinking Goals and Approaches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
—. 2003. "Toward an Appropriate EIL Pedagogy: Re-examining Common ELT Assumptions." *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 13 (1): 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1111/1473-4192.00035.
—. 2012. "Teaching Materials for English as an International Language." In *Principles and Practices of Teaching English as an International Language*, edited by Aya Matsuda, 70–83. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
Ministry of Education and Science. 2018. *National Curriculum in English for Secondary Schools. Level B2.1* [Online]. Accessed October 8, 2020. https://www.mon.bg/bg/1698.
—. 2020. *National Curricula in Foreign Languages for Secondary Schools* [Online]. Accessed October 8, 2020. https://www.mon.bg/bg/1698.
Modiano, Marko. 2001. "Ideology and the ELT Practitioner." *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 11 (2): 159–73. https://doi.org/10.1111/1473-4192.00012.
Nunan, David. 1991. "Communicative Tasks and the Language Curriculum." *TESOL Quarterly* 25 (2): 279–95. https://doi.org/10.2307/3587464.
Park, Joo-Kyung, and Mi Kyong Kim. 2014. "Teaching and Learning of EIL in Korean Culture and Context." In *The Pedagogy of English as an International Language: Perspectives from Scholars, Teachers, and Students*, edited by Roby Marlina and Ram Giri, 47–61. London: Springer International Publishing.
Patev, Pavel, Pavlina Stefanova, Daniela Stoyanova, Yordanka Simeonova, Todor Shopov, Galya Mateva, Palmira Legurska et al. 1993. "Entrance–Exit Level for the School Subject Foreign Language (Primary Schools)." *Foreign Language Teaching* 4: 2–72.
Patev, Pavel, Pavlina Stefanova, Todor Shopov, Daniela Stoicheva, Yordanka Simeonova, Ivan Tonkin, Palmira Legurska et al. 1995. "Entrance–Exit Level for the School Subject Foreign Language (High Schools and English Medium Schools)." *Foreign Language Teaching* 4–5: 13–160.
Petkova, Desislava, and Yana Spasova. 2020. *Teen Zone: Student's Book for the 11th–12th Grades (B1.1 CEF)*. Sofia: Prosveta.
Rangelova, Krassimira, and Lilyana Grozdanova. 2001. *Links*. Sofia: Prosveta.
Richards, Jack. 2006. *Communicative Language Teaching Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2001. "Closing a Conceptual Gap: The Case for a Description of English as a Lingua Franca." *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 11 (2): 133–58. https://doi.org/10.1111/1473-4192.00011.
—. 2004. "Research Perspectives on Teaching English as a Lingua Franca." *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 24: 209–39. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190504000145.
Sharifian, Farzad. 2009. *English as an International Language: Perspectives and Pedagogical Issues*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
Sharifian, Farzad, and Roby Marlina. 2012. "English as an International Language (EIL): An Innovative Academic Program." In *Principles and Practices of Teaching English as an International Language*, edited by Aya Matsuda, 140–53. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Tella, Seppo, Kaarina Yli-Renko, and Marja Mononen-Aaltonen. 1996. *Two Cultures Coming Together. Part 1. Developing Foreign Language Teaching and Teacher Education in Bulgaria. Research Report 155*. Helsinki: Department of Teacher Education, University of Helsinki.

Tsvetkova, Nikolina. 2012. "English Language Learning in Secondary Schools and Interculturality." *Foreign Language Teaching* 39 (3): 236–46.

—. 2013. "Developing Intercultural Communicative Competence in the Process of Intensive English Language Teaching in the 8th Grade." *Foreign Language Teaching* 40 (3): 311–20.

—. 2018. *English for Communication in the Institutions of the European Union*. Sofia: "St. Kliment Ohridski" University Press.

van Ek, Jan, and John Trim. 1991. *Threshold Level 1990*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Press.

Zacharias, Nugrahenny, and Christine Manara. 2013. *Contextualizing the Pedagogy of English as an International Language: Issues and Tensions.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Soraya García-Sánchez,
Carmen Luján-García
University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Spain

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 195-218(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.195-218
UDC: [811.111'276.6:621.39]:374.7

Lifelong Learning and ESP Vocabulary: Reflections in Telecommunications and ICT

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the building of a glossary of technical terms by a sample of master's degree students in the professional field of Telecommunications Engineering. To achieve this aim, linguistic data was extracted from the European MACbioIDi INTERREG Project with the aim of creating a collaborative bilingual, English-Spanish glossary. The glossary is used to foster vocabulary learning strategies for ELF/ESP learners and teachers of English. The study, designed for lifelong learning education and set in an ESP context of ICT and Telecommunications, shows (i) how a glossary building task can take the form of collaborative and reflective vocabulary learning projects in ESP, (ii) the learners' identification of anglicisms in their professional domains, and (iii) samples of writing products stemming from building the glossary.

Keywords: ELF, ESP, vocabulary, lifelong learning, professional English

Vseživljenjsko učenje besedišča angleščine kot jezika stroke: Refleksije na področju telekomunikacij in IKT

POVZETEK

Prispevek proučuje glosar strokovnih izrazov, ki so ga sestavili magistrski študenti telekomunikacijskega inženiringa. Za ta cilj smo iz evropskega projekta MACbioIDi INTERREG pridobili jezikovne podatke, s katerimi smo ustvarili kolaborativni, dvojezični angleško-španski glosar. Glosar smo uporabili, da bi razvili strategije učenja besedišča pri študentih in učiteljih angleščine kot lingue france in angleščine kot jezika stroke. Študija, zasnovana za vseživljenjsko izobraževanje in umeščena v okolje jezika stroke na področju IKT in telekomunikacij, je pokazala: i) da je lahko sestavljanje glosarja kolaborativna in reflektivna besediščna dejavnost pri poučevanju jezika stroke; ii) kako študenti prepoznajo anglicizme na svojem strokovnem področju, in iii) primere pisnih izdelkov, ki izhajajo iz sestavljanja glosarja.

Ključne besede: angleščina kot lingua franca, angleščina kot jezik stroke, besedišče, vseživljenjsko učenje, poklicna angleščina

CC BY SA

1 Introduction and Context

This study emerges from the European Project Interreg – MAC 2014–2020 "Promoting the cohesion of the Macaronesian ORs, through a common ICT platform for biomedical R+D+I" (with the acronym MACbioIDi).[1] The main goal of the project is to develop medical technology and educational programs, paying attention to social and business transfer.

The multilingual project team, coordinated by the Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, was formative-oriented and consisted of multilingual researchers specializing in applied linguistics and ICT for language learning. Their cooperation resulted in a multilingual formative wiki "Medical Technology for the Sustainable Development", which is adapted to the languages of the project (Arabic, English, French, Portuguese and Spanish). The wiki acts as a training support for the territories involved and for anyone interested in the topics of medical technology for sustainable development (see Figure 1).

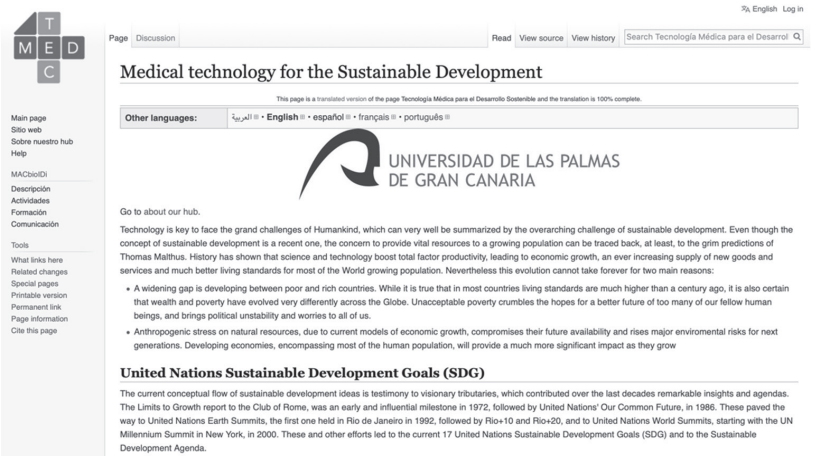

Figure 1. MedTec Formative Wiki in English.

For lifelong learners, maintaining a level of education and technological skills is key to potential job opportunities. A 21st-century citizen requires constant learning and adapts their knowledge, skills and behaviors to the constant changes not only in education, but in technological, cultural and social contexts (Loveless and Williamson 2012). This also means that efficient lifelong learners use English for Specific Purposes (ESP) in global and/or professionally oriented situations and that accurate and up-to-date vocabulary is necessary to successfully convey messages (Bourn 2018; Conole and Paredes 2018).

This research is based on the use and understanding of ESP vocabulary in a ubiquitous lifelong English learning environment, set in tertiary education. This setting combines English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), since learners

[1] The ORs refers to Ultraperipheral Regions. MACbioIDi has 31 partners in the Canary Islands, Madeira, the Azores, Cape Verde, Mauritania, Senegal, mainland Spain and the USA. The project has several objectives, including promoting research and mitigating technological development and innovation for sustainable development (MedTec4SusDev).

gather lexical terms or phrases from various tools and resources planned for the onsite course (texts, online platforms, research journals…) and from various hybrid forms of formal and informal learning. Moreover, participating in ubiquitous learning has had a big influence on informal language learning, since instant and contextualized responses happen anywhere and at any time, such as by simply connecting one's smartphone to the internet (Elsafi 2018; Enos, Kehrhahn, and Bell 2003; García-Sánchez and Burbules 2017).

Our initial hypothesis is that the natural link between formal and informal learning in higher education enhances students' language skills that can be employed in genuine workplace scenarios, and that the MedTec Formative Wiki presented above serves as a tool for this purpose. The English language (EL) tertiary education learner is trained to become a lifelong learning international professional, so ESP and ELF situations are a necessity in formal and informal learning environments.

The present research is based on the following research questions (RQ).

> RQ1. What collaborative and reflective dimensions have been implemented to elaborate the MACbioIDi glossary with the expressions known and/or used by Spanish ESP students of telecommunications engineering?
>
> RQ2. From the learners' reflective perspective, what professional English terms, considered anglicisms, have been adapted in Spanish according to the seven subtopics of the MACbioIDi glossary?
>
> RQ3. What examples of ESP vocabulary have students used productively in a lifelong learning education?

2 Literature Review

2.1 Informal vs. Formal Learning for the English Language

English vocabulary acquisition enhances learners' EL skills. This achievement in foreign language knowledge is linked not just to reading and writing, but to other language skills such as listening and speaking. Information and Communication Technology (ICT) resources have improved EL learners' access to specific terminology and/or contextualized real-life expressions (Elgort 2018; Peters and Webb 2018). This natural, instant and unplanned informal learning, which often includes intrinsic and personal motivation, can significantly develop students' self-study, curiosity and pronunciation skills in English. It also allows learners to combine their natural learning style with the set plan for their EL courses in higher education, and thus improve their strategies in knowledge building and language acquisition (formal learning), which may include both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (Ardeo González 2016; Illeris 2010; Navickienė, Kavaliauskienė, and Pevcevičiūtė 2015).

Higher education, especially when dealing with responsible and autonomous learners working on their master's degrees, is supported by the combination of formal and informal learning. Both forms can take place in face-to-face learning and in ubiquitous learning ecologies that happen anywhere at any time, although the former most often happens inside the classroom

while the latter could happen inside and outside the classroom (Cope and Kalantzis 2017; García-Sánchez and Luján-García 2016). Formal learning is tied to the content and abilities driven by the curriculum, but quite often it also intertwines with unconscious and motivated pieces of information the learner wishes to achieve. García-Sánchez (2017, 2016) demonstrated that learners are already used to ubiquitous learning experiences that combine formal and informal learning settings owing to the internet, global information provided in English, and a variety of ICT resources for learning. Other researchers have connected informal learning with the workplace (e.g., Rutherford 2017), while Rienties and Kinchin (2014) also claim that both learning environments (formal and informal) complement each other. In addition, Latchem (2016, 180) reported that informal learning is "ongoing, voluntary and self-motivated", which also supports the link between informal and lifelong learning. The relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, or between personal or professional learning, should thus be well-planned in ESP lifelong learning language programs in higher education.

2.2 English as a Lingua Franca for Professional Language Growth

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) for professional development also falls within the wider subject of lifelong learning (Crystal 2012; Dewey 2014; Jenkins 2015; Yano 2009) and multimodal ubiquitous learning practices. Advances in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL), English for Specific Purposes (ESP) or English as an International Language (EIL) have had positive effects on the enhancement of accurate professional language, which, at the same time, is linked to everyday expressions that the learner acquires from various situations and resources (Fraiberg 2018; McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2017). The access to ubiquitous information, anywhere and at any time, and quite often through ICT, allows EL learners to get updated lexis and be exposed to various EL contexts that can be related also to their professional environments (Duff 2017; Ferguson 2007; McIntosh, Connor, and Gokpinar-Shelton 2017).

ESP vocabulary, definition structures, information to perform different language tasks/skills in English, and reflective learning achievements are not seen as isolated when designing a lifelong ESP learning course. They are carefully intended to foster interaction and achieve communicative goals in higher education. Mishan (2004) states that the use of language for communication can have different purposes, such as informing, persuading, comparing, analyzing or reporting. To train telecommunications engineers in authentic professional tasks, not only specific content and vocabulary need to be acquired, but they also need to enhance their teamwork abilities, so that the data can be planned, collected and presented effectively. This process not only requires reflective practice related to individual/team learners' language skills, but also other real-life, cultural abilities that help students communicate with an international professional audience (ELF).

Furthermore, in a reflective practice EL students need to understand, firstly, the goals, and, secondly, how to meet them. To quote Duff (2017, 508): "Language socialization refers to the acquisition of linguistic, pragmatic and other cultural knowledge through social experience and is often equated with the development of cultural and communicative competence."

Lifelong learning participants need to receive such socialization when learning English as an international and professional language. Professionals should be aware that English is the global language that links their professions and their lifelong learning (Belcher 2006; Kassim and Ali 2010; Kennedy 2012). Consequently, their vocabulary should be current and accurately used, especially when ESP is produced in a professional environment.

2.3 International Professional English and Anglicisms

English terms used in Spanish can be regarded as *anglicisms.* They may be orthographically or phonetically adapted to Spanish, but in any case, they are English loanwords used in Spanish. The penetration of anglicisms in various fields has been extensively examined by several authors in Spain. For example, the following fields have been explored: beauty and fashion (Luján-García 2017; Tejedor Martínez 2017); sports (Rodríguez González 2012; Rodríguez Medina 2016); TV commercials (García-Morales et al. 2016); marketing (López Zurita 2018); toys and games (Luján-García 2015); even areas such as drugs (Rodríguez González 1994) and sex (Crespo-Fernández and Luján-García 2017, 2018). All these authors have reported that there is a remarkable number of anglicisms in Spanish, and that they are used with different functions. In some cases, these aim at looking cool and fashionable, while in others anglicisms are used simply because there is no Spanish equivalent term or the English term is shorter to express a specific concept. One more reason to use anglicisms is linked with axiological values such as the wish to use euphemistic terms, since the Spanish term may be taboo or politically incorrect, especially in particular areas such as sex and drugs.

The English language plays a prominent role in international professions. Alcaraz Varó (2000) highlighted the importance of vocabulary and lexis in specialized technical and/or semi-technical areas. The author used the terms meta-language or technolect to refer to the particular type of terms used by professionals in their areas of specialty (law, medicine, engineering). The terminology or technical vocabulary is composed of terms whose meanings need to be well-defined, with an unequivocal significance to avoid ambiguity. These terms could be considered monosemic, as they have a defined meaning understood by any professional working in a particular professional field.

When dealing with scientific or technical vocabulary, English is the most extended language worldwide (Brock-Utne 2016; Feez and Quinn 2017; Pennycook 2017). Being present in almost any qualified domain, this international language occupies a dominant position. Alcaraz Varó (2000, 62) claims that English has certain features that contribute to the development of qualities that are essential for the language of science and technology: expressive accuracy, objectivity and approximate exposition.

The reasons set out above explain why English terms are so common in areas such as engineering and IT. Technical terms such as *upgrade, download* or *clone* are employed by expert users as anglicisms in their native languages. Therefore, expressions like *voy a hacer un clone/clon* ('I'm going to do a clone') or *voy a clonar este repositorio* ('I'm going to clone this repository') are not unusual for a Spanish speaking professional in these fields. The knowledge and use of technical anglicisms by a sample of students in the professional field of Telecommunications Engineering and in the context of the MACbioIDi glossary will also be explored in this article.

3 Methodology

3.1 Classification of Anglicisms

In order to categorize the sample of anglicisms collected, the most recent and extended categorization was chosen (Pulcini, Furiassi, and Rodríguez González 2012, 6). This classification (Figure 2) distinguishes, *grosso modo*, direct and indirect loanwords. Within the section of direct loanwords, different types may be broken down: hybrids, false loanwords – also called pseudo-anglicisms – and loanwords *per se*, which may be adapted or non-adapted. These loanwords are essentially lexical. On the right side of Figure 2 the indirect loanwords can be observed, within which calques and semantic loanwords can be discerned. Under the heading of calques, three types may be distinguished, loan translations, loan renditions and loan creations. The indirect loans are syntactic and affect the structure of the sentence, while the lexical ones address the recipient language. In this study, the focus has been on the direct lexical borrowings. This categorization was helpful to classify the number of lexical items that have been compiled in our corpus.

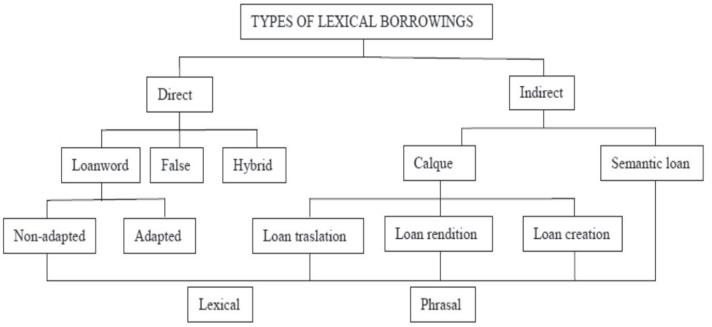

Figure 2. Classification of anglicisms by Pulcini, Furiassi and Rodríguez González (2012, 6).

3.2 Sample

This reflective qualitative methodological approach was undertaken with six postgraduate students of a master's degree in Telecommunications Engineering during the academic year 2018–2019, whose language level was between B1+ and B2 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. These learners worked as a team with the intention of producing, reflecting on, and managing accurate knowledge in their field (Telecommunications and ICT) by means of the MACbioIDi bilingual glossary. The project was designed by two ESP professors of the subject English for Telecommunications Engineering (ETE), who acted as observers and listeners of students' comments regarding each term, and as readers and examiners of students' additions to the glossary.

This collaborative work also required the identification of ESP terms, the creation of adequate definitions, which were not copied and pasted from monolingual dictionaries, and their correct pronunciations. Moreover, self-regulating reflections dealing with the Spanish terms and, consequently, the possible use of anglicisms, were added by the participants. An active ESP vocabulary was the target orienting this research.

Although the main aim of this analysis was to reflect on the ESP vocabulary extracted from the MACbioIDi project, the participants performed an active role in the creation of the glossary with written and spoken comments about each term (definitions, grammatical function, etc.). Thus, the results presented in the following sections show the work produced by students in its original version, without any alterations or corrections by the instructors.

3.3 Instruments: The Bilingual Team Glossary and the Abstracts

The aim was to test and describe how the vocabulary was collected and added to a collaborative document by students. This included a bilingual team glossary that was shared and edited as a *Google Excel* document during the course.

This MACbioIDi glossary was initially designed by the instructors as a collaborative task with the lexis extracted from the formative wiki of the MACbioIDi project (Figure 1), whose main influential field was telecommunications engineering. The terms were classified in seven subtopics: *GitHub, Building 3D Slicer, Python, PythonNumpy; Matplotlib; QT framework* and *VTK*.

During the productive team phase, students completed the document by adding the grammatical function of the word (noun, verb, etc.), its elaborate definition (which they did not copy and paste from a dictionary), its pronunciation in English, and the Spanish term and its adaptation if the term did not have a reference in Spanish yet. The data collected also provided feedback on students' knowledge and use of the selected ESP vocabulary. Additionally, the use of the selected terms in their professional field also indicated whether the learners used a Spanish word or an English adaptation, as in the case of *usar un branch* ('use a branch').

The collaborative glossary was thus the main instrument of analysis in this study. Another instrument was the English abstract that each student produced based on their final master's thesis project.

The data collected addresses each research question. Firstly, formal/informal learning settings were considered together with the adequate use and knowledge students had of the list of terms added in the glossary. Secondly, learners were interviewed on how they would use each English term in their professional Spanish context, so that researchers could identify any anglicisms. Finally, the abstracts were analyzed to compare learners' accuracy and use of professional terms. The glossary was completed during the first weeks of the semester, while the abstracts were produced by the end of the semester (2018–2019).

4 Results and Discussion

This section is dedicated to presenting the learning achievements according to the conceptual approach of lifelong learning ecologies for ESP and professional English. The results address the three questions posed in this research.

4.1 Research Question 1

RQ1. What collaborative and reflective dimensions have been implemented to elaborate the MACbioIDi glossary with the expressions known and/or used by ESP students?

In order to respond to the first research question, the focus was on the MACbioIDi glossary and the seven topics addressing the specific vocabulary extracted from its formative wiki, shown in the Tables 3–9 below with a total of 96 English expressions. The glossary and entries were accurately classified by students and resulted in a predominant number of nouns (73 in total) over verbs (20). There was also one adjective, one adverbial expression (*randomly*, Table 7, topic 5) and one abbreviation (*IDE*, Table 4). The writing of the glossary is an instance of informal learning, and in this particular case, it was set in a ubiquitous learning environment with in-class comments and reflections and out-of-class additions.

From a comparative perspective, the seven subtopics were similar regarding learners' reflective analysis. Students collaboratively reported that they knew most of the terms but did not use them frequently, as it can be seen in Tables 3–9. Considering the seven subtopics extracted from the MACbioIDi formative wiki, the two content areas that the students used more frequently in their academic and professional fields were *3D Slicer* and *GitHub*, in this order.

Generally, the definitions students created for each term and under each subtopic followed the expected structure and, in most cases, corresponded with the grammatical function of the term. *Clone* was an example of a definition that was explained by learners both as a noun and a verb (Figure 3). It is noteworthy that the students used adequate and precise structures that were also contextualized in professional ESP.

Most definitions used the structure of the concept followed by the verb (e.g., *is*, *refers to*, …) and the complements. Some definitions were expanded with another sentence to complete the explanation. In some cases, *to*-markers were introduced at the beginning of definitions, for instance, for the entries *download*, *update*, *upgrade* and *sign in* (Table 4).

The word class of the terms (noun, verb, adjective…) was added only for the entries in the first topic (*GitHub*) and not for the ones in the remaining six subtopics. The definitions were analyzed to check the correspondence between the definitions and grammatical functions. This correspondence was perfect: the students recognized the word classes of all 96 expressions. This task is often practiced in the English for Telecommunications Engineering classroom with a variety of techniques for eliciting English. Its aim is to teach students to identify and locate various expressions in a text and become aware of their collocates.

Regarding pronunciation, participants actively dedicated a column to reflect upon the pronunciation of each term in English, considering not only how the terms were pronounced but also the stress of each word. Since they were MA students in Telecommunications Engineering and had not studied the phonetics and phonology of English, they were not asked to transcribe the terms phonetically but rather to use their own respelling of the word with the stressed syllable in capital letters, which is another common strategy in the ETE classroom. Moreover, students were also used to accessing a monolingual dictionary (e.g., *Cambridge Online Dictionary*) to listen to the pronunciation of new terms.

- A **branch** is a parallel version of a repository. It is contained within the repository, but does not affect the primary or master branch allowing you to work freely without disrupting the "live" version. When you've made the changes you want to make, you can merge your branch back into the master branch to publish your changes.

- A **clone** is a copy of a repository that lives on your computer instead of on a website's server somewhere, or the act of making that copy. You can push your local changes to the remote to keep them synced when you're online.

- A **commit**, or "revision", is an individual change to a file (or set of files). It's like when you save a file, except with Git, every time you save it, it creates a unique ID (a.k.a. the "SHA" or "hash") that allows you to keep record of what changes were made when and by whom. Commits usually contain a commit message which is a brief description of what changes were made.

- A **diff** is the difference in changes between two commits, or saved changes. The diff will visually describe what was added or removed from a file since its last commit.

- **Fetching** refers to getting the latest changes from an online repository without merging them in. Once these changes are fetched you can compare them to your local branches.

Figure 3. Examples of students' definitions.

Another significant observation is the use of some terms which were added to the glossary as headwords but were then also used as part of the definitions of other terms. Two examples extracted from the Subtopic 1 (*GitHub*) are the expressions *branch* and *clone*: *branch* was the first word used in the glossary, and it was also integrated in the definitions for the terms *fetch* and *merge*; and *clone* was used a key term for the *GitHub* glossary (as a verb and a noun) and as a noun that was part of the definition for the term *remote* in the same subtopic (see Figure 3). Two expressions frequently used in definitions were *software* (in 13 definitions) and *file* (in eight other glossary terms) which are in widespread use in ICT. Some other examples of key terms in the MACbioIDi glossary and of terms being repeated as part of a definition for another key term can be found in Table 1.

Table 1. ESP key terms from MACbioIDi reused in definitions.

Key Terms	**Key Terms within Definitions**
Branch	fetch; merge
Clone	remote
Commit	diff; push
Git	commit; merge; push; remote; repository; SSH keys
Merge	branch
Pull	fork; merge
Push	clone; click
Remote	clone; pull; push
Repository	branch; clone; fetch; fork: merge; pull requests; push
Open source	git
Environment	setup; framework; user
Build	CMake
Libraries	framework; IDE
Remote	clone; pull; push
Repository	branch; clone; fetch; fork: merge; pull requests; push

Open source	Git
Environment	setup; framework; user
Build	CMake
Libraries	framework; IDE
Password	SSH keys
Framework	IDE
User	fork; git; pull request; setting; backend; user guide
Run	multi-platform; threading/multi-threading
Package	tool-kit
Command	merge; script; pipeline
Hardware	software; interface
Software	open source; environment; build; loop; plug-ins; libraries; framework; IDE; multi-platform; tool-bar; frontend; backend; driver
Interface	git; merge
Update	fork
Sign in	log in
Folder	repository
File	commit; diff; git; markdown; pull; repository; folder; checkout
Script	commit
Master	branch; slave
Block	flow; input; output
Flow	master; switch
Input	output; feedback; pipeline; binding; mapper
Set	commit; build; framework; script; byte; mapper
Array	String
Setting	Default

This aspect also included a formal/informal reflective analysis, since learners revealed their knowledge, experience and use of the terms proposed, together with the correct pronunciations. This formal/informal collaborative analysis offered students some individual and team reflections about their learning.

4.2 Research Question 2

> *RQ2. From the learners' reflective perspective, what professional English terms, considered anglicisms, have been adapted in the Spanish language according to the seven subtopics of the MACbioIDi glossary?*

The use of the Spanish term or its Spanish adaptation (anglicism) in a professional context was also considered by the participants of this study. A total of 42 anglicisms were acknowledged according to the seven subtopics extracted from the MACbioIDi wiki (*GitHub, 3D Slicer*, …), as shown in Table 2.

The most common type of anglicisms found in the corpus were the non-adapted ones, i.e. English lexical items that have not undergone any kind of adaptation to the recipient language. For example, terms such as *branch, password* and *user* are used in Spanish in their original forms. The second kind of anglicisms that were relatively frequently used were hybrids, i.e., the combination of two or more lexical items in which one term is English and the other Spanish. For example, *hacer un commit* ('to create a commit'). There were also one calque (*interfaz* for 'interface') and some derivational hybrids such as *plotear* (from 'plotting') and *mapear* (from 'mapping'), as shown in Tables 3–9.

Table 2. The number and types of anglicisms per topic.

MACbioIDi Glossary Topic	No. of Anglicisms (Students' Reflections)	Most Common Types of Anglicisms
GitHub	6	Hybrid
3D Slicer	18	Non-adapted + Hybrid
Python	3	Non-adapted + Hybrid
PythonNumpy	1	Non-adapted
Matplotlib	6	Non-adapted + Hybrid
QT framework	5	Non-adapted
VTK	4	Non-adapted + Hybrid

The following sections deal with the examination of vocabulary and anglicisms for each of the seven topics of the MACbioIDi glossary.

4.2.1 Building *GitHub* Vocabulary

GitHub,[2] a development platform created for developers to review code and manage and develop software, was the first subtopic in the MACbioIDi glossary. It included professional vocabulary and learner-added grammatical function of 15 *GitHub* terms (ten nouns, five verbs, one adjective and one acronym), as can be seen in Table 3.

Students marked three words in the first column (*Git, Remote* and *Repository*) as unnecessary for this ESP glossary: the first term is a brand, the second common in different fields, and the third one also too generic. No terms were removed from the other six subtopics (see Tables 4–9). In the subtopic *GitHub*, the information on word class was added, and the definition of *clone* expanded to include the explanation for the verb (Table 3).

Table 3. MACbioIDi glossary: students' work for the subtopic *GitHub.*

English Term (Category)	Definition	Pron.	Spanish (Translation/ Adaptation)	
Branch (n)	A branch is a parallel version of a repository. It is contained within the repository, but does not affect the primary or master branch allowing you to work freely without disrupting the "live" version. When you've made the changes you want to make, you can merge your branch back into the master branch to publish your changes.	BRANCH	rama	*Usar un branch*
Clone (v)	A clone is a copy of a repository that lives on your computer instead of on a website's server somewhere, or the act of making that copy. You can push your local changes to the remote to keep them synced when you're online.	KLON	clonar	*Hacer un clon*

[2] The *GitHub* platform can be accessed here: https://github.com.

Commit (n)	A commit, or "revision", is an individual change to a file (or set of files). It's like when you save a file, except with Git, every time you save it creates a unique ID (a.k.a. the "SHA" or "hash") that allows you to keep record of what changes were made when and by whom. Commits usually contain a commit message which is a brief description of what changes were made.	ko-MIT	comisión	*Hacer un comit*
Diff (n)	A diff is the difference in changes between two commits, or saved changes. The diff will visually describe what was added or removed from a file since its last commit.	DIF	diferencia / Mirar la diferencia	
Fetch (v)	Fetching refers to getting the latest changes from an online repository without merging them in. Once these changes are fetched you can compare them to your local branches.	FECH	traer	*Hacer un fetch*
Fork (n)	A fork is a personal copy of another user's repository that lives on your account. Forks allow you to freely make changes to a project without affecting the original. Forks remain attached to the original, allowing you to submit a pull request to the original's author to update with your changes. You can also keep your fork up to date by pulling in updates from the original.	FORK	bifurcar	*Hacer un fork*
Git (n)	Git is an open source program for tracking changes in text files. It was written by the author of the Linux operating system, and is the core technology that GitHub, the social and user interface, is built on top of.	GIT	repositorio	*Hacer / Tener un Git*
Markdown (n)	Markdown is a simple semantic file format, not too dissimilar from .doc, .rtf and .txt. Markdown makes it easy for even those without a web-publishing background to write prose (including with links, lists, bullets, etc.) and have it displayed like a website.	MARK-DAUN	formato Markdown	
Merge (v)	Merging takes the changes from one branch (in the same repository or from a fork), and applies them into another. This often happens as a pull request (which can be thought of as a request to merge), or via the command line. A merge can be done automatically via a pull request via the GitHub web interface if there are no conflicting changes, or can always be done via the command line.	MERSH	mezclar / fuse / Combine	
Pull (v)	Pull refers to when you are fetching in changes and merging them. For instance, if someone has edited the remote file you're both working on, you'll want to pull in those changes to your local copy so that it's up to date.	PUL	traer (más cerca)	

Pull request (n)	Pull requests are proposed changes to a repository submitted by a user and accepted or rejected by a repository's collaborators.	PUL ri-KUEST	propuesta / petición para traer
Push (v)	Pushing refers to sending your committed changes to a remote repository, such as a repository hosted on GitHub. For instance, if you change something locally, you'd want to then push those changes so that others may access them.	PUSH	cargar (upload)
Remote (adj)	This is the version of something that is hosted on a server, most likely GitHub. It can be connected to local clones so that changes can be synced.	ri-MOUT	remoto
Repository (n)	A repository is the most basic element of GitHub. They're easiest to imagine as a project's folder. A repository contains all of the project files (including documentation), and stores each file's revision history. Repositories can have multiple collaborators and can be either public or private.	ri-PO-see-to-ry	repositorio
SSH Key	SSH keys are a way to identify yourself to an online server, using an encrypted message. It's as if your computer has its own unique password to another service. GitHub uses SSH keys to securely transfer information to your computer.	ES-ES-EISCH KII	SSH (always used as abbrev. not as long term)

Regarding the bilingual adaptation of the 15 terms, the students compared the Spanish expression for each concept and the English adaptation of the six expressions they used with the English term as in *hacer un clon* or *usar un branch*. Some English nouns such as *branch, commit, fork* and *git* have become verbs in Spanish. The terms *clone* and *commit* have also been orthographically adapted to Spanish: *clon* (the final -e is dropped) and *comit* (the -m is not doubled). These can be considered hybrid anglicized expressions. The anglicisms identified by students have been highlighted in the right-hand column of Tables 3–9. Readers of this article are reminded that this is the original work done by students without any corrections or modifications made by the instructors.

4.2.2 Building 3D *Slicer* Vocabulary

3D Slicer[3] is another worldwide open source platform for developers, created by Harvard University, for medical image computing and processing and 3D visualization. It was the second subtopic in the collaborative MACbioIDi glossary with 29 nouns and 11 verbs as shown in Table 4. Feedback was provided, and, for example, it was suggested that the students use the infinitival marker (Table 4, see the cases in bold). Moreover, the missing information on the pronunciation of *examine* was elicited by the teacher in class.

[3] *3D Slicer* platform: https://www.slicer.org

Table 4. MACbioIDi glossary: students' work for the subtopic *3D Slicer*.

English Term (Category)	**Definition**	**Pron.**	**Spanish (Translation/ Adaptation)**	
Open Source (n)	Software that is open source allows developers to see and modify the source code (like Firefox does!)	O-pen SORS	Código abierto	*open source*
Environment (n)	All the software, complements and directory structure that a programmer can have to do his job	en-VAI-ron-ment	Entorno	
Build (v)	Assemble separate pieces of software in a set of "tangible" (often executable) results	BILD	*hacer un build*	
Cmake (n)	CMake is a build process manager independent from a compiler (not a complier itself!)	SEE-MEIK	*Cmake*	
Loop (n)	In software, a loop is something that repeats itself several times (indefinitely or until a condition is met)	LUP	Bucle / lazo cerrado	
Plugins (n)	An installable addition to existing executable software	PLOG-in	*plugins / plug-ins / pluguin*	
Libraries (n)	Collections of complementary software used to perform certain tasks more easily	LAI-bra-ris	bibliotecas (sometimes mistakenly used as "librerías")	
Setup (n)	The process of installing a computer program or environment	SET-ap	instalación	
Password (n)	A secret word that you specify to assure others (or a service) that you are who you claim to be	PASS-word	*password*	contraseña
Framework (n)	A collection of libraries that set a software development environment	FREIM-work	*framework*	
IDE, Integrated Development Environment (n phrase)	A collection of frameworks and libraries bundled in a stand-alone piece of software	AI-DI-I	IDE, entorno de desarrollo integrado	*Pron. / IDÉ & IDE/*
User (n)	An abstraction (also often an isolated environment) for a person or agent	U-ser	*YUSER / USER*	usuario
Run (n)	Execute a program	RAN	ejecutar/correr/lanzar	
Multi-platform (n)	A software that is able to run on different operating systems	MUL-ti PLAT-form	multiplataforma	Also (ENGL Crossplatform)
Tool (n)	Something made to perform a task	TUUL	herramienta	*Pron. /las / tuls/*
Tool-bar (n)	A graphical way (bar) to show available tools on a software	TUUL-bar	barra de herramientas	*Pron. /Tul BAR/*

Package (n)	A closed directory whose contents you can use (but not modify)	PAK-isch	paquete
Command (n)	Order you can give a computer from a terminal prompt	ko-MAND	comando
Tool-kit (n)	A package of tools	TUUL-kit	*tool-kit / set de herramientas / paquete de herramientas*
Hardware (n)	Tangible piece of assembled electronics that can perform a certain task	HARD-wer	*hardware*
Software (n)	A intangible piece of executable electrical information stored in hardware memory that makes it perform a task	Soft-wer	*software*
Interface (n)	An intermediate piece of software/hardware that eases communication between componentes	IN-ter-feis	*interfaz*
Download (v)	**To** acquire data or software via the internet or other network	DAUN-loud	bajar, descargar
Upload (v)	To put data or software on a internet or network location	AP-loud	subir, cargar
Update (v)	**To** slightly modify a software to a more recent version (or announcing the possibility)	AP-deit	actualización
Upgrade (v)	**To** modify a piece of soft/hard-ware to a more recent version	AP-greid	mejora
Registration (n)	The act of storing your presence somwhere	RE-yis-TREI-shon	registrarse
Sign up (v)	To register with credentials in certain service	SAIN AP	registrarse de la aplicación
Sign in (v)	**To** use your previously stored credentials to access or use a service	SAIN IN	entrar en la aplicación
Folder (n)	An abstraction representing a collection of files and other folders (also directory)	FOL-der	directorio, carpeta
File (n)	A self-contained piece of information	FAIL	archivo, fichero
Checkout (v)	To examine	**TO BE DONE BY SS!**	*checkout*
Path (n)	The way to get to a certain directory or file beginning from a particular root	PAZH	ruta
Click (v)	pushing the mouse's buttons to trigger some action	KLIK	*hacer click*
Script (n)	a structured set of sequential commands	SKRIPT	*script*

Search engine (n)	software that allows you to apply filters to find what you want in a large collection of entries	SERCH EN-yin	buscador
Master (n)	A piece of soft/hard-ware that "controls" the workflow of other pieces	MAS-ter	maestro
Slave (n)	A piece of soft/hard-ware that is "controlled" by a master	SLEIV	esclavo
Database (n)	A structure in which you can store data and stablish relations between data items	DEI-ta-beis	base de datos
Login (v)	Same as sign in	LOG-in	*login*

Regarding the bilingual adaptation, and the influence of English, especially in the field of ICT and Telecommunications, the results reveal that some of these technical terms such as *CMake, plugins/plug-ins/pluguin/plujin, framework, hardware, software, checkout, script, login* are used in their pure or non-adapted English forms and no Spanish equivalent term seems to be used (also in Table 4). Other anglicisms seem to co-exist with their Spanish equivalents. This is the case for *password*, which is used along with *contraseña*; *tool-kit* which co-exists with *set de herramientas* ('tool set') and *paquete de herramientas*. ('tool pack'). There are also some cases in which the English noun becomes a verb by using the Spanish verb *hacer* ('do', 'make') in hybrid expressions such as: *hacer un build* ('to do a build') and *hacer click* (lit. 'to make a click').

4.2.3 Building *Python* Vocabulary

The third subtopic was dedicated to *Python* and it comprised a total of 16 expressions (14 nouns and two verbs), see Table 5. *Python* is a software programming language for developers that is used worldwide.[4]

Table 5. MACbioIDi Glossary: Students' work for the subtopic *Python.*

English Term (Category)	**Definition**	**Pron.**	**Spanish (Translation/ Adaptation)**
Block (n)	A delimited region of code	BLOK	bloque
Flow (n)	The way of controlling how a line of block of code jumps to another	FLOU	flujo
Input (n)	Information that an agent has to enter to a function/block	IN-put	entrada
Output (n)	The reult of a function/block processing something (often an input)	AUT-put	salida
Programming (n)	To write software in text format and using some language	PRO-gra-ming	programar
Scope (n)	The code region in which uniform rules apply	SCOUP	ámbito, alcance ?
Byte (n)	A set of 8 1-or-0 values	BAIT	*byte*

[4] The *Python* website is accessible here: https://www.python.org

Set (n)	A defined group of data	SET	conjunto, poner ?
Bitarray (n)	A linear group or ordered list of 1-or-0 values	bit-a-RAY	*vector de bits*
Array (n)	An ordered list of items	a-RAY	vector
Delete (v)	To make disappear, cleanup	de-LEIT	borrar / *hacer delete*
Default (n)	A value that applies if not modified manually by some setting	di-FAULT	por defecto
Range (n)	Distance between two extremes	REINSCH	rango
String (n)	A consecutive list of characters (an array of characters)	STRING	cadena / cuerda
Runtime (n)	Period of program execution	RAN-taim	tiempo de ejecución
Downtime (n)	Period of unavailability	DAUN-time	tiempo de parada

Regarding the bilingual adaptation, we can observe that *vector de bits*, for example, is used in Spanish for the English *bitarray.* In addition, the Spanish verb *borrar* seems to co-exist with the hybrid expression *hacer delete* (lit. 'do a delete'), which combines the Spanish verb *hacer* and the English verb *delete.*

All the tables in the Results section show the students' work. In the case of Table 5, there are some question marks added by students in the fourth column since they were not sure about the Spanish use of the term. The table also highlights the anglicisms that the students identified in this subtopic (*byte, vector de bits, hacer delete*).

4.2.4 Building *PythonNumpy* Vocabulary

PythonNumpy,[5] also NumPy, is a package used with Python for technical computing with a variety of functions and tools. Only three terms were classified for the *PythonNumpy* vocabulary, all of them nouns (Table 6).

Table 6. MACbioIDi Glossary: Students' work for the subtopic *PythonNumpy.*

English Term (Category)	**Definition**	**Pron.**	**Spanish (Translation/ Adaptation)**
Threading /multi-threading (n/v)	A way to make code run in parallel (not sequentially)	M U L - t i ZRE-ding	hilo / multihilo
Setting (n)	A collection of parameters a user adjusted to its preferences	SE-ting	configuración
Bug (n)	An unexpected (often unwanted) program behavior	BUG	*bug / error*

Regarding the bilingual adaptation in this short list, it can be observed that the Spanish term *error* co-exists with the English equivalent *bug*.

[5] More information on the *NumPy* website at http://www.numpy.org.

4.2.5 Building *Matplotlib* Vocabulary

Matplotlib[6] is a Python 2D plotting library that allows developers to create figures (histograms, bar charts, error charts, etc.). The fifth subtopic added in the collaborative and reflective glossary included six nouns and one adverbial expression, see Table 7.

Table 7. MACbioIDi glossary: students' work for the subtopic *Matplotlib.*

English Term (Category)	**Definition**	**Pron.**	**Spanish (Translation/ Adaptation)**
Frontend (n)	The section of software that interacts with an agent	FRONT-end	*front-end*
Backend (n)	The section of software that makes some process with private to the user agent	BAK-end	*back end*
Random / randomly (adv)	Subjected to no apparent pattern	RAN-dom	aleatorio / aleatoriamente
Switch (n)	A soft/hard-ware that diverts some data flow to different directions or regions	SWICH	*switch*
Layout (n)	The visual arrangement of something	LEY-aut	*layout*
Plot (n)	To represent graphically	PLOT	gráfico (n), hacer un gráfico, *plotear, hacer un plot* (v)
Dataset (n)	A collection of structured data	DEI-ta-set	*dataset* / conjunto de datos

Regarding the bilingual adaptation of the technical terms in the subtopic *Matplotlib*, it is noteworthy that some words are used in English without there being a Spanish equivalent. This is the case for *frontend, backend, switch,* and *layout.* In the case of *plot,* Spanish offers some equivalents such as *gráfico* and *hacer un gráfico*, but the anglicized hybrid expression *hacer un plot* is also employed. Similar is the case of the non-adapted anglicism *dataset* and *conjunto de datos* ('a set of data'), which are interchangeable in Spanish.

4.2.6 Building *QT Framewor*k Vocabulary

QT[7] is defined as a cross-platform software development framework with a technology strategy for developers to create connected devices and applications. It was the sixth subtopic and had a total of five nouns, see Table 8. As can be observed, the students did not complete the definitions for *widget* and *gadget*. During the feedback session on the glossary, students were asked to deliver instant definitions for these two terms to check whether they understood the meanings. Although the definitions uttered in the classroom followed a correct and comprehensible format, students did not include them in the glossary ("TO BE DONE BY SS", marked in Table 8). We underline that the purpose here has been to maintain every table in its original form, as completed by the ESP participants (the reader can also notice a typo in the definition of the glossary entry *driver*).

[6] More information on the *Matplotlib* website at https://matplotlib.org.

[7] The *QT* website can be accessed here: https://www.qt.io

Table 8. MACbioIDi Glossary: Students' work for the subtopic *QT framework.*

English Term (Category)	**Definition**	**Pron.**	**Spanish (Translation/ Adaptation)**
Driver (n)	A piece of software that directs a particular piece of harware	DRAI-ver	*driver*
Feedback (n)	The process of using the output of a function as its own input	FID-bak	*feedback* / realimentación
Widget	**TO BE DONE BY SS!**	WID-yet	*widget* / asistente
Gadget	**TO BE DONE BY SS!**	GAD-yet	*gadget*
Slot (n)	A physical or logical space to insert something	SLOT	*slot*

Regarding the bilingual adaptation, non-adapted English terms are employed in this subtopic. The technical terms *driver*, *gadget* and *slot* do not have an equivalent term in Spanish, while *feedback* can also be rendered as *retroalimentación*, and *widget* as *asistente.*

4.2.7 Building *VTK* Vocabulary

Finally, the acronym *VTK*,[8] which stands for the Visualization Toolkit, is an open-source software package used worldwide by developers to work with computer graphics and show scientific data. This last subtopic included six nouns and a verb, see Table 9. Students noted that he expression *plot* was common to two subtopics, *VTK* and *Matplotlib*.

Table 9. MACbioIDi glossary: students' work for the subtopic *VTK.*

English Term (Category)	**Definition**	**Pron.**	**Spanish (Translation/ Adaptation)**
Pipeline (n)	Sequential chaining of command inputs and outputs	PAIP-lain	*pipeline*
Binding (v)	To associate a value with a parameter (or possible input "field")	BAIN-ding	enlazar / vincular / *binding / hacer un bind*
User guide (n)	A manual used to familiarize a user with a product	U-ser GAID	guía de usuario
Mapper (n)	A function to bind a set of input values to a corresponding set of output fields	MAP-er	*mapear*
Keyboard (n)	A physical device that allows people to type characters into a computer	KI-bord	teclado
Plot (n)	[Duplicate: look up]	PLOT	gráfico (n) / hacer un gráfico / *plotear / hacer un plot* (v)
Binding (n)	[Duplicate: look up]	BAIN-ding	enlazar / vincular / *binding / hacer un bind*

[8] The *VTK* website is https://www.vtk.org

Regarding the bilingual adaptation, some anglicisms are also present in the subtopic of *VTK*. This is the case for the non-adapted anglicism *pipeline*, which has no Spanish equivalent, and *binding*, which co-exists with other Spanish terms such as *enlazar* ('bind') and *vincular* ('link'). Anglicized hybrid expressions are also employed: *hacer un bind* and *hacer un plot.* The term *mapear* ('to map out') is also a hybrid derivational term, which combines the English stem *map* with the Spanish verbal suffix *-ear*.

4.3 Research Question 3

> *RQ3. What examples of ESP vocabulary have students used productively in lifelong learning education?*

The ESP participants of this study actively generated receptive and useful vocabulary applied to their professional fields. On the one hand, current expressions extracted from the formative MACbioIDi wiki were reviewed by learners as vocabulary they already use or can use in their professional field. On the other hand, and with the intention of promoting lifelong learning education, these postgraduate students implemented similar learning strategies for their course content, highlighting key ESP terms and acronyms they used for their master's theses. As a result, their use of ESP expressions during their coursework produced satisfactory collocations in written production, as it can be seen in the abstracts that they produced for their theses. Figure 4 shows two examples of this type of language and its accurate production; it includes the use of key concepts, acronyms and academic expressions that have been underlined.

Abstract 1: Nowadays Optical Camera Communication's (OCC) links have increased its relevance within the Visible Light Communication's (VLC) field. The main ambition that drives this research is the development of end user applications that rely on low-cost embedded cameras as receivers. However, this recent technology faces a variety of challenges such as transmitter detection, packet synchronization, and channel estimation. In this work, a novel modulation scheme based on RGB LED sources is presented to address these issues.

Abstract 2: Functional verification of digital systems is often an arduous task due to the high number of tests applicable to a particular design. To ease this process, different methodologies have been proposed by Electronic Design Automation (EDA) companies, one of those being the Universal Verification Methodology (UVM). This methodology uses the *SystemVerilog* Hardware Description Language (HDL), allowing the use of object-oriented programming paradigms in verification. […] This project represents *one of the first attempts at perusing the UVM Framework*, an immature technology in its early stages of adoption, for the verification of a commercial intellectual property. Once the verification environment was completed, an evaluation of the advantages that the *UVM Framework* provides compared to standalone development was made, showing promising results.

Figure 4. Examples of ESP vocabulary used in students' course projects.

4.4 General Discussion

Considering the three learning dimensions at work, as proposed by Illeris (2010) – content, motivation and interaction – the study presented here originates in a lifelong learning environment which involves students' examination of workplace lexis in the field of Telecommunications Engineering and ICT. Learners relied on authentic material and interacted with each other and their teacher with the aim of following their interests and being trained for their current workplace situations. Their professional English context (ESP) was experienced as a factor affecting their lifelong learning approach.

Using the MACbioIDi bilingual glossary, the students were able to reflect on the variety of ESP expressions used in their research areas and workplace (Rutherford 2017). At the same time, the MACbioIDi glossary served as a model for students to implement similar strategies to activate the vocabulary related to the course content, paying attention not only to the word, its definition and accurate pronunciation, but also to its use and collocations. By being exposed to second language input, second language learners can be encouraged to achieve the desired language output by means of an interactionist communicative standpoint, which, we would add, can be both reflective and self-directed, especially when dealing with higher education learners (Ardeo González 2016; Elgort 2018).

The MACbioIDi project glossary and the specific content of the course can be evaluated as a productive approach for learners to update and activate their general and specific vocabulary. This study has been designed to manage learners' study areas with the intention of responding to their professional needs by allowing them to recognize and apply new ESP vocabulary consciously, productively, and accurately. Identifying the grammatical function of a term and providing its definition can also improve syntactic and collocational skills. This, in turn, facilitates the correct use of ESP lexis in students' abstracts, reports and other professional projects. Equally, producing correctly pronounced utterances can increase the impact of their spoken interactions.

Finally, we should also stress the interactional aspect of the project. Learners' and teachers' in higher education require a high degree of motivation and both active and passive interaction. These go hand-in-hand with individual learning strategies and determined collaborative teams (Ardeo González 2016; Ng and Ng 2015). Not only have our learners been trained in identifying and producing ESP lexis, but they have also applied ESP content to their professional areas in a lifelong learning environment. This has also increased their awareness of the active roles and skills required in their workplaces.

5 Conclusion

Exploring the bilingual, collaborative MACbioIDi glossary has served as a tool to combine autonomous learning and develop collaborative learning and vocabulary learning strategies which allow participants to adapt their knowledge of terminology and help them express themselves accurately in written and oral modes. The terms initially added to the glossary were originally from the MACbioIDi project. Our intention was to expand the European project with the exploration of how Telecommunications Engineering students identify and

use the expressions selected in the seven ICT domains of *GitHub, Building 3D Slicer*, *Python*, *PythonNumpy*, *Matplotlib*, *QT framework* and *VTK*.

The results demonstrate that the glossary was effectively completed, while relying on the settings of both formal and informal education. Furthermore, the international context of English as a Lingua Franca was also explored through the identification and examination of anglicisms used in Spanish. The students' application of ESP vocabulary in the course project has been successfully achieved: their final abstracts and projects exhibit sufficient proficiency that links their professional fields with global English in lifelong learning education. These students used not only the expressions provided in the glossary, and during the 15 weeks of the course, but also added other specific terms and abbreviations or acronyms extracted from other scientific, digital and academic sources, such as academic papers and specialized forums related to their individual course projects.

It should be noted that the students' communication skills have been attested by their precise and accurate use of technical terms in the glossary and abstracts. Students have also gained awareness and familiarity with ESP terminology, which will be helpful throughout their professional careers, especially considering the fact that this master's degree is meant to prepare them for the labour market. The example of digital ubiquitous lifelong learning presented in this research facilitated the suitable use of contextualized present-day terminology that not only benefits lifelong learners and international professionals (telecommunications engineers, in this particular case), but it also allows them to connect with global and challenging workplace situations.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the students who took part in this research for their active and reflective thoughts and their committed responses during the study.

References

Alcaraz Varó, Enrique. 2000. *El inglés profesional y académico.* Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Ardeo González, Jose Miguel. 2016. "Learning Motivation and Strategies of ESP University Students." *LFE: Revista de Lenguas para Fines Específicos* 22 (1): 141–69.

Belcher, Diane D. "English for Specific Purposes: Teaching to Perceived Needs and Imagined Futures in Worlds of Work, Study, and Everyday Life." *TESOL Quarterly* 40 (1): 133–56. https://doi.org/10.2307/40264514.

Bourn, Douglas. 2018. *Understanding Global Skills for 21st Century Professions*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brock-Utne, Birgit. 2016. "English as the Language of Science and Technology." In *Human Rights in Language and STEM Education*, edited by Zehlia Babaci-Wihite, 109–27. Rotterdam, Boston, Taipei: Sense.

Conole, Gráinne, and Pascual Pérez Paredes. "An Analysis of Adult Language Learning in Informal Settings and the Role of Mobile Learning." In *Mobile and Ubiquitous Learning*, edited by Shengquan Yu, Mohamed Ally, Avgoustos Tsinakos, 45–57. Singapore: Springer.

Cope, Bill, and Mary Kalantzis, eds. 2017. *e-Learning Ecologies: Principles for New Learning and Assessment*. New York and London: Routledge.

Crespo-Fernández, Eliecer, and Carmen Luján-García. 2017. "Anglicisms and Word Axiology in Homosexual Language." *Revista Española de Lingüística Aplicada* 30 (1): 74–103. https://doi.org/10.1075/resla.30.1.04cre.

—. 2018. *Anglicismos sexuales en español. El inglés como recurso eufemístico y disfemístico en la comunicación virtual*. Granada: Comares.

Crystal, David. 2012. *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dewey, Martin. 2014. "Pedagogic Criticality and English as a Lingua Franca." *Atlantis* 36 (2): 11–30.

Duff, Patricia A. 2017. "Language Socialization, Higher Education, and Work." In *Language Socialization. Encyclopedia of Language and Education,* 3rd ed., edited by Patricia A. Duff and Stephen May, 1–18. Cham: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-02327-4_19-1.

Elgort, Irina. 2018. "Teaching/Developing Vocabulary Using ICTs and Digital Resources." *The TESOL Encyclopedia of English Language Teaching*: 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118784235.eelt0735.

Elsafi, Abdelwahed. 2018. "Formal and Informal Learning Using Mobile Technology." In *Mobile and Ubiquitous Learning,* edited by Shengquan Yu, Mohamed Ally, Avgoustos Tsinakos, 177–89. Singapore: Springer.

Enos, Michael D., Marijke Thamm Kehrhahn, and Alexandra Bell. 2003. "Informal Learning and the Transfer of Learning: How Managers Develop Proficiency." *Human Resource Development Quarterly* 14 (4): 369–87.

Feez, Susan, and Frances Quinn. 2017. "Teaching the Distinctive Language of Science: An Integrated and Scaffolded Approach for Pre-Service Teachers." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 65: 192–204. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2017.03.019.

Ferguson, Gibson. 2007. "The Global Spread of English, Scientific Communication and ESP: Questions of Equity, Access and Domain Loss." *Ibérica: Revista de la Asociación Europea de Lenguas para Fines Específicos* 13: 7–38.

Fraiberg, Steven. 2018. "Multilingual and Multimodal Practices at a Global Startup: Toward a Spatial Approach to Language and Literacy in Professional Contexts." *English for Specific Purposes* 51: 55–68. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2018.03.003.

García-Sánchez, Soraya. 2016. "Ubiquitous Interaction for ESP Distance and Blended Learners." *Journal of Applied Research in Higher Education* 8 (4): 489–503.

—. 2017. "Collaborative Ubiquitous Learning: A 21st Century Approach for (In)Formal Scenarios." In *Informal Learning: Perspectives, Challenges and Opportunities,* edited by Stephen Rutherford, 57–70. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

García-Sánchez, Soraya, and Nicholas C. Burbules. 2017. "A Revision of Activity Theory to Foster Communicative Twenty-First-Century Skills." *International Journal of Learning: Annual Review* 24 (1): 1–12. https://doi.org/10.18848/1447-9494/CGP/v24i01/1-12.

García-Sánchez, Soraya, and Carmen Luján-García. "Ubiquitous Knowledge and Experiences to Foster EFL Learning Affordances." *Computer Assisted Language Learning* 29 (7): 1169–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/09588221.2016.1176047.

García Morales, María Goretti, Carmen Luján-García, Isabel González Cruz, and María Jesús Rodríguez Medina. 2016. *La presencia del inglés en la publicidad televisiva española (2013–2015).* Madrid: Síntesis.

Illeris, Knud. 2010. *The Fundamentals of Workplace Learning: Understanding How People Learn in Working Life*. Abingdon. New York: Routledge.

Jenkins, Jennifer. 2015. "Repositioning English and Multilingualism in English as a Lingua Franca." *Englishes in Practice* 2 (3): 49–85. https://doi.org/10.1515/eip-2015-0003.

Kassim, Hafizoah, and Fatimah Ali. 2010. "English Communicative Events and Skills Needed at the Workplace: Feedback from the Industry." *English for Specific Purposes* 29 (3): 168–82. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2009.10.002.

Kennedy, Chris. 2012. "ESP Projects, English as a Global Language, and the Challenge of Change." *Ibérica, Revista de la Asociación Europea de Lenguas para Fines Específicos* 24: 43–54.

Latchem, Colin. 2016. "Learning Technology and Lifelong Informal, Self-directed, and Non-formal Learning." In *The Wiley Handbook of Learning Technology,* edited by Nick Rushby and Dan Surry, 180–99. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.

López Zurita, Paloma. 2018. "El uso de anglicismos en el contexto del vocabulario academico de Marketing." *Onomázein* 39: 114–39. https://doi.org/10.7764/onomazein.39.06.

Loveless, Avril, and Ben Williamson. 2013. *Learning Identities in a Digital Age: Rethinking Creativity, Education and Technology.* Abingdon, New York: Routledge.
Luján García, Carmen Isabel. 2015. "Lexical Anglicisms: An Analysis of Commercials Addressed to Young Children on Four Television Channels in Spain." *Onomazein* 32: 289–304. https://doi.org/10.7764/onomazein.32.17.
—. 2017. "Analysis of the Presence of Anglicisms in a Spanish Internet Forum: Some Terms from the Fields of Fashion, Beauty and Leisure." *Alicante Journal of English Studies* 30: 277–300. https://doi.org/10.14198/raei.2017.30.10.
MedTec4SusDev.org – MACbioIDi.eu. 2020. "Medical Technology for Sustainable Development." https://mt4sd.ulpgc.es.
McIntosh, Kyle, Ulla Connor, and Esen Gokpinar-Shelton. 2017. "What Intercultural Rhetoric Can Bring to EAP/ESP Writing Studies in an English as A Lingua Franca World." *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 29: 12–20. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2017.09.001.
McKay, Sandra Lee, and Wendy D. Bokhorst-Heng. 2017. *International English in Its Sociolinguistic Contexts: Towards A Socially Sensitive EIL Pedagogy*. New York, Abingdon: Routledge.
Mishan, Freda. 2004. "Authenticating Corpora for Language Learning: A Problem and Its Resolution." *ELT Journal* 58 (3): 219–27. https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/58.3.219.
Navickienė, Violeta, Dalia Kavaliauskienė, and Sigita Pevcevičiūtė. 2015. "Aspects of ESP Learning Motivation in Tertiary Education." *Tiltai* 71 (2): 97–108. https://doi.org/10.15181/tbb.v71i2.1103.
Ng, Chiew Fen, and Poh Kiat Ng. 2015. "A Review of Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivations of ESL Learners." *International Journal of Languages, Literature and Linguistics* 1 (2): 98–105. https://doi.org/10.7763/IJLLL.2015.V1.20.
Pennycook, Alastair. 2017. *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*. New York: Routledge.
Peters, Elke, and Stuart Webb. 2018. "Incidental Vocabulary Acquisition Through Viewing L2 Television and Factors that Affect Learning." *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 40 (3): 551–77. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0272263117000407.
Pulcini, Virginia, Cristiano Furiassi, and Félix Rodríguez González. 2012. "The Lexical Influence of English on European Languages." In *The Anglicization of European Lexis*, edited by Cristiano Furiassi, Virginia Pulcini and Félix Rodríguez González, 1–26. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Rienties, Bart, and Ian Kinchin. "Understanding (In)formal Learning in an Academic Development Programme: A Social Network Perspective." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 39: 123–35. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2014.01.004.
Rodríguez González, Félix. 1994. "Anglicismos en el argot de la droga." *Atlantis* 16 (1–2): 179–216.
—. 2012. "Anglicismos en el mundo del deporte: variación lingüística y sociolingüística." *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* XCII (CCCVI): 285–309.
Rodríguez-Medina, María Jesús. "An Approach to the Study of the Use of English in the Activities of Spanish Gyms." *Spanish in Context* 13 (1): 128–48. https://doi.org/10.1075/sic.13.1.06rod.
Rutherford, Stephen. "Perspectives, Challenges, and Opportunities of Informal Learning." In *Informal Learning: Perspectives, Challenges and Opportunities*, edited by Stephen Rutherford, 1–20. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
Tejedor Martínez, Cristina. "The Influence of the English Language on the Description of Cosmetic Products." *Alicante Journal of English Studies*: 303–29. https://doi.org/10.14198/raei.2017.30.11.
Yano, Yasukata. 2009. "English as an International Lingua Franca: From Societal to Individual." *World Englishes* 28 (2): 246–55. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2009.

Polona Vičič
University of Maribor, Slovenia

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 219-238(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.219-238
UDC: 81'37.091.3

A Fully Integrated Approach to Blended Language Learning

ABSTRACT

In the face of increasing demand for greater continuity and flexibility in language learning, online learning has gradually established itself as an important complement to face-to-face (F2F) language instruction. Typically, the resulting blend focuses on the two central learning modes, i.e., F2F and online; however, it leaves out the self-study component based on sources that do not form an integral part of the online component. Recognising the importance of the latter, Whittaker (2014) defines blended language learning as a blend of F2F, online, and self-study components.

Drawing on this three-modal approach, the present paper first outlines two language courses designed and delivered by the author of the paper. Next, it analyses students' feedback on their experience with blended learning collected via an end-of-course questionnaire including multiple-choice statements, five-point Likert scale statements, and open-ended questions. The sample included fifty-two students, most of whom reported a positive experience, especially with the F2F component.

Keywords: blended language learning, continuity, fully integrated approach, three-modal approach

Celostni pristop h kombiniranemu jezikovnemu učenju

POVZETEK

Zaradi vse večje potrebe po kontinuiteti in fleksibilnosti pri jezikovnem učenju se računalniško podprto oziroma spletno učenje uveljavlja kot pomembna podpora jezikovnemu poučevanju in učenju v živo. Skladno z omenjenim kombinirano učenje praviloma temelji na kombinaciji učenja v živo in spletnega učenja, manj pozornosti pa posveča samostojnemu učenju, ki temelji na gradivih in virih, ki ne predstavljajo sestavnega dela spletne učne platforme. Zavedajoč se pomembnosti slednjega, Whittaker (2014) kombinirano jezikovno učenje definira kot kombinacijo učenja v živo, spletnega ter samostojnega učenja.

Izhajajoč iz omenjenega tri-modalnega koncepta kombiniranega jezikovnega učenja, pričujoči članek najprej predstavi dva tujejezikovna predmeta, ki ju je pripravila in izvedla avtorica članka. Nadalje empirični del članka analizira izkušnje študentov s kombiniranim učenjem. Mnenja študentov so bila pridobljena s pomočjo anonimnega vprašalnika, ki vključuje izjave izbirnega tipa, izjave z oceno po Likertovi lestvici (1–5) ter vprašanja odprtega tipa. Vzorec je zajemal 52 študentov, večina katerih poroča o pozitivni izkušnji, pri čemer še posebej izstopa učenje v živo.

Ključne besede: kombinirano jezikovno učenje, kontinuiteta, celostni pristop, trimodalni pristop

CC BY SA

1 Introduction

Since the turn of the new millennium, online language instruction has become ubiquitous in foreign language instruction at all levels, especially in higher education and beyond, where it has primarily been used to enhance students' learning experience by providing greater continuity in the learning process and greater flexibility of learning in terms of time, pace, and place. Whereas the rationale and motivation for the early implementation of online language learning typically included reasons of a more practical nature, in recent years the focus has increasingly been shifting to pedagogy and language learning theories as the main motivation for its implementation, this approach frequently being labelled a "principled approach/way" (Whittaker 2014, 9). Rather than being exclusive of each other, these shifts in focus imply that none of the three main determiners of online language learning (i.e., technology with its practical implications, pedagogy, and language theories) really dominate, because each of them is important in its own right and "evolves and changes in its relationships with the others" (Garret 2009, 720). Since its early application in the 1960s, another vital shift has occurred in online language learning – namely the shift from its predominant use in distance learning to bridge the time and place gap between a teacher and student(s), to its increasingly frequent use in combination with face-to-face (F2F) instruction. This blended approach allows language teachers to select the best of both worlds (i.e., traditional and online teaching and learning methods), whereby the F2F and online components should seamlessly transition from one to another (Dewar and Whittington 2004). The importance of effective blending of F2F and online language instruction that is based on a dynamic relationship between technology and pedagogy (Garret 2009; Anderson and Dron 2012) is stressed by a number of authors, including Hinkelman (2018, ix–x), according to whom blended language instruction should be viewed as an ecology embedding a variety of F2F and digital technologies "into a process that is communicative and task-based".

Building on this view, this paper takes a holistic approach to exploring two blended ESP (i.e., English for Specific Purposes) courses, whereby the ultimate goal is to investigate and highlight the potential opportunities and challenges of the teaching and learning process. The two courses included in this study are ESP courses tailored to the needs of first-year undergraduate students at the University of Maribor's Faculty of Logistics. Resonating with the post-modernist view that the main goal of research in blended language learning is to investigate and reflect on blended classrooms as "ecosystems" of relations (Hinkelman 2018, 210), the study investigates and reflects on the blended language course components from both the teacher's and students' perspectives. Despite analysing a localised blended teaching and learning practice, this study provides insights that other teachers involved in blended language instruction can reflect on and apply to their own local environments.

The paper starts with an overview of some of the most relevant theoretical background and studies on blended language learning, through the prism of which it then outlines the two blended ESP courses tailored to the needs of logistics students and delivered in a blended format. Next, the empirical part analyses and discusses students' feedback on their experience with blended language learning. Finally, it concludes with an insight into the main lessons learned in the process, and practical implications of the findings.

The empirical research addresses the following three research questions (RQs):

RQ1: Do students have a positive attitude toward the blended learning course?

This research question investigates whether students show a positive attitude toward the blended course as a whole. Related to this research question, two hypotheses are tested:

> H.1.1 Gender affects students' attitudes toward blended learning.
>
> H.1.2 Prior experience with online learning affects students' attitudes toward blended language learning.

RQ2: Do students show a preference for any of the three main components of the blended course?

This research question investigates whether students show a preference for an F2F, online, or self-study component. Related to this research question, the following two hypotheses are tested:

> H.2.1 Gender affects students' preference for a chosen blended learning component.
>
> H.2.2 Prior experience with online learning affects students' preference for a chosen blended learning component.

RQ3: Do students identify any overriding strengths or weaknesses of individual components?

This research question examines students' perceptions of the most prominent strengths and weaknesses of individual course components, which can provide important guidelines for the future redesign of the two courses.

2 The Blended Approach in Foreign Language Instruction

The early beginnings of the use of computer technology in foreign language instruction date back to the 1960s, when it was predominantly used for language learning based on "memorising [and repetition of] a body of well-choreographed responses" within the framework of Skinner's behaviourist learning theory (Blake 2008, 49). Since then, online language learning has changed profoundly, mostly because of technological advancements and the development of new language learning theories. Relatively scant and rudimentary computer technology has advanced to ubiquitous, highly sophisticated e-learning platforms and networked technologies. Likewise, the repertoire of pedagogy has been enriched with new language-learning theories, typically including cognitivism, socio-constructivism (Holmes and Gardner 2006, 79), and more recently also connectivism (Whittaker 2014, 23–24). However, it should be noted that none of the "old" theories has been eliminated or replaced by the new one(s). Instead, all four approaches remain in use for their continuing value and effectiveness in a given learning context: a) behaviourism for its focus on repetition and automated response (Holmes and Gardner 2006); b) cognitivism for its focus on the mind and learning process (Holmes and Gardner 2006); c) socio-constructivism for its focus on the mind and social dimension of learning (Holmes and Gardner 2006); and d) connectivism

for its focus on "making [networked] connections with content, individuals and groups", and applying them to problem solving (Anderson and Dron 2012, 8–9).[1] Furthermore, a growing number of authors advocate the complementarity rather than dominance or even exclusivity of certain pedagogies (Mehanna 2004; Holmes and Gardner 2006; Hinkelman 2018) as well as technologies, because the latter evolve through the incorporation of parts of earlier designs into new ones (Arthur 2009, as cited in Anderson and Dron 2012, 2). As a result, blended language learning today offers many opportunities for enhanced language teaching and learning, and it has become widely used and almost indispensable in foreign language instruction at all levels of education. The increasing popularity of a blended approach to teaching and learning has given rise to a number of names for it, with the two most frequently used being blended and/or hybrid learning. Although the two terms are frequently used interchangeably – as also advocated by Graham and Dziuban (2007), Grgurović (2017), and Hinkelman (2018) – it should be noted that there are also authors who claim that blended and hybrid learning represent two different concepts. As summarised by Whittaker (2013, 11–12), when the distinction is made, the two typically reflect the variety in percentages of online and F2F instruction in a blended course design, which could be further differentiated by extending the list with terms such as web-enhanced and fully online learning. Based on the postulate that the proportion between the two learning environments and their organisational structure largely depends on the nature of the course, here the terms blended learning and blended course are used as general terms for a course combining F2F and online learning regardless of the proportion between the course components.

The complexity and variety of the concept of blended learning are further reflected in a number of definitions, most of which focus on blending different modes of delivery and related teaching models and learning styles (Procter 2003), and stress the importance of the seamless transition between them (Dewar and Whittington 2004; Littlejohn and Pegler 2007) for effective and efficient learning. Most of these definitions focus on two modes – that is, face-to-face and online course delivery – thus elaborating on the two central components of a blended approach but leaving out the self-study component based on sources other than the ones forming an integral part of the e-learning platform. Recognising the importance of this third component, Whittaker (2013 and 2014) defines blended language learning as a blend of face-to-face, online, and self-study components. Because self-study components are an essential part of the two English for Logistics courses analysed in this study, this paper adopts Whittaker's view.

3 The Teacher Perspective on a Blended Approach to ESP Teaching

Starting from the premise that because of the uniqueness of each teaching practice there is no "ideal 'best practice'" that would fit all language teaching and learning situations (Hinkelman 2018, 2), this paper does not aim to present a generally applicable, i.e., one-size-fits-all, design of a blended ESP course. Instead, it reflects on challenges and opportunities experienced

[1] In contrast to behaviourism, cognitivism, and socio-constructivism, which "were developed in a time when learning was not impacted through technology" (Siemens 2005), connectivism has been developed in and for the digital age and thus inherently depends on networked technologies (Anderson and Dron 2012, 7–8).

by the author in her ten years of experience with blended ESP teaching, which could lead to the enhancement of the two ESP courses analysed and hopefully also prove useful to other language teachers planning to, or already using, a blended approach in their LSP (i.e., Languages for Specific Purposes) courses.

As explained above, the two English for Logistics courses discussed in this work are tailored to the needs of logistics students and follow Whittaker's three-modal view of blended learning (Whittaker 2013 and 2014). It should, however, be noted that they significantly contrast with the model introduced by Whittaker in two respects: first, by putting equal weight on all three components (i.e., face-to-face, online, and self-study), and second, by incorporating all three modes within one topic of the course. In Whittaker's model, the lead mode of the course developed for the military in Bosnia and Hercegovina (Whittaker 2013) was, for practical reasons, the face-to-face mode, whereby the three modes were introduced in consecutive blocks. Following the faculty's established course format, the two English for Logistics courses take as the point of departure the course syllabus, whereby the three blended learning components, as mentioned above, present an integral part of each topic. In line with the widely promoted guidelines for effective and efficient learning, according to which blended learning components should seamlessly transition from one to another and be linked by a common focus (Dewar and Whittington 2004; Littlejohn and Pegler 2007), the three components build on and complement each other. As proposed by Whittaker (2013, 19), individual components could be connected by topic, vocabulary, and/or grammar; in the two English for Logistics courses, individual components are linked by at least two if not all three of the mentioned course elements.

Typically, the introductory mode of both courses is F2F lectures, in which new topics and related language structures and functions are first introduced through discussion framed by verbal and visual cues in PPT slides, audio and/or video clips, and short texts. Further live discussion and practice are based on language exercises of various types included in handouts. By incorporating various types of learning activities, F2F lectures seek to include most, if not all, levels of Anderson and Krathwohl's revised model of Bloom's taxonomy;[2] that is, remembering, understanding, applying, analysing, evaluating, and creating (Anderson and Dron 2012). Language structures and functions introduced in F2F lectures are further developed and practised by e-lectures designed as weekly e-quizzes and occasional e-tasks. The first usually include language exercises focusing on topic-related vocabulary and grammar in the form of gap-fill exercises (drop-down and type-in) and matching exercises (e.g., matching word pairs and matching words with their definitions), which are followed by more contextualised listening- and/or reading-based exercises. The latter are designed with the view of furthering students' knowledge and understanding of terminology and concepts through disciplinary content. E-quizzes round this off with an exercise explicitly assessing students' knowledge of key vocabulary by checking whether they can associate the words

[2] Bloom's model with six levels of cognitive processes (i.e., knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation) has been widely used in educational practice. However, it is frequently criticised for its oversimplification of the nature of thought and its relationship to learning activities (Marzano and Kendall 2007). To compensate for this, Anderson and Krathwohl proposed a revised model that translates more easily into learning activities (Anderson and Dron 2012, 10).

they have learned with their native-language equivalents. To achieve this, students are given native-language equivalents of the new vocabulary covered in the previous exercises of the e-quiz, for which they are asked to provide the English terms. By incorporating these types of exercises, e-quizzes to some extent engage students in the first five levels of Anderson and Krathwohl's cognitive processes (i.e., remembering, understanding, applying, and analysing, but they leave out creating). Accordingly, to encourage more independent use of target-language structures, e-quizzes are occasionally complemented by e-tasks, in which students are involved in producing real-life outputs, the importance of which has also been stressed by Blake (2008, 39). The third (i.e., self-study) component is based on the independent study of course materials developed in-house and a supplementary commercial grammar book. For practical reasons, the first are uploaded onto an e-classroom; however, they do not form an integral part of it, and, unlike e-quizzes and e-tasks, they do not provide any feedback on students' performance, be it automatically generated (e-quizzes) or personalised feedback for each student (e-tasks). Instead, they include an answer key, allowing students to check their answers. Given the nature of the explanation and related exercises in these two sources, in the framework of Anderson and Krathwohl's model the self-study materials promote the development of the first five levels of cognitive processes. In sum, the three course components promote the first five levels of Anderson and Krathwohl's model to differing extents, and the creation process is included only in the F2F and online components. Translated into the four language learning theories (i.e., behaviourism, cognitivism, socio-constructivism, and connectivism), the two courses as a whole thus to some extent accommodate all four of them, with the focus being on the first three, which, as proposed by Anderson and Dron (2012), fit well with the first five levels of Anderson and Krathwohl's model.

As demonstrated above, the two English for Logistics courses are built around the F2F, online, and self-study components, with each of them playing an equally important role in the language teaching and learning process, and accordingly being allocated a proportionate amount of student learning time: F2F component 36 lessons, online component 24 lessons, and self-study component 120 lessons. However, it should be noted that the amount of time spent on F2F lessons is determined by the timetable, and is thus the same for all the students, whereas the time planned for the online and self-study components may vary from student to student because it largely depends on their General English competence and motivation for language learning. Compared to F2F lectures, the online and self-study components promote more "student-centered and student-autonomous" approaches to language instruction (Blake 2008, 127), in addition to offering the advantage of independent and self-paced study. Accordingly, the balance in the two courses is in favour of students' independent and autonomous learning, which fits well with the fact that they have been developed for tertiary-level students, who should have already developed a relatively high degree of learning autonomy. Related to this, it should be stressed that, however independent and autonomous students may be, they are still likely to benefit from proper teacher guidance, the benefits of which have also been highlighted by Kirschner, Sweller, and Clark (2006, 75), according to whom "minimally guided instruction is less effective and less efficient than the instructional approaches that place a strong emphasis on guidance of the student learning process". As further explained by the authors, the need for guidance only lessens when students have gained "sufficiently high prior knowledge to provide 'internal' guidance"

(2006, 75). Accordingly, given the fact that the two language courses analysed in this study are designed for first-year students, who have mixed experience of both English for Specific Purposes and online language learning, explicit guidelines are given for all activities forming an integral part of the online component of both courses.

Of the three components, the online teaching and learning component has been around for a relatively short period of time, especially when compared to F2F and self-study language instruction, and it thus deserves further attention. In online language instruction, a number of commercial and open-source Course Management Systems, or e-learning platforms, have been developed over the last two decades in response to the increasing popularity of technology-enhanced instruction. One of them is Moodle, which has been used as the Faculty of Logistics' official course management system and thus also for English for Logistics courses. Moodle was released in 2002 and originally dedicated to the academic environment (Dodun et al. 2015, 245). The design of this platform largely draws on the principles of constructivism; that is, the idea that people can learn best by "involvement and experiences" (Educational Platforms online, as cited in Dodun et al. 2015, 245). Accordingly, as suggested by Chowdhry, Sieler, and Alwis (2014, 13), the use of Moodle and other e-learning platforms promotes a "deep learning approach" that can improve students' academic performance. As for the features promoting deep learning, they typically include discussion forums which play a vital role in building "a sense of online community" (Hockly and Clanfield 2010, as cited in Whittaker 2014, 14), assessment tools, as well as tools for sharing individualised feedback, easy monitoring of students' submissions, uploading of course materials, and tools for the inclusion of links to authentic online sources (online texts, audio and video clips, and online dictionaries). The two English for Logistics courses take advantage of all these features to provide students with an enhanced language-learning experience as well as additional stimulus and motivation for keeping pace with the course progress. In pursuit of this goal, the automatic generation of feedback for e-quizzes has proved especially important because, in addition to providing feedback on the accuracy of the answers submitted, it allows students to continue working on the quiz until they have reached the desired percentage of accuracy. Here, it should be noted that to pass a quiz students need to score 60% or higher, this also being one of the prerequisites for taking the written exam. As argued by Whittaker (2014, 12), unless assessed, online work is typically not considered an integral part of the course and is treated as optional rather than compulsory, which is also the reason why successful completion of quizzes is deemed a prerequisite for taking the written exam.

As presented above, blended language teaching confronts language teachers with several challenges, with one of them being the challenge of continuously adapting their teaching practices to changes in pedagogy, language learning theories, and online technologies. Two other key factors for continuous course development are a teacher's reflection on their teaching practice and students' feedback on their satisfaction with the learning process. Accordingly, the empirical part of the paper analyses the results of the questionnaire on students' experience with blended language learning in the framework of the two English for Logistics courses. Following a rich body of research on the potential influence of gender (Mehanna 2004; Muilenburg and Berge 2005; Shea et al. 2019) and prior e-learning experience (Brown 2001;

Muilenburg and Berge 2005; Nikitenko 2009; Shea et al. 2019) on the students' uptake of and satisfaction with the fully online or blended approach to language learning, the present study investigates students' satisfaction with the course as a whole, as well as its three components in relation to these two factors.

4 Methods and Materials

Building on the view that blended language learning is defined by "both an implicit change agenda and a desire to maintain continuity with useful practices of the past"[3] (Hinkelman 2018, 228), this small-scale study investigates and reflects on useful practices and opportunities for improvement in the two English for Logistics courses. Following these goals, after ten years of using the blended learning approach, during which the course has been constantly improved based on the teacher's reflection and brief feedback from students on their experience with the course, this study analyses more comprehensive feedback on students' experience with blended learning in the English for Logistics courses delivered in the academic year 2018/2019.

To elicit more comprehensive feedback, the author designed an anonymous, hard-copy questionnaire including multiple choice statements, five-point Likert scale statements, and open-ended questions. The decision to have an anonymous questionnaire was based on the fact that anonymous methods promote more honest and greater disclosure (Murdoch et al. 2014) of students' opinions. Given the purpose of the study, the benefit of this outweighs the possible insight into the correlation between students' success in the course (i.e., their academic performance) and their course satisfaction that a non-anonymous questionnaire could offer.

The questionnaire consisted of twenty-one items divided into the following three parts:

a) The first part elicited students' background information, including gender and prior language learning experience (i.e., type of language course in secondary school: General English or English for Specific Purposes, materials used during lectures, materials used for self-study, and information on whether the course incorporated an online component).

b) The second part focused on the English for Logistics blended course. It combined five-point Likert scale statements about students' satisfaction with the course and its components (ranging from 1 = poorly satisfied to 5 = very satisfied) with open-ended questions inviting students to reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of each course component.

c) The third part, in which students were invited to give their suggestions for the course, did not relate directly to this study and is therefore excluded from the ensuing analysis and discussion.

[3] Whereas Hinkelman (2018) explains stability in terms of teachers' and researchers' aversion to advanced technology and the attempt to change their attitude toward language learning technology, and defines change in terms of the introduction of thoroughly integrated F2F aspects into the teaching practices of computer-oriented teachers and researchers, here the terms are restricted to blended learning practice based on the already balanced relationship between pedagogy and technology. Accordingly, stability refers to practices perceived as efficient by both the teacher and students, and change is used for practices perceived as less efficient by either the teacher or students or both, thus calling for changes.

The questionnaire was administered to fifty-five first-year undergraduate students in English for Logistics courses during the last lectures for the course. Because three of the students gave incomplete answers to one or more questions, their responses were excluded from the analysis. The results of the remaining fifty-two questionnaires are presented and discussed in the following sections.

Analysis of students' responses first focused on their background information elicited through multiple-choice statements. Next, the mean and median values were determined for the five-point Likert scale statements. To check whether there were any differences based on gender or prior experience in students' satisfaction with the course as a whole or with any of its three components, an independent samples *t*-test was performed. For this test, the significance threshold was set at $p = 0.05$, and *p*-values between 0.1 and 0.05 were interpreted as values showing only a tendency toward a statistically significant difference. The statistical analysis was performed with the statistical programme SPSS 24.0. Finally, the students' open-ended responses on the strengths and weaknesses of individual course components were submitted to quantitative analysis, including manual coding[4] and categorising into the main thematic categories that emerged from the data.

5 Results and Discussion

This part of the paper describes the questionnaire results and observations. It starts with an analysis of the students' background information, the results of which are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Students' background information.

Gender	male	27 51.9%	female	25 48.1%		
Sec. school Eng. course	GE	25 48.1%	ESP	27 51.9%		
Sec. school F2F materials	printed	35 67.3%	electronic	1 1.9%	combination	16 30.8%
Sec. school self-study materials	printed	37 71.2%	electronic	1 1.9%	combination	14 26.9%
Sec. school e-classroom	no	47 90.4%	yes	5 9.6%	online activities (3x) course timetable (2x) HW instructions (4x) add. study materials (3x) forum discussions (1x)	

As shown in Table 1, the split between male and female students is 27 to 25, thus roughly equal. Regarding the students' prior language learning experience, the results indicate that almost half of the students (48.1%) studied General English (GE) in secondary school, and just over half (51.9%) studied English for Specific Purposes (ESP). Regarding materials used

[4] Manual rather than software-based coding and categorizing techniques were used because the manual techniques better fit the purpose of searching for emerging patterns in a relatively small database (Yin 2011).

during F2F lectures, most of the students (67.3%) indicated that the only form used was printed materials, which was followed by a combination of F2F and electronic materials (30.8%), and only one student (1.9%) indicated the exclusive use of electronic materials. Not surprisingly, the numbers for the type of materials used for self-study are similar, with the difference being a slightly higher use of printed materials (indicated by 71.2% of students) and a slightly lower use of a combination of printed and online materials (indicated by 26.9%). Furthermore, the questionnaire also investigated whether English courses in secondary school used an e-classroom. Quite surprisingly, the results show that only five out of fifty-two students had such a course, with only three of these five students having used an e-classroom for completing language exercises and tasks; that is, online activities. Other uses included receiving information on the course timetable (indicated by two students), receiving homework instructions (four students), accessing additional study materials (three students), and participating in forum discussions (one student). To sum up, the results for students' background information show that before joining the course only a small portion of students had relatively limited experience with online learning, thus confirming the need for initial training, continuous support and guidance because most students are novices or relative novices in blended learning.

Table 2. Students' satisfaction with the course and its components.

How satisfied were you with	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**mean and median values**
the course as a whole?	1	1	4	25	21	mean: 4.2 median: 4
F2F lectures?	0	0	4	22	26	mean: 4.4 median: 4.5
e-lectures?	0	1	2	25	24	mean: 4.4 median: 4
self-study materials?	1	1	6	22	22	mean: 4.2 median: 4

Levels of satisfaction: 1 = poorly satisfied, 2 = slightly satisfied, 3 = moderately satisfied, 4 = well satisfied, 5 = very satisfied

The next questionnaire section focused on the blended language course that students took as part of their first year of undergraduate studies, and it elicited students' feedback on their satisfaction with the course as a whole and each of its three components via five-point Likert scale statements. As presented in Table 2, the analysis of students' responses yielded slight or no differences in mean values, with all four of them ranging between 4.2 and 4.4. In light of the first two research questions (i.e., whether students have a positive attitude toward the blended learning course as a whole and whether they show a preference for any of its three main components), the fact that the mean value for students' satisfaction with the course as a whole is 4.2 (out of 5) indicates that students have a positive attitude toward the two language courses. Furthermore, the results also indicate the preference for F2F lectures, which are the only component yielding a median (average) value higher than 4 (F2F median = 4.5). This students' bias here comes as no surprise, given the fact

that F2F lectures were the dominant learning mode in their secondary education as well as being the generally preferred learning mode in language learning, which, as Blake (2008, 1) puts it, has predominantly been viewed as "such a social, if not face-to-face, process". Further comparison of the four mean and median values revealed some other interesting findings, including the same mean value for the course as a whole and self-study materials (mean=4.2) on the one hand, and the same mean value for F2F and e-lectures (4.4) on the other. Taken together, these similarities and differences could imply that students have a preference for some scaffolding and guidance over complete autonomy and self-reliance in language learning, the former two forming an integral part of F2F lectures and e-lectures, and the latter two representing the central features of the self-study component. The value and importance of ongoing guidance and support from the teacher have been addressed by various authors on blended learning, including Kirschner, Sweller, and Clark (2006, 75), Rosen (2009, 65–66), and Hirst and Godfrey (2013, 108). As for the same mean value (mean = 4.2) for the course as a whole and the self-study component, it could be speculated that the students' attitudes toward the latter affect the overall level of course satisfaction, the latter being (slightly) lower than the level of satisfaction with F2F and e-lectures (mean = 4.4). The role of the study materials provided online has also been investigated by Chowdhry, Sieler, and Alwis (2014, 12). Their study on the impact of technology-enhanced learning on student academic performance yielded results suggesting that the complimentary use of study materials accessible through an e-learning platform and interactive online activities can improve students' academic achievement in blended learning models. Given the potential role of the self-study component based on the materials provided online and the materials' potential lack of ongoing guidance and support from the teacher, future research into the two ESP courses included in the present study could test the validity of speculations about the role of the self-study component in students' satisfaction with the course as a whole through student interviews. Because this would exceed the scope of this study, it is tested here against students' feedback on the strengths and weaknesses of individual blended learning components.

To check whether there are any gender- or prior experience-based differences in the students' attitudes toward the blended language course as a whole or any of its three components, an independent samples *t*-test was conducted. The results of the statistical analysis are presented in Table 3. They show that *p*-values range between 0.266 and 0.976, thus negating all four hypotheses on potential differences based on gender and prior experience:

> H.1.1 Gender affects students' attitudes toward blended learning.
>
> H.1.2 Prior experience with online learning affects students' attitudes toward blended language learning.
>
> H.2.1 Gender affects students' preference for a chosen blended learning component.
>
> H.2.2 Prior experience with online learning affects students' preference for a chosen blended learning component.

Table 3. Gender- and prior experience-based differences.

	mean	mean	p-value
Course satisfaction_gender	male_mean: 4.3	female_mean: 4.2	0.800
Course satisfaction_prior experience	no exp._mean: 4.2	yes exp._mean: 4.4	0.637
F2F lect. satisfaction_gender	male_mean: 4.5	female_mean: 4.3	0.266
F2F lect. satisfaction_prior experience	no exp._mean: 4.4	yes exp._mean: 4.6	0.519
e-Lectures_gender	male_mean: 4.4	female_mean: 4.4	0.874
e-Lectures_prior experience	no exp._mean: 4.4	yes exp._mean: 4.2	0.517
Self-study material_gender	male_mean: 4.2	female_mean: 4.2	0.976
Self-study material_prior experience	no exp._mean: 4.2	yes exp._mean: 4.2	0.928

As for the reasons why the results show no gender-based differences, it could be speculated that there are simply no significant differences between female and male students regarding their attitudes toward the course as a whole or its components. As pointed out by Shea et al. (2019, 73), these results may also be due to small-sample research, which, as they suggest, is less likely to show gender-biased differences. Relatedly, in their large-scale, cross-institutional study (n=2,036) on developing an online learning community, they report small but potentially relevant gender differences which may imply that in online settings female students learn more[5], experience more satisfaction and fewer technical problems, as well as engage in more interaction with their peers and teachers than their male counterparts (Shea et al. 2019). Likewise, Muilenburg and Zane (2005, 35–38), in their large-scale (n=1,056) study on student barriers to online learning, observe that gender is one of ten factors affecting student ratings of barriers to online learning. The other nine factors researched in their study being ability and confidence with online learning technology, effectiveness of online learning, online learning enjoyment, online courses completed, the likelihood of taking a future online course, age, ethnicity, and learning institution. A rich body of research on gender-based differences also gives examples of studies yielding no evidence for such differences, one such work being Mehanna's (2004, 287–88) small-scale study (n=200) on the pedagogic aspect of online learning in higher education. Similarly, in Koohang and Durante's (2003) small-scale study (n=106) on learner's perceptions of the web-based distance learning activities in a hybrid programme, gender does not show as a significant factor in learners' perceptions. Given the mixed results of the previous studies and small sample size, a lack of evidence for gender-based differences thus comes as no surprise. Conversely, the fact that the results also show no statistically significant difference based on prior e-learning experience is somewhat contrary to expectations and, could be ascribed to the low number of students (five out of fifty-two) with limited secondary-school experience with online learning (see Table 2). In light of the previous research on the potential impact of prior e-learning experience, much of which did observe a positive correlation between prior experience and the level

[5] Along these lines, Albert and Johnson in their study on socioeconomic- and gender-based differences in students' perceptions of e-learning observe that compared to their male counterparts female students "perceive e-learning systems as providing more control in their learning progress and over the materials they wish to learn" (2011, 429).

of students' satisfaction with blended or fully online course (e.g. Brown 2001; Muilenburg and Berge 2005), the results yielded by the present work are more in line with those studies that did not observe such evidence (e.g. Nikitenko 2009; Shea et al. 2019). Based on the findings of the relevant studies and given the small sample size and percentage of students with prior experience included in the present study, further research is needed to check the influence of prior experience on students' satisfaction with the blended learning course and its components. Accordingly, future studies could include the aforementioned student interviews, which could shed more light on the matter.

The final part of the study focuses on the analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the three course components (i.e., F2F lectures, e-lectures, and self-study component) as perceived by the students. The students' responses, which were given in the form of open-ended statements, were carefully examined and compared against each other to spot emerging patterns, based on which they were grouped into thematic categories. Because some of the students gave responses including more than one theme, such responses were divided into thematic units, which were then included in respective thematic categories. The most frequently given responses are listed in Table 4.

The analysis of students' responses first of all shows that the numbers of responses on the strengths of individual components (ranging between fifty-one and thirty-four) significantly outnumber the numbers of responses on the weaknesses (ranging between twenty-one and eight), thus resonating with the finding that students show a positive attitude toward the course as a whole as well as its components. Furthermore, it can be observed that a significant number of the reported strengths reflect the generally perceived benefits of blended learning, whereas the reported weaknesses seem to be of more personal relevance. Accordingly, a closer look at the listed strengths of F2F lectures shows that the most frequently mentioned benefits include a good explanation of the course content (13×), the possibility to ask questions for clarification (11×), and teacher-student interaction (7×), with all of them focusing on the social nature of F2F lectures, the importance of which has also been addressed by Blake (2008, 1), who suggests that a common perception of language learning is as a predominantly "social, if not face-to-face, process". A brief overview of the most frequently mentioned strengths of e-lectures – that is, reviewing the content covered in F2F lectures (15×), continuity in learning (10×), language practice (9×), and flexibility and independence of learning (6×) – also shows that students value the benefits of online learning commonly addressed and described by a growing body of relevant studies (e.g., Blake 2008; Al-Mahrooqi and Troudi 2014; Benta, Bologa, Dzitac, and Dzitac 2015; Rodríguez 2016), one of them being the study by Tomlinson (2013, 221), who points out the advantage of providing additional "opportunities for exposure, discovery and use" of the content covered in F2F lectures in a less teacher-dependent and more "self-reliant" way. Similar evidence for the benefits of online learning can be found in Fleet (2013, 204), who, based on students' feedback on their experience of blended learning, observes that the vital benefits of the inclusion of an online component are "flexibility, provision for different learning styles, increased collaborative opportunities and greater independent study potential". Furthermore, the author explains that in order to exploit the full potential of these benefits, there should be a clear link between topics and skills covered in F2F and online components, whereby online activities should

Table 4. Strengths and weakness of blended learning components.

F2F lectures	STRENGTHS (51 responses): – (Good) explanation of the course content (13×) – Asking questions for clarification (11×) – Teacher-student communication (7×) – Practice based on handouts (6×) – Practising pronunciation (6×) – Better knowledge retention (4×) – Practising listening skills (3×) – Additional native-language explanation (3×) – Student-student cooperation (3×) WEAKNESSES (14 responses): – Student presentations (3×) – Progress too fast (2×) – Timing of breaks (2×)
e-Lectures	STRENGTHS (50 responses): – Reviewing the content covered in F2F lectures (15×) – Continuity in learning (10×) – Language practice (9×) – Flexibility in place and/or time of learning (6×) – Independent learning (6×) – Instant feedback (3×) – Enough time for completion (3×) – Complement F2F lectures (3×) WEAKNESSES (21 responses): – (Near) synonyms not accepted as correct answers (3×) – Too much work (3×) – Do not offer answers (3×) – Based on the study of additional sources (2×) – Open for a limited time (2×) – Possibility of copying answers from other students (2×)
Self-study component	STRENGTHS (34 responses): – Good for learning and practice (10×) – Covering the complete course content (8×) – Clear and well-structured (7×) – Accessibility (5×) WEAKNESSES (8 responses): – Too extensive (2×) – Answer key to exercises is not given (2×)

"add value by compensating for the limitations of the classroom" (Fleet 2013, 205). Last but not least, the students' responses on the self-study component show that its most important strengths are language practice and well-structured presentation of the content, with both of them also being highlighted as an important advantage of F2F and e-lectures, thus being important overriding advantages of the course as a whole. Conversely, the responses on the weaknesses of individual components, as already mentioned, do not show any overriding weaknesses and thus seem to reflect more personal views, some of which indicate areas for

which more detailed instruction could prove useful (e.g., information about the relevance of focusing on the chosen disciplinary vocabulary instead of synonyms and near-synonyms, which may better fit more general settings), whereas some others could be considered when planning the redesign of the course (e.g., the time for completing e-quizzes).

6 Concluding Remarks

The results of this small-scale study show that students participating in the two English for Logistics courses have positive attitudes toward the course as a whole as well as its components, especially F2F lectures. Regarding gender- and prior experience-based differences, further analysis of students' responses shows no statistically relevant differences, which is why, given the sample size and percentage of students with prior experience with online learning, further evidence that could be collected through student interviews would be needed to either support or reject these results. Furthermore, because the three most frequently reported strengths of online learning are reviewing the content covered in F2F lectures, continuity in learning, and language practice, future research could also examine how students' participation in online activities and their attitude toward it affects their academic performance. The potential impact of online learning on students' academic performance has also been addressed by a number of authors, including Ellis, Greaney, and Macdonald (2007) and Chowdhry, Sieler, and Alwis (2014). Both studies provide evidence for a positive relation between students' participation in online activities and their academic performance, with an important additional insight of Chowdhry, Sieler, and Alwis (2014, 13) being that online learning may positively affect students' final marks only when it is based on "innovative learning activities" promoting a deep learning approach. However, to elicit information on students' final marks for the course, in the case of the present study, which involved first-year students, who completed the questionnaire before taking the written exam, this would require the inclusion of their names, based on which the students' responses could later be compared against their academic performance. Because this would make the questionnaire non-anonymous and could thus affect students' honesty in their feedback, the drawbacks outweigh the potential benefit that the insight into the correlation between the students' attitudes toward the course and their academic performance could bring. This direction of research, however, seems a viable option for the second-year students, who could be asked to list their final mark for the first-year English for Logistics course, the inclusion of which would not compromise the anonymity of the questionnaire.

This study also showed that teacher-student communication in the e-classroom is more or less limited to the teacher's posts on the course, individualised teacher feedback on e-tasks, and students' occasional messages and responses to the teacher's posts and feedback. Accordingly, one of the challenges for future enhancement of the online component of the course is the inclusion of more teacher-student communication as well as peer-to-peer communication and collaboration, the importance of which has been addressed by several authors, including Swan (2003), Kerres and de Witt (2003), King and Arnold (2012). This focus would also pave the way for better alignment with connectivism as the pedagogy of the digital age and its focus on building "[networked] connections with content, individuals and groups" (Anderson and Dron 2012, 7–9).

To conclude, as evidenced in the relevant literature and supported by the results of this study, a blended language learning approach offers several advantages, including enhanced and enriched student contact with the target language (Blake 2008, 2; Chowdhry, Sieler, and Alwis 2014, 3) through a "facilitated, networked approach to knowledge sharing and learning" (Bielawski and Metcalf 2005, 136). Or, as argued by Pusack and Otto, technology-enhanced learning, and thus also blended language learning based on e-learning platforms such as Moodle, promotes deep learning "through presentation of content of different types linked together in meaningful ways" (Pusack and Otto 1997, as cited in Otto 2017, 17). This approach to language learning can enhance either large-scale General English courses or English for Specific Purposes courses. The latter are typically tailored to "the communicative needs and practices" of smaller, more specialised groups of students (Hyland 2007, 391) and demand highly specialised activities and study materials that are constantly updated in line with current disciplinary developments. Accordingly, the blended format seems especially well-suited for this task because online learning environments provide a dynamic and flexible medium for language teaching and learning through disciplinary content (Garrett 2009).

As indicated at the outset of the paper, the main goal of the study reported in this paper was to evaluate and reflect on the current English for Logistics courses for the first-year students, the findings of which could serve as a starting point for their further development. Although focusing on a local educational setting, a small sample of students and only two factors that could affect students' satisfaction with the course, i.e., gender and prior experience, the insights and findings presented in this work are also expected to prove useful to other teachers and researchers using and/or studying a blended approach to foreign language instruction.

References

Albert, Leslie Jordan, and Camille S. Johnson. 2011. "Socioeconomic Status- and Gender-Based Differences in Students' Perceptions of E-Learning Systems." *Decision Sciences Journal of Innovative Education* 9 (3): 42–436. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4609.2011.00320.x.

Al-Mahrooqi, Rahma, and Salah Troudi. 2014. "Introduction." In *Using Technology in Foreign Language Teaching*, edited by Rahma Al-Mahrooqi and Salah Troudi, 1–7. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Anderson, Terry, and Jon Dron. 2012. "Learning Technology through Three Generations of Technology Enhanced Distance Education Pedagogy." *European Journal of Open, Distance and E-Learning* 2: 1–14. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ992485.

Benta, Dan, Gabriela Bologa, Simona Dzitac, and Ioan Dzitac. 2015. "University Level Learning and Teaching via E-Learning Platforms." *Procedia Computer Science* 55: 1366–73. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.procs.2015.07.123.

Bielawski, Larry, and David Metcalf. 2005. *Blended eLearning: Integrating Knowledge, Performance Support, and Online Learning*. Massachusetts: HRD Press.

Blake, Robert J. 2008. *Brave New Digital Classroom: Technology and Foreign Language Learning*. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press.

Brown, Ruth. 2001. "The Process of Community Building in Distance Learning Classes." *Journal of Asynchronous Learning Networks* 5 (2): 18–35.

Chowdhry, Sandeep, Karolina Sieler, and Lourdes Alwis. 2014. "A Study of the Impact of Technology-Enhanced Learning on Student Academic Performance." *Journal of Perspectives in Applied Academic Practice* 2 (3): 1–15. hzttps://www.napier.ac.uk/~/media/worktribe/output-175414/vlejpaappdf.pdf

Dewar, Tammy, and Dave Whittington. 2004. *Blended Learning Research Report*. Canada: Calliope Learning.

Dodun, Oana, Ema Panaite, Nicolae Seghedin, Gheorghe Nagîţ, Petru Duşa, Gabriela Neştian, and Laurenţiu Slătineanu. 2015. "Analysis of an e-Learning Platform Use by Means of the Axiomatic Design." *Procedia CIRP* 34: 244–49. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.procir.2015.07.059.

Ellis, Joanne, Marleigh Greaney, and Judy Macdonald. 2007. *The Effectiveness of Blended Course Instruction in Second Language Learning*. Quebec, Canada: Cégep Vanier College.

Fleet, Liz. 2013. "A Blended Learning Approach to Soft Skill Training at Al Azhar University, Cairo." In *Blended learning in English Language Teaching: Course Design and Implementation*, edited by Brian Tomlinson and Claire Whittaker, 201–5. UK: British Council.

Garret, Nina. 2009. "Computer-Assisted Language Learning Trends and Issues Revisited: Integrating Innovation." *The Modern Language Journal* 93: 719–40. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2009.00969.x.

Graham, Charles R., and Charles Dziuban. 2007. "Blended Learning Environments." In *Handbook of Research on Educational Communications and Technology: A Project of the Association for Educational Communications and Technology,* edited by J. Michael Spector, M. David Merrill, Jeroen van Merriënboer and Marcy P. Driscoll, 269–76. New York: Routledge.

Grgurović, Maja. 2017. "Blended Language Learning: Research and Practice." In *The Handbook of Technology and Second Language Teaching and Learning*, edited by Carol A. Chapelle and Shanon Sauro, 149–68. Malaysia: John Wiley & Sons.

Hinkelman, Don. 2018. *Blending Technologies in Second Language Classroom*, 2nd ed. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hirst, Sally, and Tom Godfrey. 2013. "Creating a Blended Delta. Module One." In *Blended Learning in English Language Teaching: Course Design and Implementation*, edited by Brian Tomlinson and Claire Whittaker, 101–9. UK: British Council.

Holmes, Bryn, and John Gardner. 2006. *e-Learning Concepts and Practice*. Great Britain: MPG Books Group.

Hyland, Ken. 2007. "English for Specific Purposes: Some Influences and Impacts." In *International Handbook of English Language Teaching,* edited by Jim Cummins and Chris Davison, 391–402. New York: Springer.

Kerres, Michael, and Claudia de Witt. 2003. "A Didactical Framework for the Design of Blended Learning Arrangements." *Journal of Educational Media* 28 (2–3): 101–14. https://doi.org/10.1080/1358165032000165653.

King, Sara E., and Katie Cerrone Arnold. 2012. "Blended Learning Environments in Higher Education: A Case Study of How Professors Make it Happen." *Mid-Western Educational Researcher* 25 (1-2): 44–59.

Kirschner, Paul A., John Sweller, and Richard E. Clark. 2006. "Why Minimal Guidance During Instruction Does Not Work: An Analysis of the Failure of Constructivist, Discovery, Problem-Based, Experiential, and Inquiry-Based Teaching." *Educational Psychologist* 41 (2): 75–86. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15326985ep4102_1.

Koohang, Alex, and Angela Durante. 2003. "Learners' Perceptions toward the Web-based Distance Learning Activities/Assignments Portion of an Undergraduate Hybrid Instructional Model." *Journal of Information Technology Education* 2: 105–13.

Littlejohn, Allison, and Chris Pegler. 2007. *Preparing for Blended e-Learning*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Marzano, Robert J., and John S. Kendall. 2007. *The New Taxonomy of Educational Objectives,* 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Mehanna, Wassila Naamani. 2004. "e-Pedagogy: The Pedagogies of e-Learning." *AJLT-J Research in Learning Technology* 12 (3): 279–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/0968776042000259582.

Muilenburg, Lin Y., and Zane L. Berge. 2005. "Student Barriers to Online Learning: A Factor Analytic Study." *Distance Education* 26 (1): 29–48. https://doi.org/10.1080/01587910500081269.

Murdoch, Maureen, Alisha Baines Simon, Melissa Anderson Polusny, Ann Kay Bangerter, Joseph Patrick Grill, Siamak Noorbaloochi, and Melissa Ruth Partin. 2014. "Impact of Different Privacy Conditions and Incentives on Survey Response Rate, Participant Representativeness, and Disclosure of Sensitive Information: A Randomized Controlled Trial." *BMC Medical Methodology* 14: 90–100. https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2288-14-90.

Nikitenko, Gleb. 2009. "Correlational Analysis of Adult Students' Self-directed Learning Readiness, Affective Learning Outcomes, Prior Electronic Learning Experience, and Age in Hybrid and Online Course-Delivery Formats." PhD diss., The University of San Francisco. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/216983572.pdf.

Otto, Sue E. K. 2017. "From Past to Present: A Hundred Years of Technology for L2 Learning." In *The Handbook of Technology and Second Language Teaching and Learning*, edited by Carol A. Chapelle and Shanon Sauro, 10–25. Malaysia: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Procter, Chris. 2003. "Blended Learning in Practice." In *Proceedings of the Education in a Changing Environment Conference (2003)*. Salford, UK: University of Salford. www.ece.salford.ac.uk/proceedings/papers/cp_03.rtf.

Rodriguez, Migdalia Elizabeth. 2016. "Effective Pedagogical Practices in Online English Language Teacher Education." PhD diss., The University of Arizona.

Rosen, Lauren. 2009. "Reaching Students: A Hybrid Approach to Language Learning." In *Second Language Teaching and Learning in the Net Generation*, edited by Raquel Oxford and Jeffrey Oxford, 65–84. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, National Foreign Language Resource Center Mānoa.

Shea, Peter, Chun Sau Li, Karen Swan, and Alexandra Pickett. 2019. "Developing Learning Community in Online Asynchronous College Courses: The Role of Teaching Presence." *Online Learning* 9 (4): 59–82. https://doi.org/10.24059/olj.v9i4.1779.

Siemens, George. 2005. "Connectivism: A Learning Theory for the Digital Age." *International Journal of Instructional Technology & Distance Learning* 2 (1). http://www.itdl.org/Journal/Jan_05/index.htm.

Swan, K. 2003. "Learning Effectiveness: What the Research Tells Us." In *Elements of Quality Online Education, Practice and Direction*, edited by J. Bourne and J. C. Moore, 13–45. Needham, MA: Sloan Center for Online Education.

Tomlinson, Brian, ed. 2013. "Comments on Part 4." In *Blended Learning in English Language Teaching: Course Design and Implementation,* edited by Brian Tomlinson and Claire Whittaker, 221–22. UK: British Council.

Whittaker, Claire. 2014. "Blended Learning in EFL: Adopting a Principled Approach to Integrating Technology." In *Using Technology in Foreign Language Teaching,* edited by Rahma Al-Mahrooqui and Salah Troudi, 8–29. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Whittaker, Claire, ed. 2013. "Conclusion." In *Blended Learning in English Language Teaching: Course Design and Implementation,* edited by Brian Tomlinson and Claire Whittaker, 225–40. UK: British Council.

—. 2013. "Introduction." In *Blended Learning in English Language Teaching: Course Design and Implementation*, edited by Brian Tomlinson and Claire Whittaker, 9–23. UK: British Council.

Yin, Robert K. 2011. *Qualitative Research from Start to Finish*. USA: The Guilford Press.

Appendix: Student Questionnaire

Professional logistics terminology and communication in English 1 2018/2019

Gender: a) male b) female

First, please fill in the information on your English instruction in secondary school.

In secondary school I studied: a) General English b) English for Specific Purposes

In secondary school, the materials used in F2F lectures were:

a) printed materials
b) electronic materials
c) a combination of printed and electronic materials

In secondary school, the materials used for self-study were:

a) printed materials
b) electronic materials
c) a combination of printed and electronic materials

In secondary school, the English course was supported by an e-classroom: a) no b) yes

If your answer to the previous question was "yes," please circle the corresponding answer(s) below and/or add additional options.

The e-classroom was used for:

a) uploading the course timetable
b) uploading homework instructions
c) forum discussions
d) uploading additional course materials
e) chatroom communication
f) completing language exercises and tasks
g) other: _____

Below, please give your feedback on blended learning in the course Professional logistics terminology and communication in English 1.

Answers: 1 = poorly satisfied; 2 = slightly satisfied; 3 = moderately satisfied; 4 = well satisfied; 5 = very satisfied

1. How satisfied were you with the course as a whole? 1 2 3 4 5

2. How satisfied were you with face-to-face lectures? 1 2 3 4 5

a) Could you point out any strengths of face-to-face lectures?

……

b) Could you point out any weaknesses of face-to-face lectures?

……

3. How satisfied were you with e-lectures? 1 2 3 4 5

a) Could you point out any strengths of e-lectures?

……

b) Could you point out any weaknesses of e-lectures?

……

4. How satisfied were you with the *English for Logistics* 1 self-study materials? 1 2 3 4 5

a) Could you point out any strengths of self-study materials?

……

b) Could you point out any weaknesses of self-study materials?

……

5. YOUR SUGGESTIONS

Please give your suggestions for the future development of the course.

……

ELOPE

Simon Zupan,
Michelle Gadpaille
University of Maribor, Slovenia

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 239-254(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.239-254
UDC: [811.111-057.875]:316.7

Cultural Awareness among First-Year Undergraduate Students of English and Translation

ABSTRACT

The article presents the results of a culture quiz that was administered among undergraduate students of English and Translation at the University of Maribor in 2019. Comprising twenty items from five domains of culture that the respondents had to identify, the results of the quiz showed that that the students were most familiar with items from the domains of technology and its closely related vocabulary, followed by sports, politics and high culture (drama, literature, ballet). The study also suggested some differences based on respondents' gender and their high school grade performance in English. The results partly overlap with the results of a similar study from 2007, corroborating that popular culture remains the most recognizable cultural domain among the surveyed students.

Keywords: quiz, cultural awareness, survey, students, English and Translation Studies

Kulturna ozaveščenost dodiplomskih študentov prvega letnika anglistike in prevajalstva

POVZETEK

V prispevku so predstavljeni rezultati kulturološkega kviza, v katerem so v letu 2019 sodelovali dodiplomski študenti anglistike ter prevajalstva na Univerzi v Mariboru. Kviz je sestavljalo dvajset pojmov s petih tematskih področij, ki so jih morali sodelujoči na kratko pojasniti. Rezultati so pokazali, da študenti najbolje poznajo področje tehnologije in izrazje, povezano s tehnologijo, čemur so sledili pojmi s področja športa, politike in visoke kulture. Ugotovljeni sta bili povezavi s spolom sodelujočih in z njihovo oceno iz angleščine pri maturi. Rezultati raziskave delno sovpadajo z rezultati podobne raziskave leta 2007 in potrjujejo, da popkultura na širšem polju kulture ostaja njen najbolj prepoznaven del.

Ključne besede: kviz, kulturna ozaveščenost, raziskava, študenti, anglistika in prevajalstvo

CC BY SA

1 Introduction

Current generations of Slovenian university students have been growing up in a world different to that of the generations before them. A few decades ago, for example, the only source of daily news for the citizens of the then Yugoslavia were the state-controlled media. In addition, travel was restricted, further limiting knowledge about the world beyond the Yugoslav borders. Today's students, on the other hand, live a different life. Not only has modern technology made it possible for them to follow events from virtually every corner of the world as they unfold; but globalization has also provided the young with practically unlimited travel opportunities. The changed situation raises many questions: How aware are students of the culture surrounding them? How closely do they follow the latest developments? How sensitive are they to the events in their own culture and in other cultures? What are their main fields of interest? Do they mostly follow "low" or "high" culture? Does access to large amounts of information have an impact on their cultural awareness? Given that "the lives and experiences of youth growing up today will be linked to economic realities, social processes, technological and media innovations, and cultural flows that traverse national boundaries with ever greater momentum" (Suárez-Orozco and Baolian Qin-Hilliard 2004, 2), the authors of this paper decided to test the cultural awareness of first-year undergraduate students of the English Language and Literature program and of the Translation Studies program (English variant) at the University of Maribor. The study was carried out with a culture quiz designed by the authors. The article has three parts: the first presents the concept of cultural awareness, the second the quiz design and methodology and the third the results of the quiz, followed by a discussion of results and the concluding remarks.

2 Cultural Awareness

The *Collins COBUILD Advanced English Dictionary* defines someone's cultural awareness as "their understanding of the differences between themselves and people from other countries or other backgrounds, especially differences in attitudes and values" (2020). From the point of view of the present study, the definition has three important implications. First, its inclusion in a comprehensive dictionary suggests that "cultural awareness" represents an established concept in Modern English. Second, the definition indicates the existence of the two types of cultural awareness: the intracultural and intercultural. The intracultural concerns the understanding of the differences in one's own culture, while the intercultural concerns the understanding of the differences between one's own and other cultures. Third, the ability to distinguish between different types of cultural awareness represents an important dimension of language teaching. English, for example, is typically associated with a specific culture or nation such as the United Kingdom, Australia or the United States. However, given that English is a global lingua franca, it is also necessary to keep in mind that "an awareness of the dynamic relationship between English and its diverse multicultural settings of English use, therefore, should be a key element of any attempt to teach communication" (Baker 2012, 69). In other words, familiarization with the various aspects of culture alone does not suffice; instead, future teachers (and translators) must also know how to connect that knowledge with language use in a variety of contexts. This, at the same time, is the main argument for an integrated approach to language and culture pedagogy (Shaules 2019).

As is known from the sociology of knowledge, understanding one's own and other cultures is determined by the individual's socialization process. In their influential monograph *The Social Construction of Reality*, Berger and Luckmann ([1966] 1991) highlight the two main stages of this process: primary and secondary socialization. Primary socialization takes place at a young age and refers to the ways in which the "significant others", in most cases close family members, mediate the world for their dependents, modifying it in line with their own place in the social structure (Berger and Luckmann [1966] 1991, 150–51). Secondary socialization, on the other hand, includes the internalization of institution-based knowledge that individuals encounter in the course of their formal schooling and training (Berger and Luckmann [1966] 1991, 158). Both help individuals become members of society and grow into their respective cultures.

In addition to social contact, cultural knowledge is acquired through exposure to literature, music, film, radio, television, museums, galleries and other facets of a given culture. As a result, the means and processes of socialization and acculturation change over time. In the 1950s, for example, the grandparents of most of today's students grew up in Yugoslavia, a Socialist Eastern Bloc country still recovering from war, where the main (and often only) sources of news were the state-controlled radio and newspapers. Cultural institutions were also in one way or another under the influence of the political system and the dominant ideology. In addition, mobility was limited and travel to the West "was typically only the privilege of diplomats and those who traveled for business" (Turudić 2008). Hence, most people had a limited view of their own and particularly other cultures. University students of our time are different. Generation Z, which includes those born between the mid-1990s and the early noughties, has not only enjoyed a higher standard of living and cheaper and more accessible long-distance travel (Castles 2009, 2050), but is also the first that has "never known a world without the Internet" (Corey and Grace 2019, 40). In addition, mobile phones' primary function of providing voice communication with smartphones is being increasingly complemented by the secondary functionality, accessing information online (Bratina 2019). This, among other things, has made it possible to follow the news about the developments at home and abroad at any given moment. The question remains, however, how access to large amounts of information affects the cultural awareness of young people.

Cultural awareness has been the subject of scholarly interest for a long time. Studies have been particularly common in the fields directly involving two or more cultures, such as translation, healthcare or teaching. Depending on the field, the foci differ. In translation and conference interpreting, cultural awareness and its related terms such as (cross-)cultural competence or cultural sensitivity emphasize the translators' and interpreters' awareness of the multiple facets of various cultures associated with the source and target languages (e.g. González Davies and Scott-Tennent 2005; Hale 2013; Tellinger 2016; Eyckmans 2017). Such an understanding of cultural awareness is also reflected in the framework documents. ISO (2015, 11) standards for translators, for example, define cultural competence of translators as "the ability to make use of information about the locale, behavioural standards, and value systems that characterize the source and target cultures". Similarly, the guiding principles for translator training programs in Europe (EMT Expert Group 2009) see intercultural competence as one of the six interdependent sub-competences of translation competence, comprising sociolinguistic and

textual dimensions. The former refers to the ability to recognize various social, geographical, historical and stylistic varieties and registers of language; and the latter the ability to "grasp presuppositions, implicit allusions and stereotypes and to identify culture-bound values and references, and also the ability to compare cultural elements and methods of composition" (Eyckmans 2017, n.p.). As the definitions show, emphasis falls on the linguistic facets of the contact between two or more cultures. In healthcare settings, on the other hand, cultural competence goes beyond just improving communication from a linguistic standpoint, aspiring to "enhance responsiveness to the healthcare needs of diverse patients; reduce healthcare provider discrimination; and reduce healthcare disparities" (Shepherd et al. 2019, 2). In North America, cultural competence gained in importance[1] after research and reports showed that "particular cultural groups are more likely to be underserved, perceive negative treatment, and receive differential treatment outcomes" (Shepherd et al. 2019, 2). Typically, the main target groups included immigrant populations with limited knowledge of English and limited exposure to Western cultural norms (Saha, Beach and Cooper 2008, 1278). As a result, cross-cultural training for healthcare professionals has become commonplace and even mandatory (Shepherd et al. 2019, 2) and has led to specialized publications addressing various target groups (e.g. Paez et al. 2009; Collette et al. 2013; Holland 2018; Kerber et al. 2019) or fields of medicine (e.g., Parekh 2014; Daugherty and Kearney 2017). One of the central objectives of cross-cultural healthcare is:

> the importance of recognizing that both patients and providers brought cultural perspectives to the encounter. As such, healthcare providers were encouraged to acknowledge and explore their own cultural influences, including those acquired through their training in western biomedicine and entry into the health professions. (Saha, Beach, and Cooper 2008, 1278)

An overview of the literature has shown the importance of both external measurement of and self-reflection on degrees of cultural awareness.

Participants in this study, though not in healthcare professions, are all embarked on language study that could lead to equally culturally interactive professions, such as teaching, translation and interpreting. With globalization, migration and increased mobility of students, cultural awareness has also gained in prominence in education. For educators in many parts of the Western world, one major challenge today is how to teach in a multicultural classroom. In the past, the populations of most Western nations were relatively homogenous; for quite some time, however, their ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious minorities have been increasing much faster than their mainstream groups (see McAllister and Jordan Irvine 2000; Banks 2009; Knight and Richmond 2015; Parkhouse, Lu, and Massaro 2019). According to the US Census Bureau, for example, between 2013 and 2060, the percentage of ethnic minorities in the total US population is expected to increase from 37.6% to 57%. The census has also shown that "students who speak a language other than English at home represent the fastest-growing segment of the US student population, making up approximately 21%

[1] Saha et al. report that by May 2007 over 1,000 papers had been published in medical and nursing journals mentioning the phrases "cultural competence" or "cultural competency" in their titles or abstracts, of which more than three-quarters have appeared since 2000 (2008, 1277).

of the school-age population" (cit. in Banks and Banks 2016, xvii). Slovenia seems to be experiencing similar trends. Between the 2015/2016 and 2017/2018 academic years, for example, the number of pupils in Slovenian primary schools who had other than Slovenian citizenship, and concomitantly most likely a different mother tongue, grew from 8,070 to 10,276, an increase of almost 22% (Republic of Slovenia Statistical Office n.d.). If educators seek to be effective with diverse groups of students, they need a good understanding of their own culture as well as those of their students, i.e. they need adequate cultural competence.

As a concept, culture is difficult to pin down because it is "so all-encompassing, like water to a fish" (Moule and Diller 2019, 90). According to Moule and Diller, culture "is composed of traditional ideas and related values; it is learned, shared, and transmitted from one generation to the next; and it organizes and helps interpret life" (2019, 90). The same understanding is to a large extent a part of Gary Weaver's (1986) metaphor of culture as an iceberg whose surface structure above societal sea level comprises items such as food, dress, music, literature, language and other tangible manifestations of culture, while its deep structure, comprising items such as rules of conduct, attitudes or relationships, lies below the surface. Weaver's model has since been adopted and modified by other scholars (e.g., Grant and Sleeter 2007; Dahmardeh and Parsazadeh 2015; Moule and Diller 2019). From the point of view of the present study, Wagner's model allows us to specify the part of culture that was the focus of the empirical part of our study: the surface structure of culture. Although we are aware that the surface and the deep structure represent two sides of the same coin, and that individuals' knowledge of the visible parts of a given culture is interdependent with the underlying deep structure, such as individuals' social interaction or attitudes, the study will nevertheless address the surface structure above all because it can be taken as an objective indicator, which is also easier to verify than the more abstract deep structure.

In the Slovenian context, students' cultural competence has been the subject of several studies. Particularly common has been sociological research on various aspects of cultural competence and academic performance (Klanjšek, Flere, and Lavrič 2007; Flere 2010; Flere et al. 2010). In the narrower sense of the present study, Gadpaille examined classroom activities for translation students involving cultural items from the major English-speaking cultures (2005) and the ways of sensitizing Slovenian high-school graduates to their culture using British and American cartoons (Gadpaille 2008). Hempkin studied the role of critical digital literacy in (inter)cultural and human rights education (2019) and cultural stereotyping among future teachers during a period of increased migration in 2015 (2016). A study similar to the present one was carried out by Zupan in 2007. Also based on a culture quiz, originally developed by Michelle Gadpaille in the undergraduate Intercultural Studies class at the Faculty of Arts in Maribor, the research compared the cultural awareness of undergraduate students of translation and interpreting at the University of Maribor, thematically partly overlapping with the present one. In 2007, the thematic fields, ordered in terms of the students' score, were as follows: Popular Culture; Sports; Organizations, Companies and Media; Politics; and Geography. In addition to the changed thematic foci, the 2019 study differs from that of 2007 in the following respects: in 2019, the sample only includes 1st year students, while the 2007 sample included undergraduate students from different levels of study; the sample per generation now also includes students from the Department of English and American

Studies; and, most importantly, our research takes place after more than a decade of rapid technological development, which, as highlighted above, has dramatically changed the ways in which young people access and share information.

3 Methodology

Students' cultural awareness was measured with a quiz comprising twenty items, which the students had to identify by offering a concise explanation. Thematically, the questions were divided into five clusters: Culture; Politics; Sports; Current Vocabulary; and Technology. In contrast to the previous study from 2007, the new categories are Technology and Current Vocabulary (new word coinages). These two categories were added because of the ubiquitous impact of technology on all spheres of life in recent years, including the development of new vocabulary among the young. In addition, the category "Pop Culture" was expanded to include items from "serious" culture such as ballet, theater or canonical literature. Quiz items for each category were selected at the authors' discretion and shortlisted based on their relevance and currency, meaning that they had appeared in select American, British and Slovenian online newspapers (e.g. *The Guardian*, *The New York Times, The Daily Mail, Večer,* or *Delo*) between June and September 2019, i.e. in the three-month period leading up to the quiz. Given that the objective was students' overall cultural awareness, the items were not thematically restricted to the English-speaking world; instead, the list included phrases of local, regional and global prominence. The only exception was the category of current vocabulary, which for linguistic reasons was limited to English. As the items indicate, additional criteria (such as distribution over cultural domains) were used to make the selection more representative. Nevertheless, such a restricted selection must necessarily be random at the level of discrimination between one domain item and another, equally current and relevant.

3.1 Questions

The Sports section of the study included the names of the Slovenian cyclist Primož Roglič, the winner of the prestigious Grand Tour race Vuelta a España in September, and the Slovenian female sports climber Janja Garnbret, who had also featured significantly in Slovenian media over the summer as the winner of several World Cup competitions; "Tokyo 2020" referred to the next Summer Olympics in Japan, while "Doha 2019" was the location of the World Athletics Championships, taking place at the time of the experiment. The Politics section included Elizabeth Warren, US presidential candidate, and Volodymyr Zelensky, the recently elected President of Ukraine; in addition to the two politicians, "Yellow Vests (gilets jaunes)" was included in the list, referring to the protesters in France, who had been protesting for several months; and "The Backstop", a controversial part of the Brexit agreement between the UK and the EU that had been widely discussed in the media in the weeks before the study. The Culture section included "Edward Clug", renowned international ballet dancer from Maribor; *The Testaments*, a 2019 novel by Canadian writer Margaret Atwood, which had just been published to much fanfare; "Banksy", an anonymous British street artist and political activist; and "Toni Morrison", a US novelist, who passed away in August 2019. Technology items included "Siri", a virtual assistant in Apple electronic devices; "5G", a cellular network

technology discussed by the media throughout 2019; "Fortnite", a popular online video game; and "Elon Musk", a technology entrepreneur. Finally, the Vocabulary section included "blackface", the controversial makeup that hit the headlines during the presidential elections in Canada; "bae", a slang term of endearment popular among youth; "woke", referring to a perceived awareness of the problem of social and racial justice; and "whistleblower", denoting a person exposing secret information or action considered illegal.

3.2 Cohort

The cohort included 64 first-year students of *Guided Writing* (*Vodeno pisanje*), a mandatory course for the students of English and English Translation at the University of Maribor. Fifty (78.13%) students were female and 14 (21.87%) male. The mean age was 19.64 years; standard deviation 1.67. The students came from 37 different high schools (two students left this field blank). The highest number of students from the same school was eight and six, from I. gimnazija Maribor and III. gimnazija Maribor, respectively. Apart from four former students of Gimnazija Lava Celje, all other schools were represented by three or fewer students. Fifty-two respondents attended high school in Slovenia; seven in Croatia, two in Serbia; and one in Russia. Fifty-eight students attended general grammar school (gimnazija) programs leading to the General Matura exam, while six attended various vocational programs such as Commerce; Hospitality and Tourism; or Cosmetics, which lead to the Vocational Matura school-leaving exam. Fifty students listed Slovenian as their mother tongue; nine Croatian; two Serbian; one Macedonian; one Portuguese; and one Russian. The mean school-leaving exam grade in English was 4.92.[2] On average, the respondents reported spending just over two hours a day on the internet.

The quiz took place on 3 October 2019, with all the students deciding to take part in it. After filling out the consent form, including some demographic information, they were administered the quiz on paper. Given that most students were seated next to each other with no seat in between, three versions of the quiz were prepared, each with a different order of the same questions in order to discourage the students from copying answers from their neighbours. The respondents had 20 minutes to complete the quiz. After the quiz, the authors jointly marked the answers and entered the results in a spreadsheet. The scoring scale was as follows: 0 points for an incorrect answer; one point for a partially correct answer; and two points for a correct answer. One point was awarded for answers that showed limited knowledge of a concept (e.g., "sportsman" for "Primož Roglič" or "an app" for "Siri"). The total number of points thus was 40. The results were statistically processed and analysed.

4 Results

The average overall score in the quiz was 12.08 points (30.2%). The highest total score was 23 points (57.5%), achieved by three respondents, who represented 4% of the cohort; the

[2] Given that the Matura grading system in Slovenia differs from that of the other countries, the average grade was calculated for the graduates of Slovenian high schools only. In Slovenia, the grading scale ranges from one (lowest grade) to five (highest grade). The grade, at the same time, equals the number of points awarded per subject on the Matura exam. In some subjects (including foreign languages), students can earn an additional three points for taking the exam at a higher level of difficulty.

lowest score was one point, achieved by one student, who represented 1.5% of respondents. The median was 11 points. The respondents with General Matura on average scored 12.47 points; the respondents with Vocational Matura, on the other hand, scored 9.67 points overall, meaning that their score was 20.59% lower[3]. Table 1 shows the ranking of items with a total relative number of correct answers; indicated in brackets is the category of item (T – Technology; V – Vocabulary; S – Sports; C – Culture; P – Politics):

Table 1. Result by item.

Rank	Item	Correct answers (%)	Rank	Item	Correct answers (%)
1	Siri (T)	87.50	11	whistleblower (V)	25.00
2	Fortnite (T)	85.94	12	Yellow Vests (gilets jaunes) (P)	21.88
3	bae (V)	78.91	13	Volodymyr Zelensky (P)	10.94
4	Elon Musk (T)	47.66	14	Janja Garnbret (S)	10.94
5	Tokyo 2020 (S)	41.41	15	Doha (S)	5.47
6	Primož Roglič (S)	41.41	16	The Backstop (P)	3.13
7	5G (T)	38.28	17	Elizabeth Warren (P)	3.13
8	blackface (V)	32.03	18	*The Testaments* (C)	3.13
9	Banksy (C)	30.47	19	Edward Clug (C)	3.13
10	woke (V)	29.69	20	Toni Morrison (C)	2.34

Also calculated were the overall average results for each of the five thematic categories. The results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Ranking by category.

Rank	Category	Average score (%)
1	Technology	64.84
2	Vocabulary	41.41
3	Sports	24.80
4	Politics	9.77
5	Culture	9.77

Additionally, the absolute numbers of correct; partially correct; incorrect; and unanswered questions for each individual item were calculated. The results are presented in Table 3.

5 Discussion

Quantitative analysis of results made possible several qualitative insights into the students' cultural awareness. Average overall results show that the respondents were most familiar with the

[3] Three respondents did not provide information on the type of Matura they took and were excluded from this calculation. The General Matura group thus included 58 respondents, while the Vocational Matura group comprised six.

Table 3. Distribution by type of answer.

Rank	Item	Correct	Partially correct	Incorrect	Blank
1	Siri	51	10	2	1
2	Fortnite	50	10	1	3
3	bae	45	11	3	5
4	Elon Musk	28	5	11	20
5	Tokyo 2020	9	35	1	19
6	Primož Roglič	15	23	3	23
7	5G	10	29	5	20
8	blackface	16	9	6	33
9	Banksy	15	9	6	34
10	woke	7	24	14	19
11	whistleblower	15	2	12	35
12	Yellow Vests (gilets jaunes)	12	4	6	42
13	Volodymyr Zelensky	6	2	6	50
14	Janja Garnbret	6	2	5	51
15	Doha	1	5	5	53
16	The Backstop	2	0	3	59
17	Elizabeth Warren	2	0	19	43
18	The Testaments	1	2	20	41
19	Edward Clug	2	0	7	55
20	Toni Morrison	1	1	6	56

Technology items. In addition to "Siri" and "Fortnite" at the top of the rankings, "Elon Musk" and "5G" were also in the top third of all items. The results for items related to mobile phones and online communities are hardly surprising. According to a study by Dellinger from 2019, as many as 72% of US consumers have interacted with a voice assistant in the last half year, which in 36% was Apple's Siri (Dellinger 2019). Recent studies among Slovenian university students have also confirmed that smart phones are the preferred communication device among the young (Bratina 2019). Similarly, Fortnite is popular among the same age group, given that the number of registered Fortnite players exceeded 250 million around the globe in March 2019, of whom almost two-thirds of players are aged 18–24 (Gough 2019). Although these studies are based on US respondents, the results can most likely be transposed to Slovenia. In comparison, "Elon Musk" as a person affiliated with technology was correctly identified by less than half of all respondents (47.66%). Compared to the previous two items, this one had a relatively large number of incorrect answers (11), suggesting that the respondents considered Musk familiar ("invented things") but were unable to pin him down. For the latter, he was at best "a rich person". The results for "5G" underlined the stereotype of a more pronounced interest in technology among the male respondents, given that 85% of them identified the item correctly, compared to only 55% of female students. Forty-five percent of partially correct answers (i.e. 29) at the same time indicates that the respondents again had a general idea of the concept ("phone network speed") but could not be more specific. Its brevity also made

the phrase vulnerable to confusion with the acronym of the international intergovernmental organization "G7", which happened to hold an important summit just weeks before the quiz, as at least one respondent ("political group of countries") indicated.

The word that stood out in the Vocabulary category was "bae", which was recognized by over three-quarters of the respondents (78.91%). Its recognizability did not surprise, given that this slang word of endearment represents a typical acronym ("before anything else") used by "teens and young adults" on social media (Moreau 2019). It should be noted that several respondents correctly identified the item as the expression for "poop" in Danish, which is one of the meanings that came to prominence following the discussions about the word "bae" in the title of a song by a famous American singer and rapper, Pharrell Williams (Moreau 2019). Another slang word "woke" was considerably less well known (29.69%) than "bae". At the same time, however, this item had the highest number of partially correct (24) and incorrect (14) answers, i.e. of attempts, which suggests that the respondents had the concept somewhere at the back of their mind (e.g., "being aware") but were unable to be more specific about it. With one notable exception, none of the eight respondents ignorant of "bae" managed to correctly identify "woke", which probably indicates that they were generally unfamiliar with informal slang vocabulary. A marginally higher number of respondents (32.03%), on the other hand, recognized "blackface", although it was not a word typically associated with the younger generation alone. However, it was current at the time of the quiz because of a scandal involving Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Carlisle and Kambhampaty 2019). It is indicative that this item had more than twice as many blanks (33 unattempted answers) than partial or incorrect answers combined (nine plus six), which suggests that the respondents did not even try to guess its meaning, presumably because it was completely unknown to them. On the other hand, some respondents had a clear idea and generated accurate descriptions such as "derogatory appropriation of African features". "Whistleblower" differed from the three other items in the category in that the respondents either correctly identified its metaphorical meaning ("one who releases sensitive information to the public") and one of the most prominent whistleblowers in recent years, Julian Assange, or only sought its literal meaning in relation to the whistle as an instrument for producing sound.

Among "Sports" items, the top two were "Tokyo 2020" and "Primož Roglič", each with 41.41% of correct answers. "Tokyo 2020" had nine correct answers and 35 were partially correct. What the authors considered a correct answer comprised variants of "Summer Olympics", while "Olympics", for example, was worth half the points. Combined, the two types of answers still accounted for 68.75% of the answers, which shows that the Olympics is one of the most recognizable sporting events. The item has also confirmed the stereotype that sport is typically followed more often by males, given that more than 85% of male respondents correctly identified the Olympics, compared to 64% of female respondents. Similarly, Primož Roglič was correctly identified (15) or partially identified (23) by 59.37% of all respondents, and partially correct answers included answers such as "cycling" or "sportsman". Not so surprisingly, only one student out of the ten who attended high school outside Slovenia correctly identified the Slovenian cyclist. Interestingly, the male cyclist was only slightly better known among the male students (64%) than their female colleagues (58%), most likely because of extensive coverage of his achievements in the Slovenian media.

"Janja Garnbret" and "Doha" had notably lower scores with 10.94 and 5.47%, respectively. Given that this pair has a similar structure as the previous one (Slovenian athlete and a major international sporting event), the lower scores probably reflect the different popularity levels of different sports. For example, while the International Cycling Union represented 194 national federations and over a million licensed competitors in 2018 (The Union Cycliste Internationale 2018: 10), the International Federation of Sport Climbing only had 2,160 licensed athletes in 65 countries (IFSC 2019). In turn, fan bases are most likely relatively proportionate to the popularity, although the fan base for climbing in Slovenia has been increasing, among young adults, following Garnbret's results. Having only one correct identification of the athletics championship in Doha, on the other hand, is to some extent surprising, given that athletics has been a relatively popular sport in Slovenia. On the other hand, Slovenia has not had a truly successful athletics champion for several years, which may have caused a decline in the popularity of this sport. Another observation to make is that of the eight respondents who correctly identified "Janja Garnbret", seven identified, correctly or partially correctly, at least three out of four sports items, suggesting that this group of respondents was paying attention to the sporting news.

Given that "Generation Z have already determined that they don't like [politics] and are disgusted, disenchanted, and discouraged by the whole political system in general" (Seemiller and Grace 2019, 262), it comes as no surprise that the Politics items had a low overall score (9.77%) in the quiz. Among the four items on the list, "Yellow Vests (gilets jaunes)" stood out at the top with 21.88%, which to some extent confirms the observation that, although it detests politics, Generation Z is concerned about societal matters (Seemiller and Grace 2019, 249), which form part of the agenda of the French protesters. What is interesting in this category is the gender gap among the responders. While 39.29% of male students correctly identified the item, only 17% of female students did so. Although we can speculate about reasons, one possible explanation is that the protests have attracted more attention from male students because of the associated violence. On the other hand, this result seems to be an anomaly compared to the results for the other three political items. The Ukrainian president yielded equally low results (10.94%,), regardless of the respondent's gender: among male students, 14.29% identified this item correctly or partially correctly ("politician"), compared to 12% of female students. However, the most surprising result in the category concerned "The Backstop" and "Elizabeth Warren". Given that the respondents comprised English students and students of English Translation, it was assumed that they would be familiar with at least one of these terms. However, that was not the case, as only two students (3.13%) recognized each item correctly. Moreover, none of these four students was able to recognize both items from the English-speaking world. In fact, with the exception of one student, no respondent was able to correctly or at least partially correctly identify at least three political items out of four. Given that both "The Backstop" and "Elizabeth Warren" featured prominently in practically all news media in the English-speaking world, this to some extent conflicts with the claim of almost 80% of the respondents that they had been following the news in the British and/or American newspapers over the three months prior to the quiz. What further corroborates unfamiliarity with the political items was the high number of items left blank for all four items, ranging from 42 blanks (unattempted answers) to as many as 59 with "the Backstop". What also makes "Elizabeth Warren" different from the rest of the

items was that she garnered the second-highest number (19) of incorrect answers. She was described as a "British politician" or "ghost hunter". While both answers are incorrect, the second is interesting because the respondent evidently mistook the US politician for Edward Warren Miney, an American paranormal investigator, associated with prominent cases of hauntings, which suggests a niche interest in our students' cultural awareness.

Finally, the category that had the same average score as "Politics" (3.77%) was "Culture". In contrast to "Politics", however, where the results of all four items were ranked close to one another, "Banksy" stood out in ninth place overall, with 30.47%, ten times the score of the other three items. In addition to fifteen correct answers, "Banksy" also had nine partially correct answers (combined 37.5%), indicating that just over a third of the students were familiar with the British street artist. In comparison, the three other items representing "high culture" did considerably worse with similarly low percentage numbers of correct identification. Margaret Atwood's novel *The Testaments* and the recently deceased American writer Toni Morrison were correctly identified only by one respondent each (not the same one). In addition, each of these two also had one partially correct answer. What separates "*The Testaments*" from "Toni Morrison" was that the former had the highest number (20) of incorrect answers for somewhat obvious reasons: the students disregarded or missed the italics and had it mixed up with the "new & old Testaments" from the Bible. Contemporary North American literature did not do well either; however, by comparison, the well-known Slovenian ballet dancer Edward Clug from Maribor had even lower results, with as many as 56 blanks, suggesting that the respondents were not familiar with ballet. Not surprisingly, both students who recognized him graduated from a Maribor high school. Another observation that must be highlighted is that one student managed to correctly identify four items from the Culture section, but not "*The Testaments*". Not surprisingly, her overall performance was rather high, with 21 points placing her score in fourth place.

In addition to the results across individual categories, the analysis also provided information about the respondents. At the top of the ranking were three students who each scored 23 points; two of them were Slovenian, the third was a Croat, who had completed high school in his home country. The two top scoring students had above-average grades in English at the General Matura (five[4] and eight); the third one had a four, which was below the 4.92 average. All three achieved similar results across the clusters, doing very well in the Technology and Vocabulary sections and achieving similar results in Sports, Politics and Culture, with some variation across each individual cluster. The next group also comprised three students, who each scored 21 points. All had graduated from high schools in Slovenia. The distribution of their correct answers was similar to that of the top three respondents. One of these three students had a relatively low score in Politics, where she correctly identified only one item; however, she excelled in the Culture section, correctly identifying all items except for "*The Testaments*". The same student also had a relatively good grade in English at the Matura (six).

One interesting observation is that male students achieved better results than their female counterparts. On average, males scored 15.14 points (37.85%) on the quiz, while female

[4] The student was from Croatia, where 5 is the highest possible grade.

students scored 11.22 points (28.05%). The scores of male students were better across all five categories. In the "Technology" section, for example, the score of the males was 75.98%, compared to 61.75% for females. Similarly, the margin was noticeable in Culture, where males' score was 14.29%, and the females' 8.50%. The results correlate well with the average grades in English at the Matura: while the male respondents averaged a grade of 4.79, female respondents' grade averaged 3.86, the margin suggesting that a higher grade also means better cross-cultural awareness.

6 Conclusion

These culture quiz results partly overlap with the results of a previous similar study (Zupan 2007), at the same time providing new insights. While "Popular Culture" had the highest overall score twelve years ago, it has now been replaced by "Technology", which suggests a noticeable shift. However, given that "Technology" comprised items that are closely related to telecommunications and the virtual world, both an integral part of the digital reality of today's younger generations, then the shift is less surprising. The same trend is corroborated by the results in the "Vocabulary" section, where "bae", an expression used by the young that is directly connected with communication, also exhibited a high level of prominence. On the other hand, the quiz reaffirmed Sport as a relatively stable category, given that it was ranked second in 2007 and third in 2019. Similarly, the results of the quiz confirmed that politics is a field of relatively little interest to the young, with a low total score even after more than a decade of instant access to global news and events. The 2019 quiz also confirmed "culture" to be a broad category. The prominence of popular culture items over the decade, on the one hand, and very low scores on "high" culture items, on the other hand, may suggest a possibly worrying trend because when things such as literature, works of art, scholarship or philosophy that represent a shared frame of reference among educated people disappear, "high culture is superseded by a culture of fakes" (Scruton 2012).

In the light of these findings, the authors anticipate further testing on participant samples expanded to allow comparative testing on different age cohorts, study subjects and faculties, using an online platform. Moreover, the criteria for item selection should be enlarged and could even be redesigned in future to include student input, as a means of retaining generational relevance.

References

Baker, Will. 2012. "From Cultural Awareness to Intercultural Awareness: Culture in ELT." *ELT Journal* 66 (1): 62–70. https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/ccr017.

Banks, James A., ed. 2009. *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education*. New York: Routledge.

Banks, James A., and Cherry A. McGee Banks. 2016. *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Berger, Peter L., and Thomas Luckmann. 1966 (1991). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. London: Penguin Books.

Bratina, Tomaž. 2019. "Mobile Phones and Social Behavior among Millennials – Future Teachers." *Revija za elementarno izobraževanje* 12 (4): 315–30. https://doi.org/10.18690/rei.12.4.315-330.2019.

Carlisle, Madeleine, and Anna Purna Kambhampaty. 2019. "Justin Trudeau Says He Didn't Remember Blackface and Brownface Photos and Admits There Could Be More." *Time*, September 19, 2019. https://time.com/5681605/justin-trudeau-blackface-more-photos/.

Castles, Stephen. 2009. "World Population Movements, Diversity, and Education." In *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education*, edited by James A. Banks, 49–61. New York: Routledge.

Collins COBUILD Advanced English Dictionary, *s.v.* "cultural awareness," accessed May 24, 2020. https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/cultural-awareness.

Dahmardeh, Mahdi, and Hossein Parsazadeh. 2015. "Language and Culture: Can We Shape What the Future Holds?" *Cultura. International Journal of Culture and Axiology* 12 (2): 61–72. https://doi.org/10.5840/cultura201512221.

Daugherty, Heather N., and Rachel C. Kearney. 2017. "Measuring the Impact of Cultural Competence Training for Dental Hygiene Students." *The Journal of Dental Hygiene* 91 (5): 48–54. https://jdh.adha.org/content/91/5/48.

Dellinger, AJ. 2019. "Survey Says Siri and Google Assistant Are the Most Used Voice Assistants." *Digital Trends,* April 30, 2019. https://www.digitaltrends.com/home/siri-google-asistant-most-used-voice-assistants-alexa/.

EMT Expert Group. 2009. "Competences for Professional Translators and Experts in Multilingual and Multimedia Communication." Accessed May 23, 2020. https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/emt_competences_translators_en.pdf.

Eyckmans, June. 2017. "Cultural Competence in Translation Studies and Its Assessment." In *Towards Transcultural Awareness in Translation Pedagogy*, edited by Julie Deconinck, Philippe Humblé, Arvi Sepp, and Hélène Stengers, 209–29. Berlin/Zürich: LIT Verlag. http://hdl.handle.net/1854/LU-8552979.

Flere, Sergej. 2010. *Kdo je uspešen v slovenskih šolah?* Ljubljana: Pedagoški inštitut.

Flere, Sergej, Marina Tavčar Krajnc, Rudi Klanjšek, Bojan Musil, and Andrej Kirbiš. 2010. "Cultural Capital and Intellectual Ability as Predictors of Scholastic Achievement: A Study of Slovenian Secondary School Students." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 31 (1): 47–58. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690903385428.

Gadpaille, Michelle. 2005. "Cutting Edge Culture for Novice Translators." *ELOPE* 2 (1/2): 245–53. https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.2.1-2.245-253.

—. 2008. "Culture for the Culturally Desensitized." In *Culture-Bound Translation and Language in the Global Era*, edited by Aleksandra Nikčević-Batrićević, and Marija Knežević, 77–83. Newcastle (UK): Cambridge Scholars.

González Davies, Maria, and Christopher Scott-Tennent. 2005. "A Problem-Solving and Student-Centred Approach to the Translation of Cultural References." *Meta* 50 (1): 160–79. https://doi.org/10.7202/010666ar.

Gough, Christina. 2019. "Number of Registered Players of Fortnite Worldwide 2019." *Statista,* October 18, 2019. Accessed November 20, 2019. https://www.statista.com/statistics/746230/fortnite-players/.

Grant, Carl A., and Christine E. Sleeter. 2007. *Doing Multicultural Education for Achievement and Equity*. New York: Routledge.

Hale, Sandra. 2014. "Interpreting Culture. Dealing with Cross-Cultural Issues in Court Interpreting." *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 22 (3): 321–31. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2013.827226.

Hempkin, Kirsten. 2016. "Exploring Student Attitudes to the Refugee Crisis: Songs on Migration." *ELOPE* 13 (1): 111–21. https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.13.1.111-121.

—. 2019. "Fake News and Alternative Facts: Critical Digital Literacy in the Classroom." *IATEFL Slovenia Magazine* 75: 4–6. http://www.iatefl.si/files/2019/03/Winter-2019-IN-75.pdf.

Holland, Karen. 2018. *Cultural Awareness in Nursing and Health Care: An Introductory Text*. London: Routledge.

IFSC. 2019. "Key Figures". Accessed November 22, 2019. https://www.ifsc-climbing.org/index.php/about-us/key-figures.

ISO. 2015. "Translation Services – Requirements for translation services (SIST EN ISO 17100)." Accessed May 24, 2020. https://www.iso.org/standard/59149.html.

Kerber Kate, Fariba Kolahdooz, Meeka Otway, Melinda Laboucan, Se Lim Jang, Sue Lawrence, Suzanne Aronyk, Matthew Quinn, Stephanie Irlbacher-Fox, Crystal Milligan, Sabrina Broadhead, Debbie DeLancey, Andre Corriveau, and Sangita Sharma. 2019. "Opportunities for Improving Patient Experiences among Medical Travellers from Canada's Far North: A Mixed Methods Study." *BMJ Open* 9: e030885. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2019-03088.

Klanjšek, Rudi, Sergej Flere, and Miran Lavrič. 2007. "Kognitivni in družbenoekonomski dejavniki šolskega uspeha v Sloveniji." *Družboslovne razprave* 23 (55): 49–69. https://www.druzboslovne-razprave.org/pdf/clanki/55-klanjsek_flere_lavric.pdf.

Knight, Caroline, and Jamia Thomas Richmond. 2015. "Breaking the Mold: Challenging Prevailing Myths through Cross-Cultural Experiences." In *The Ethics of Cultural Competence in Higher Education,* edited by Beverly A. Burnell and Heidi L. Schnackenberg, 99–110. Oakville: Apple Academic Press.

McAllister, Gretchen, and Jacqueline Jordan Irvine. 2000. "Cross Cultural Competency and Multicultural Teacher Education." *Review of Educational Research* 70 (1): 3–24. https://doi.org/10.3102%2F00346543070001003.

Moule, Jean, and Jerry V. Diller. 2012. *Cultural Competence: A Primer for Educators*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Moreau, Elise. 2019. "What Does 'Bae' Mean?" *Lifewire*, November 11, 2019. Accessed November 21, 2019. https://www.lifewire.com/what-does-bae-mean-3485960.

Parekh, Ranna. 2014. *The Massachusetts General Hospital Textbook on Diversity and Cultural Sensitivity in Mental Health*. New York, NY: Springer New York.

Parkhouse, Hillary, Chu Yi Lu and Virginia R. Massaro. 2019. "Multicultural Education Professional Development: A Review of the Literature." *Review of Educational Research* 89 (3): 1–43. https://doi.org/10.3102%2F0034654319840359.

Paez Kathryn A., Jerilyn K. Allen, Mary Catherine Beach, Kathryn A. Carson, and Lisa A. Cooper. 2009. "Physician Cultural Competence and Patient Ratings of the Patient-Physician Relationship." *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 24 (4): 495–98. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11606-009-0919-7.

Saha, Somnath, Mary Catherine Beach, and Lisa A. Cooper. 2008. "Patient Centeredness, Cultural Competence and Healthcare Quality." *Journal of the National Medical Association* 100 (11): 1275–85. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0027-9684(15)31505-4.

Scruton, Roger. 2012. "High Culture is Being Corrupted by a Culture of Fakes." *The Guardian*, December 19, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/dec/19/high-culture-fake.

Seemiller, Corey, and Meghan Grace. 2019. *Generation Z: A Century in the Making*. London: Routledge.

Shaules, Joseph. 2019. *Language, Culture and The Embodied Mind: A Developmental Model of Linguaculture Learning*. Singapore: Springer Verlag.

Shepherd, Stephane M., Cynthia Willis-Esqueda, Danielle Newton, Diane Sivasubramaniam, and Yin Paradies. 2019. "The Challenge of Cultural Competence in the Workplace: Perspectives of Healthcare Providers." *BMC Health Services Research* 19 (135): 4–11. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12913-019-3959-7.

Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M., and Desireé Baolian Qin-Hilliard. 2004. "Globalization: Culture and Education in the New Millenium." In *Globalization: Culture and Education in The New Millennium,* edited by Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco and Desirée Qin-Hilliard, 1–37. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Republic of Slovenia Statistical Office (SURS). n.d. "Pupils with Foreign Citizenship by Country of Citizenship and School Year." Accessed November 1, 2019. https://pxweb.stat.si/SiStat/en.

Tellinger, Dušan. 2016. "On Interpreter's Intercultural Awareness." *Opera Slavica* XXVI (2): 49–55. https://digilib.phil.muni.cz/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11222.digilib/135560/2_OperaSlavica_26-2016-2_7.pdf?sequence=1.

Turudić, Momir. 2008. "A sada bilo Ti sretno i do viđenja." *Vreme*, February 14, 2008. Accessed May 24, 2020. https://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=584894.

The Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI). 2018. "UCI annual report 2018." Aigle: UCI. Accessed May 24, 2020. https://www.uci.org/docs/default-source/publications/2018-uci-rapport-annuel-inside-english-web.pdf.

Weaver, Gary R. 1986. "Understanding and Coping with Cross-Cultural Adjustment Stress." In *Cross-Cultural Orientation: New Conceptualizations and Applications*, edited by R.M. Paige, 134–46. Lanham MD: University Press of America.

Zupan, Simon. 2007. "Lance Armstrong – First Man on the Moon?: Cultural Awareness in Students of Translation and Interpreting." In *English Language, Literature and Culture in a Global Context,* edited by Nada Šabec, 43–44. Maribor: Filozofska fakulteta.

Part IV

Translation Studies

Susanne Ramadan Shunnaq
Sultan Qaboos University, Oman
Yarmouk University, Jordan
Adel Abu Radwan
Sultan Qaboos University, Oman
Hassan Shuqair
Sultan Qaboos University, Oman

2020, Vol. 17 (2), 257-278(284)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.257-278
UDC: 81'373.612.2=111=411.21:342.849.2(73)

Problems in Translating Metaphors in Political Campaign Speeches: A Descriptive-Analytical Study

ABSTRACT

This study examines Sultan Qaboos University senior translation students' renditions of metaphors taken from speeches delivered as part of the 2016 US presidential election campaign. An explanatory mixed-methods approach is used to determine, firstly, students' recognition of the metaphor as a construct; secondly, their translation of identified metaphors and the ensuing difficulties they encountered owing to linguistic, rhetorical, and/or cultural considerations; and finally the strategies they adopted to overcome these difficulties. The findings reveal that the students encountered difficulties recognising certain metaphors in the English texts (STs) and faced considerable challenges in translating them appropriately into the target language (TL), which is Arabic. The study concludes with recommendations for translation teachers and translator trainers.

Keywords: English-Arabic translation, metaphor, political speech, rhetoric

Težave pri prevajanju metafor v govorih politične kampanje: Opisno-analitična študija

POVZETEK

Študija preučuje prevode metafor iz govorov v ameriški predsedniški volilni kampanji leta 2016, kot so jih prevedli študenti prevajalstva na Univerzi sultana Kabusa. Uporabljamo pojasnjevalni pristop mešanih metod, s katerim ugotavljamo, kako študentje prepoznajo metaforo kot konstrukt, kako prevajajo prepoznane metafore, kakšne prevajalske težave imajo zaradi jezikovnih, retoričnih in/ali kulturnih vidikov in kakšne strategije uporabljajo za premagovanje teh težav. Ugotovitve razkrivajo, da se študentje srečujejo s težavami pri prepoznavanju nekaterih metafor v angleških besedilih in se soočajo s precejšnjimi izzivi pri ustreznem prevajanju v ciljni jezik, ki je arabščina.

Ključne besede: prevajanje iz angleščine v arabščino, metafora, politični govor, retorika

CC BY SA

"Know a man by his metaphors."

John Connolly, *The Wolf in Winter*

1 Introduction

The use of rhetoric in political speeches has long been an essential part of persuasive discourse used to achieve certain effects, increase interest, and influence public opinion. The US presidential election campaign speeches of 2016 are no exception, as they draw heavily on rhetorical devices such as metaphor to achieve certain desired communicative goals. Most politicians are aware of the profound role rhetoric plays in the effectiveness of their speeches; therefore, many craft their political addresses carefully, since what they say is usually scrutinised by a wide audience.

Translation of speeches rich in metaphors often poses challenges to translators, since metaphors go beyond the literal meaning of words to give readers a more complex view of the topic under discussion, and insights into different cultural and social aspects of both the source language (SL) and the target language (TL). This requires translators to have deep knowledge of the cultural and linguistic aspects of the SL, and to be especially careful in deciphering the meanings embedded in the metaphorical structures to render them accurately into the TL. To achieve this, translators need to be equipped with "an adequately differentiated linguistic, extra-linguistic, and sociocultural knowledge in two languages" (Wilss 1996, 3). This implies that linguistic knowledge of the two languages by itself does not usually suffice, as the translation process involves more than simply a transfer of meaning between the SL and the TL. Proper rendition of the source text (ST) into the TL requires the translator to possess both a high linguistic competency in both languages and vast knowledge of their cross-cultural semantic and pragmatic aspects. The problem of transferring metaphors into Arabic is further compounded by the fact that Arabic and English belong to two language families with entirely different linguistic systems and cultural, social and historical contexts. Therefore, many metaphors in the SL may not be recognised at all or are entirely misunderstood and thus mistranslated.

Metaphors are frequently used in political discourse for different communicative purposes in addressing large heterogeneous audiences. The translation of metaphor can be problematic, since linguistic and semantic equivalence may not always be achieved. Research on the translation of figures of speech in English political discourse is scarce. One recent study by Ramadan Shunnaq, Shuqair, and Abu Radwan (2018) focuses on the English-Arabic translation of rhetorical devices, but does not explore metaphor. There is an apparent paucity in the investigation of metaphor translation from English into Arabic (see Aldanani 2018; Al-Hasnawi 2007; Jaber 2008; Ghazala 2012; Ateeg and Al-Tamimi 2014; Nader 2014; Mansoor 2017). Hence, the current study is an important contribution to the available literature in this area as it explores English-Arabic translation of metaphors in political discourse.

This study seeks to fill in this gap by examining the main challenges that Arab translation students encounter in recognising, understanding, and properly rendering metaphors used in political discourse from English into Arabic, and identifying the strategies they utilise

to overcome these problems. The study analyses Sultan Qaboos University (SQU) senior translation students' renditions of metaphorical structures used by Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, and Donald Trump in the 2016 US presidential campaign speeches. An explanatory mixed-method approach is used to analyse the collected data. In the first phase of the study, the students were asked to identify the metaphorical structures in excerpts from the campaign speeches to measure the frequency of their recognition of these structures. Then, they were asked to translate the metaphorical structures to measure their understanding and proper rendition of the metaphors. The results of this study contribute to a better understanding of the nature of the difficulties involved in the recognition of metaphors present in English political discourse and their translation into Arabic. Based on the findings, the study provides several recommendations for translation teachers and students interested in metaphorical structures.

2 Previous Studies on the Translation of Metaphors

Metaphors can pose a serious challenge to translators. Some theorists and critics such as Dagut (1976), Van den Broeck (1981), and Mason (1982) have argued that some metaphorical expressions cannot at all be translated or are not directly translatable, and the issue has triggered heated debates among linguists and theorists for many years. Newmark (1988a, 104) mentions that "[w]hilst the central problem of translation is the overall choice of translation method for a text, the most important particular problem is the translation of metaphor." Shunnaq (1993) discusses the translation of emotive expressions, which include metaphors, and demonstrates that translating them is a challenging task because their connotative meanings are often difficult to convey. He concludes that complete congruence in translating Arabic emotive expressions is difficult to achieve; thus, he suggests using paraphrasing, footnotes, exemplifications, and glossaries to aid in the translation process to achieve the desired, optimal and precise translation. Farhan and Taha (2006) concur with Shunnaq, and stress that translating emotive or expressive texts from English into Arabic is not an easy task. They affirm that achieving congruency in translating such texts can be rather difficult. Al-Harahsheh (2013) also examines the translatability of emotive expressions in political discourse from Arabic into English, and concludes that the translation of figures of speech including metaphors can be problematic, because the rendered translation often loses its flavour of emotiveness.

Up until recently, metaphor has been traditionally viewed as a stylistic device; however, linguists have held long debates about whether to consider metaphor as a linguistic or rhetorical device or a conceptual process. Linguists who believe that metaphor involves cognitive processes and conceptual mapping challenge the former view by explaining that human thinking and communication rely heavily on our conceptual understanding of the world around us (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). Furthermore, a central argument within cognitive linguistics is that everyday communication relies heavily on concepts structured by metaphor. Likewise, Kövecses (2015, ix) acknowledges that "the human conceptual system is heavily metaphorical in nature and that we use metaphors spontaneously and with ease in the course of everyday communication". According to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) that started in the 1980s, metaphor plays a structural role in the arrangement and processing of conceptual knowledge and the structuring and restructuring of reality (Kövecses 2010). The literature generally defines a conceptual or cognitive metaphor as a set of correspondences or mappings

that enable us to understand one idea or conceptual domain (source domain) in terms of another (the target domain). The source domain is the concrete or physical domain, and the target domain is the abstract one. Kövecses (2016) maintains that the application of a source domain to a particular target domain contributes to the construction of a particular reality that may affect our views of life or even create new realities for us.

Mandelblit (1995, 483) also adopts a cognitive view of the translation of metaphor, which is the basis of her Cognitive Translation Hypothesis – she argues that the difficulty in metaphor translation "resides in the use of different metaphorical mappings between the source language (SL) and the target language (TL) to express the same idea". As such, the translation of metaphors involves not only the transfer of a certain rhetorical style in a certain language to another, but also the transfer of a cognitive construct that represents how people conceptualise their experiences. She describes the translation process as "not only a transfer process from on language to another but also a transfer from *one way of conceptualizing the world* into another" (1995, 483). Mandelblit proposes two schemes for the translation of metaphor: (1) similar mapping conditions when the metaphors of the two languages do not require a conceptual shift as ideas are expressed by identical expressions in both languages, and (2) different mapping conditions in case there is a conceptual shift between the metaphors of the two languages as no equivalence exists in the TL. In such cases, a degree of equivalence needs to be established between the ST and the target text (TT). Thus, when the two languages belong to the first scheme, the translator's task becomes simple, as he only has to choose an appropriate TL metaphor; however, in the second scheme, the task becomes more complicated. Al-Hasnawi (2007) explains the source of difficulty involved in this case by stating that the translator undertakes the task of creating the proper conceptual mapping for the TL reader. To overcome this difficulty, Mandelblit (1995), like Shunnaq (1993), suggests using paraphrasing, footnotes, explanation or total deletion of the metaphor.

The more recent metaphor theory tries to look at ways to bridge the divide between discourse and cognition-oriented approaches or the cognitive-science and social-science perspectives. However, it seems that the divide between discourse- and cognition-oriented approaches is likely to linger. Despite this, there are attempts to unite the field through interdisciplinary collaboration. For instance, Hampe (2017) tries to take multiple perspectives into consideration to create a new research approach with multiple methodologies.

As for metaphor classification, Dagut (1976) classifies metaphors into several categories such as dead, stock, recent, and lexicalised metaphors. Dead metaphors are also known as frozen, fossilised, or lexicalised metaphors. Dickins (2005, 231) defines lexicalised metaphors as "uses of language which are recognizably metaphorical, but whose meaning in a particular language is relatively clearly fixed". An example of this type is the use of the word 'rat' to mean 'snitch'. Other examples of this type are 'bottleneck' and 'roadblock'. This type of metaphor has lost its literal meaning and is part of the daily lexicon of users. Newmark (1982) further divides this type into opaque and transparent dead metaphors. The former is no longer recognised as a metaphor because the original meaning of its components has disappeared, as in 'news magazine', since a magazine was originally a place of storage. Others may have foreign assets borrowed from other languages such as Latin or Greek. The latter, according to Paprotté

and Dirven (1985, 299–301) has three types: 1) words like 'reflect' for 'think' and 'shine' for 'excel', 2) metonym or one-word metaphor which retains its denotative meaning as can be found in technical terms such as 'fin' and 'nut', 3) non-technical words that have both concrete and figurative senses such as 'head', 'foot', 'arm', 'food', 'deep', 'broad', 'bottom' as in 'the foot of the mountain' or 'the bottom of a hill'. Stock metaphors describe concrete or abstract concepts and have an aesthetic function. Examples are 'it's raining cats and dogs', 'shed light on something', and 'keep the pot boiling'. According to Dickins (2005, 237), stock metaphors are "established metaphors", and are categorised as lexicalised metaphors. They are, however, not deadened by overuse (Bojović 2014, 76).

Another category is non-lexicalised metaphors, where the "metaphorical meaning is not clearly fixed, but will vary from context to context, and typically has to be worked out by the reader on particular occasions" (Dickins 2005, 232). Recent and original metaphors are two types of non-lexicalised metaphors. Newmark (1988a, 111–12) considered recent metaphors as metaphorical neologisms such as 'dog' that may receive positive or negative connotations in different contexts, or like something that is 'in' meaning fashionable and 'walkman' for a portable music player (see Newmark 1988a, 150 for types of neologisms). These metaphors are usually anonymous and widespread. Original metaphors are those that are created by an author and are used on a more individual basis.

As discussions concerning the classification of metaphors continue, so have critics, linguists and theorists continued to debate the best approaches to translating metaphors. Gonzálvez-García, Cervel, and Hernández (2013, 265–82) list critical opinions on the translation of metaphors, and discuss recent developments in this field until 2010. Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2002, 150–55) for instance, suggest techniques for the translation of stock metaphors. They propose that when translating these translators need to take decisions regarding the components of the metaphor: the topic, vehicle, and grounds or the metaphor (2002, 148). An example of this is 'the eye of the needle', where the opening in the needle is the 'topic' or also known as 'tenor' (i.e. the referent or object) which is likened to an 'eye' (vehicle or image that is the metaphor itself). The opening in the needle is the 'grounds' that shows in what particular aspects the object and image are similar. Further, the authors suggest that translators have the following options when rendering established metaphors: (1) retention of metaphor by having the same vehicle in the target language, (2) replacement of the stock metaphor by a stock metaphor in the TL with a different vehicle, (3) rendition of the stock metaphor into a simile in the TL, or (4) a reduction of the metaphor to grounds. Regarding recent metaphors, the main strategy is to find an equivalent form in the target language.

In the translation of non-lexicalised metaphors, translators have different choices such as retention of the metaphor with the same vehicle in the target language, making some necessary changes without altering the metaphor while rendering the context in which it occurs more acceptable in the TL, replacement of the metaphor in the SL with a non-lexicalised metaphor in the TL with a different vehicle, and finally replacing the metaphor with a stock metaphor in the TL.

To simplify matters, the literature on the translation methods of metaphors reveals that authors for the most part agree on four common strategies: 1) direct translation of metaphor, 2) partial

replacement of metaphor to suit the TL audience and culture, 3) replacement of metaphor by a pragmatic TL alternative metaphor, and 4) replacement of the SL metaphor with a TL non-metaphor. Research on metaphor has so far illustrated the challenges metaphor can cause in a translation processes, especially when the source and target languages are linguistically and culturally different. For this reason, the current study will describe the difficulties that translation students encountered in recognising and translating metaphors used in political discourse. Further, the researchers will draw on the above frameworks in their analysis of the strategies that student translators utilised in the translation of the different types of metaphors.

3 The Study

3.1 Participants

The participants in this study were 20 senior students registered in the BA program in Translation in the Department of English Language and Literature at Sultan Qaboos University (SQU). Admission to the program is contingent upon students achieving high grades in both Arabic and English introductory courses, with only the top ten applicants admitted every semester. The program continues for five years, where the first is devoted completely to intensive language training. During the course of their study in the program, the students take several introductory and specialised translation courses such as literary translation, media translation, business and commercial translation, legal and documentary translation, translation critique and translation studies. The research sample consists of students enrolled in two translation courses in the autumn and spring semesters of 2018.

3.2 Data

Part of the course requirements for advanced translation students is the translation of journalistic and political texts, including public speeches, from English to Arabic. Since the study sample was senior students in the translation program who needed to practice the translation of political discourse and style, they were given texts that demanded careful consideration. Because recognising and understanding metaphors and subsequently deciding on the most suitable translation strategy are among the most challenging processes in translation, the researchers decided to give students translation tasks that combine political discourse and figurative language. Owing to Lakoff's assertion that implicit metaphors play a powerful role in political discourse (Lakoff 2002, 2008), and since political campaigns are fertile grounds for the usage of metaphors and the US presidential elections always make headlines in international media, the researchers opted for a selection of campaign speeches delivered by Obama, Clinton, and Trump during the 2016 US presidential campaign. At the time, Obama was nearing the end of his second presidential term and was not a nominee, but he was actively involved in Hillary Clinton's campaign. He gave a number of speeches in her support to help restore his party's strength and secure his legacy. The researchers selected nine speeches that were delivered during the campaign. These texts were given to the students who were instructed to underline the metaphors they recognised in each text in order to test their metaphor identification skills. The students identified a number of metaphors in the speeches, but missed others altogether. Based on the results of this task and the analysis thereof, the researchers singled out the passages that most clearly showed the extent of students' ability to

identify and translate particular metaphors. The most pertinent examples in each speech were chosen to illustrate the difficulties students encountered in the translation of different types of metaphor. Those metaphors which all students failed to identify were not included in this study. Then, following this task, the students were given another copy of the same texts with select metaphors underlined and were asked to translate the passages containing them, paying special attention to the underlined metaphors. Since translation speed was not measured, no time restrictions were imposed on the translation task.

To confirm the researchers' identification of metaphors in the texts of the speeches, copies of the selected speeches were given to two colleagues in the Department of English for metaphor recognition. Interrater reliability was around 95%. The researchers then categorised the metaphors into three categories, A, B, and C, as explained below. Student translations of the metaphors were also presented to two colleagues with experience of translation to judge the quality and acceptability of the renditions. The inter-rater reliability here was 92%.

4 Findings and Discussion

4.1 Recognition Task

Analysis of students' responses to the recognition task reveals that a reasonable number were able to identify the majority of metaphors with very few exceptions, as shown in Table (1) below. As can be noticed, most students failed to identify metaphor #2. In other cases (M4, M5, M8), students also faced substantial recognition problems. The reasons for such difficulties are limited rhetorical and figurative competence, limited lexical knowledge with regard to specialised texts, and weak communicative competence in the SL. Based on this, it is assumed that the difficulties that students encounter in the translation of the metaphors, as will be explained below, cannot be attributed to their failure to recognise the metaphors, since they many of them managed to identify them.

Table 1. Students' recognition of metaphor.

Category	**A**				**B**		**C**		
Metaphor (M)	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9
Number of students	18	2	17	12	14	19	20	13	19
Percentage of students who recognised the metaphor (%)	90	10	85	60	70	95	100	65	95

4.2 Translation Task

Students' translations of each metaphor were analysed for accuracy of the translation, problems faced with the translation of metaphorical structures, and the strategies used to overcome these problems. As mentioned above, the classification and analysis of metaphors in this study are primarily informed by Newmark's (1988b) seminal work elaborated on by Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2002). The nine metaphors used in this task were classified into three categories according to the degree of transfer and equivalence students were able

to achieve. The first category of metaphors (M1 to M4) illustrates how students were able to align metaphor segments in the source text (ST) and the target text (TT) to produce an intact transfer. In all these cases, the target language has equivalent or near equivalent forms and students were able to align the topic, vehicle, and grounds between the ST and the TT. Category B (M5 and M6), students were able to produce a partial transfer as only one or two components of the metaphor were present in their translations. As for the remaining metaphors, (M7-M9), representing Category C, students were unable to transfer the components of the metaphor from the SL to the TL. Students' translations of the metaphors in each of these categories revealed that students faced variable levels of difficulty in their efforts to render them properly, as explained in detail below.

4.2.1 Category A: Direct Transfer of the Topic, Vehicle, and Grounds

In the translation of metaphors in this category, students were able to produce renditions that contained all three elements of the metaphors (topic, vehicle, and grounds). Hence, many were able to preserve the components of the metaphor in the TL by adopting different strategies in their renditions based on several factors, such as availability of an equivalent metaphor in the TL, the cultural reference of the metaphor, and idiomaticity of the rendered metaphor. Therefore, when students were aware of a corresponding or equivalent metaphor in the TL, they adopted a direct transfer strategy and were thus able to preserve the elements of the metaphor. This is evident in the translation of (M1) below.

> **M1.** "She has been accused of everything you can imagine—and some things that you cannot. But she knows that's what happens when you're under a microscope for 40 years."
>
> (Obama's Democratic National Convention speech, July 27th, 2016)

In the translation of this conventionalised transparent metaphor, the majority of the participants managed to produce a corresponding metaphor in the TL by using the strategy of literal translation. Students' attempts to translate his metaphorical structure in English produced the following with the literal translations provided between brackets:

1. *ʿeindama takun taht almijhar* ('when you are under the microscope')
2. *ʿeindama takun taht muraqaba shadiida* ('when you are being heavily monitored')
3. *ʿeindama yusallit ʿealayka aldaw* ('when you come under the spotlight')
4. *ʿeindama takuun mahatt al'anzar* ('when you are the focus of attention')

In fact, eleven students translated the SL metaphor into *ʿeindama takuun taht almijhar* ('when you are under the microscope'), thereby preserving the SL metaphor in the TL without change. This rendition maintained both the metaphorical nature of the original text and the ideational content of the metaphor. A number of other students replaced the metaphor with an idiom that is a metaphor, but they used a different vehicle (Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins, 2002). For example, four students rendered the metaphor as *ʿeindama yusallit ʿealayka aldaw* ('when you come under the spotlight'). The topic and grounds are retained, but the vehicle has been replaced by one that offers an idiomatic structure in Arabic. Four more students decided

that the best translation was *ʿeindama takuun mahatt al'anzar* ('when you are the focus of attention'), where the students also replaced the vehicle with a metaphorical idiomatic phrase commonly used in Arabic. Only one student resorted to deleting the metaphor entirely, thus providing an incomplete, low-quality translation. Overall, the majority of the students were able to present acceptable renditions of the metaphorical structure that either maintained the three components of the metaphor (direct transfer) or decided to use a different vehicle to produce an idiomatic structure in the TL. The issue here was the choice of the appropriate translation strategy and finding a stylistically acceptable rendition in the TL.

The next metaphor in this category, (M2), represents a very popular environmental term in both the SL and TL that 90% of the students failed to recognise as a metaphor. It went undetected due to its conventionalisation.

> **M2.** "Meanwhile, we doubled our production of clean energy; we become the world's leader in fighting against climate change […] None of that would have happened if it weren't for America's greatest asset."
>
> (Obama at a Hillary Clinton rally in Jacksonville, Florida, November 3rd, 2016)

The metaphorical vehicle of 'clean' vs. 'dirty energy' lies at the core of the rhetorical strategy used by Obama to underscore the seriousness of climate change and the actions that have been taken to combat it. Applying Newmark's classification of metaphors (1988b), this type can be classified as a cliché metaphor. Cliché metaphors stand between dead metaphors and standard or stock metaphors and can appear as figurative adjective + literal noun. The students faced a serious problem in the identification of this metaphor. The problem stems from the fact that this metaphor is no longer recognisable as such, since it has been "naturalised" or "normativised" owing to its frequent daily use (Onuf 2013, 46). Despite the fact that the majority of students failed to identify this recent metaphor, nearly all produced a correct equivalent metaphor in Arabic, which is *alttaqa alnazifa* ('clean energy'). Only two students rendered it as *alttaqa almutajadida* ('renewable energy') and *alttaqa almustadama* ('sustainable energy'); they apparently were not aware of the differences in meaning. The variations in students' translations were mainly in the use of tense and in the use of prepositions used in the sentence containing the metaphor:

1. *daʿeafna intaajana min alttaaqa alnaziifa*
   ('we doubled our production of clean energy')
2. *nudaʿeif intaajina min alttaaqa almustaadama*
   ('we double our production of sustainable energy')
3. *daʿeafna intaajana lilttaaqa alnaziifa*
   ('we doubled our production for clean energy')
4. *daʿeafna min ʿintaj alttaaqa alnaziifa*
   ('we doubled the production of clean energy')
5. *qumna bimudaʿeafat muntij alttaaqa alnaziifa*
   ('we did double the product of clean energy')
6. *qumna bimuda'afat intajina lilttaqa almutajaddida*
   ('we did double our production of renewable energy')

The translation in #3 is the most accurate rendering of the SL text. It retains the pronoun 'our' in 'our production' as the *na* in *intajina*. The translation also preserves the verb 'doubled' by using *da'eafna* instead of *qumna bimuda'afat* as in #6. The difference between #3 and #6 is mainly in the use of verbs, but both cases are linguistically acceptable renditions into Arabic as they preserve all elements of the SL structure. The main problem the students faced here was not the direct translation of the metaphor, since the same metaphor is used in the TL, but rather trying to produce a linguistically accurate translation with an acceptable structure for the TL readership.

The next metaphor, (M3), represents a very popular metaphor in Arabic; hence, 85% of the student translators were able to identify it.

> **M3.** "We are going to work with all of our students who are drowning in debt to take the pressure off these young people just starting out in their adult lives."
>
> (Trump's address accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio, July 21, 2016 where he pledged to reform the country and enforce the laws of the United States)

Most students translated this conceptual metaphor correctly into the TL with minor variations in their translations related to the building blocks of the sentence and verb tense. The major problem here for students was producing the correct linguistic and stylistic rendition of the sentence structure. Thirteen students chose to translate it as *tullaabuna alghariquun fi alduyuun* (literally: 'our students drowning in the debts') with the prepositional phrase (literally: 'in the debts') after it. This structure in the TL uses *alghariquun* as an adjectival form or an attribute qualifying *tullabuna* ('our students'). Four more students chose to use a relative clause to express the metaphorical drowning instead of a single word attribute: *tullabuna aladhin yaghraqun fi alduyuun* ('our students who are drowning in the debt') followed by the prepositional phrase that completes the meaning of the sentence (*silat-ul-mawsuul*). One student removed the metaphor entirely. The remaining two student translators produced the following renditions:

1. *talamiidhuna aladhiin gharaquu fi bahr duyunihim*
   ('our students who drowned in the sea of their debts')
2. *takhlis tullabina min duyunihim allaty aghraqathum*
   ('we rid our students of their debts which drowned them')

In all of these translations, except for the one where the student removed the entire metaphor, all three elements of the metaphor are maintained without losing the intended meaning, and thus this is a clear example of an intact transfer. In #1 above, the student added the word *bahr* ('sea') to the construct to make the metaphor even more explicit. In addition, the student mistakenly used the past tense (*gharaquu* 'they drowned'). In #2, the student decided to move emphasis from drowning to the debts that are causing drowning, hence qualifying 'debts' with a relative clause to stress 'drowning'. The researchers decided that the best translation would have been *tullabuna aladhin yaghraqun fi duyuunin*. The next example (M4) is one which caused students significant difficulties in translation.

M4. "You cannot achieve peace if terrorists are treated as martyrs. Glorifying terrorists is a tremendous barrier to peace. It is a horrible, horrible way to think it's a barrier that can't be broken."

(Trump's speech at AIPAC, March 21st, 2016, discussing relations between the US and Israel and criticizing the culture of hatred that has been permeating in Palestine against Israel)

This type of metaphor is conceptual and evaluative in nature, and comes from the source domain 'building'. In this example, the word 'barrier' denotes a negative evaluation, and thus a positive evaluation is sought by its removal. Students' translations of this conceptual metaphor show that a good number of them were able to use an acceptable corresponding collocational structure in Arabic, in which they preserved the metaphor and all of its elements. Seven students translated it correctly producing a translation of the metaphorical structure which represents an acceptable collocational pattern in Arabic, namely *tamjiid al'irhabiiyn yushakkil ʿayqaan fi tariiq alsalaam* ('glorifying terrorists forms an obstacle in the path of peace'). Four students translated the metaphor literally, rendering it as *tamjiid al'irhabiiyn ʿayiq hayil ʿamam alsalaam* ('glorifying terrorists is a tremendous obstacle in front of peace'), and four others decided to use *hajz* ('barrier') instead of *ʿayiq* ('obstacle') rendering it as *tʿaezim al'irhabiiyn ma hu ʿiilla hajz hayl fi ʿihlal alsalaam* ('glorifying terrorists is just a tremendous barrier to achieving peace') or *ʿamam alsalaam* ('in front of peace'). These eight renditions do not match the acceptable collocational patterns in Arabic. The rest of the students translated it as follows:

1. *tabjiil al'irhabiiyn yuʿead/ yumaththil ʿaeyqan kbyyran li'irsa' alsalaam* ('*venerating* terrorists is considered/presents an obstacle in establishing peace')
2. tamjiid al'irhabiiyn hu alʿayiq al'akbar aldhy yahullu duna tahqiiq alsalaam ('glorifying terrorists is the biggest obstacle to achieving peace')
3. *tamjiid al'irhabiiyn hu ʿaeyiq dhakhm ʿamama ʿamaliyat suneaʿalsalaam* ('glorifying terrorists is a huge obstacle to the peace making process')

We can notice variations in word choice such as *tamjiid* or *tabjiil* or *tʿaeziim* for 'glorifying', which show that the students had problems with refining their translations when it came to word choice. This does not reduce the quality of the translations significantly, despite the fact that these small variations in meaning affect their accuracy. Translation #1 above is an unacceptable unidiomatic structure in Arabic that is linguistically incorrect. Translation #2 also preserves the metaphor and its translated version is structurally acceptable in Arabic, but is an inaccurate rendition of the SL text. In #3, the student opted to add another metaphor to the structure, *ʿamalayat suneaʿ alsalaam* ('the process of making peace'), which adds meaning to the original metaphor in the SL. This is a possible translation strategy, but creates a translation that does not render the style and meaning of the SL metaphoric structure accurately. The main problem students faced in the translation of metaphor M4 was not the preservation of the SL metaphor, but finding an appropriate idiomatic rendition in the TL that would be accurate and faithful to the ST.

4.2.2 Category B: Partial Transfer of Topic, Vehicle and Grounds

This category of metaphors represents cases where only one or two components of the SL metaphor are represented in the students' translations. The metaphors in this category are complicated ones and caused students some challenges in translating them properly.

> **M5.** "I've met Sarah's beautiful family. But to this administration, their amazing daughter was just one more American life that wasn't worth protecting. One more child to sacrifice on the altar of open borders."
>
> (Donald Trump's nomination acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention, July 21st, 2016)

Donald Trump here refers to 21-year old Sarah Root, who was killed in a motor vehicular homicide that involved an illegal immigrant from Latin America. Trump creates a metaphor with religious connotations with which he tries to persuade his religiously conservative audience that immigration policies need to change. The "open border" policies, i.e. not enough restrictions on immigration to America, are compared to an altar on which Americans get sacrificed.

In this example, twelve students produced a translation that maintained the structure and nature of the metaphor by creating a corresponding new metaphor *madhbah alhuduud*, ('the border's altar') in analogy with an existing and commonly used metaphor in Arabic *madhbah alhuriya* ('the freedom's altar'). Although this translation preserves the three components of the metaphor in the TT, the expression has never been used in any known Arabic political discourse to date. A better and more acceptable translation would have been *medhbah alhijra ghayr alshrʿeyah* ('the altar of illegal immigration') that would have conveyed the issue behind Sarah's death more clearly. Two students translated the metaphor as *dhariih alhuduud almaftuha* ('tomb of the open borders'). As is the case with the previous translation above, it is not used in the TL and its meaning would not be comprehensible in Arabic. The vehicle *dharih* ('tomb') combined with *alhuduud almaftuh*a ('the open borders') does also not convey the meaning of the ST metaphor. Since there is no equivalent metaphor in Arabic, direct translation is not the correct approach here. Students could have opted for substituting the ST metaphor for one with a different vehicle, but corresponding in meaning with the SL metaphor (van den Broeck 1981, 77). Thus, the metaphors created by the students would not strike a chord with Arabic readers, and would also lead to a loss of meaning of the original metaphor. The rest of the students produced the following translations:

1. *tiflah ʿukhra tudhahi biha fi hykal* alhuduud almaftuha
   ('another girl child is being sacrificed at the temple of open boarders')
2. *tifl aakhar sayatimu altadhia bihi fi medhbah alkaniisa dhu alhuduud almaftuha*
   ('another child will be sacrificed in the church's altar of open borders')
3. *altadhia bitifleh ʿukhra fi almedhbah liʾajli nayl alhuduud almaftuha*
   ('the sacrifice of another child in the altar for gaining the open boarders')
4. *tiflah ʿukhra liltadhia ʿala majzarat alhuduud almaftuha*
   ('another child for sacrifice on the massacre of open borders')
5. *tifalah waahideh ʿukhra dhahabat dahiyat altabadul fi alhuduud almaftuha*
   ('another female child gone as a victim for exchange in the open borders')

6. *hia mujarad tifl akhar salabahu almuhajiruun ghyr alsharʿeiuun hayatahu*
('She is only another child deprived of its life by illegal immigrants')

In #1, the student created another unacceptable metaphor by using *hykl* ('temple'). In #2, #3, #4, and #5, the students did not understand the SL metaphor, and in addition to misinterpreting it they also produced unidiomatic sentences in the TL. One of the students did not comprehend its meaning in the SL and failed to translate it altogether. Another student opted to paraphrase the metaphor and translated it as in #6 above. This paraphrase sacrificed the powerful dramatic effect that the metaphor intended to create by persuading the public that borders need to be closed to immigrants. Since this metaphor is an original one, the students had to decide whether to provide a literal translation of it, reduce it to its sense, or modify the SL metaphor. From the above examples, one can see that the students used all three translation strategies. Since this is an original metaphor used by a US presidential candidate and it is not yet commonly used, rewriting it to suit the TL audience would have been a better choice than creating a new metaphor in Arabic by translating it literally. Therefore, reducing the metaphor to its sense as done in #6 was the best option. Another difficult metaphor for students was the one used in (M6).

> **M6.** "Before she announced her candidacy for president, Republican leaders described her—and I am quoting now—as 'very impressive.' […] but then when it was politically expedient, those same Republicans began tearing her down."
>
> (Barack Obama's last campaign speech for Hillary Clinton, Philadelphia, November 8th, 2016)

The phrasal verb 'tear down' meaning dismantle or disassemble is used metaphorically to expose how the Republicans started to vilify and excoriate Hillary Clinton when she started running for presidency. The source domain of this conventional conceptual metaphor is a strong foundation or structure to which Hillary Clinton is compared. The correlation between the source and target domains is strength or sturdiness. What Obama was trying to explain with this metaphor is that the Republicans tried to damage Clinton's image and reputation as a skilled or experienced politician as if tearing down a sturdy structure. Five students translated the sentence with the phrasal verb (tear her down) as *qamuu bitadmiriha* ('they destroyed her') and one student used *qamuu bitahtimiha* ('they smashed her'). Seven more students translated the metaphor as *qamuu bi intiqadiha* ('they criticised her') or *bada hu'la' bitashwihiha* ('they started to distort her') or *bada'a nafs aljumhuriiyn bitajrihiha* ('the same Republicans began to wound her'). In all these renditions, the students used a different vehicle than that used in the SL, although some are awkward in the TL and do not capture the meaning of the SL metaphor. Furthermore, two students translated the metaphor by finding a corresponding verb in Arabic that would capture the meaning of the English verb 'tear' but not the phrasal verb 'tear down' namely *qamuu bitamziqiha* ('they tore her'). Such a translation does not capture the meaning of the metaphor. Another student rendered it as *bada'a baʿadha aljumhuriuwn bitahshimiha* ('some Republicans started to shatter her'), thus rendering it as a different metaphor in Arabic with a different meaning. One student decided to use a metaphor that is frequently used in Arabic, but does not render the phrasal verb in the SL accurately: *qamuu bitamziqiha 'irabaan 'irabaan* ('they tore her to pieces'). This rendition

was the most accurate and stylistically acceptable in Arabic. Four other students opted for a paraphrase of the metaphor because they were unable to find an equivalent structure in Arabic. This is illustrated in the following examples:

1. *bada'a aljumhuriuwn nafshum yahbitun tumuhaha*
   ('the Republicans themselves started to frustrate her ambitions')
2. *bada'a ha'ulaa' aljumhuriuwn dhatuhum fi al'iitahati biha*
   ('these same Republicans started to overthrow her')
3. *bada'a ha'ulaa' fi isqatiha*
   ('they started to cause her downfall')
4. *qamuu nafs aljumhuriiyn bimuharabatiha*
   ('the same Republicans started to fight her')

These examples show that students tried to paraphrase the metaphor, but failed to produce accurate renditions of the SL metaphor and its intended effect. These different translations show that when the ST has a metaphor that sounds easy to manage but has no equivalent in the TL, students tend to produce structures that do not convey the meaning of the SL metaphor accurately. The most suitable approach in such a case is to find a metaphor in the TL that does not sacrifice the meaning of the SL metaphor and is an acceptable substitute for the TL audience. A paraphrase of the original metaphor is another choice. The four paraphrases produced by the students were, however, inaccurate translations of the ST and showed that the students did not thoroughly understand the meaning of the SL conceptual metaphor. Hence, the majority of the translations were either inaccurate or low-quality translations.

4.2.3 Category C: Lack of Transfer of Topic, Vehicle and Grounds

In this group, there is a lack of transfer of any sort between the SL and TL in terms of topic, vehicle, and grounds. The metaphors in the SL seem to pose a more serious challenge to the student translators than the previous ones. In some cases, the metaphors comprised terms referring to plants or flowers to describe humans in ways not common in the TL. Some metaphors are culturally or ecologically determined; for example, in Britain, where sunshine is rare, it is common to use the proverb 'make hay while the sun shines'; on the other hand, in the Arabian Peninsula where wind is a rare occasion, especially in the scorching months of the summer, it is common to use a corresponding proverb *'iidha habbat riahika fa'ightanamha* ('When your wind blows, take advantage of it.'). In this case, two different vehicles are used, yet the same sense is maintained. The following metaphor (M7) which is a cultural one (Kövecses 2005) caused problems for the students. Despite the fact that all students were able to recognise this non-lexicalised metaphor, most of their translations failed to render it properly.

> **M7.** "We have a stock market that is so bloated. Be careful of a bubble because what you've seen in the past might be small potatoes compared to what happens. So, be very, very careful."
>
> (Donald Trump's remarks announcing his candidacy for president during a rally at his Trump Tower in New York City, June 16th, 2015)

'Small potatoes' is a popular metaphorical figure of speech in Western culture and is used to indicate the triviality or insignificance of a matter. In this example, a conceptual metaphor (important is big and unimportant is small) is invoked. Trump warns his supporters about an economic bubble that will have such serious repercussions that what they saw in the past will be considered figuratively as small potatoes in comparison. 'Small potatoes' has no corresponding equivalent in Arabic. Students thus had to find suitable strategies to translate this idiomatic expression into the TL to preserve its meaning. Five students decided to translate the metaphor literally, rendering it as *qatea' saghirah min albatata* (small pieces of potatoes) or as *habbat batata saghirah* (small potatoes), and hence failing to understand the meaning of this expression in the SL and therefore failing to find a culturally acceptable metaphor in the TL. The literal translation is not an acceptable strategy, since it does not convey the meaning of the SL metaphor in the TL. The following are some other translations that the students produced:

1. *la y'aedu 'an yakun mujarrad safasif muqaranatan bima sayahduth fi almustaqbal*
   ('it is no more than just small things in comparison to what will happen in the future')
2. *'inna dhalika hua mujarrad fuqa'a saghiira*
   ('that is just a small bubble')
3. *qad yakuun amran basytan/saghyran/taafihan muqaranatan bima sayahduth*
   ('this may be a simple/small /trivial issue compared to what will happen')
4. *lays 'illaa juzayy'at basita bima yumkin 'an yahsul*
   ('are only simple *molecules* of what could happen')
5. *ma ra'aytuhu saabiqan la wa lan yuqaranu bima sataraahu fi almustaqbal*
   ('what I saw before can and will not be compared with what you will see in the future')

This metaphor is similar to other metaphors such as ('it's peanuts', 'it's pennies' etc.); however, if the same vehicle is maintained in the TT, it loses both its metaphorical nature and the intended message, since this expression is not used to express the idea of triviality in Arabic. Accordingly, when some students used the strategy of maintaining the metaphorical vehicle by using *qatea' saghirah min albatata* ('small pieces of potato'), they failed to preserve the metaphorical nature of the phrase in the TL and simultaneously failed to convey the intended message, since the phrase *qatea' saghirah min albatata* ('small pieces of potato') cannot be interpreted by Arabic native speakers to mean 'a trivial matter'. In another example, a student produced a similar translation to the previous one with slightly different words: *habbat batata saghira* ('small potatoes'). This shows that when there is no direct equivalent metaphor in the target language, some of the translators may erroneously opt for a literal translation of the source metaphor without considering the acceptability of the literal translation in the TL. Doing so, the metaphorical nature of the source text is often lost entirely and the intended message is completely obscured.

In #1, the student used a vehicle from the TL which is not equivalent to the one used in the SL, *safasif al'umuur* ('trivial things'); however, this translation preserves the figurative nature of the SL metaphor in Arabic and produces an idiomatic structure in the TL that is

also stylistically acceptable. In translation #2, the student used the already present 'economic bubble' metaphor, *fuqaʿa* (bubble), to capture the bloatedness of the market, but removed the expression ('small potatoes') entirely without any substitution. A third strategy used by nine students was to reduce the SL metaphor to its sense. The translations that they produced in #3 such as *shay'an saghiiran, shay'an taafihan, shay'an dhu ta'thiir basiit* ('a little thing', 'a trivial thing', 'something with a little impact') ignored the vehicle of the source metaphor, but preserved its sense. The rendition in #4 is not an acceptable usage in Arabic, and the rendition in #5 also omits the source text metaphor and paraphrases the meaning of the sentence. The translation approach in #1 and #3 was the most acceptable in this case.

The next example (M8) is a similar one:

> **M8.** "We also have to be honest about the fact that not everyone who seeks to join our country will be able to successfully assimilate. Sometimes it's just not going to work out. It's our right as a sovereign nation to choose immigrants that we think are the likeliest to thrive and flourish and love us."
>
> (Donald Trump's immigration speech, Phoenix, Arizona, August 31st, 2016)

This conceptual metaphor can be classified as a dead transparent one which uses a horticultural image that invokes the growth and development of a plant. It involves the understanding of one domain of experience, which is the immigrants' integration into the US society, in terms of a different and more concrete one that is the growth of a plant. The US soil is the nutrient for these immigrants, and it will enable them to grow if they have the potential for growth and development. When attempting to translate this excerpt, the majority of students tried hard to preserve the same words used in the SL and find proper translations for them rather than opting for a paraphrase. Eight students translated 'thrive' and 'flourish' either as *yanjah* ('succeed') and *yazdahar* ('flourish') using the present verb forms or as *alnajaah* ('success') and *alizdihaar* ('prosperity') using the noun form. Two students translated the metaphor as *albuzuugh* ('emergence', 'appearance' or 'rise') and *alizdihaar* ('prosperity') and one student as *alizdihaar wal'injaaz* ('prosperity' and 'achievement'). Another student decided to render it as *numuahum* ('their growth') and *najahahum* ('their success'). Four students translated it as *tatawur wa izdihaar albilaad* ('the development and prosperity of the country') or as *izdihaar wa numui albilaad* ('prosperity and growth of the country'). The remaining translations were as follows:

1. *nakhtaar min hum naeʿtaqid ʿannahum murjjahiin ʿakthar liyanmuu wa tazdahir hayatuhum*
   ('we choose those who we believe have more potential to grow and their lives flourish')
2. *laysa kul min yasʿaa lilindhimaam ilaina sayanjah fi istiʿeabina*
   ('not everyone who seeks to join us will succeed in comprehending us')
3. *lana alhaqqu fi ikhtiar almuhajiriin alladhiina ladayhim alqudra al'akbar fi altatawur w(a)el infitah*
   ('we have the right to choose the immigrants who have the greatest ability for development and openness')

These different translations demonstrate the partial or total loss of the SL metaphor. While the students translated 'thrive' in a non-metaphorical expression *yanjah*, they rendered the second part as *yazdahar* ('flourish'), which is a metaphor in Arabic. However, the metaphor used in the second part is usually reserved for entities such as places, not humans. This is probably why some students opted to eliminate the metaphor completely as in #2 and replace it with a phrase conveying the same intended meaning, *sayanjah* ('will succeed'). Others focused on the implied meaning concerning the expected outcome of choosing suitable immigrants and rendered it as *alladhiin hum al'aqdar ʿala almusahama fi izdihaar wa numui albilaad* ('those who are most capable of contributing to the growth and prosperity of the country'), where they transferred the metaphor from the immigrants to the country. It is interesting to see that in this rendition the students focused on explaining the way in which the immigrants can contribute to the development of the country, but overlooked that the metaphor is concerned with the immigrants themselves who are the contributors to its development. The best strategy in translating such a metaphor would have been creating one in the TL that would capture the figurative nature of the SL metaphor. One option would have been rendering it as *yanmu* ('growing' or 'to grow') and *yazhir* ('flowering' or 'to flower'). The most accurate and acceptable translation into Arabic is the one in #1.

The next metaphor (M9) can be classified as a recent metaphor:

> **M9.** "To just be grossly generalistic, you can put half of Trump's supporters into what I call the basket of deplorables. Right? They're racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic – you name it. And unfortunately there are people like that and he has lifted them up."
>
> (from Hillary Clinton's speech at a New York City LGBT fundraiser, Sept. 9th, 2016)

This original non-lexicalised metaphor is created in analogy with a common trope that includes the word 'basket' such as 'currency basket' or financial baskets that involve investment. It is a figure for 'group' and intends to say that the voters who support Trump are a group of deplorable people. When translating this metaphor, the students faced difficulties in rendering the second part of the metaphor ('deplorables') as it has several meanings. This metaphor apparently left two students puzzled to the extent that they did not attempt to translate it. Seven students translated it as *sallat albu'asa'* or *sallat alba'yisuun* ('basket' of 'miserables') using either the broken plural *albu'asa'* or the sound masculine plural *albayisuun* in Arabic. In Arabic, there are two types of noun plural forms: sound (regular) plurals, and broken (irregular) plurals. Masculine sound plural nouns end in the plural morpheme *uun*. Irregular plurals are known as *jam' taksiir*. These plurals constitute one of the most unusual aspects of Arabic, and they have detailed grammar and derivational rules. Two students rendered it as *sallat almuthiriin lilshafaqa* ('the basket of the pathetic'). Three translated it as *sallat almurtha lihalihim* ('basket of those of lamentable conditions') or *sallat almurtha lahum* ('basket of lamentables'). The rest produced the following translations:

1. *sallat almustahjiniin*
   ('the basket of condemned people')
2. *sallat alfazaʿa*
   ('the basket of horror')

3. *sallah min aldana'a*
   ('a basket of meanness')
4. *salah min alteʿasa*
   ('a basket of misery')
5. *fi'at alba'yisiin*
   ('the category of the wretched')
6. *majmuʿah min alba'yisiin*
   ('a group of the wretched')

The recent metaphor in Arabic *sallat albu'asa*' ('the basket of miserables') is an acceptable rendition, but the other translations that maintained only the first word of the SL metaphor ('basket') and failed in the translation of the word 'deplorables' led to awkward renditions not common in the TL. In all these translations, except for #5 and #6, the students used the word *sallah* or *sallat* (in the case of a genitive the 'h' in *sallah* is pronounced /t/ to ease pronunciation linking it to the 'al' in the word after it) which violates the collocational and semantic rules of Arabic, as the word cannot be used in association with humans even in a structure that is a metaphor. As a result, all translations sound awkward and do not match any acceptable collocational patterns in Arabic. A better rendition would have been *hifna min alba'yisiin* ('a handful of miserables').

4.3 Translation Strategies

To overcome translation difficulties, the translators resorted to the translation strategies such as paraphrase and adaptation (see Hatim and Munday 2004, 15). The following table presents the related results.

Table 2. Translation strategies.

Metaphors	**Types of metaphor**	**Recognition task in %**	**Translation strategies used by students**	**% of acceptable translations**
M1	Conventionalised transparent	90%	Direct transfer Replacement w/ idiom in TL Deletion	95%
M2	Conventionalised recent cliché	10%	Direct transfer	90%
M3	Conceptual/ transparent	85%	Direct transfer	95%
M4	Conceptual/ transparent	60%	Substitution with an acceptable TL collocational structure that partially preserves the SL metaphor	35%

M5	Original	70%	Substitution of the SL metaphor with a new metaphor in the TL Paraphrase Reduction to sense	5%
M6	Conceptual (phrasal verb)	95%	Substitution Paraphrase	5%
M7	Conceptual metaphor/ idiom	100%	Literal translation Reduction to sense Substitution Deletion	50%
M8	Dead transparent	65%	Direct transfer Deletion Substitution	5%
M9	Original non-lexicalised	95%	Direct transfer Substitution Reduction to sense	0%

As the results show, whenever there was no commonly known equivalent form in the TL the students faced serious challenges because maintaining the metaphoric structure in their renditions would obscure the intended message and create structural and collocational patterns that violate the acceptable norms in the TL. Various translation strategies were thus employed to deal with such cases.

5 Conclusion and Recommendations

This study investigated the linguistic, rhetorical, and cultural problems Omani undergraduate translation students encountered in recognising, understanding, and translating metaphors used in the campaign speeches delivered by Barack Obama, Donald Trump, and Hillary Clinton during the 2016 US presidential campaign, and examined what strategies students utilised to translate metaphorical structures into Arabic. The findings show that in eight out of nine cases, more than 60% of the students recognised the metaphors in various texts; however, in only three cases were the majority of students able to produce a linguistically and rhetorically acceptable rendition of the metaphoric structure in the TL that preserved the SL metaphor and/or its meaning. Hence, the students' inability to translate metaphors properly cannot not be attributed to a lack of ability to identify the different metaphors. This is a very important finding with significant implications for translator-trainers. Only in the case of (M2) did the students demonstrate significant difficulty in recognising the metaphor because it has been naturalised in both the SL and TL. The cases that posed a considerable challenge to students were a recent cliché metaphor, a conceptual transparent metaphor, an original metaphor, and a dead transparent metaphor.

With regard to the process of translating metaphoric structures, the study has found that some students consciously adopted different strategies to translating metaphors and others just approached the ST without any discernible consideration of appropriate translation

strategies. In the majority of cases, the students were not able to produce rhetorically and linguistically acceptable translations of the sentence structures that contained metaphors. In metaphors where there is a direct transfer (Category A) the students produced different renditions that mostly maintained the metaphoric nature of the ST and the ideational content of the metaphor, hence achieving direct equivalence (Molina and Albir 2002). In these cases, the students maintained all components of the metaphor: topic, vehicle, and grounds. As for Category B (partial transfer of metaphor parts), the students did not use all three components of the metaphor, yet tried to maintain the metaphoric nature of the text by using a variety of translation strategies. Their renditions were, however, mostly unacceptable. In Category C (lack of transfer of metaphor parts), most students understood the meanings of the ST metaphors, but were not able to maintain the metaphors in the TL and mostly produced paraphrases and adaptations that reduced the metaphors to sense. In Categories B and C, the majority of students faced serious problems in producing acceptable translations. Those students who were aware of the rhetorical and cultural dimensions of the metaphors within the context of political discourse tried to preserve them, but in many cases failed to produce collocational structures that are acceptable to the TL audience and would preserve the meaning and rhetorical effect of the metaphor. Whenever there was no commonly known equivalent form in the TL, the students faced serious challenges because maintaining the metaphoric structure in their renditions would obscure the intended message and create structural and collocational patterns that violate the acceptable norms in the TL. To overcome such difficulties, they resorted to translation strategies such as paraphrasing and adaptation (see Table 2 above).

The findings of this research are also indicative of the extent of students' competence in both the source and target languages and their ability to grasp the intended meaning, purpose, and significance of tropes used in political discourse. Translating political texts can involve special language that has no direct and clear rendition, because translation is not only a technical process, but also involves the understanding of the SL and TL cultural contexts in addition to the political situation and shades of meaning the speaker intends to convey. Inexperienced translators may render these texts inaccurately, especially when they contain unfamiliar or unique metaphors. Hence, it is imperative that translation trainees be taught to first identify the metaphors, grasp their meanings, and understand their usage within their contexts; secondly, they need to be trained in deciding what strategies would be most effective to translate various types of metaphors into the TL.

Translation programs traditionally offer courses in translation theory and technical translation. What is often lacking is training in practical translation. Students thus graduate without much practical experience in translating a variety of texts, such as political texts. They have also no specific training in recognising and translating rhetorical devices, figures of speech, and other stylistic conventions that are very common in such texts. It is thus recommended that students be trained in a more targeted manner to be able to approach stylistically complex texts such as political discourse that naturally contains many tropes. What the researchers also noticed is that students lack proper command of standard Arabic and in-depth cultural and linguistic knowledge of both English and Arabic. Based on these findings, the researchers recommend that more

practical translation courses be offered, more stylistics taught to familiarise students with rhetorical devices and figures of speech, and more targeted courses be given to train students how to refine their translation skills and expand their cultural knowledge and awareness of both the source and target languages.

References

Aldanani, Mansour. 2018. "Translating Metaphorical Expressions in Political Discourse: A Comparative Conceptual Study (English–Arabic)." *AWEJ for Translation & Literary Studies* 2 (4): 144–51. http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3276443.

Al-Harahsheh, Ahmad M. 2013. "The Translatability of Figures of Speech in Khalid Mashaal's Political Speeches: A Critical Discourse Analysis." *International Journal of English Linguistics* 3 (3): 100–114. https://doi.org/0.5539/ijel.v3n3p100.

Al-Hasnawi, Ali R. 2007. "A Cognitive Approach to Translating Metaphors." *Translation Journal* 11 (3). https://translationjournal.net/journal/41metaphor.htm.

Ateeg, Najla'a, and Abdulaziz Al-Tamimi. 2014. "The Translatability of Emotive Expressions in Islamic Texts from English into Arabic." *Andalusia Journal for the Humanities and Social Sciences* 3 (8): 23–51.

Bojović, Brankica. 2014. "Strategies of Metaphor Translation." *ELTA Journal* 2 (2): 74–81.

Dagut, Menachem B. 1976. "Can 'Metaphor' Be Translated?" *Babel* 22 (1): 21–33.

Dickins, James. 2005. "Two Models for Metaphor Translation." *Target* 17 (2): 227–73. https://doi.org/10.1075/target.17.2.03dic.

Dickins, James, Sándor Hervey, and Ian Higgins. 2002. *Thinking Arabic Translation: A Course in Translation Method: Arabic to English*. New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315012650.

Farhan, Zuhair G., and Yasir A. Taha. 2006. "A Stylistic Emotive Approach to English-Arabic Literary Translation." *Adab Al-Rafidayn* 43: 43–60.

Ghazala, Hassan. 2012. "Translating the Metaphor: A Cognitive-Stylistic Conceptualization (English-Arabic)." *World Journal of English Language* 2 (4): 57–68. https://doi.org/10.5430/wjel.v2n4p57.

Gonzálvez-García, Francisco, María Sandra Peña Cervel, and Lorena Pérez Hernández. 2013. *Metaphor and Metonymy Revisited Beyond the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: Recent Developments and Applications*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Hampe, Beate, ed. 2017. *Metaphor*: *Embodied Cognition and Discourse.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hatim, Basil, and Jeremy Munday. 2004. *Translation: An Advanced Resource Book*. New York: Routledge.

Jaber, In'am. 2008. "Translating Metaphoric Expressions: Translating Culture." *Journal of College of Education for Women* 19 (2). https://www.iasj.net/iasj?func=fulltext&aId=11971.

Kövecses, Zoltan. 2005. *Metaphor in Culture. Universality and Variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—. 2010. *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—. 2015. *Where Metaphors Come From: Reconsidering Context in Metaphor*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—. 2016. "Conceptual Metaphor Theory." In *The Routledge Handbook of Metaphor and Language*, edited by Elena Semino and Zsófia Demjén, 13–27. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

—. 1999. *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought*. New York: Basic Books.

—. 2002. *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think*, 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226471006.001.0001.

—. 2008. "The Neural Theory of Metaphor." In *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought*, edited by Raymond W. Gibbs, Jr., 17–38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511816802.003.

Mandelblit, Neli. 1995. "The Cognitive View of Metaphor and Its Implications for Translation Theory." *Translation and Meaning 3:* 483–95.
Mansoor, Khalid. 2017. "The Concept of Metaphor in the English-Arabic Translation." *Professional Communication and Translation Studies* 10: 155–62.
Mason, Kirsten. 1982. "Metaphor and Translation." *Babel: International Journal of Translation* 28 (3): 140–49. https://doi.org/10.1075/babel.28.3.05mas.
Molina, Lucía, and Amparo Hurtado Albir. 2002. "Translation Techniques Revisited: A Dynamic and Functionalist Approach." *Meta* 47 (4): 498–512. https://doi.org/10.7202/008033ar.
Nader, Maria. 2014. "Translating Metaphor in Economic Newspaper Articles: A Case Study of the Translation of Conceptual and Linguistic Metaphors from English into Arabic." *New Voices in Translation Studies* 11: i-ii.
Newmark, Peter. 1988a. *A Textbook of Translation*. London: Prentice Hall.
—. 1988b. *Approaches to Translation*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
Onuf, Nicholas. 2013. *Making Sense, Making Worlds: Constructivism in Social Theory and International Relations*. New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203096710.
Paprotté, Wolf, and René Dirven. 1985. *The Ubiquity of Metaphor: Metaphor in Language and Thought.* Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Ramadan Shunnaq, Susanne, Hassan Shuqair, and Adel Abu-Radwan. 2018. "The Hurdle of Rhetoric: An Analytical Study of Omani Students' Translation of Political Speech." *Onomázein* 40: 139–158. https://doi.org/10.7764/onomazein.40.09.
Shunnaq, Abdullah. 1993. "Lexical Incongruence in Arabic-English Translation due to Emotiveness in Arabic." *Turjuman* 2 (2): 37–63.
van den Broeck, Raymond. 1981. "The Limits of Translatability Exemplified by Metaphor Translation." *Poetics Today* 2: 73–87.
Wilss, Wolfram. 1996. *Knowledge and Skills in Translator Behavior*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/btl.15.

List of Contributors

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Patricia Ashby,
University of Westminster, United Kingdom
p.d.s.ashby@gmail.com

Vesna Bratić,
University of Montenegro, Montenegro
vesnabr@ucg.ac.me

Parisa Changizi,
University of Ostrava, Czechia
parisa.changizi@osu.cz

Sandor Czegledi,
University of Pannonia, Hungary
czegledi@almos.uni-pannon.hu

Dušan Gabrovšek,
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
dusan.gabrovsek@ff.uni-lj.si

Michelle Gadpaille,
University of Maribor, Slovenia
michelle.gadpaille@um.si

Soraya García-Sánchez,
University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Spain
soraya.garcia@ulpgc.es

Irena Dimova,
Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski", Bulgaria
irenadi@abv.bg

Mohammad Reza Hassanzadeh Javanian,
University of Tehran, Iran
mrjavanian@ut.ac.ir

Goutam Karmakar,
Barabazar Bikram Tudu Memorial College, Sidho-Kanho-Birsha University, West Bengal, India
goutamkrmkr@gmail.com

Igor Lakić,
University of Montenegro, Montenegro
igorlakic@ucg.ac.me

Carmen Luján-García,
University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Spain
carmen.lujan@ulpgc.es

Yana Manova-Georgieva,
South-West University Neofit Rilski, Bulgaria
yana_georgieva@swu.bg

Paul Onanuga,
Federal University Oye-Ekiti, Nigeria
emperornugadellio@yahoo.com

Adel Abu Radwan,
Sultan Qaboos University, Oman
radwan64@gmail.com

Farzan Rahmani,
University of Tehran, Iran
farzanrahmani@yahoo.com

Susanne Ramadan Shunnaq,
Yarmouk University, Jordan;
Sultan Qaboos University, Oman
sxr30@hotmail.com

Hassan Shuqair,
Sultan Qaboos University, Oman
abufiras2003@hotmail.com

Magda Sučková,
Masaryk University, Brno University of Technology, Czechia
215279@mail.muni.cz

Rotimi Taiwo,
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
rtaiwo@o

Polona Vičič,
University of Maribor, Slovenia
polona.vicic@um.si

Milica Vuković Stamatović,
University of Montenegro, Montenegro
vmilica@ucg.ac.me

Simon Zupan,
University of Maribor, Slovenia
simon.zupan@um.si

GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

ELOPE English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries
ELOPE publishes original research articles, studies and essays that address matters pertaining to the English language, literature, teaching and translation.

Submission of Manuscripts
Manuscripts should be submitted for blind review in electronic form using the Faculty of Arts (University of Ljubljana) OJS platform (https://revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope/about/submissions). Only one contribution by the same author per volume will be considered. Each paper should be accompanied by abstracts in English and Slovene (not more than 150 words each) and keywords. Abstracts by non-native speakers of Slovene will be translated into Slovene by ELOPE. Please be sure to have a qualified native speaker proofread your English-language article. Suggested length of manuscripts is between 5,000 and 8,000 words.

Manuscript Style and Format
The manuscript should be in the following format:

- title in English,
- abstracts in English and Slovene,
- the text should be divided into introduction; body of the paper (possibly subdivided); and conclusion.

The text should be preferably written in Word format (OpenOffice and RTF files are also acceptable). Please observe the following:

- 12-point Times New Roman font size,
- 2.5 cm page margins on all sides,
- 1.5-point line spacing,
- left text alignment,
- footnotes should be brief (up to 300 words per page; 10-point Times New Roman font size).

For resolving practical style and formatting queries, please see the articles in the latest on-line issue (https://revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope/issue/current) or contact the technical editor.

References
References should comply with *The Chicago Manual of Style* (17th edition, 2017) author-date system. A Quick Guide to CMS is available here: https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide/citation-guide-2.html.

Final note
Please note that only manuscripts fully adhering to the ELOPE Guidelines for Contributors will be considered for publication.

ELOPE
English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries

ELOPE Vol. 17, No. 2 (2020)

Journal Editors
Smiljana Komar, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
Mojca Krevel, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Guest Editors
Michelle Gadpaille, University of Maribor, Slovenia
Jason Blake, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Editorial Board
Lisa Botshon, University of Maine at Augusta, United States of America; Biljana Čubrović, University of Belgrade, Serbia; Michael Devine, Acadia University, Canada; Dušan Gabrovšek, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; Michelle Gadpaille, University of Maribor, Slovenia; Meta Grosman, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; Allan James, University of Klagenfurt, Austria; Victor Kennedy, University of Maribor, Slovenia; Bernhard Kettemann, University of Graz, Austria; Alberto Lázaro, University of Alcalá de Henares, Spain; J. Lachlan Mackenzie, VU University Amsterdam, Netherlands; Tomaž Onič, University of Maribor, Slovenia; Roger D. Sell, Åbo Akademi University, Finland; Andrej Stopar, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; Rick Van Noy, Radford University, United States of America; Terri-ann White, University of Western Australia, Australia

Editorial Secretary
Gašper Ilc, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Technical Editor
Andrej Stopar, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Proofreading
Paul Steed

Editorial Policy

ELOPE: English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries is a double-blind, peer-reviewed academic journal that publishes original research articles, studies and essays that address matters pertaining to the English language, literature, teaching and translation.

The journal promotes the discussion of linguistic and literary issues from theoretical and applied perspectives regardless of school of thought or methodology. Covering a wide range of issues and concerns, ELOPE aims to investigate and highlight the themes explored by contemporary scholars in the diverse fields of English studies.

ELOPE
English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries

Published by
Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts
Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
For the Publisher: Roman Kuhar, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts

Issued by
Slovene Association for the Study of English
Slovensko društvo za angleške študije
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

Department of English, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana
Oddelek za anglistiko in amerikanistiko, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

The journal is published with support from the Slovenian Research Agency.

The publication is free of charge.

Universal Decimal Classification (UDC)
Kristina Pegan Vičič

Journal Design
Gašper Mrak

Cover
Marjan Pogačnik: *Zimsko cvetje,* 1994
7.6 x 10.0 cm; colour etching, deep relief
Owner: National Gallery, Ljubljana,
Photo: Bojan Salaj, National Gallery, Ljubljana

Printed by
Birografika Bori

Number of Copies
110

University of Ljubljana
FACULTY OF ARTS

https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2
Online ISSN: 2386-0316
Print ISSN: 1581-8918

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.