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REVIEW

Learning a Language through Creeping into Its Culture
Zuzana Tabačková
Classroom Research in Pre-Service Teacher Training: A Case Study

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Abstract
Pre-service teacher training in Slovakia offers several components which allow trainees to experience all aspects of teaching profession. Teaching practice conducted at elementary and secondary schools is usually the right time to observe experienced teachers and to learn the first skills in the real setting. Most of the time during the teaching practice is spent by trainees over the planning of lessons, conducting the lessons and reflecting on the achievements and the space for improvement.

However, the teaching practice offers also some space which can be devoted to deeper analysis of what trainees experience, to conceptualisation and deduction of new principles based on theoretical background gained in methodology seminars and concrete experience during the lessons taught or observed. This paper focuses on how teaching practice can be connected with classroom research and highlights the positives of what this experience brings to trainees as well as problematic aspects which are connected to conducting research in school conditions. It raises the question whether trainees are in fact able to carry out a meaningful research with the skills gained during the studies and whether the tools of classroom or action research are available to them as future teachers.

Keywords
classroom research, teacher beliefs, pre-service teacher training, research methods

Introduction
Teacher training traditionally prepares future teachers for many roles they need to perform during teaching. There are many specific roles mentioned by ELT professionals (e.g. Harmer 2001, Homolová, 2003) such as the role of organizer, assessor, tutor, resource, etc.

One of these roles, however, is perceived as “kind of awkward” by the teachers themselves. It is the role of a researcher. Teachers have a tendency to look at anything connected to the concept of research as the world too distant and irrelevant for their every-day work. In their understanding it is what teachers and researcher from universities do in order to feed the university students with the sufficient amount of theory.

However, even trainees do not envisage the role of a researcher as an important one for their future career because they find it difficult to see clearly any practical application of this role in their future profession. Viewing theory
and practice as something disconnected seems to be a logical consequence of listening to practitioners saying: “It’s all just nice theory but just wait until you get to practice – there you will learn everything from the beginning”.

These viewpoints are rather dangerous since trainees have a tendency to accept them as true quite easily. Thus it seems inevitable for teacher trainers to constantly remind trainees during their training courses of the famous quote by Kurt Lewin that “there is nothing so practical as a good theory”. Even though some researchers have certain reservations to this quote, still they agree that “practice can develop differently in the presence of theory” (Sandelands 1990, p.258). And what is more important than making theory practical is thinking about the principles and seeing their demonstration in the real setting.

Teacher education should allow the space for challenging trainees’ beliefs about learning and teaching which are based mainly on the prior experience and thus taken for granted. Trust that trainees have developed over years to the ways they have seen their teachers used are the reason why it is much easier for them to accept something that is in accordance with this experience rather than something that contradicts it. The question of beliefs system is, therefore, of crucial importance in any teacher training course.

**The role of teacher beliefs**

In recent years, educational research has shifted the attention of prime interest from observable actions that happen in the classroom to such aspects which are not visible however still influence the learning and teaching processes, e.g. personality of the learner and teacher, learning atmosphere, individual predispositions as well as learners’ and teachers’ beliefs and assumptions about learning and teaching.

The concept of beliefs is important not only in understanding the learning and teaching process but they help us understand the reality and to function in our social environment. Borg (2001, p.186) outlines the concept of beliefs as follows: “... a belief is a proposition which may be consciously or unconsciously held, is evaluative in that it is accepted as true by the individual, and is therefore imbued with emotive commitment; further, it serves as a guide to thought and behaviour...”

It is quite obvious that beliefs, especially those held unconsciously would serve as a selective aspect of whatever new areas a person is being confronted with.

In teacher training it is very important to pay attention to what is addressed as teacher beliefs. This term usually refers to teachers' pedagogic beliefs about teaching, learning, and learners; subject matter (i.e. language); self as a teacher, or the role of a teacher. Richards and Lockhardt (1995, p.30) claim that “teachers' belief systems are founded on the goals, values, and beliefs teachers hold in relation to the content and process of teaching, and their understanding of the systems in
which they work and their roles within it.” Also other educational psychologists (Williams & Burden, 1997; Woods, 1996;) admit the importance of these beliefs in whatever action we take in the classes and whatever decision we make as teachers. Their importance needs to be stressed even because they might guide a teacher more than a teacher training course or any methodological advice published in teacher’s books can.

Research that has been conducted within the field of teachers’ belief systems suggests that we need to look at the sources of their origin to understand the complexity of their substance. Richards and Lockhardt (1995, p.30) for example state several sources of teachers’ beliefs. One of the most important seems to be teachers’ own experience as language learners. It is quite interesting to mention one teacher’s point of view comparing her prior learning experience of teachers and their teacher training: „By the time we receive our bachelor’s degree, we have observed teachers and participated in their work for up to 3,060 days. In contrast, teacher preparation programs [at the master’s level] usually require [about] 75 days of classroom experience. What could possibly happen during these 75 days to significantly alter the practices learned during the preceding 3,060 days?“ (ibid, p. 30).

They mention further that are also other sources of teachers’ beliefs such as the experience of what works best for individual teachers as well as established practice within one school or area or even the whole country or the personality factors. All these play an important role in selecting certain patterns of interaction with students, preferences among teaching approaches and philosophies. Last but not least educationally based or research-based principles may also influence the formation of their beliefs, e.g. attendance at conferences, seminars, courses, sharing their experience with other professionals and learning from the latest results of pedagogical research. (ibid.)

The belief system serves as a selective factor also in what trainees perceive as helpful, feasible and applicable from the content that is presented by their trainees. They do not simply take over the suggestions of the trainer in the course and do not put these in practice with ease. The decisions they make seems to be well-established in the system of their internal principles. This can be illustrated by a comment one trainee made as a reaction to a lesson where a lecturer tried to present the advantages of presenting grammar communicatively: “How can I believe it works? I have never been taught like that before!”

What seems to open the channels of penetrating into the layers of deeply-rooted principles is to question the main decisions that we make during planning or teaching and search for satisfactory answers. Questions like these might focus us on thinking about what guides us to certain actions and what influences us in our decision-making process. The process of becoming aware of why things are
happening is a discovery process based on experiential learning cycle (Kolb, 1984). We go through and experience, we reflect on it and after that think about this experience, consult other people and professional literature and finally we make a plan for further steps. Kolb (ibid, p. 3) argues the “people do learn from their experience, and the results of that learning can be reliably assessed and certified for college credit. At the same time, programs of sponsored experiential learning are on the increase in higher education. Internships, field placements, work/study assignments, structured exercises and role plays, gaming simulations, and other forms of experience-based education are playing a larger role in the curricula of undergraduate and professional programs.”

**The role of classroom research**

Classroom research has the potential to address teachers’ beliefs and thus bring teachers to deeper consideration of how they carry out the decision making process. Hopkins (2002, p.1) offers his understanding of classroom research as an “act undertaken by teachers, to enhance their own or a colleague’s teaching, to test the assumptions of educational theory in practice, or as a means of evaluating and implementing whole school priorities.”

When we look back at the theory of teachers’ beliefs it is quite obvious that trainees with no real experience of their own might actually rely more on their experience as language learners and the practices performed by their own teachers, so classroom research implemented into a training course can actually offer some space for testing the assumptions they hold based on their prior experience.

The origins of teacher research as a movement, as Hopkins (ibid.) projects it, can be traced back to the Schools Council’s Humanities Curriculum Project (HCP) (1967–72) directed by Stenhouse with its emphasis on an experimental curriculum who published his experience in the book *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development*. There were other attempts which followed this initial project such as the Ford Teaching Project by Elliott and Adelman (1972–75), which involved about 40 primary teachers in the act of thinking about their classroom practices. These pioneering projects led to much higher interest among teachers to take over the roles of researchers (Hopkins 2002, p. 2).

However, teachers in general find rather problematic to get involved in classroom research carried out as action-based research. The study of Nunan points to several reasons why teachers might not be so keen on taking a part in a classroom research:

1. lack of time;
2. lack of experience, particularly with critical phases of research, such as formulating the research question and determining the appropriate research design and statistical tools;
3. difficulty in identifying subjects;
4. problems in negotiating access to research sites;
5. issues of confidentiality;
6. ethical questions relating to collecting data (these arise when one wants to collect oral language without alerting subjects to the fact that they are being observed...);
7. sensitivity of reporting negative findings, particularly if these relate to worksites of individual with whom one is associated;

Similar findings came out of the case study presented below in which trainee teachers asked their mentors during their teaching practice whether they have carried out any kind of classroom research. 97% of the teachers responded negatively and in one case the teacher admitted some kind of research cooperation within a project schema but this was not initiated by the teacher herself. The barriers which were stated as main reasons preventing them from carrying out action-based research seem to be quite similar the list above:
1. No time for this kind of activity – they claimed they are overloaded with administrative tasks in such extent that another, as they named it, administration is not appealing for them.
2. Another reason that they stated was the lack of motivation – teachers did not really envisage any benefits they could gain. Their ideas of how learning and teaching processes should be organized were quite definite and they did not see any relevance for action research in their setting.

Teachers in practice might feel hesitance when it comes to research also due to the lack of experience as Nunan (ibid) states and if we take into consideration the level of involvement of trainees into any kind of research tasks during their studies, the result is far from satisfactory. As a consequence, trainees who start their teaching career with minimum experience in the field of carrying out classroom research will thus not feel competent to start any activity of this kind. However, thinking about their own teaching, collecting some data to discover the facts which can lead them towards the change in their belief system and in the way they approach teaching is more than desirable for a developing teacher. So it seems quite relevant for teacher educators to consider possibilities of equipping trainees with the skills of conducting classroom research for their future benefits. As Walker (in Nunan, 1990, p. 17) states, that “teacher education programmes with a prominent teacher research component vest much more authority in the
trainees than the trainer, as it is the trainees rather that the trainer who set the agenda. They will be the people who have the first-hand experience of the problem and its context, and the onus will be on them to communicate issues, difficulties and concerns…”

**A case study: classroom research project in pre-service teacher training**

In accordance with above mentioned we tried to incorporate the classroom research element into the teacher education programme in Slovakia. The idea behind introducing the classroom research element into the teacher training course was to help trainees implement in their future teaching practice such techniques to which clear justifications can be found and which will not be only a result of a vague system of their belief. The secondary benefits also included the expectations that trainees as future teachers should be able to apply theoretical principles into practice in order to see whether and how things work in their context.

The case study had the aim to gather the data about the skills of conducting research in the school environment. The main aim was to find out how able the trainees are to design the classroom research, to state appropriate research questions, to select the appropriate research method as well as to analyze their data and to come to relevant conclusions. The Classroom Research Project was assigned as a compulsory element of the third (as well the last) semester in a two-year training programme. The case study focus group consisted of 45 trainees who have mastered the basic issues of English teaching methodology in previous two semesters (approx. 78 hours of training) and they have experienced one week of school observations (approx. 10 hours observed) and two weeks of teaching practice (approx. 16 lessons taught) in a regular school setting. In Methodology seminars during their training they have experienced teaching at least two micro-sessions (each for at least 15 minutes) with the feedback discussion and analysis of selected issues. In the last semester of Methodology the trainees were assigned the classroom research project which was to be realized during two-week teaching practice at secondary schools.

Trainees received a lecture on classroom research – where they could learn about how to define research areas, how to state research questions, how to identify the research methods, which will bring the data they need. Trainees had a chance to discuss in the successive seminar the ways of data collection and interpretation and also how to prepare the written report they were expected to hand in.

The area of research was for the purpose of this classroom research selected and limited to a specifically given topic, otherwise trainees might feel lost which area to choose. Trainees were asked to do some background reading and define
the basic concepts in order to make sure they understand the focus of the research. In the introductory instruction they were offered sample research questions however, they were free to design their own questions. Their further tasks were to choose an appropriate research method. The choice of research methods was limited as well due to the nature of the research project which was to be conducted during their two-week teaching practice. Trainees were advised to choose one of the following research methods:

- **observations** – they were asked to carry out at least 4 observations of what happens in the class, with the aim to record how the teacher supported or focused on the issues from the topic of the research during the lessons and how balanced this focus was. They were directed to design a grid with key categories which were supposed to guide their observations.

- **a questionnaire** – trainees were asked to design a set of approximately 10 questions through which they would collect the data about the main topic for students (the minimum number of students were at least 40). Trainees were encouraged to use basic statistical methods to analyze and interpret their data.

- **an interview with students** – a brief interview was to be conducted with a group of students (5-10). The interview was to be recorded and transcript provided.

- **an interview with a teacher** - a brief interview was to be conducted with individual teachers (supervisors or other teachers at school). The transcript or detailed notes (question-answer) were to be provided.

Completed Classroom Research Projects were delivered and evaluated by the trainer. Each trainee received evaluation based on several criteria:

- **introduction of the topic** - the focus was on how they managed to define the key concepts and briefly introduce the topic

- **appropriacy of research questions** – the focus was on which research questions they have selected or how they designed their own research questions

- **method selection and handling the method in general** – the focus was on whether the method they have selected corresponded with the research question and could bring the data they needed as well as how trainees managed the process of data collection, e.g. how they formulated questions for their questionnaires or for their interviews

- **data analysis** – the focus was on how they managed to analyze the data they collected during two weeks, how they managed to see correlations and implications
conclusions and general impression - the focus was on how trainees managed to synthesize all their findings and bring it to the final conclusions connected to their research questions.

Research results
In the feedback sessions trainees admitted they were not very clear on how they were supposed to carry out this task and what exactly they could expect as an outcome. Even after the introduction of the research methods and exemplification of similar project results, they still felt insecure in whether their choice of methods and steps they took were the ones expected.

In general it can be said that the aim of this research project has its value in the training course. The overall evaluation of this project brought interesting findings about how trainees carry out the project step-by-step. For instance, majority of trainees decided to use a questionnaire – they considered as the easiest and manageable way of obtaining the data. They had much clearer idea of how they would go about this method in the classroom. However, the overall experience with this project can be reflected through positive aspects which were possible to notice as well as some problematic aspects which need to be addressed in the future.

Positive aspects of the classroom research project can be summarized into several points:

1. Trainees had a chance to experience the path of a researcher – they did the project with the initial support given to them, they had a chance to consult the procedure with the trainer, the results of their classroom research could not influence any of the learners so they need not worry about the negative impact of what the results could possibly reveal.

2. Each trainee received the feedback from the trainer so they had a chance to realize the strong and weak points of their research and they learned how to improve things in the future. This was very helpful especially for the students who were getting ready for their diploma thesis in English methodology and were preparing for their own research within their own theme. It was clearer to them what kind of data they could expect from which research method. They also had a chance to think about the faults and wrong steps they took during their classroom research project and they were more aware of how to avoid it in the future.

3. Most students who decided for the data collection from students (whether an interview or a questionnaire) experienced that for the first time and they considered this way of learning about how students see their own learning process or their teacher’s teaching as very interesting and beneficial. Most of
them expressed their desire to use this method also in their own teaching practice in the future.

4. Trainees started to think about what was happening in the class and about what was beyond the teachers’ decisions to carry out certain actions in the class. They had to start questioning the actions they saw and search for supporting principles which would explain the teacher’s decisions. They also had a chance to compare their own thinking about the topic and their mentor’s thinking which also provided space for contemplation. That was also a new experience for them since before they were more focused on the visible actions and activities teachers did. This reflective process was the main aim of the classroom research project. Instead of taking notes of well-tried procedures they had to rely on their thinking process in order to justify their conclusions.

5. The project itself had an important unforeseen benefit. In the feedback sessions trainees admitted that they were proud of themselves to be able to carry out such a task which they considered impossible or at least rather demanding at the beginning. They mentioned that they felt important when they carried out the interviews or handed out the questionnaires to students. Of course, this added value is important for trainees as their personal positive feeling though this fact cannot be taken as significant for the classroom research project as such.

At the same time this project pointed to several problematic issues which will need to be addressed in the future. Some of the most troublesome issues can be specified as follows:

1. Trainees had serious problems to formulate questions for their questionnaires. It only occurred to them that their questions were inappropriate when they were not able to draw any conclusions from the data they gained. Even though this can be viewed as a lesson they have learnt, it will be important in the future to implement more support in this field in order to avoid complications in the final phase. For instance, they used a lot of terminology in the questions for their students which was completely unknown to them. As well they asked questions which were absolutely irrelevant for the focus of their research. This means they did not really envisage how the answers are going to lead them towards any conclusions.

2. While discussing the results of their questionnaires they found it difficult to find correlations in the individual areas and interpret these based on their own experience.

3. It will be important to pay more attention to trainees’ complete understanding of how qualitative data should be discussed. This area seemed to be problematic even though many interviews especially the interviews with teachers brought a lot of interesting findings. Trainees had a tendency to apply the same procedures for their interpretation as if these were questionnaires –
one question by another despite the fact they had been instructed how to design categories for data analysis. More attention will have to be paid to this area since it turned out that interviews were a quite frequent choice of the research method.

4. In the area of qualitative data there was one more problematic aspect. Trainees did not really grasp the role of the interviewer with ease. They did not feel secure enough to lead an interview with their mentor and thus they stuck to their prepared questions-sets like glue, so in many cases interviews were presented as if they were oral questionnaires. The quality of data deteriorated by the fact that they did not ask additional questions and they were often satisfied with yes/no answer. These aspects of interviews were not anticipated in advance and trainees were not ready for this.

5. For the future use it will be desirable to provide trainees with wider space for presentation of their results since they can learn a lot from each other’s findings especially if they have a common thematic thread. Oral presentation of the findings would also help to focus the trainees more on justification of their conclusions.

**Conclusion**

This paper focuses on highlighting the importance of preparing future teachers for the role of a researcher in their own environment. This skill can widen teachers’ perspectives on their own development. At present teachers are no very keen on carrying out any actions connected to research-based activities especially because they are not aware of any benefits these activities can bring. As it was mentioned the lack of experience can also play a role in their attitude towards classroom research. The case study which was presented is a part of teacher education at pre-service level and was designed with the idea of introducing the basis of classroom research to trainees before they enter teaching profession. As trainees’ first experience it obviously had a number of limitations, still the value of experience was appreciated in the end.

Teacher education aims to prepare future teachers for all roles they are to perform in the school setting. Even though there is a limited space for this during the courses offered in pre-service teacher training, we should at least try to engage trainees in those actions we expect them to perform in the practice. Therefore, the role of researcher should be no different from those of the assessor or organizer. To try out what it takes seems to be much more relevant than to think what it takes.

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Change in Beliefs on Language Learning of BA Students in Language Teaching

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Abstract
This paper analyzes changes in students’ beliefs on language learning in a Mexican public university BA in Language Teaching. The study monitors the beliefs held by students in an initial stage, when they enter the educational program to the final stage of a four-year program, by implementing the instrument BALLI (Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory), developed by Horwitz (1985, 1987, and 1988). Although considerable amount of research has been conducted about language learners and language teachers’ beliefs, there are few studies that monitor the changes in beliefs over a longer period of time. Moreover, the results of current studies in the ESL (English as a Second Language) or EFL (English as a Foreign Language) field are rather inconclusive in the sense that some of them report beliefs in language learning, which have not been modified substantially in pre-service language teachers (Peacock, 2001), while others suggest the contrary (e.g. Debreli, 2012). The authors of the present article describe the beliefs of a selected group of students from a 2009-2 cohort reporting changes over the four year period in the following thematic lines: difficulty of the language, foreign language aptitude, nature of language learning, learning and communication strategies, and motivations and expectations. The authors argue that beliefs play a central role in the process of pre-service teacher development as they anticipate changes in teacher’s practices. The study’s theoretical and pedagogical implications for the educational program are also discussed in this paper.

Keywords
beliefs on language learning, ELF teacher beliefs, BALLI, changes in beliefs, BA in language teaching

Introduction
This investigative project on students’ beliefs on language learning circumscribes into mayor national project that searched for factors effecting terminal efficiency of BA language teaching majors from the cohort 2009-2 in 22 Mexican public universities (Tapia, 2009) Besides following the academic trajectory of selected students and describing indicators traditionally associated with academic success, the project focused on factors that are perhaps less visible, but nonetheless important in formation of future language teachers, that is the beliefs they hold towards language learning and language teaching. Our
study, located in a large public university in Northern Mexico, centers on the
description of students' beliefs upon entering and leaving the eight semester
program in order to determine if, and/or how their beliefs modify in the course
of time.

It has been acknowledged that beliefs of both in-service and pre-service
teachers have impact on their classroom teaching practices (Pajares, 1992;
Evrim, Göcçek & Enisa, 2009). Beliefs might act as an affective filter that on
occasions blocks openness to new ideas and class activities, thus inhibiting
effective language learning (Cotteral, 1995). On the other hand, creating realistic
beliefs (Dörnyei, 2001) relates to successful motivational strategies that foster
second language learning. In overall, literature on L2 reports beliefs and
practices are aligned (Phips & Borg, 2009). Understanding teachers’ (and future
teachers’) beliefs important to be able to predict the directions of their behavior,
as what people think, believe and feel have affect on what they do (Bandura,
1989).

Beliefs
Beliefs, as stated above, influence our actions, and are structural components
of attitudes (Agheyisi y Fishman, 1970), formed by both afective and cognoscitive
elements. Borg (2001) defines a belief as “a proposition which may be
consciously or unconsciously held, is evaluative in that it is accepted as true by
the individual, and is therefore imbued with emotive commitment; further it
serves as a guide to thought and behavior” (p. 186).

It should be mentioned that there is a lack of theoretical delimitation of
concept of belief and terms relative to teacher cognition in general. Similar
concepts can be studied under different names. On that subject, Pajares (1992)
remarks that beliefs often “travel in disguise and under different alias” (p. 309),
and then proceeds to add a list of twenty-two related terms, among which
attitudes, values, judgments and opinions can be found. For further description of
the theoretical construct, we recommend reviewing the following sources:
and Garrett (2010), as due to the scope of this article, we will not delve into
detailed theoretical discussion. Our choice of the term “belief” above other
related terms could also have been influenced by the frequency of the usage of
the term “beliefs” in anglophone literature (Usó, 2007). Other decisive element is
the fact that this study is using the instrument developed by Horwitz (1988), who
operationalized the concept of beliefs in second language learning and marked
the starting point for the research of beliefs in applied linguistics.
Beliefs about language and language learning

From the 70s on, under the Cognitive Approach, the focus on teachers’ cognition, and teachers’ mental processes, including beliefs, became apparent (Borg, 2006). This effort reaches its systematization in the SLA/FLA (L2) field in the 80s and its full development in the 90s (Martinez & Sanz, 2008). The obligatory reference, when studying beliefs in the L2 field, is the research started by Horwitz, who developed three versions of the Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) in 1985, 1987, and 1988, focusing on both teachers’ and students’ beliefs. The BALLI has been replicated on many occasions (mainly the version that focuses on students’ beliefs); its outcomes have been reported and contrasted on the international scale: Yang, 1992 (Yang, 1999) in Taiwan; Truitt, 1995 in Korea, and continued and enriched by Sage (as cited in Sage, 2011), reporting some coincidences on certain items but also discrepancies on others. The coincidences in certain beliefs worldwide are also supported by research evidence, such as in the BALLI item listed as number one that states positive effects of early language learning (Bernat, 2006). In contrast, differences in beliefs are sometimes attributed to different cultural backgrounds of the studied subjects (Alexander & Dochy, 1995; Horwitz, 1999). Majority of the above listed studies focus on beliefs about English language and its learning, nevertheless, there are studies that describe beliefs held towards other languages such as French and its learning in Lebanon (Diab, 2006) or beliefs towards foreign languages in the U.S. (Fernandez, 2008).

In Mexico, the BALLI instrument was also implemented in study of learners’ beliefs towards French (Ramírez Posadas, 2009) or English (Aguilar Arana, 2012). Although widely used, the BALLI instrument is not the only quantitative measurement implemented to inquire beliefs in our context (Reyes Cruz, Murrieta Loyo, & Hernández Méndez, 2009; Reyes Cruz & Murrieta Loyo, 2011). In addition, qualitative methods are also implemented to research learners and teachers beliefs towards languages and language learning (Narváez Trejo, 2009; Domínguez Gaona, Crhová, Romero Monteverde, & Molina Landeros, 2013).

Regardless of the instrument, the exploration of beliefs in the global scale tends to display learners or in-service or pre-service teachers beliefs on language and its learning at one instance. There is a lack of studies that document the change in beliefs over the time. Bernat & Gvozdenko, 2005 state that research that addresses changes in learners’ beliefs’ and the issue of their stability is needed. In the light of foreign language classroom experience and exposure to new teaching methodologies, it is important to provide the evidence whether these beliefs can be altered and molded in time.
Change in beliefs

Beliefs are said to be deep-rooted. As teachers or future teachers, we all possess a system of beliefs that together with our knowledge and professional experience serve as a means not only to interpret our educational reality, but also to intervene in it (Latorre Medina & Blanco Encomienda, 2007). If we, as educators in the L2 field, pretend to intervene in the process and modify students’ beliefs, we, in the first place, have to believe (and know) they can be altered.

Inasmuch as the change in beliefs, two postures of researchers are salient in the field of education: the first claims that belief are resistant to change, and the second that states that beliefs are susceptible to change. The advocates of the former are rather skeptical about the possibility of changes in beliefs (Bandura, 1986, Pajares, 1992). Accordingly, in L2 field, Peacock (2001) provides the evidence, based on a longitudinal three-year research that beliefs of BA students of language teaching do not change. On the other hand, the supporters of the latter defend the possibility of change in beliefs from the epistemological grounds. Poster’s Conceptual Change Model (as cited in Murphy & Mason, 2006) provides conditions that may trigger changes in beliefs. Whenever there exists dissatisfaction with current conceptions, and individuals recognize their representations are no longer appropriate; when the new concept is intelligible; when it is plausible and credible, and finally when these concepts are useful. Individuals’ beliefs about the nature of knowledge and reality serve thus as an explanation of the validity of the phenomenon. When the conditions for knowledge restructuring and concept restructuring are met, the change in beliefs is possible.

In L2 field, a longitudinal research conducted by Bush (2010) documented significant changes in pre-service teachers over the period of three years, while enrolled in a SLA course in a Californian university. The studied subjects attributed their change in beliefs to the content of the course and their experiential activities in the professional field. Debreli (2012) in her qualitative research of pre-service EFL teachers found out that once the students completed the training program, their beliefs towards L2 learning and teaching exhibit substantial changes, namely regarding the ones about teaching of grammar and error correction, language aptitude beliefs and the informants’ perceptions on the effective use of materials. These changes can be considered as positive, for example, in contrast to a previously held opinion, that learning language requires a “special ability” which aligns to BALLI item # 2, and in general, to the second thematic line of beliefs on foreign language aptitude. Once the training program completed and furthermore, in response and as a reflection of their teaching practice, the respondents rejected the prior belief, acknowledging that “weak”
students working hard show considerable improvement in foreign language learning and their success may not be conditioned by their special language ability but by the effort spent on the task.

These changes in perceptions reported by the researchers of the field and the common interest we share with other language teachers involved in the national project that monitors the performance of future L2 teachers in Mexico of a particular cohort (PIAFET), led us to address the following research question: do the beliefs of students enrolled in the BA in Language Teaching change during the course of their studies?

**Methodology**

The present research project follows a quantitative methodology and applies descriptive statistical procedures. It is a correlational longitudinal study that uses the SPSS version 19 (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) to draw frequencies, significance level and validity measures. T-test for two related samples was used to discover significant differences in both applications.

**Participants**

The participants of the study were BA students of Language Teaching from 2009-2 cohort, who finished their program in 2013-1 in one large public university in Northern Mexico situated on US-Mexican border. The students belonged to four different campuses. The final sample had 44 students who responded both the first and the second instrument in their first and eighth semesters of study. There were 28 women and 16 men; age ranged from 20 to 47.

**Instrument and Procedures**

Participants were applied Horwitz’s (1988) BALLI Inventory with minimum adjustments (for example substitution by local equivalents, like using Mexican instead of American to take into consideration the local context). The same instrument was administered in the fist and in the eighth semester. It consists of 34 items that can be grouped in five thematic lines.

**Results**

The following table aligns the statements into themes. The Cronbach’s Alpha reliability for the instrument and the general data was .831.

The data obtained in the study, shown and discussed further on, obey the proposed thematic lines and the statements included in them. *Beliefs about the difficulty of language learning.*

In Table 2, we can observe that in items 24 and 28 fewer students had neutral opinions about them (see column 3); these percentages are reduced in the
Table 1: BALLI Themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The difficulty of language learning</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6, 14, 24, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Foreign language aptitude</td>
<td>1, 2, 10, 15, 22, 29, 32, 33, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The nature of language learning</td>
<td>8, 11, 16, 20, 25, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Learning and communication strategies</td>
<td>7, 9, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Motivations and expectation</td>
<td>23, 27, 30, 31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: The difficulty of language learning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of the item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>BALLI</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3/+</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Each language varies in difficulty</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>52.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4*</td>
<td>The language I am trying to learn is...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The language I am trying to learn is structured the same way as my mother tongue</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>52.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>I believe that I will ultimately learn to speak the language very well</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14**</td>
<td>If someone spent one hour a day learning a language, how long would it take him/her to become fluent?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>It is easier to speak than understand a foreign language</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>It is easier to read and write this language than to speak and understand it</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: 5 equals to "totally agree", 4 to "agree", 3 "neither agree nor disagree", 2 a "disagree", and 1 a "totally disagree".

* In the item #4 of BALLI, 2 = difficult, 3 = medium difficulty, 4 = easy.
** In the item #14 of BALLI, 1= you can’t learn a language in an hour, 2 = 5 -10 years, 3 = 3-5 years, 4 = 1-2 years, and 5 = less than a year.
These responses the results might reflect that students have more certainty about their answers regarding these two aspects. The behavior in items 3, 5 and 6 follows a pattern, we can notice change in the beliefs of students. In the first application more than 80% of students agreed and in the second the percentage was around 50%. We can also notice that in these items fewer students totally agreed and more students totally disagreed. We also find more neutral answers. 52% of the students agreed strongly that language they were trying to learn was structured the same way as Spanish; when they were concluding their BA studies, only about 30 percent held the same belief. Also, in the second application of the BALLI, the students were less optimistic that they will end up learning the foreign language very well (in the 2nd application of the BALLI 50% agreed compared to the first one, when 80% agreed).

Table 3: Foreign language aptitude

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of the item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>BALLI 1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>It is easier for children than for adults to learn a foreign language</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Some people are born with special ability which helps them learn a foreign language</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>It is easier for someone who already speaks a foreign language to learn another one</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>I have a foreign language aptitude</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Women are better than men at learning foreign languages</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>People who are good at math and science are not good at learning foreign languages</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>People who speak more than one language well are very intelligent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Mexicans are good at learning foreign languages</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Everyone can learn to speak a foreign language</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Beliefs about foreign language aptitude

Most of the items from this line display more total disagreement responses in the 2nd application compared to the first one (items 1, 2, 10, 15, 32, 33, and 34). The for example in the item 1, only 4.5% of the group initially disagreed that it was easier for children than for adults to learn a foreign language, and upon conclusion of their BA degrees, 30 percent of the students changed their beliefs, acknowledging also the potential of the adults.

Most of the respondent were not that convinced that everyone can speak a foreign language; 70.5% originally endorsed the statement and in the second application only 38.6% totally agreed. Also, the proportion of students who think that Mexicans are good at learning languages decreases (70% agreement in the first application compared to 30% in the second).

Table 4: The nature of language learning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of the item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>BALLI 1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>It is necessary to know the foreign culture in order to speak the foreign language</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>/+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>It is better to learn a foreign language in the foreign country</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>/+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Learning a foreign language mostly a matter of learning many new vocabulary words</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>/+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Learning a foreign language is mostly a matter of learning a lot of grammar rules</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>/+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Learning a foreign language is different from learning other school subjects</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>/+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Learning a foreign language is mostly a matter of translating</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>/+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beliefs about the nature of language learning

Regarding item 8, initially only two percent of the students totally disagreed with the importance of the knowledge of the culture when learning a foreign language; 16 percent of the students later changed their mind and though that it wasn’t actually necessary (18.2% strongly disagreed with the item in the second application of the BALLI); in overall, more students disagreed with the importance of culture at the stage when they conclude their studies.
Furthermore, when finishing their BA degrees, our respondents consider learning a foreign language in the foreign country less important than when they started their bachelors (13% disagreement on the item in the first application, compared to 30% in the second application). Also, in proportion, more students changed their opinion regarding learning a foreign language, viewed as a matter of learning grammar rules; initially 16% disagreed with the item and at the end of their studies the disagreement is more pronounced (34%). Regarding learning a foreign language considered mostly as a matter of translating, students as freshmen, disagreed in 45% with the statement, but as graduate students, their disagreement on the item is weaker, which suggests that about 20 % of them adjusted their beliefs and consider translation in some aspect useful for language learning.

### Table 5: Learning and communication strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of the item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>BALLI</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>It is important to speak a foreign language with an excellent accent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>You should not say anything in the foreign language until you can say it correctly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>If I heard someone speaking the language I am trying to learn, I will go up to them so that I could practice speaking the language</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>It is okay to guess if you do not know a word in the foreign language</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>It is important to repeat and practice often</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>I feel self-conscious speaking the foreign language in front of other people</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>If you are allowed to make mistakes in the beginning, it will be hard to get rid of them later on</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>It is important to practice in the language laboratory</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Beliefs about learning and communication strategies.

Analyzing the fourth theme of the BALLI, we see that majority of students sustained their beliefs till the end of their studies; even though in some of the statements we may see some adjustments over the period of time. For example, regarding the importance of having excellent accent, students in the second application modify their postures, expressing disagreement in that respect (36%). In addition, their beliefs on item 9 evidence changes: in the last semester of their BA program, students’ disagreement on that ‘you should not say anything until you say it correctly’ decreased from 70% of the initial disagreement to the present 55% disagreement, which might indicate graduate students show more self-awareness. The importance of practice undergoes slight changes in students’ appreciation. Whereas, as freshmen, they agree it is important to practice language often (86%), as graduate students, the importance of frequent practice is reflected only in 55% of the opinions. As graduate students, they feel more relaxed on error correction (item 19); 32% agreed that mistakes should not be allowed compared to the first application, when 48% not allowing mistakes is important. There was also change in beliefs regarding the importance of practice in laboratory. In the first semester, 64% of the students from the sample considered practice in language laboratory important, while in the last semester it was perceived as important by 49% of students.

Table 6: Motivations and expectations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of the item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>BALLI 1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>If I speak this language very well, I will have many opportunities to use it</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>If I learn to speak this language very well it will help me get a good job</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Mexicans think that it is important to speak a foreign language</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>I would like to learn this language so I can get to know its speakers better.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Beliefs about motivations and expectations.

Finally, in the last thematic line of the BALLI, none of the items listed above received stronger ratings (in agreement) in the second application compared to the first one. Initial motivations and expectations displayed by our respondents were more positive, 80% agreeing that if they spoke certain language well, they would have many opportunities to use it, compared to the second measurement, when only 52% of them kept the same belief. Likewise, more students were convinced that L2 mastery would guarantee them a good job 80% were convinced this was true in 2009, but only 48% believed the same in 2013. A commonly held stereotype that people of certain nationalities have a talent for languages or show special appreciation for them (item 30) was less apparent in the second BALLI (61% in favor that Mexicans consider important speaking a foreign language in 2009 versus 48% favoring the posture in students’ last year opinions). Lastly, the conviction that learning a language allows getting to know its speakers better, initially supported 59% of the sample, also diminished in the subsequent application of the instrument, when 48% of the former still kept the same belief.

We also run the T-test to observe whether there were statistical differences between the first and the second application. The following table enlists those significant differences.

Table 7: Change of beliefs BALLI 1 and BALLI 2 using the T-test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>BALLI Inventory</th>
<th>Mean by application</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>It is easier for children than adults to learn a foreign language</td>
<td>4.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Each language varies in difficulty</td>
<td>4.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>I believe that I will ultimately learn to speak the language very well</td>
<td>4.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>It is important to speak a foreign language with an excellent accent</td>
<td>3.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>It is necessary to know the foreign culture in order to speak the foreign language</td>
<td>3.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>You should not say anything in the foreign language until you can say it correctly</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>It is better to learn a foreign language in the foreign country</td>
<td>3.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>It is important to repeat and practice often</td>
<td>4.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Learning a foreign language is mostly a matter of learning a lot of grammar rules</td>
<td>3.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>It is important to practice in the language laboratory</td>
<td>3.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Survey items that display items with statistically different responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>If I speak this language very well, I will have many opportunities to use it</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>3.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>It is easier to speak than understand a foreign language</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>3.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>If I learn to speak this language very well it will help me get a good job</td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td>3.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>I would like to learn this language so I can get to know its speakers better.</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Everyone can learn to speak a foreign language</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>3.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: 5 equals to “totally agree”, 4 to “agree”, 3 “neither agree nor disagree”, 2 a “disagree”, and 1 a “totally disagree”.

The results are consistent with the analysis we provided in the first part of the article. When analyzing the means in the two applications in some of the items presented in table, we could identify some changes in the beliefs of the students in the different topics of covered in the inventory, in some of the items, which are listed as follows: theme 1 (The difficulty of language learning): 3, 6, 24; theme 2 (Foreign language aptitude): 1, 34; theme 3 (The nature of language learning): 8, 11, 20; theme 4 (Learning and communication strategies): 7, 9, 17, 21, and theme 5 (Motivations and expectation): 23, 27, 31. All 34 items modified in both applications, 28 item means increased and 6 decreased.

**Discussion**

This longitudinal study shows that students’ (future language teachers’) beliefs change over the four year period of time. Students, in overall, have modified their beliefs upon entering and concluding their BA in Language Teaching. Their beliefs might have been molded as a result of pedagogical intervention as Debreli (2012) suggests. The change of beliefs and their molding into more relaxed posture can be seen as a reflection conceptual knowledge changes and their adjustments to new reality and experience in the field (Murphy & Mason, 2006). Also, upon concluding the program, the change in posture can be triggered by changes in maturational process that result in lowering anxiety, which coincides with Horwitz’ reports, who states that students who exhibit more rigid beliefs are prone to anxiety (2008). This maturational process and lowering anxiety lead to more relaxed attitude, which can be evidenced on the one hand by the responses from the BALLI 2 survey, namely items 7 (e.g. increase of number of students who do not consider that having excellent accent in L2 is of a vital importance), or item 19, reporting change of graduate students’ beliefs on
error correction (less prescriptive opinion increment in number); on the other hand, we have evidence of changes in the maturational process of our participants, since in students’ self-esteem was also monitored in this longitudinal study (but is not reported in this particular report). At occasions, the self-confidence could be excessive, such as the beliefs expressed in the item 4 of the BALLI 1, compared to those reported in the BALLI 2 that are based on more realistic grounds (the belief that some languages are very easy and can be learnt in short time). At the time students graduate, they have experienced mastering one second/foreign language, which is English, but they have also experienced learning a third/additional language at this point. The third language is introduced in the curriculum from their third semester of study. Students can choose from several languages, however, for some reasons the majority of students from our sample selected French as L3, some of them Italian and others Japanese, the last one in lesser proportion and mainly in one single campus of the three ones monitored. They have to certify their knowledge in an international exam at an intermediate level as a curricular requirement. Similarly to previous cases, students in the second BALLI adjust their excessive confidence relative to foreign language ease and the time needed to learn a foreign language (item 4). In that sense students may appear less optimistic and a little bit more realistic compared to when they were freshmen. This finding supports the evidence presented by Aguilar Arana (2012); and Bernat and Gvozdenko (2005).

The fact that in the first application of the BALLI, students were just familiar with English, whereas in the second application they were acquiring their third language, which has effect on the changing perceptions on the difficulty of a foreign language learning and is reflected in different appreciation of the structural similarity of a language learnt in comparison to their mother tongue. Item 5 compares how students perceive the structural similarities between languages. Interestingly, it seems students consider English being a language more similar to Spanish (80% agreement) than the third language, that is in majority of them from the group of Romance languages and hence structurally closer to Spanish. The explanation to these phenomena might be student geographical location and their everyday exposure to English (in border towns).

Inasmuch as foreign language aptitude, students, as they progress in their study, adjust certain beliefs; for example, in item 1 acknowledging, in increasing number that when it comes to language learning, children do not have advantages over adults in all aspects. Students have learned in their classes that adults have certain cognitive advantages over children that they can use in L2 (Steiberg, Aline, & Nagata, 2001). Our respondents also seem to agree in lesser proportion that they possess a special ability for languages compared to what they used to think when they started to study the BA (73% and 48%
respectively). Students (future teachers) held positive attitude towards aptitude (everyone can speak a foreign language), which can be a result of an exposure to different methods of teaching and also teaching practice according to Debreli (2012). In overall, and similarly to Busch (2010), we observe changes in students’ beliefs. At this point, we consider that the most influential agent of change is the teaching practice. Many of the initially sustained beliefs originated mostly as popular beliefs that fed on language stereotypes and students’ scarce experience in the professional field. These indicial postures adjust and transform during the teacher training experience.

Conclusions

It can be stated that the beliefs of students participating in this research project show changes over the period of four years. Student modified their beliefs compared to the ones originally held upon entering the BA program in Language Teaching in a public Mexican university located in the U.S.-Mexican border area. The first application of BALLI instrument reflects mainly students’ experience with English as their L2 (FL). In the second application of BALLI, students make reference to their third language acquisition and learning.

Students modified their beliefs in response to new knowledge acquired during their teacher formation process. Change in beliefs is also the result of an exposure to new teaching methodologies as well as to knowledge that is transmitted in classes: L2 language classes, classes with the language components and contents. In those classes, students also become familiar with the newest research in L2.

In short, students change their beliefs not only due to knowledge and methodology acquired during the BA program, or to amassed experience in the field; but also due to processes involving a raise in self-esteem and self-confidence related to maturity, age, and course of time.

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Development of Critical and Creative Thinking Skills in CLIL

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Abstract

CLIL offers such a learning environment where learners get a chance to use their cognitive skills and to construct their own knowledge. They are intellectually challenged to transform information, to solve problems, to discover meaning using creative thinking. For meaning-making learners use especially the following thinking skills: analyzing, differentiating, organizing, classifying, comparing, matching, synthesizing, guessing, evaluating and creating. This kind of learning works to develop flexibility in their thinking.

In our study several techniques enabling development of critical thinking skills in the CLIL context are introduced. Critical thinking skills can be supported and developed systematically e.g. via an application of the tasks offered by the revised Bloom's taxonomy. Statistically significant increases of critical and creative thinking skills in CLIL can be achieved using various proven techniques, e.g. via De Bono’s six thinking hats, SCAMMPERR technique, Lotus blossom technique or mind-mapping. These techniques have proven to be efficient with both younger and older learners via action research at a higher educational institution and at a primary school. Examples of qualitative data from the evaluation of this inventive CLIL course are presented.

Key words
CLIL, aims, learners, constructivism, thinking skills, critical thinking, creative thinking, Bloom’s taxonomy, SCAMMPERR, Lotus Blossom, De Bono

Introduction

In our study we follow two educational trends that for almost two decades have resonated in the Slovak educational system and in our response to them we suggest how their synergy can act to the benefit of the EFL learners.

Firstly, since democracy began in Slovakia, there has been a challenge to reform the traditional curriculum- and teacher-centred education and turn it into humanistic education focused on the learners. These reform needs were described and reflected in several educational studies, e.g. in Zelina’s THV (creative-humanistic) model or KEMSAK (acronym for cognitivisation, emotionalisation, motivation, socialization, axiologization, creativization) model (Zelina, 1996, p. 11 - 15). Subsequently they were developed into the Millennium project and the National programme of education for the next 15 - 20 years in Slovakia which was authorized by the Ministry of education in 2001. Due to the gap caused by strong ideological restrictions in Slovakia before 1989 one of the main emphasises of this yearning after reform has been the development of
learners' thinking skills. Teachers were encouraged to focus more on development of cognitive and noncognitive functions of students than just on the results of their learning.

According to Zelina's models the aim of cognitivization is to teach a person to explore, think and solve problems. Zelina brought to the attention of teachers several taxonomies of thinking skills, e.g. B. S. Bloom's taxonomy, as well as a group of strategies of cognitivization of students. Especially the heuristic methods facilitate in developing divergent thinking skills. A certain kind of cognitive-affective-heuristic model was used in ESP, e.g., at the Faculty of International Relations and Political Sciences UMB, Slovakia (Kaliský, 2011). Zelina suggested that all cognitive functions, especially the so-called higher thinking skills (analysis, evaluation, creativity) should be developed in all school subjects at all age groups (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2011). This challenge has been encouraged also by the influence of the constructivist theory of learning into school practice.

The second trend has been the impetus penetrating from the European context to implement CLIL methodology into foreign language teaching since 1994. CLIL offers a new type of learning focused on the integration of various facets of learning. It uses a foreign language as a medium for meaningful communication of specific content under natural conditions. It has the real potential to stimulate learning because it refers to authentic situations of acquiring knowledge from various subjects via foreign language (Gondová, 2011). The students do not learn a language only for the sake of language learning but to find out new information in the target language and to think in that language. According to Pokrivčáková (2011, p. 29) these are the positive sides of CLIL, “in CLIL the foreign language looses the position of being the content of learning but it has become a natural medium of communication of new content” (Pokrivčáková, 2008, p. 11).

As one principle of CLIL methodology is its learner-centredness, the CLIL curriculum presents a synergy of the teacher's plan with the learners' authentic needs. Thus the aims of CLIL are multiple as it focuses on learning a foreign language while simultaneously learning specific subject content as well as on other important life skills all the time respecting the individual learning styles and intelligences of the learners.

Based on good practice in Hungarian schools, Dalma (2013, p. 62) expressed her opinion that CLIL should be considered to be a constructivist approach to learning, where the emphasis is put from the teacher to the learner. “Some kind of cognitive challenge is present in the situation where the active involvement of the students is necessary.”
The aim of our study is to offer some suggestions, verified in an action research, how teachers’ efforts to respond to both of the above described challenges can actually work together and support each other. According to Chamot and O’Malley (1994, p. 41, 44), in CLIL due to the integration of academic content with language, the development of critical thinking skills seems to be associated with the development of language functions. E.g. the content activities that require critical and creative thinking skills require also more complex language and richer vocabulary to be used. So if properly projected while keeping in mind all the nuances of developmental stages and the principles of cognitive theories and of constructivism, CLIL can be a potentially fertile context for reaching both of those aims. On the other hand, CLIL can become a dry methodology if not focused on learners, their autonomy and their own construction of new concepts either in natural or social sciences or some kind of art. Several techniques have been experimented with and the tests proved that the know-how combining CLIL and the development of critical and creative thinking skills is feasible.

**Note:** As the first version of our curriculum focused on the development of thinking skills in CLIL was prepared in 2001, we adopted the theory of higher thinking skills according to Bloom’s taxonomy. Due to the newest scientific discoveries, brain science has not proved the theory of lower order thinking skills being simpler than the higher order thinking skills. It is assuming that all of the thinking skills are relatively independent of each other (Kagan, 2005). So we have decided to change the concept “higher thinking skills” and substitute it with the term “critical and creative thinking skills”. By critical thinking we mean “the intellectually disciplined process of actively and skillfully conceptualizing, applying, analyzing, synthesizing, and/or evaluating information gathered from, or generated by, observation, experience, reflection, reasoning, or communication, as a guide to belief and action” (Scriven & Richard at a conference in 1987).

**CLIL – a way of constructing one’s own knowledge**

Let’s start with a statement that the CLIL methodology represents an effective type of learning context where learners get the chance to use their cognitive skills and to construct their own knowledge. In order to prove this a glimpse into the theory of language learning is inevitable.

The process of learning is a kind of ‘mystery’, provoking a variety of disciplines to study it. It seems to consist of a phase of educational input, then a phase of learning itself in the 'black box' - the mind of the learner - and finally a phase of educational output. Attempts to explain the connections between input and output and the process of language learning were accomplished by at least

**Behaviorism** focused on the relationship between what goes into and comes out of the learning process, it did not study the ‘black box’ obviously associated with consciousness of learning itself. Behaviorists viewed language learning as a process of diligent training, memorizing and passively repeating some parts of texts. Though drilling has some value in language learning, the CLIL methodology with its main focus on the specific content and not on language seems to not prefer this type of learning.

On the contrary, **cognitivist psychologists** emphasised the active role of the language learners in meaningful communication and the processes going on in the mind during learning. Application of cognitivism in lingvodidactics resulted in the start of a communicative approach to language learning (Richard & Rogers, 1986). As CLIL originated from focusing on the learner’s needs, cognitive categories such as meaning and purpose of all the communication during CLIL lessons is of prior importance.

Cognitivism has been supported by discoveries in cognitive neuroscience showing that the brain learns best when challenged to ‘survive’ – socially, economically, emotionally, and physically (Jensen, 2005; Zull, 2006; Susa, 2006; Johnson & Taylor, 2006). The key to being more educated is growing more synaptic connections between brain cells and not losing existing connections. These connections allow learners to solve problems and figure things out. Jensen (2005) describes a set of seven preconditions dramatically influencing learning that is applicable to CLIL learning: a) engagement - getting and sustaining student’s attention; b) repetition - priming, reviewing and revising; c) input quantity - capacity, flow, chunk size; d) coherence - models, relevance, prior knowledge; e) timing - time of day, interval learning; f) error corrections - mistakes, feedback, support; and finally g) emotional states - safety, and state of dependency. Challenge, stimulation, repetition and novelty are absolutely essential for making sure that students will graduate from CLIL with an “enriched” not just “baseline” brain. CLIL teachers need to trust the process of learning, supplying learners of all ages with chances for new experiences (Zull, 2006, p. 3-10).

The contribution of **constructivism** is that it emphasises the process of language acquisition in learner’s minds especially due to interaction with other people. It investigates the learner’s own construction of a new concept based on previous knowledge challenged via the provision of a rich learning environment offering authentic incentives connected to the life of the learner. Learning ‘happens’ by considering new information, comparing it with previous
experience, knowledge and schemes, adapting and transforming them so that they make sense in terms of what the world already knows.

In constructivism there can be distinguished at least three streams (Průcha, Walterová, & Mareš, 2008, p. 105 – 106):

a) **Cognitive constructivism** focusing on the individual learner, on what happens in his/her brain when addressing problems. The learner should attempt to find for himself/herself the meaning, rules, schedules, missing information, etc. Although the moment of discovery of the world is important, it does not totally exclude reproductive learning. The effectiveness of the process of construction depends on the degree of autonomy and initiative of students in designing their own hypothetical meaning of concepts, reviewing and verifying them. The student is an active subject in the educational process, responding to new information either by refusing or integrating them. Only he/she can actively adopt them, sort them, organize them, analyze them and construct his/her own reply.

b) **Social constructivism** emphasizes the social dimension of learning, i.e. the vital role of social interaction and culture in the process of knowledge construction. According to Vygotskij (1978), social interaction is the precondition for the development of cognition. Social constructivism confirms the activating effect of revealing the content in cooperation with other students.

c) **Pedagogical constructivism** represents a synthesis of the previous two approaches. It combines their positive features and prepares their educational application, e.g for CLIL.

The idea of viewing CLIL as a kind of constructivist learning is based on the assumption that CLIL methodology requires an active construction of one’s own knowledge and personal meanings for the learner (Kovács & Trentinné Benkő, 2011; Wang, 2011). CLIL lessons normally contain situations/tasks with some kind of cognitive challenges in which the active involvement of students is necessary. The emphasis is shifted from the teacher to the learners who have to be active and to think more about the contents. They have to build up knowledge for themselves. According to Alviaréz et al. (2010) constructivism “ensures meaningful learning acquisition especially via reading-in-English as a process.”

Learners’ involvement in constant **social interaction** is a core feature of CLIL. Social interaction in CLIL, supporting the construction process, takes the form of discussions or exchanges of ideas. Obviously, social interactions in pairs or groups increase the benefits from a CLIL course. The effect of CLIL is reinforced especially if the teacher considers activating learning through activities reflecting various learning styles and multiple intelligences of the all learners in the group.

A standard CLIL lesson gives students the privilege of the educational challenge and novelty. Its input should be enriched by seeing the world with
‘different glasses’ offered by the foreign language as well as by its new ways of expressing reality and discovering previously unknown cultures, by its novel approach to various school subjects abroad, etc. Students create their knowledge in interaction with their social environment which also affects them and they in turn have an impact on their environment.

Teachers aware of constructivist learning processes provide CLIL students with strategies that assist their autonomous learning, e.g. by using analogies, summaries, semantic networks, conceptual maps, portfolios, etc.

Of course, there are several dangers that might prevent CLIL from actually being an active construction of new knowledge. A bad practice of CLIL might look like a traditional translation lesson. Another danger is if CLIL teachers focus only on the intellectual side of language learning. According to Švec (2008, p. 55), “constructivism views learning - teaching as a process where learning comprehension is achieved more effectively through relevant practical experience. It is filled with more purpose and meaning and more influenced by social and cultural contexts. It is not purely cognitive, theorizing or speculative, it is less based on abstract principles and precepts. It means acquiring new unmediated experiences.”

So a good CLIL teacher pays attention to – what neurology underlines - creating a stimulating learning environment enabling positive emotional state of learners (Jensen, 2005). Emotions can stimulate the learner’s brain chemically which will help them to more effective recalling of knowledge. The precondition of learning happening in CLIL is that CLIL teachers themselves are enthusiastic about their profession, smile, tell true stories, show off a new CD, read a book, get students involved in real life matters, music or drama. Novelty and variation in time, materials, access, expectations, support in the learning process, instructional strategies, such as the use of computers, field trips, guest speakers, pair and group work, games, student teaching, journalizing; multi-topic, multi-status and multi-age projects – all of these can contribute to active learning. Novelty potentially prevents boredom which is more than just annoying also for CLIL students, it may actually develop their brain connections.

Taylor (2006) offers a whole range of ideas supporting the construction of knowledge in CLIL lessons including energizers; problem solving techniques; presentation of meta-cognitive strategies to improve the memory and information retrieval; visualization(mnemonics, peg words, music, discussion, pictures, mind-maps, graphic organizers, posters); peer teaching, co-operative work, interrupted and repeated solution seeking; episodic strategies (changes in location, circumstances, use of emotions, movement, novel classroom position (field trips, music, guest speakers, journal writing, projects, peer teaching;
quizzes, small group presentations, structured timed tests, real life studies); procedural strategies integrating movement; or reflexive strategies.

Some techniques supporting development of critical/creative thinking skills in CLIL

As was mentioned above, one core feature of CLIL is that its learners construct their own learning through using their cognitive skills. They are intellectually challenged to transform information, to solve problems, to discover meaning through creative thinking. For meaning-making learners use the following skills: classifying, comparing, matching, guessing; for analysing: differentiating, organizing, attributing. This kind of learning can contribute to linguistic and non-linguistic gains and the flexibility of their thinking.

Flexibility of thinking is the result of educational interconnectedness of content, topic, variety of skills and learning styles. New types of subjects emerge. According to Coyle et al. (2010) in order to structure a new subject, teachers of different disciplines have to climb out of their respective mindsets grounded in chemistry, economics, geography and physics.

There is whole range of techniques and tools that have the potential to enable the development of critical and creative thinking skills in the CLIL context. Problem solving and heuristic educational techniques demand the highest level of student’s autonomy. For the purposes of CLIL for teenagers and adults, the following techniques, tools and ideas we tested have been selected: Bloom’s taxonomy (the revised version), brainstorming and brain writing, various graphic organizers, eg. mind maps, SCAMMPERR Think Tank technique, De Bono’s idea of thinking about thinking, Lotus Blossom method, etc.

Of course the use of these techniques and tools itself does not guarantee the development of critical and creative thinking skills. Its choice should always be based on specific learners’ needs analysis, on their authentic life situations, and even on considering the variety of students’ multiple intelligences and their different learning styles.

The most important stimulus for the development of authentic interaction in CLIL lessons stems from using productive questions that develop learner’s thinking skills. Our CLIL experiences are consistent with those of Gondová (2012, p. 23) that questions stimulate the development of divergent thinking and evaluation skills, based on the serious argument that “The existence of various communicative structures and productive questions open the space for interaction among pupils and they are one of the decisive factors contributing to acquiring higher cognitive skills and communicative competence” (Gondová, 2011, p. 36). Cameron & McKay (2010, p. 15, 23) in their methodology of creative teaching also underline the role of problem-solving tasks and open-ended
questions asking „Why..“ or „How...“ even with young learners. By these cognitively challenging tasks the learners are stirred up to use more language and to involve knowledge about other content than just language.

The group of educational tools and techniques that develop thinking skills represents an open category. Those mentioned in this study were selected based on recognition by several educational and psychological experts and on the evidence that they proved to be efficient, appropriate and feasible ways of supporting critical and creative thinking (e.g. Turek, 2008, p. 268, 279). We started to use them first in the university in the beginning of the Millenium. Later on their age-relevant form has been applied also to the primary and lower secondary level.

There has been also another pragmatic reason for their selection. It is the evidence of thinking development as well as language learning results they produce by “encouraging learners to produce spoken or written output helping them to think through ideas, to express them, to share knowledge, to give feedback, review ideas, to adapt and refine ideas and to negotiate solutions.” (Dale, Van der Es & Tanner, 2011, p. 121).

Here is a brief description of some reliable tools that might be effectively used in a CLIL course:

1. Both Bloom’s Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (Bloom, Englehart, Furst, Hill & Krathwohl, 1956) and later on Anderson & Krathwohl’s Revised version of Bloom’s revised Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (2001) distinguish – though in a slightly different form - the following six distinctive categories of cognitive objectives:
   - Remember: Can the students remember the content?
   - Understand: Can the students explain the acquired content?
   - Apply: Can the students transfer what they have learned and apply it in a different situation?
   - Analyze: Can the students break the acquired information into parts and see what are the connections among them?
   - Evaluate: Can the students synthesize the acquired information, create an opinion about it and argue for their evaluation of it?
   - Create: Can the students create anything new out of the input given?

Bloom’s taxonomy sees the human mind as a two-dimensional matter where on the one hand there are the types or categories of subject matter content, and on the other hand, processes of what is to be done with or to that content. Bloom’s taxonomy not only defines the thinking skills, but thanks to its elaborated system of questions it directly facilitates their development. It
supports the development of both overlapping areas – of thinking skills and language skills, and thus it is of high importance for CLIL courses.

Questions used in this taxonomy are a demonstration of the use of language resources for the development of thinking about the specific contents. This combination was exactly what our CLIL students benefited most from. The questions proved to be useful tools in planning CLIL tasks, especially in the phase of processing the new input.

2. One way of organizing information in a visual way is the use of mind-maps (concept maps). Mind-maps can function “as visual representations and organizational tools that help learners (re-)organize input by noting down information” (Dale, Van der Es & Tanner, 2011, p. 95, 268). They are considered to be one sort of graphic organizers facilitating students’ learning by expressing the information in a new, visual way. They can function as an input technique, activating the students and reminding them of their prior knowledge - a visual representation or note-taking tool helping students to (re)organize their language and ideas. Of course they can be used as an output of the process of students' thinking or a meaningful way of revising.

Mind-maps function as a necessary visualised scaffolding (structured support) of students' CLIL learning, important especially for young learners (Cameron & McKay, 2010, p. 15). Once the knowledge is acquired the scaffold offered by the teacher or teaching material can be removed. Scaffolding techniques (reception scaffolds, transformation scaffolds, and especially production scaffolds expecting the learners to produce something new) are dependent on the use of higher thinking skills. According to our experience, mind-maps in the phase of educational input and output were useful not only with teenagers and adult learners, but also with younger learners, e.g. during teaching/repeating vocabulary.

As mind-maps are quite well covered in many materials, we are not going to describe them in more details.

3. Lotus blossom - invented by Y. Matsumura, Director of the Clover Management Research (Michalko, 2003, p. 3) - is another simple graphic organizer that has proved to be an effective way of stimulating creative thinking skills for generating problem solving ideas in CLIL. It is a creative method which name is derived from the analogy of a flower developing its petals. The name is very fitting because the final result of creative thinking, expressed verbally, shows a flowery bloom (see the table below). The thinker starts at the center of the ‘flower’ by stating their central theme or problem. They continue by finding eight sub-problems. The ideas are entered in the 3x3 grid / respectively 9x9. The
The next very important stage is choosing each of these 8 sub-problems and developing each of them into eight more ideas (either more detailed problems or solutions).

4. **SCAMMPERR** is a brainstorming method helping learners to generate and share new ideas during their process of solving problems/tasks in CLIL lessons (Turek, 2008, p. 267). It can function as a scaffolding of output production. It helps learners to use more fluent written or oral expressions. Normally people might be shy to show their opinions. So that is why techniques expecting everybody to answer the questions and share their opinions in the group are important. Of course the simplest way to do it is to ask appropriate cue questions.

The author of SCAMMPERR, A. F. Osborn (according to Zelina, 1996), expressed the basic principles of this method in nine points. Later B. Eberle (2008) formulated them into the English mnemonic list of questions stimulating the production of new ideas. The first stimulus is the question how to create a new idea/solution/product based on the expertise that one/a group has. The learners are prompted to think about the answer by the help of nine activating questions/instructions:

**Substitute:** Are there any parts of our solution/idea that can be replaced?
Combine: Can our solution/product combine with any other ideas to produce a new idea?
Adapt: Are there any ideas that can be borrowed and applied in our situation?
Magnify/Minimize: Are there parts of our idea/solution/product that can be magnified or minimized?
Modify: Can anything in our idea be modified?
Put it to some other use: Can we use the idea in another situation/with other learners?
Eliminate: Should we eliminate any parts of our solution/idea?
Rearrange: Is there any better order/hierarchy for our ideas?
Reverse: Should we consider reversing the order/importance of any ideas/solutions?

SCAMPPERR enables deeper thinking via seeing the complexity of challenges, problems or ideas. It was originally intended for executives, economists, today it is used as a teaching methodology. Its application in discussion and group problem solving situations used in CLIL resulted in producing a range of new invented ideas of CLIL students.

5. **E. De Bono** (1982, 1985) is generally (e.g. by Turek, 2008, p. 78) considered to be the author of a systematic set of heuristic strategies developing divergent, even lateral thinking skills, known as CoRT (Cognitive Research Trust) program of creative thinking. In our CLIL course, we used specifically De Bono’s method of “Six Thinking Hats” which is especially suitable for searching alternative solution. In the past it was used successfully in various firms, e.g. in IBM, Nestle, British Airways etc. It focuses on helping learners to think about their thinking and distinguish various kinds of thinking:

The “white hat” thinking represents mere facts, neutral information. This type of thinking requires an objective and neutral approach.

The “red hat” thinking legitimizes emotions, feelings, as well as intuition that should not be judged.

The “black hat” thinking allows space for negative assessment, judgment, opinion, why something is not functioning. The learners point out errors in thinking, method, design, or incorrect assumptions. It is an objective attempt to point at negative elements of the solution.

The “yellow hat” thinking is a positive, optimistic and constructive evaluation. It is the opposite of black negative thinking. It consists of logical and positive practical considerations, but may involve also dreams, aspirations and hopes. It aims at trying to logically find the things and events of their cost and benefit. It is a constructive thinking process coming up with specific ideas, including operational and implementation plans. Its goal is efficiency. This thinking
therefore should not be confused with a positive euphoria (“red thinking”) or with the creation of totally new ideas (“green thinking”).

The “green hat” thinking opens a fertile, creative, emerging, provoking lateral thinking thoughts flow. It is not based on assessment, but on an effort to move from the previous thoughts to reach a totally new way. This thinking opens the door to lateral thinking – the kind of thinking where ‘a pattern-switching’ happens within ‘a patterning system’.

The “blue hat” thinking represents an ability to think as a guide, manager, conductor managing the thinking process, thinking about thinking, organization of thinking. It is responsible for preparing summaries and conclusions from the discussion.

**Research results of teaching CLIL developing critical and creative thinking**

CLIL curriculum focused on development of critical and creative skills has been tested at the Faculty of Education, University of Matej Bel in Slovakia for about 14 years by now. In the beginning it existed in the form of ESP (English for Specific Purposes) and a certain CBI (Content Based Instruction – Brinton, 1997) course. Since its beginnings it has had a double aim, namely the development of critical/creative thinking skills functioning in the context of the subject content, and development of foreign language communication skills and specialized vocabulary. The content was chosen according to authentic needs of the students. The vocabulary was directly connected with the field of study or profession of the learners, or even (in some cases) with their personal perception and experiences.

Five methods and tools aimed at development of both language skills and critical and creative thinking described in the previous part have become the central building blocks of the ESP/CLIL curriculum at the University of Matej Bel, Slovakia, since 2001. Recently one more educational method – portfolio - has been added as the umbrella assessment method of students’ learning results (Calabrese & Rampone, 2007, p. 5). Mind-mapping was used also in EFL lessons focused on content with younger learners. The reason of this choice was to achieve the highest level of authentic learning possible. The authenticity principle has been consistently followed throughout the CLIL lessons.

To assess the impact and eligibility of this kind of our first CLIL course (in 2003), we decided to apply action research, observation, questionnaires, testing, diary-notes and feedback. For the first two years, standardized Torrance’s pre-tests and post-tests of creativity were used to find out the increase of fluency, flexibility and originality (Torrance, 1972). As the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the acquired data showed (Hanesová, 2003), the idea behind this course was proved to be feasible and effective. There was proved a statistically
significant increase in both content knowledge and creative thinking skills of our students (together with regular increase of language skills) in comparison with the controlled group. Such positive results encouraged us to continue in the implementation and innovation of this kind of a CLIL course. Since then the action research and students’ evaluation portfolio by our CLIL students has always showed us positive results of students’ authentic thinking (Hobbs & Keddl, 2010).

As a CLIL course has to be focused on learners, their assessment of individual methods used in a CLIL course is the most important phenomenon in its evaluation. Here we present a brief overview of a) students opinions on the advantages and disadvantages of several thinking tools and techniques used in CLIL; and of b) problems and some results of students’ decision making process via the above-described techniques as they were recorded in our qualitative research recently (2012/13, 2013/14). (A more precise description of the flow of this CLIL course and the analysis of the results is going to be published in a separate publication). As these are quotes written by our students, they are noted in italics:

**Brainstorming of students’ opinions about the application of Bloom’s taxonomy**

**Pros:** Most students expressed a positive attitude toward the use of Bloom’s taxonomy. According to them though it is a challenge, it offers a lot of ways how to learn how to formulate questions and problems, solve problems, analyze them and categorize them. *It was useful for developing creativity, for the evaluation process, for the real work in schools, and for comparing the levels of education. It is a good system with a lot of important information with very clear instructions, gives a good overview about thinking skills and really helps to develop them. Bloom’s taxonomy really helps learning, to focus attention, to better understand the curriculum, to use one’s intelligence, to train one’s mind.* Some students commented even on the linguistic benefits of using this taxonomy as *it develops professional vocabulary and the skill to work with longer texts in the foreign language.* Least, but not last, some learners described it as *a funny inventive idea.*

**Cons:** Basically there were three kinds of comments about negative sides of working with Bloom’s taxonomy. Students with lower command of English, especially not sufficient entrance vocabulary, mentioned that *it was very complex concept, really hard to comprehend it, especially as if we did not know many of those verbs. A rich vocabulary was needed.* About 5% of comments were about the complex nature of the taxonomy itself. These students had problems with the levels of thinking and distinguishing among them. They said they were *not able to remember and comprehend it all.*
Brainstorming of students’ opinions about the application of Lotus Blossom

Pros: Most students found this method interesting and even entertaining: It is a simple method which can be used in the case of difficult problems. It helps to define problems, to analyze them, to find its sub-problems and causes, to look for a lot of varied solutions. It motivates the learner to search for adequate information. It leads to many ideas and hopefully to the correct solution. Its graphic expression makes it really clear, intelligent and it brings transparency into problems, it creates a system of problems and solutions. It can be applied for solving problems in school. It is a very interesting, entertaining technique, it can be used as an after-school activity. Linguistically, it develops learners’ vocabulary.

Cons: Generally very few notes about disadvantages of this method were reported. It is a very useful tool for every situation. Some commented on the time demand, especially in case if they had not had enough previous knowledge about the central problem. For some students there were too many options for opinions, too many mini-decision-making processes. There was no clear principle according to which to choose the solution.

Brainstorming of students’ opinions about the application of DeBono’s Thinking Hats

Pros: This method was praised by all students. It helps to simply understand the problem, to analyze it and openly discuss it, to see it from six different angles, even to see it in a ‘good light’, to solve it by finding lots of solutions to the problem. It facilitates learning, being able to summarize ideas, it develops intelligence. It leads to acquiring new skills and knowledge, new vocabulary, general communicative skills, listening to English text. Its positive side is that it allows focus on one type of thinking but also to change the different types. It is funny, transparent, very interesting. Several students appreciated especially the red emotional hat, the opportunity to be straight about their thoughts. Others liked the information about various types of thinking. When used in groups it opens personality characteristics in different situations. It can become a very big personal help, but it can support team work too. This method is applicable to many situations, facilitating in solving various problems, even complicated private and family situations. It can bring a fast solution. One of the most interesting comment was: You have to do it with an “open” head and you have to tell the truth.

Cons: Some students were hesitant in finding solutions as not every opinion can be the right one for everybody. For them it is a rather complex method, demanding time and hard thinking. Also for it to be of benefit it requires a group of people and the ability to listen to their opinions. Linguistically, it requires a rich
vocabulary as to understand the explanatory text about the method. Several students struggled with the distinction between several methods.

About a third of students commented it was time consuming. What is very obvious in most of the responses of the learners is that they confirmed the real emphasis of De Bono’s thinking program – his emphasis on time investment in real thinking: “The simple habit of trying to think more slowly can make a big difference to our effectiveness as thinkers. It is part of the general skill of thinking” (De Bono, 1982, p. 10).

**Brainstorming of students’ solving problems processes (mainly via Lotus Blossom)**

In Lotus Blossom students could choose the central problems for themselves. Here are some examples of their decisions: the quality of Slovak university education system, its teaching, few presentation and practical experiences, bad cooperation among students, few excursions, few interesting activities, weak motivation of students, bad technical equipment, bad organization of the school timetable.

Some students decided to answer the question: What would I change at the universities? Here are their suggestions: teaching process (less time spent at school in the afternoon, more practice, good real aims, good rules, more selection of subjects, more interesting subjects, recreation and fun), more sport activities for students, better equipment in the classrooms, higher quality of the canteen services, changes in university teachers (sensible, effective, patient, fair, qualified, communicative, friendly) and their capability (flexibility, readiness, communicability, practice, teaching, experiences, feedback, illustrations), better communication (between professors and students, between our professors and foreign professors, between schools, about countries, more English courses, between our students and foreign students), more emphasis on feedback (student – student, student – teacher, realistic opinions, open communication, experience of life, teacher – students, positive energy), more hope for the future of students after graduation.

An interesting question was What causes bad study results of students’? Answers ranged from bad motivation (because of parents, no reason why to learn, drugs, social environment, no hope for the future, lack of interest in school, spending free time in other interest) to bad education system, social crisis, no motivation, not enough money and not enough materials.

For example, the students dealt with the problem/subproblem of how to raise the motivation of the students. In the result of their brainstorming a lot of good ideas are listed: to provide choices, enlarge the challenge, allow to experience success, give tasks that are easy but also challenging, make some practical exercises
– make it real, help students feel that they are wanted, ensure opportunities for students, help students to find personal meaning and value in the material, give frequent positive feedback, create open and positive atmosphere, use a variety of assessment not only tests, avoid stereotypes, create space for exhibitions, apply new concepts of teaching, offer opportunities for foreign mobility, foreign lecturers, interesting projects, benefits for the students, new educational tools, practical internships abroad, more practice and less theory, more electives and more humour.

Other questions/problems suggested by the students themselves were: 
Schools should be creative, Why are our students so isolated – so few international relations? How to improve the financing of schools? Schools do not educate for real life, We need more professional teachers to teach us more practice than theory, It is necessary to change the methodological approach to teacher education, Students would like to have a trendy school.

Conclusions
Our study was based on the assumption that CLIL courses may be a good opportunity for schools to implement effective, efficient, activating ways of learning, aiming for the development of both critical and creative thinking skills in the context of a specific subject as well as of communicative language skills. CLIL has the potential to allow the development of learners’ autonomy via the construction of their own knowledge.

The tools and techniques applied in CLIL and described in this study and evaluated via both our older quantitative and recent qualitative research helped not only to develop the learner’s thinking skills but also enabled an individualized approach towards them as well as gaining a team-building experience. There was space created where the students could determine, define and even openly communicate issues that really mattered to them. Some of them appreciated the support of their schoolmates.

Via the example of our CLIL courses focused on multifold aims involving the development of critical and creative thinking we showed that they could be adequate to meet learners’ needs. Not only according to statistical results, but mainly according to the university students’own evaluation of these CLIL courses they had a positive contribution to learners’ thinking skills as well as their linguistic ones. Thus the aims of the CLIL courses were achieved to a reasonable level. It means that the idea of CLIL methodology focused on learners, integrating content knowledge and skills as well as on language skills is not an illusion but a feasible option for schools.
Acknowledgement
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Romani Language Assessment of Roma Children

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Abstract
The paper presents results from a language testing with Roma children from Bulgaria. Specially developed psycholinguistic tests for testing Roma children's L1 knowledge were used. The tests were for comprehension and production and measure the children's knowledge of wh-questions, complement wh-sentences, passive verbs, ability for repetition of sentences, possessiveness, tense, aspect, fast mapping nouns and fast mapping adjectives. The children performed very well 7 tests. The test for repetition they did not perform at all. The test for aspect is performed by a low percentage of children. All the analyses are done with ANOVA.

Keywords
Roma children, language assessment, Romani.

Introduction
Last decade or so the issue of language education of Roma children became a priority. In Bulgaria for example some authors (Kyuchukov, 2008; Stefanova, 1999, 2001a,b) pay attention to the difficulties the children have learning grammatical categories from Bulgarian language, and others (Terzieva, 2009) suggest interesting and non-traditional methods for second language learning, using folkloric genre. At the same time the interests towards natural acquisition of Romani language is increasing. Kyuchukov and Samuilov (2011) in a study with 20 Roma parents with Infant CDI (8-16 months) and 20 Roma parents with Toddler CDI (16-30 months) from Bulgaria found out that the normally developing Roma children follow the path of the children learning any other languages. Other studies were investigating the importance of mother tongue in the cognitive development of Roma children and the acquisition of Theory of mind (Kyuchukov, 2013, 2010).

The present study has the goal to find out how much the Roma children know some of the grammatical categories in Romani language and are they able to apply the known grammatical rules to novel words, which they never heard before. Another important question I try to answer is: Are the children equipped with the ability to learn new grammatical rules in their mother tongue.

Actually this study was inspired by the research of some American psycholinguists who recently developed test for language assessment of Afro-
American English, Arabic, Chinese, and Xhosa language (from South Africa). Using the methodology of Hirsh-Pasek, Kohankoff, Newcombe and de Villiers (2005), a new test for language assessment of Romani language was developed. The authors of the test for Romani are Kyuchukov and de Villiers. It was developed in 2013 and it is not a standardized test yet. It is used to test Roma children from different European countries. This test is necessary, because there are no publications on the knowledge of the children on Romani, between the age of 3 and 6 years old. There is no systematic scientific information about the level of knowledge of Roma children on different grammatical categories in Romani. So the study here brings a new scientific information about Romani as a mother tongue of Roma children.

**Methodology**

The study involved Roma children from Bulgaria from the village of Rosen in south-east Bulgaria near the city of Burgas. The children are between the age of 3-6 years old. Their number, age and gender are given in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range</th>
<th>3-4 years old</th>
<th>4-5 years old</th>
<th>5-6 years old</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean age</td>
<td>3;6</td>
<td>4;8</td>
<td>5;5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Number, age and gender of the children in the study

The test used in this study was specialty developed for testing the knowledge of Romani grammatical categories. The following sub-tests were developed, in total of 80 items:

- Test 1 - Wh-questions
- Test 2 - Wh-complements
- Test 3 - Passive verbs
- Test 4 - Repetition of sentences
- Test 5 - Possessiveness
- Test 6 - Aspect
- Test 7 - Tense
- Test 8 - Fast noun mapping
- Test 9 - Fast adjective mapping.

**Results**
The children successfully performed all 8 Tests. Only one test - Test 4 - Repetition - was not performed by the children. It seems the sentences for repetition were too complicated for them.

Test 1 is about the wh-questions. In Romani the wh-sentences usually content two or three wh-words at the beginning of the sentence. For example the question Who eats what? in English actually sounds like WHO WHAT EATS? Kon so xal?. Out of 8 items 6 are with two wh-words and 2 are with three wh-words like the one here Kon soske pala kaste nashel? WHO, WHY, AFTER WHOM RUNS?

The results of the children are given in the next Graph 1.

Graph 1: Results from Test 1: wh-questions

As one can see from graph 1 there are statistically significant differences between groups performing this test (F (2.22) = 9.1578 p=.00128). The younger children, those between 3-4 years old, could answer the sentences with two question words, but they had difficulties in answering the sentences with three
question words at the beginning of the sentence. The children after 4 years old can answer these kind of questions but after the age of 5 they do not have any difficulties.

Test 2 contents long distance wh questions with complements sentences. For example sentences as shown are asked the children in Romani:

The mother said/told her son to get her a big pot, but he got her a big glass instead.

What did the mother say/tell her son to get?

I daj akherdas pe čheske te anel lake bari tenžera, ama o antadas lake bari čaška.

So akherdas i daj pe čhaeske te antel lake?

The result of the children show that there are no statistically significant differences between the age groups of the children. 59% of the 3-4 years old children, 68% of the 4-5 years old and 77% of the 5-6 old children perform successfully this test. Easily can be seen that with the growth of the age the percentages grow as well. The content of Test 3 is passive verbs in Romani. How much the children understand sentences such as

The father was kissed by the girl.

O dad sines čhumindo o čhiyatar.

In case there are three different pictures where the girl kisses the father, the father kisses the girl and the father kisses a baby in the presence of the girl. The findings are shown in the next Graph 2.

The differences between the children’s performances of the Test are significant (F (2.20)= 4.6590, p=.02183). As can be seen, however, there are no differences between 4-5 and 5-6 years old children's performance of this test. The children understand the passive verbs by the age of 4 perfectly well.
Graph 2: Results from Test 3: Passive verbs

As already was said the performance of Test 4 was not successful. However, I can say that the favorite test of the children was Test 5 - Possessiveness. There is no statistically significant differences in the performances of the groups, but 82% of the 3-4 years old, 96% of the 4-5 years old and 98% of the 5-6 years old children were able to figure out and correctly to use the morphemes for possessiveness in Romani language, applying them to the new unknown subject and object from both genders.

Look there are two horses, They have balloons. These balloons......(are the horses’ balloons)
Dikh kate si duj grasta. Len si baloya
Kakala baloya.........(o grastenge baloya)
The same rules but with unknown words subjects and object:

This is boho. He has a suki.
This is...(boho's suki).
Kaka o bohos. Les si suki.
Kaka ......(o bokoskori suki)

The next test - Test 6 - Aspect is also without statistically significant differences between the performance of the groups. 47% of the 3-4 and 4-5 years old children and 63% of the 5-6 years old children perform this test correctly. The difficulties with this test is that the children should use the complete and incomplete action with totally new verbs which do not exist in Romani. For example the child should know how to say correctly looking to the pictures when the action is complete and when it is incomplete and to figure out which morphemes to use in order to apply the Romani aspectuality work to totally unknown verb.

While the boy was sitting at the fire his brother x-ed/was x-ing the river.
Žikate o čho bešela paš i jag o phal kretindas / kretinelas opral lenatar.

There is no statistically significant differences between the groups performing Test 7 -Tense either. In this test 64% from 3-4 years old, 63% from the 4-5 years old, and 77% of the 5-6 old children perform successfully the test. Similarly to the Aspect test here the children had to use the three tenses Present, Future and Past Tense with unknown verbs. For example:

This man knows how to novelVerb- Pres.T
Yesterday he did the same.
Yesterday he ....(novelV.- PastT.)
Kaka rom žanna sar te kreminel
Ič o kerdas saštoto.
Ič o ........(kremindas)

Test 8 is a fast mapping noun test and in the performance of this test the children show not only statistical differences between groups, but also in gender. The next two graphs 3 and 4 show the performance of the children in this test.

Graph 3 shows that the girls are much better than the boys performing this test. The differences between boys and girls is statistically different: F (1.16) = 6. 1538, p =.02461.
Graph 3: Gender differences in performing Test 8 - fast noun mapping

The groups’ performances of the test is shown in graph 4. It is clear that with the growth of the age the knowledge of the children is growing as well. The children were able easily to figure out the new noun although, there was another noun with the same color.
Graph 4. Results from Test 8: fast noun mapping

Example:
See here there is a white blepi. Show me the white blepi.  
Blepi is the new unknown and not existing word in Romani.

In two way ANOVA analyses it is shown that the there is interaction between the factors Age and Gender: $F(2.16) = 5.7345, p=.01325$. There are differences in the performance of the test between 3-4 years old boys and girls, but by the age of 4-5 years old the differences despair. This is shown in Graph 5.
Graph 5. Two way interaction between the factors Age and Gender perfuming Test 8 - fast noun mapping

The last Test 9 - fast adjective mapping also is performed by the children very well and the results show statistically significant differences between the groups. Similarly to Test 8, in the performance of Test 9, again the girls are better than the boys. This is shown in Graph 6 and the differences between the two gender groups are statistically significant: F (1.18) = 4.6693, p = .04443.
Gender; LS Means
Current effect: F(1, 18)=4.6693, p=.04443
Effective hypothesis decomposition
Vertical bars denote 0.95 confidence intervals

Graph 6: Gender differences in performing Test 9 - fast adjective mapping

The age groups also show statistical differences in performance of this Test: F(2.18)= 4.5683, p=.02486. The results are presented in the next Graph 7.
Graph 7: Results from Test 9 - fast adjective mapping

The content of Test 9 are new adjectives which do not exist in Romani and the children have the task to find the correct adjective. For example:

Look what we have here: a donkey, a cat and a dog. This color is patravali
Where is patravali- m.......(the dog)

Knowing the gender of the objects the child has the task to figure out to which one pass the adjective and to use it in a correct way. As can be seen from the graph above the children perform this test also with high success.

Conclusion

In all 8 Tests Roma children show that they learn the grammatical categories from Romani in the age between 3-4 years old. Not only that - they are also able to apply the rules of Romani grammar to new words, which they never heard before. This fact is extremely important because it is a sign that the children are able to learn new words and new grammatical rules in their mother tongue -
Romani. The Romani language assessment is an important process because shows that Roma children go through the same processes as any other normally developing children, learning their mother tongues and this is something which was not known till now - there are grammatical categories which are early acquired and learned and there are other categories which are learned on a later stage, as this is in other languages such as English, German, French, Russian.

Unfortunately in many East European countries where the Roma population is mainly concentrated there is no Romani language instructions as a mother tongue. Romani is not taken as an asset but exactly opposite the kindergartens and the primary schools would think that the better knowledge of Romani is an obstacle for better learning of the official language. Unfortunately there are no mechanisms which show how to use the knowledge form L1 educational process of L2. There is a need the educators to change the methodology of teaching the official language - the knowledge from Romani as mother tongue should be included in the educational process if we really would like the Roma children to be successful at school.

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Ways of Developing Methodological Competencies of Literature Students

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Abstract
It is mandatory for the students of Croatian Language and Literature who specialize in teaching to acquire methodological competencies. Given the conditions in which, due to objective reasons, the time that students spend directly participating in teaching has been reduced to the minimum, the courses in the field of theory of teaching literature are designed with the aim of improved training of students for professional teaching tasks. The acquired experience of using various effective methods and activities in working with students is presented in the form of discussion on their practical applicability.

Keywords
methodological competencies, teaching literature, teaching methods

Introduction
In order to make it easier to define the methodological competencies that literature students should acquire in the course of their Faculty education in order to be trained at least for the beginners level work in the classroom, it is necessary to define the concept of methodological knowledge. Methodological knowledge is classified into the framework of educational knowledge, and it includes two types of knowledge which also belong to the field of education – the knowledge of the content of learning and the teaching knowledge. The knowledge of the content of learning refers to the default curriculum themes on which the students acquire basic knowledge, and this type includes knowledge and strategies, techniques and methods for successful learning that the students should be able to actively apply in their work. The teaching knowledge should be acquired by every teacher because this type of knowledge involves different teaching skills and knowledge which are acquired at teacher training faculties. The importance of methodological knowledge is evident in its comprehensiveness, because a teacher who has it and actively applies it is well-versed in the content of the subject that is taught, and at the same time masters the appropriate ways of adapting the prescribed learning content to the principles of psychology, sociology, pedagogy and didactics.

"Methodological knowledge has the character of primarily experiential knowledge, and it is essentially determined by the specific purpose of its application in education" (Bežen, 2008, p. 25). Therefore, methodological
knowledge is specific because it is not exclusively of cognitive character since it also refers to the knowledge of various teaching methods and techniques, to the affective component of the teachers' personality and their methodological inventiveness in terms of working on the basis of the learned methods and techniques, but also with the methods and techniques that the teachers should certainly be able to devise on their own.

Competency is currently a buzz word in teaching methodology, pedagogy and didactics. How to precisely define the term? This is best done by comparing the meaning of the concepts from the same semantic field. Namely, unlike knowledge (facts, theoretical categories), skills (learned through practice, and include a motion component), abilities (mental and physical capabilities of successful coping with situations where knowledge and skills are of little help), competency should be defined as the competence for successful performance, and as an area in which someone possesses the knowledge, skills and experience. Methodological knowledge refers to the cognitive area and includes skills, whereas competencies are related to the practical application of knowledge and skills in real life situations. Therefore, the training of future teachers should be focused not only on interdisciplinary liking of the knowledge of various sciences relevant to the teaching methodology of a given subject (parent science, pedagogy, psychology, sociology), but also on the acquisition and development of competencies. Competency should be the ultimate goal of teaching and the success of teaching methodology of a given subject depends on how much attention is focused on the activation of methods, techniques and the system of teaching and learning in order to enable individuals to efficiently perform the tasks of professional teachers. Therefore, apart from knowledge, competency includes experiential, psychological, voluntary, and other determinants of an individual person together with his/her preparedness for carrying out a task, which derives from the training process. Methodological competencies refer to the ability of teachers to apply theoretical and experiential knowledge in their practical work with the aim of effective teaching.

Literature Teaching Methodology is the title of a university course in which the students of the Croatian Language and Literature (as a single or double major graduate study programme) are trained to teach Croatian language in primary and secondary schools. To acquire methodological competencies, the students are systematically introduced to the live context of contemporary school with the help of different methodological approaches to teaching and learning. Therefore, these approaches should be listed and described in order to present effective methodological models for the acquisition of methodological competencies of future teachers.
Review of previous literature teaching

Teaching literature at all levels of the educational system - elementary, secondary and higher education - sums up the combination of theoretical assumptions of certain methodological techniques, i.e. in more recent times methodological technologies, and a greater or lesser degree of success of their practical application. The population that reaches only the first step of compulsory schooling, or the one that passes all the steps of schooling envisaged by the current educational policy has different experiences related to literature teaching, which, of course, given the number of teaching hours in the school curriculum, is an extremely important part of teaching the Croatian language. Certainly, the experience of current and former pupils varies depending on how the content of the literature classes was able to meet the reading needs of those same former pupils who could generally be divided into spontaneous readers and those for whom it was necessary to incite the desire to read, because they were initially not interested literary texts. In such a framework, it is interesting to note how the students of the Croatian language of different specializations view their school encounter with literature. Namely, we are talking about the type of students who, with relevant temporal distance, and in the period of raising their methodological awareness of teaching, can speak critically about their experiences in relation to literary interpretations which they witnessed personally in the course of their own schooling.

The review of current literature classes is a suitable methodological model in working with students which provides them with the opportunity to develop much emphasized critical thinking about the usual ways, i.e. teaching methods and techniques. The following example is an excerpt from a critical review by student Kristina Svalina about her experience in literature classes in the role of a pupil, but from the methodological point of view:

"In my previous education I had five Croatian language teachers. In elementary school I had both a male and a female teacher. The female teacher was excellent at interpreting fiction, but I was not happy with the way she interpreted poems. None of our interpretations was good; she always had a completely different interpretation and was surprised that none of us had seen it our own way. Personally, I was never able to interpret it her way. The male teacher I had next was mostly interested in linguistics, so that the teaching materials were mostly based on grammar, but the interpretations of literary works were satisfactory. In the first grade of grammar school I had a male teacher. There was not actually any real interpretation in his classes, e.g. after reading the book we would discuss some issues that were tackled in the work; however, not from the perspective of the characters or the work itself, but from our own personal perspective and from the contemporary viewpoint. I did not
like it at all. Talking about it is all right, but good grades were given only to those who were best at arguing. I certainly do not think that this is what interpretation should be like. Later, I had a female teacher who was quite focused on literature and the interpretation was good. Afterwards, I had a female teacher who was excellent at her job as well as interpretation. Before reading, she would always draw our attention to certain elements of the literary work we should pay attention to. She would introduce us to some features of the work as part of its own time period, and she would really arouse interest in the students to read by simply talking about the literary text. She respected our own impressions of the works. She was also excellent at interpreting poems. She would accept our opinion and she would try to guide us to note some other motifs, figures of speech, etc. She was also trying to introduce us to the world of the writer so that we could analyze the poem through this framework as well. I believe that this teacher was the best as far as school interpretation is concerned in my previous education." (Kristina Svalina, May 21, 2006, e-mail “Moja pozitivna i negativna iskustva sa školskom interpretacijom”)

Thus the students are given the task to write an essay on their own positive and negative experience in previous literature teaching at all levels of education. Selected statements from such essays are read before a group of students and discussed as representative samples of practice that may be an interesting starting point for discussion and finding answers to questions about teaching literature. It is important to relate one’s own experiences to methodological knowledge in order to raise the awareness, as efficiently as possible, of the future role of a teacher and the importance of his or her reflections on the teaching methods.

Discussion on methodological issues

Discussion is an excellent method to encourage students to become collaboratively active as much as possible. Thereby we achieve a desirable environment in which higher education is not based only on knowledge transfer, but also on the students arguing different points of view on an issue, which may be represented without the fear of making an error. Discussion encourages creative thinking because it can help reach original solutions more quickly, and the students use logical thinking, practice their communication skills, and boost their self-confidence and self-esteem.

Shared inquiry discussion has proven particularly useful in motivating students for greater co-operation in lectures. This type of discussion is suitable because it can engage all the students. Of course, you will not be able to involve all of the students in the presentation part due to time constraints and the large number of group members. Nevertheless, it can be resolved too, if all the students
first respond in writing to the set theses, and then several of them do it verbally. The theses are postulated as open-ended, so that there is no single answer. Therefore, the formulation of the thesis is of great importance if the main objective is the participation of all students. The discussion provides insight into the differences of opinion on an issue, and the problems such as missing the topic and the passivity of some individuals can be avoided by proper organization (Cota Bekavac et al., 2005, p. 53).

In the course Literature Teaching Methodology, shared inquiry discussion is used, for example, in discussions about reading literary titles prescribed by the curriculum. First we look at a recorded high school debate on the same subject with the instruction to select interesting and controversial statements made by the pupils for a later discussion. The students bring their reading diaries, remember the book report lessons in which they participated in the past, explain their own ways of writing interpretations of the reading assignments and similar. This is followed by a discussion on the given theses whereby students are not allowed to interrupt each other during their presentations. All students are encouraged to join the debate. The theses for discussion are open-ended or of alternative type. The following are some of the theses:

- A list of required book report reading - yes or no?
- The reading diary - yes or no?
- How to check whether the reading assignment was actually read?
- The sequence of reading assignments - from older to newer or vice versa?
- Internet and book reports - what to do about it?
- Contemporary literature as a reading assignment - yes or no?
- What to do if the majority of students did not read the reading assignment?

It should be noted that the discussion in line with the above principles is always fruitful. Students share their different experiences and ideas and solutions inspired by them. They critically review the performance of their literature teachers, commend or criticize specific methods and techniques. This is followed by a presentation with more examples of actual teaching situations based on the work of primary and secondary school teachers so that the experiences of students, pupils and teachers from the school practice are combined into one single thought unit. This unit cannot be understood without teaching methodology knowledge, which is often not fixed because there are no ready recipes for successful teaching. Students thus become aware of the fact that methodological knowledge is subject to adjustments depending on the working conditions, type of school, number of students and their age/gender/social affiliation, selected educational system, the objectives of the unit/lesson, as well as the methodological competencies of teachers who should identify the most
suitable working method for a certain content and age of the students, determine the obligations of the students, the rules of conduct and the order of tasks, and to clarify the elements of the evaluation of their work and class participation.

**Reading and analysis of texts on teaching literature**

With regard to the discussion on literary topics from the field of theory of teaching, the analysis and discussion of articles, essays and other types of texts which reflect on the relationship between students, literary works, curricula and teachers as part of the overall educational system is particularly useful. In this context, we could single out the "Letter to Fairy Slovinka" the epistolary collection *Hand kiss: Letters to Famous Women* (*Rukoljub: Pisma slavnim ženama*) from 1995 by the Croatian author Pavao Pavličić. In his letter he addresses the fairy Slovinka, a character from old Croatian literature, who symbolizes the entire Croatian and world literary tradition. The intention of the letter lies in the fact that the author, a teacher himself, is dissatisfied with the way literary works are presented to the pupils. That is, he believes that literary education in lower grades of secondary school should begin with contemporary works that are closer to the pupils, and through them, to get the pupils interested in literature in general, and only then to enrich their list of classical readings that only pupils in the upper grades are ready to properly understand and accept as reading assignments. The author proposes to change the usual way of getting acquainted with reading book report assignments in schools, and because of this, the letter has the appellative role for the purpose of better education of young readers and their introduction into the world of books, not their rejection of literature. After reading Pavličić’s text the students are encouraged to talk, they are asked questions about the thesis of the letter - for example, the proposal that the curriculum should be tailored to pupils and not the pupils to the curriculum: i.e. that the works of Dante should be read by seniors, and that first grade pupils should read contemporary literature (Pavličić, 1995, p. 177), etc. This creates a problem situation in which students, due to conflicting attitudes, discuss the dilemmas in practice and through discussion develop critical thinking and build their own stance on the important topic - the issue of reading assignments in the classroom.

The French writer and literature professor Daniel Pennac is the author of the popular book *Reads Like a Novel* which deals with reading behaviour and offers interesting reflections on reading. The book can be analyzed as a whole or in parts, and its main themes can be discussed: reading literary works as a school obligation, reading for pleasure, the rights of the reader, etc. Certain theses of the book can be paraphrased and discussed - for example, that the verb ‘to read’ does not tolerate the imperative form, that we did not read most of the books that
have shaped us by embracing them, but by rejecting them, that well-guided reading saves the reader from everything, even from him/herself (Pennac, 1996, p. 81), etc. Discussions on such and other texts that are part of the reading required for the exam are in accordance with the modern desirable principle of approach according to which the students and teachers in the classroom should not only be acquainted with the new material, but mostly discuss it after they themselves have studied them from growingly accessible sources (Cota Bekavac et al., 2005, p. 42).

**Teaching methods, techniques and teaching systems in theory and practice**

It is extremely important to familiarize literature students who specialize in teaching with different methods, the rules of their functioning, their specificities, strengths and weaknesses. A brief overview with several examples is an effective means of acquiring methodological knowledge for many visual, textual and speaking methods. The students recall the use of certain methods in their schooling; they draw conclusions about the most appropriate situations for the practical application of certain methods. All the above also applies to teaching systems as framework methodological concepts of teaching with regard to the prevalence of analytical, correlation, problem-solving or any other approach to teaching literature. It also applies to the social forms applicable in teaching - individual, pair, group work and lecture, with particular emphasis on their positive and negative sides.

The tables with advantages and disadvantages, and the assumed obligation of preparing a lesson in accordance with a particular method, technique or teaching system are suitable for a fruitful discussion about teaching. It is particularly important to draw attention to the strengths and weaknesses, advantages and possible pitfalls of a particular method, as well as their overall functioning within the framework of each individual type of a lesson such as, for example, revision lessons, interpretation of a passage or a complete literary work, book reports, film and media culture, learning new literary theory or literary history contents, etc. However, it is important to follow the general concept of teaching upon which each practical implementation should rely. It is useful to introduce the future teachers to describing the advantages, disadvantages and elements of lesson plan preparation. Based on the proposals from the heuristic discussion with students in solving this task, the students should be given a list of positive and negative aspects of, for example, the analysis and interpretation teaching system and a number of requirements for the preparation of lesson plans in accordance with this system:
Table with advantages and disadvantages of the analysis and interpretation teaching system with elements of lesson preparation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADVANTAGES</th>
<th>DISADVANTAGES</th>
<th>PREPARATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- tight system that does not allow arbitrariness, shallowness, improvisation</td>
<td>- not practical with more than twenty students</td>
<td>- good preparation (all phases, questions, teaching aids and equipment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- based on the ideas and experience of the entire group</td>
<td>- only some students might prevail in the activity</td>
<td>- requires comprehensive knowledge of the contents of the literary work, methods of interpretation and empathy with the world of the literary works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- applicable after reading a text, watching a movie, etc.</td>
<td>- if students are not motivated enough, they get passive and do not participate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- provides for active participation for all</td>
<td>- requires a lot of time</td>
<td>- a clear plan - defining the key issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- students express their own opinions and learn how to listen to and accept others' opinion</td>
<td>- can go in the wrong direction</td>
<td>- methodological and communication inventiveness is mandatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- loses its purpose when it turns into a stereotype, a mechanical reading of literary works</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At teacher training faculties, the teaching knowledge is at the same time the knowledge of learning (Bežen, 2008, p. 25). Methodological knowledge is, therefore, a unique field of knowledge that should be explored in terms of its applicability. In the course Literature Teaching Methodology, the equalization of the two mentioned types of knowledge is evident in some of the frequently used methods. Students simultaneously learn the envisaged content (default knowledge), as well as the methods and techniques of both teaching and learning.

This equalization is evident, for example, in the topic on teaching systems. First, each student receives a handout with brief descriptions of two systems. What follows is the *three steps interview* method: the students first read the text, then report their newly acquired knowledge in pairs, and then the students
present to their group what they have heard and noted down from the student with whom they worked in pairs. The groups consist of four members, and they select their group spokesperson who presents the basic ideas of the text.

This is followed by the synthesis of the individually learned content by using the circular brainstorming method. The students are divided into groups of four members as they sit. Each group receives a paper with a theme written in the middle of the paper (dogmatic and reproductive learning teaching system, reproductive learning – explanation based teaching system, interpretation and analysis teaching system, meditative-creative teaching system, project based literature teaching, inter-textual teaching system). One student from the group is responsible for writing with a special marker pen, and each group selects a representative who at the end of the creative task reads out the most important terms. Each group has 30 seconds to write their associations related to a particular topic. After the expiry of 30 seconds, each group hands its paper over to the next group who write down their associations (the paper is submitted in a clockwise direction). After three exchanges, the students have 45 seconds to write their associations to a particular topic. Circular brainstorming ends when the paper reaches the group that had it first or after all associations have been exhausted. The groups jointly select three of the written concepts that are considered relevant to the given topic, highlight them and explain.

There are many more methods the application of which is of multiple benefits in teaching. By using them in the classroom, the students enrich their methodological knowledge by gaining insight into new methods and their rules, and by learning new contents through direct experiential learning, they assess the functioning of specific methods and techniques. Thereby they link theory and practice, not only as mere observers, but as active participants in the teaching process. At the same time, the students develop their methodological competencies as they acquire knowledge about teaching, which is both the content of learning and knowledge about learning.

Devising own methods of teaching and the application of methods from the literature

An effective way to acquire methodological competencies is devising useful methods and procedures applicable in the classroom. Such a way of acquiring competencies is particularly important for linking theory with the practice of teaching literature, and to achieve diversity of the activated ways of teaching and learning. This is a way of exploring the usability of methodological or related ideas in school interpretation of various literary works.

One of the more successful examples is undoubtedly the use of the methods from the book *De Bono’s Thinking Course: Powerful Tools to transform the ways of
thinking by Edward de Bono, a Maltese doctor, writer and inventor. The students applied the methods suggested in the book, i.e. the tools to transform the ways of thinking. Several of the suggested tools were used in the framework of problem-solving interpretation of the myth of Daedalus and Icarus, by the student Kristina Špoljarić. Firstly, the first problem is singled out: "Daedalus and Icarus decide to leave Crete." Then the method Plus, Minus, Interesting is announced. The method is explained to the students by telling them to make three columns in their notebooks. In the first column, they enter the title Plus, Minus in the second column and Interesting in the third column. The students are instructed to enter all the positive results of these decisions in the Plus column, all the negative consequences in the Minus column, and interesting consequences that are uncertain or any observations that are neither positive nor negative under the heading Interesting. When filling in the last column they can use the sentence: "It would be interesting to see if ...". The students then write down the second sentence into their notebooks, which reads: "Icarus’s desire to fly shows his need for independence." The students are instructed to solve this situation by applying the de Bono tool called Agreement, Disagreement and Irrelevant. Once again they draw three columns in their notebooks. In the first column they write the heading Agreement, in the second column Disagreement, and Irrelevant in the last column. The aim of the method is to enter the arguments that confirm agreement with the situation in the first column, to enter arguments or claims which express disagreement with the situation in the second column, and arguments that are not so relevant for the given situation in the third column.

The answers to the first statement were the following: the positive outcome of the decision may be the achievement of freedom and independence, while the failure of Daedalus and Icarus’s plan as well as deprivation of freedom for attempting to escape from Crete were highlighted as negative things. The answer in the third column Interesting was focused on the interesting possibilities that both really managed to leave Crete, or that they used some other means to accomplish their escape. The arguments confirming agreement with the second statement were Icarus’s desire for freedom and his aspiration to higher levels of knowledge and enhancement of skills. The reply showing disagreement with the statement was that Icarus’s desire to fly actually shows disobedience to his father and his advice. The response to the third column was that Icarus did not eventually manage to escape to freedom, and that the myth does not mention Icarus’s mother who could have changed the situation. The example shows that the working methods suggested in the book were successfully applied in practice. The book emerged from the experience of proven methods for improving thinking, i.e. the methods were taken from a book that is not limited to
methodological issues which demonstrates the necessity of interdisciplinary in
teaching methodology training.

The creative tasks given to students often involve solutions related to linking
the working methods with the contents of a literary work. The students, for
example, make a Venn diagram by means of which they compare Aesop's fables
and the fables of Jean de La Fontaine, or contemplate the postulation of a
provocative thesis related to the theme of an individual literary work, which
should be trained because such a thesis is the starting point for the successful
implementation of a network of discussions or debates.

What students become aware of as a problem that they encountered in their
schooling, and which they will face once they start working as teachers, are the
pitfalls of stereotyped teaching. As part of the introduction to the theory and
practice of teaching literature at the graduate level studies, the students are
encouraged to become methodologically inventive which should be achieved by
using well-known methods and procedures, as well as by the application of self-
devised methods.

The setting up of a framework task which consists of inventing the analysis of
an excerpt of a literary work with the help of a type of a literary detective method
could serve as an example of how students can be encouraged to come up with a
new method. The task was to devise a way to work on a literary text that would
be as close to a detective investigation as possible. In accordance with the general
guidelines, a new method was devised that was announced to the students with a
brief explanation of its rules and stages: task research, text analysis and public
presentation. Students are divided into groups, and then each group should
designate their travelling detective - the person who will be visiting other groups
in search for answers. The first task is to carefully read the given literary excerpt,
for example, a passage from the novel Jonathan Livingston Seagull written by
Richard Bach, and then follow the instructions in the handout. After the
investigation, the final stage is announced in which the students present their
findings and the other students record them in their notebooks.

It is necessary to mention the example of a handout with highly motivating
tasks in accordance with a detective investigation. The method includes rules
that should be followed, there are game elements, the students play the roles of
investigators, team members and travelling detectives. The textbook becomes a
book filled with secrets, road maps and solutions, and it is also envisaged that the
groups should cooperate and assist each other in arriving at the correct solutions.
From the above example, it is evident that the designing and practical testing of a
new or modified method is an extremely effective way to increase confidence in
the performance of prospective teachers who are motivated to continually
improve their teaching skills and always seek new ways of teaching and learning.
A sample handout for working in line with the literary detectives method designed by student Mirela Prokeš (January 21, 2013, e-mail “Priprava”)

"Read the given literary excerpt from the novel Jonathan Livingston Seagull. To be able to analyze the excerpt, first find out what your tasks are with the help of the Literary Detectives game!

Your tasks will not be easy to find, help can only come along this line; open your textbook and follow the instructions clearly, to arrive at the solution quickly and dearly.

1. Next to the page with the poem Žalo (Pebbles)
the tasks are only few, but the eleventh word in Task 4, to your first task shall open the door! Key: .................. (Theme)

2. To continue to be on such a lucky spree, Send a travelling detective into group three! Let his voyage set you free so that you arrive at the following key: .................. (Motifs)

3. Take your textbook once more, it washes the third solution ashore, Turn to Justice and the tasks behind, for your last task in the Discussion to find. Key: .................. (Basic idea)"

**Evaluation of literature on teaching methodology**

One of the critical approaches to the theory of teaching literature is the evaluation of the professional books published in this field that are available to the students, after they have acquired basic introductory methodological knowledge. In the oral presentation, the selected student can present his or her analysis of a certain book on teaching methodology, synthesize the insights presented by the author as the expert in the respective field, and, finally, evaluate the functionality of the described knowledge and teaching suggestions. Of course, the students find the oral presentations more interesting if they are accompanied by PowerPoint presentations.

As an example of such a critical approach, the assumption of which is the assessment of the intrinsic value of the teaching methodology theory, not its unquestioned acceptance, is a review of the book *Stendhal’s and Flaubert’s Novels*
in a Methodological Horizon by the Croatian researcher Mirjana Benjak. In her book, the expert describes four models of a lesson analysing Stendhal’s and Flaubert’s novels with different starting points and based on different theories: Stendhal - Red and Black, the starting point: character analysis, methodological theory: the theory of communication; Stendhal - The Charterhouse of Parma, the starting point: the conceptual-thematic level of the literary work, methodological theory: the theory of curricula; Flaubert - Madame Bovary (2+2 teaching hours), the starting point: the origin of the theme of the novel, the characterization of the main character and the functions of other characters, modernity of Flaubert’s handwriting, methodological theory: the theory of problem-solving teaching; Flaubert - Sentimental Education, starting point: personal history and the great History in Flaubert’s novel, methodological theory: the theory of interconnectivity of contents. The students conclude that the book contains detailed plans for a number of lessons the realization of which is doubtful because in reality, in general, there would not be enough time for all the planned activities. The conclusion is that it is a monograph specializing in Flaubert and Stendhal’s novels in the classroom, and is characterized by alternative methodological choices and several possible starting points of interpretation. In the review where students could give up to five stars, despite individual criticisms, this book won the maximum number of stars.

With such approach, the students are more engaged in thinking about the relationship between the theory of teaching and its practical application, they assume the role of the critic and they are encouraged not to be slaves to the authorities, but to critically approach teaching and review the proposals given by methodological advisors with respect to the specific educational context. The students assess what can be done in a lesson and what cannot be done, what should be adapted to the specific conditions of delivering teaching and they are familiarized with the books on teaching methodology dedicated to individual school subjects, their content and quality.

**Case Study**

In their comments on the curriculum content and the delivery of lectures and seminars in the courses dedicated to the theory of teaching, the literature students specializing in teaching ask for more practical examples. Such attitude and focus on specific occurrences in working with pupils is understandable for the purpose of load shedding in the psychological sense, because students want to know what to do and how to act in certain situations and how to avoid problems that can occur in literature classes. Case study was proven extremely useful in this respect. The students are introduced to an actual situation in teaching literature, and they are problem-solving the case through analysis,
synthesis and evaluation in order to grasp the factors relevant to the case in the focus of discussion.

The positive effects on the methodological knowledge of students and their encouragement to adopt the ways of solving problems that are used in real life are visible in the analysis, for example, of an introductory lesson to ancient literature at the secondary level of education. The teacher divided the class into two groups who read the same text from a textbook, but each group focused on different information. The teacher pointed out that the lesson was to be implemented as problem-solving learning in groups. The instructions for each group were given on transparencies. One group was to single out what was new that antiquity introduced, and the other group was tasked to name the authors, to extract important terms and to specify the duration of the period. They were told to write down their observations in their notebooks and to share them with other students in their group. In the case analysis, the students observed that the class was seemingly organized into two groups because there was no actual group work, but only division of the students into two parts with respect to two different tasks. There was also no interaction among the students because the work was mostly done individually. Although the teacher named the methodological system as problem-solving and creative, it was not such because there was no problem situation created that would lead to conflicting views. A more successful phase of the lesson, as assessed by the students, was the part of the lesson in which the group representatives read the answers they had written down, and then these answers were analyzed and supplemented.

The following is a further analysis of teaching situations. The teacher showed the students a completed table on transparencies and they discussed the solutions of the previous tasks in the table. Then the students were given handouts with philosophical texts from antiquity with questions about these texts. The students were organized into six groups, each having different tasks. The students in the groups first individually read the texts on philosophical ideas and theories. Then they were solving the tasks first in pairs, and then together with other members of their group. Group representatives read the texts and the answers offered by their group. The responses were analyzed and supplemented with evident difficulties in understanding the texts, and the teacher selected only few students for presentation of results due to time restraints. In the analysis of this teaching phase, the students concluded that the presentation of results showed that the teacher had chosen too difficult texts for the students. They noted that the teacher was trying to achieve correlation with philosophy, but he focused on complicated philosophical ideas and theories. Also, the teacher called only few students in the class for response, which certainly is not good because in this case most students are not engaged. Individual work, pair work and,
eventually, group work altogether are quite time-consuming. As a synthesis, the teacher gave the students the task to write a short essay on the topic about the possibilities of survival of a man from ancient times in the 21st century. As the bell interrupted the writing of the essay, the students observed that individual phases of the lesson lasted too long and that there was not enough time left to complete the last task.

The case study can be done by a descriptive oral presentation of teaching situations discussed, or the situations can be presented in the form of a text with questions. However, the method is more effective if there is a video of an actual lesson, and by watching the footage the students are viewing actual teaching in schools. Finally, through case studies of everyday classroom situations the students connect theory and its application, they are encouraged to discuss issues, develop communication skills and make their own decisions.

**Lesson plan and classroom simulation**

One of the main tasks of every student in the methodological training course is the designing and writing of lesson plans. The lesson plan is the teacher's personal, but also a professional document that proves the teacher's preparedness for teaching and willingness to carry out a lesson on a given or selected literary topic. The comprehensiveness is the main feature of lesson plans prepared by students who are to become future teachers. Namely, the students are trained for classroom work, and it is essential that the lesson plan and the lesson implementation are elaborated in detail to make sure that the planned lessons are implemented as successfully as possible.

The students are given a concrete or framework topic in the field of literature, and the teaching is delivered at seminar classes in front of other colleagues who play the role of pupils. Less freedom in choosing themes for lesson plans is restrictive, but the goal of such way of allocating methodological tasks is training the students for the design and implementation of all types of classes and topics set by the curriculum, because in school the contents are taught in accordance with the curriculum, not on the principle of personal preferences.

The format of the lesson plan is a blank form with individual sections that students need to complete taking into account the elements of lesson plan evaluation: content integrity and stylistic/linguistic accuracy, accuracy of methodological terminology, proper organization of the teaching phases, the appropriate use of teaching methods and techniques, methodological inventiveness. The practical implementation of the lesson plan guidelines (methods and modes of work, lesson objectives, learning outcomes, course of the lesson with its phases and situations) are scored based on the following elements: linguistic accuracy (both spelling and grammatical accuracy in writing
on the board and in the handouts), proper/timely implementation and order of
teaching phases, the dynamics of communication, successful implementation of
teaching methods, appropriate use of teaching aids and equipment, knowledge of
the lesson content, achievement of learning outcomes. After having written the
lesson plan and a classroom simulation of a 40- or 90-minute lesson, the students
are told the positive and negative aspects of their work in a simulated classroom,
and in addition to the lecturer, the other students join the discussion. Instead of
the lecturer, selected students, two at the most, can be engaged as
methodological commentators who monitor the implementation of the lesson
and review it, which is a very good exercise to achieve critical distance. Thus,
each student will take on different roles during the semester - of a student who is
learning the teaching job, then of teaching participants (pupils), of the teacher,
and, finally, the experts/methodologists who assesses the teaching process.

The competencies, particularly methodological competencies cannot be
acquired without experiential knowledge. According to the American pedagogue
Edgar Dale, i.e. according to the data from the famous Dale cone (Matijević &
Radovanović, 2011, p. 119), as opposed to learning simply with the help of visual
and textual media where after two weeks only 30 percent of what is seen is
remembered, in the simulation of actual events, this percentage is much higher.
Namely, the likelihood of remembering what is at the same time described,
spoken and done, reaches the level of 90 percent after the same two-week period.
Therefore, classroom simulation in the field of literature undoubtedly has a high
didactic value as evidenced by the students in their written reviews.

**Review of lesson plans and classroom simulations**

The review of the written lesson plan and classroom simulation is a form of
methodological self-reflection. The students need such form of a written
reflection in order to round up their practical experience and assess the level of
their methodological competencies. The students' reviews of the whole training
process from writing lesson plans to classroom simulations show the
development and maturing of their practical experience, the expanding of their
knowledge and skills, i.e. the art of teaching. In their reviews the students
describe the clearing of doubts, breaking stereotypes and gathering useful
experience based on which they become more confident in their knowledge and
abilities: "There were topics that we did not particularly like in the beginning, but
after the colleagues' performance, I changed my opinion, because I realized that
any lesson and can be successfully implemented if we make an effort and if we
possess methodological knowledge and creativity." (Marija Božićevoič, November
28, 2013, e-mail "Osvrt") The students point out the advantages of teaching
which is based on observation, experiential learning and focuses on the
acquisition of methodological competencies: "In addition to writing lesson plans, I consider the public appearance very useful and instructive for all students because we can learn a lot from our own experience, but also from the experience of other colleagues, and apply it when we start working one day." (Marija Božičević, November 28, 2013, e-mail “Osvrt”) The aim of self-reflection is the evaluation of our own work and learning outcomes. By evaluating the results of their public appearance the students become aware of the extent of their professional capabilities and ambitions: "In collaboration with my colleagues, I expected more active participation because they had to read the literary work in advance, the topic can be discussed and interpreted it in different ways, but the expected active participation was not present, and I am not satisfied with it, but because of that I called the students out more and I can say that the learning outcomes have been achieved, which is most important. I would give myself a very good grade (4 out of 5) because you can always be better, and I understood the points that I have received, as an additional motivation for further writing of lesson plans." (Marija Božičević, November 28, 2013, e-mail “Osvrt”)

Role-play

Role-play is a type of classroom simulation. The students are given the task to personify certain roles, i.e. the roles of teachers and pupils; they create as realistic a teaching situation as possible, and then, together with other students, conclude on the most appropriate action in the played scene. The following is an example of a task given to a group of four students, one of which takes on the role of the teacher, and the others take on the role of pupils:

"Your group consists of four members. One person will put himself into the role of the teacher. The other students will play the pupils sitting on chairs or standing on the other side of the classroom. In front of them is the person in the role of the teacher asking the following questions:
• What is the name of the central poetic personality of Croatian Expressionism?
• Name the title of a famous collection of poems by the poet.
• Provide at least two well-known titles of his poems.
• What are the two magazines launched by this poet?

Determine in advance only one person to answer all the questions. So the person in the role of the teacher asks a question and only one student raises his/her hand and answers the questions. The others are silent and do not raise their hands."

The goal of the above described role play game is to warn that during the lesson the teacher should not call always the same person, or just the ones who raise their hands, but should encourage as many students as possible to take part.
Methodological diary

The methodological diary is designed as a blank form document. The students take them to schools, fill in the fields while monitoring two lessons in the field of literature and draw conclusions on the situations seen during the lessons. Such way of methodological reflection is set before going to the school for official classroom practice in schools as the initial step of getting familiar with the natural school environment and the work methods of practicing teachers. This way the students check their own methodological competencies, link the teaching theory with actual situations in the classroom and evaluate the methods, modes of work, the use of teaching aids and other elements that are important for a successful lesson in the field of literature. The content of the methodological diary is structured so as to help students realize the complexity of the teaching process during a single or block schedule lesson in its entirety, and to use their methodological knowledge for the analysis of the lessons.

The content of the methodological diary covers the following:

• The main task/objective of the lesson - describe briefly the global objective of the lesson.
• Teaching phases, the time used - enter the name of each teaching phase and in parentheses the time that was spent on each phase.
• Teaching objectives - enter individual outcomes of educational and functional objectives.
• Explanation of teaching steps/activities - enter the teaching steps and activities (what the teacher does, what the students do, the type of questions asked and similar).
• Teaching methods - enter the names of the used teaching methods.
• Modes of teaching - enter the modes of teaching (individual, pair, group work, lecture).
• Teaching aids - enter the name of the teaching equipment and/or aids used.
• Comments – enter own observations on the teaching phases, objectives, steps, methods, modes, teaching aids.
• Achieved correlation/integration/actualization - enter your own observations about the correlation (connecting literature with similar and/or different contents), integration (linking elements of the same literary content), actualization (linking content with real life).
• Own design of the lesson - describe how the student would implement the analysed lesson (in whole or in part the same, with improvements, new methods and modes, etc.).
• Questions and Answers - enter the answers and advice given by the teacher to questions about his/her experience related to the methods, modes of work and other indicated methodological issues.
Review of the methodological diary - enter your own comments and views on the methodological diary, encounter with live classes, etc.

The success of the methodological diary as a critical form of methodological consideration is evident in the comments made by the students who are satisfied with earlier visits to school, while they are still having methodological courses at the Faculty, which allows for comparison of theoretical knowledge and its realization in practice. The improvement of methodological competencies as a result of fulfilling obligations in connection with the methodological diary is visible in the following comment made by a student:

"This diary was of great help in my methodological training because I could finally see the methods that I had learned in theory and saw them used by my colleagues, but now in actual classroom teaching of literature. This way, I realized the importance of all elements of the lesson plan preparation and how a good preparation of a lesson is important for a successful delivery of a lesson, and that it is important to maintain working atmosphere in the classroom, but at the same time a relaxed atmosphere for the pupils and the teacher to feel comfortable and to achieve the best results possible" (Dražena Vujanović, April 28, 2012, e-mail “Dnevnik”).

Classroom practice in schools

In addition to the methodological diary as a suitable form of learning outside the Faculty, classroom practice in schools is undoubtedly of great benefit to the professional development of future teachers. Students go to primary and secondary schools as practice classroom; they observe sample lessons delivered by their teacher-mentors, their colleagues and prepare for the delivery of their own lessons in literature. They are also introduced to school operation and basic pedagogical documents. The aim of classroom practice in schools is to train students to practice self-preparation and teaching of Croatian language and literature in elementary and secondary schools and develop their ability of self-analysis and self-evaluation of their own competencies. The major advantage of school classroom practice is to engage students in a real context of action in connection with the various issues surrounding the teaching process such as the teaching phases, the use of methods and modes of work, identifying the specifics of communication between the teacher and the pupils.

Conclusion

Methodological competencies are the key teaching qualifications. The concept of competency is complex and does not only refer to knowledge and skills, but also includes a number of other elements such as ethical values, social status,
possession of a diploma, knowledge of different skills, etc. An important characteristic of competent professionals is the possibility of successful action, i.e., if applied to methodological competencies, the possibility of a teacher being successful in teaching pupils. Therefore, to achieve such expertise, the emphasis in the studies or any other type of education should not be on the acquisition of knowledge and skills, but rather on learning, experience and achievement of competencies. The methodological competencies are the objective of the training of students in the courses devoted to the theory and practice of teaching literature, and all the above described methods, techniques and procedures are subordinated to this goal - the practical application of methodological knowledge with the aim of successful performance of the job of a Master of Education of the Croatian Language and Literature.

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Graphic Novels in Foreign Language Teaching

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Abstract
Using pictures, storytelling, and creative writing are the activities used more or less regularly in foreign language teaching. Picture books are not a new phenomenon in our book market. Picture books for children are the types I believe everybody read in their lives. In language teaching picture books present an authentic material. The article discusses the possibilities of using picture books in language teaching and presents the qualitative case study results focussed on effectiveness of using wordless picture books. Shaun Tan’s books were used as a source for descriptive and creative writing in foreign language teaching. Shaun Tan (n.d.) emphasises that his books are not for children. The themes he depicts cover also the mature themes, e.g. the social issues that might be discussed by teenagers and adults as well. The fact that the books rely on pictures makes it available to all language proficiency groups. Based on the results and experience the author highly recommends use of the wordless picture books to develop student writing.

Keywords
Picture books, graphic novels, writing, imagination

Introduction
Shaun Tan (1974) is an Australian author and illustrator. He has written and/or illustrated more than 15 books and in 2011 he received Astrid Lindgren Memorial Award for his contribution to international children’s literature. The Lost Thing (2000) book was named an Honour Book at the CBCA Awards; it won an Aurealis Award and a Spectrum Award for illustration in the United States. The book tells a story of a boy who collects the bottle tops and finds a bizarre, strange creature. The boy tries to help it but meets indifference everywhere. The book was adopted into a short animated film (2010) and won the Oscar for the Best Animated Short Film. A year later it was adopted into a live musical performance.

The wordless book The Arrival (written in 2006) is divided into 6 chapters. Tan himself (at shauntan.net website) speaks about the graphic novel rather than picture book and explains that panels of small-size, medium size, large-size pictures and multiple frames resemble rather film-making than book illustration. The book tells a story of immigration when a man leaves his family (a wife and a daughter) to find “better” life. The book depicts people struggling to settle in in an unknown city and building their new lives. (The title of the book was translated to Czech language as Nový svět, i.e. New World). Tan (n.d.) stated he
was influenced by Briggs’ *Snowman*. The Briggs’ book evokes the blueish feelings (he uses colours but the blue one prevails) whereas Tan works with grey and sepia shadows that evokes the feelings of old photographs that create a story.

**Graphic novels**

Reading literacy is “understanding, using, reflecting on and engaging with written texts, in order to achieve one’s goals, to develop one’s knowledge and potential, and to participate in society” (PISA 2015, 2013, p.9). Picture books are often associated with the term visual literacy. People reading books often read the pictures, illustrations in the books superficially, not paying attention to them. Illustrations support the meaning of the text and help the reader to understand it. We understand that PISA tests indicate the problem with reading literacy in our classes and we should concentrate our attention to developing the strategies to build reading literacy, however, at the same time we believe that the ability to read the pictures help them to become more attentive reader and text percipient and what more it evokes their imagination and forces them to think more deeply about the ideas expressed in a text. Reading comprehension is an increasingly important area in teaching foreign language.

The use of visuals and Picture books with young learners is widely discussed in literature. That is not a truth about the use of visual narratives (picture books, graphic novels, etc.), however, the need of teacher development in the field of the effective use of visual narratives is discussed in several studies e.g. by Bačová, Billíková & Kiššová, 2013; Hughes, King, Perkins, & Fuke, 2011; Kelley, 2010; Carter, 2007; Gavigan, 2011; Monnin, 2010). Previous research has indicated that using picture books in foreign language teaching has a positive impact on the language development (see e.g. Templer, 2009; Oz & Efecioglu, 2013; Dallacqua, 2012). Still, Templer claims “ESL teachers should consider embarking down this road to alternative graphic multimodal textual worlds. Most students will welcome any experiments at “going graphic” in the English language classroom -- and, for that matter, other areas of the curriculum, such as history and current affairs” (2009).

Nikolajeva and Scott (2001, p. 7) bring a concise summary of different categorisations of interactions between words and pictures in the books. They quote Golden (1990) who identifies 5 types of interrelations:

a) The text and pictures are symmetrical (creating redundancy),

b) The text depends on pictures for clarification,

c) Illustration enhances, elaborates text,

d) The text carries primary narrative, illustration is selective,

e) The illustration carries primary narrative, the text is selective.
Nikolajeva and Scott add two more (they call it) extremes, clear-cut categories – text without pictured and a wordless picture books.

Kelley (2010) points out that “Like a traditional piece of literature in which authors choose their words carefully, the graphic novelist thinks critically about the color, line, form, shape, and detail as well as the language he/she uses. The story conveyed by a graphic novelist, then, is as intricate as a story told by a traditional author, regardless of the age group of the target audience”. He stresses (quoting Vygotsky) that „Humans typically express thoughts in the form of language, and students’ responses to images, though perhaps cognitively silent, still help students utilize language“ (Vygotsky, 1978; Vygotsky, 1986 In: Kelly, 2011). He supports the idea of using graphic novels in education, including language teaching.

**Methodology**

This paper attempts to show some possibilities of using picture books in teaching foreign languages. The main objective of the study was to investigate the reactions of adult students, EFL teacher trainees to picture books and their ability to read and analyse it.

This work takes the form of illustrative case study. A small sample of 8 first-year teacher training single EFL major students was chosen. In more details, the case study focused on two males and six females aged 21 – 25 who were in their first year of magister degree programme. All students were advanced users of English and we expected they read not only compulsory literature in English but enjoy reading books in English generally. The students worked 5 weeks reading 2 graphic novels and playing DIXIT game. The case study was run in February – March 2014 within the course Language development.

To obtain more complete picture of the participants different methods of research were employed. The sources included participant observations, conversations with the students and, writing samples from each student.

The process of the study can be divided into three phases and it can be named according to the regular outline of reading lessons: pre-reading, while-reading and after-reading. There might be a discussion about the possibility to perceive the process as two separate units; the first one focused on The Lost Thing and the second one focused on The Arrival book. Knowing that students had no experience with reading and discussing graphic novels we decided that they needed to go through a process of reading this genre and certain navigation how to perceive it. The units (we rather use the term units rather than lesson, as the units consisted of a series of several lessons) involved various types of activities, interaction patterns etc., but they had the same aim – to present learners with the
visual art and to learn more about the possibilities to use it for the language teaching.

**Pre-reading phase**

The general discussion about reading led to surprising finding. Only one student mentioned she used to read books, the rest of the group mentioned reading shorter texts on internet or in the magazines. We expected that students - EFL teacher trainees read more and read passionately and are eager to read books in English. The discussion about the illustrators was surprising for them realising they generally do not look for the information about the translators and illustrators when (and if) they read books. To engage learners and to motivate them they were asked to read an interview without words with Shaun Tan published online in 2011 in Spiegel Online International (http://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/an-interview-without-words-illustrator-shaun-tan-draws-conclusions-a-769089.html). The interview is written in an interesting form, the illustrator answered the interviewer’s questions by/in illustrations. The introductory phase comprised also the work with the pictures from the *Lost Thing*. Different interaction patterns were applied to help readers, students to read a book and to perceive details and to think how these contribute to overall perceptions.

The very first impressions were brainstormed in a shared document (using Google drive). Students thus could enrich and inspire each other. In the next stage they had to add one more word (mainly adjectives and adverbs) to the brainstormed ideas (usually nouns and verbs). They used The Corpus of Contemporary American English (http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/) to find the collocations. It was the first time they were introduced the corpora and they immediately started to evaluate it as an effective and useful tool for writing.

In leading whole group discussion we were inspired by Nancy Mortimer’s Teacher’s Guide (2009). Similarly, a useful tool was McCloud’s *Understanding Comics* (1993) which guides in the comic format how to read ‘sequential art’. The questions led students to think about how to read and work with graphic novels

- types of contrast (*Look at the use of contrasts: small and large, hard and soft, light and dark. What was the aim of the author? How does the reader perceive it?*)
- colours (*Think about the colours. What was the aim of the author?*)
- background (*Why does the author use the complete space of a page?*)
- 3D effect (*How did the author achieve the 3D effect?*)
- text font (*How does the reader perceive the font?*)
- details (*Look at the details in a page. How do they support the main message?*)
development of the mood in the story *(What does the use to show the development of the mood in the story?)*
- reader’s perception *(What does attract reader’s attention at the first sight?)*
- parallel to the real life *(Can you see the parallel to the real life?)*
- moral *(What is the message of the story?)*

The aim of the pre-reading phase was to introduce learners to the world of the wordless books. We also wanted to focus their attention on the need to analyse the pictures, to perceive the details and not to be satisfied with the general impression and superficial vision and understanding.

**While-reading phase**

While-reading phase was realised as an extensive home reading. Their task was to formulate the main idea of a story and to think about the tools and objects the author used to escalate the story. They were also challenged to annotate the graphics.

First they were given a week to read a book and they did it. They were given one more week to go through it what they appreciated. One of the students explained in her reflection:

*I came prepared for the lesson but I read it very quickly not focussing my attention to the details. After the first reading I was able to express the main idea but no to say more. When I was reading a book for the second time my younger sister came and reading the book together I had to express it verbally. I realised that I was thinking about the book in pictures rather than in words.*

**After-reading phase**

In the final stage we used the multi-award card game DIXIT (84 cards) that is based on reading pictures and associations and ability to express the ideas and feelings. Giving the reasons about the picture choice forced learners to express their associations; they had to use various adjectives and adverbs. Expressing how they achieved this perception helps to develop metacognitive awareness (see Kelley, 2010), what is an important part of helping learners become more effective. Verbalising the way of thinking helps them to become aware of the way we learn. The game was also a good way to realise how important it is to look for details and to express/describe it accurately and precisely.

*Normally, I would use the words from the book to describe e.g. the plot or characters. Now, I had a need to find the word to describe as well as possible, to express how the characters feel, what they did.*
had to think carefully and I worked with dictionary more frequently than normally.

The discussion about the The Arrival book focused on literary elements and literary-graphic techniques - mainly on the characters, plot, structure, symbolism and means of tone and feelings expression.

In a discussion some of the ideas from the Tan’s (2006) Teacher’s book notes were used to challenge students to think again about the book and the devices the author used.

- Can you find the symbolism in author’s decision to use wordless books? *(The city where most events are illustrated is imaginary, where fundamental things such as language, transportation, food, housing and work are all quite strange, and often surreal. One of the key reasons behind removing all text from the book is to underline this principle – the main character cannot read or understand everything, so neither should the reader.)*
- How does the author express the atmosphere of oppression, tense?
- How and why does the author use the image of hands?
- What does the “domesticated” animal present?
- How does the author portray the stories of other people/migrants (time)?
- What is the message of the story?

**The data and discussion**

Data were generated from the observation, classroom discussions, reflections and short compositions. The study (work with literary text – graphic novels) lasted for 5 weeks. We could see how students were gradually changing their perception and the ability to see the details and how they contributed the complexity of a message.

The initial objective of the project was to find how graphic novels can influence the development of foreign language learner vocabulary (assessed based on their compositions) and to find out how students learn to perceive and analyse the visual devices. Interestingly, one of the comments dealt neither with the problem with pictures or English words.

> It was not difficult to understand. But I had a problem to verbalise it. And I mean not in English. It was awful that I could not find the words in Slovak language to describe what was in a picture. I have a limited vocabulary...

We believe that this might be a real problem of the society, we read less (or different texts), we do not communicate as we used to and the vocabulary is limited. The virtual communication can seriously influence the way, what, and
how we communicate (see Crystal, 2001, 2008 on internet linguistics and mobile communication).

The strong dependence on the text in interpretations of literary works can be read between the following lines. Students are afraid to use their own words (or are not challenged enough to be creative), thus they rather describe or quote rather than analyse the literary works.

It was more demanding to write a plot and describe the characters, but on the other hand I had more freedom, I did not depend on the words the author used. I was afraid not to misunderstand the author, but somehow I felt more freedom in expressing my ideas.

The similar ideas were expressed by his colleague:

I have to say that reading the picture book was longer and more interesting than reading a classic book where you sometimes find the picture. It helps to imagine the plot of the story when you have somewhere pictures in the book but the book with only the pictures is totally different. I try to explain my feelings of reading the book from my point of view.

Several studies mentioned that students expressed the similarity with a movie. Identical situation happened in our class when one of the students mentioned that there were moments as if she was looking at the frames of her father's rolls of film and then the others (firstly laughing about the comment) developed the idea – ...something from the history..., almost forgotten but with the evidence kept..., ... an old movie...

It was surprising that the group that was generally divided into two halves (shy and talkative ones) was contributing to the discussions almost equally. It might had been caused by a new activity, but it also might be caused by the fact they were (4 silent students) willing to contribute to the discussion that allowed them to be creative. Similarly, their writings were written at high level concerning the content and ideas presented.

Conclusion

Picture books, comics, graphic novels are challenging for students and we would like to highlight a need to pay more attention to picture books in pre-service teaching not only as a material for young learners but as a material for all age levels and a good source to develop imagination and vocabulary building. We would also like to stress that we do not talk about the alternative for reading the
classical books but about a genre that is not used in schools and its potential can be used in language classes.

The use of picture books contributed to a recognition that it is important to “read” the illustrations that may influence our perception, that details are important for understanding the complexity of the whole. The added value was that students experienced the use of graphic novel in an English language teaching and had an opportunity to think about its possible use in teaching vocabulary, grammar, listening, speaking or writing.

Reading graphic novels brings authentic material to the EFL class and encourages students’ critical thinking. The production and the reactions proved that appropriate strategies may lead students to higher productivity and thus we would like to support findings of the studies mentioned above by citing Templer (2009) who suggests that it is necessary to „develop curricular strategies and research agendas for graphic materials in EFL at all levels“. He also suggests joint projects that would link different subjects – EFL, art, history, ethics, etc. Some ideas may be found in the works of Bačová, Billíková and Kiššová (2013), Petríková (2013) and others.

It has been several times mentioned that we read less and read different articles and this is why I would like to finish by a quote from student’s writing who summarised reading graphic novels as follows:

> When you are turning the pages you always imagine your own story, you notice every detail on the pages. You notice the colour or the smell of the page and it causes totally different feelings as reading a classic book. You notice not only the pictures which are in the book but also the background. Every detail is important for you. Now you become a creator of your own story.

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World Tree, Rosa Mundi, Ship as World Artistic Discourses: Mythological Roots and Representation in Arts

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Abstract
The paper deals with the analyses of such artistic discourses as World Tree, Rosa Mundi and Ship regarded as major concepts of the world culture as a whole and the Western-European in particular, and altogether making a triad of universal components of arts. Images, symbols, motives, these concepts appeared in various forms of art millenniums ago and are still up to date having being transformed into full scope discourses that are widely represented in painting, music, literature and cinema. The article reveals the etymology of these discourses and shows basic meanings of the images laying in their basis.

Keywords
Artistic discourses, World Tree, Rosa Mundi, Ship

The experience of a scientific research of the world cultural heritage based on the analyses of a centuries-long history of works of art leads to the conclusion according to which there exist universal artistic images among which there are such popular symbols as World Tree, Rosa Mundi and Ship. Being key images of the world culture as a whole and the Western-European in particular, they lay at the basis of a dominant majority of various works of art. Staying up to date and popular in every epoch they give birth to new transformations that are represented in the best examples of literature, painting, sculpture, architecture, music and cinematograph thus forming a triad of world artistic discourses that constitute the world culture since ancient times up to the present day.

The discourse of World Tree that embodies a universal concept of the world and is fixed almost everywhere in various forms of art seems to be dominant in the suggested triad. Its most famous variants are “Tree of Life”, “Tree of Heaven”, “Tree of Fertility” and “Tree of Knowledge”. At the same time only two of its artistic embodiments, the Old Testament Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil and the Norse world tree – Ash Yggdrasil have taken a special place in the world culture. Among numerous cultural and historical variants of World Tree (various transformations and isofunctional images included) “world mountain”, “temple”, “staircase” and “cross” are the most significant in the context of the world art.

Now, let’s look at the deep roots of this ancient discourse.
World Tree or arbor mundi also known as a cosmic tree is traditionally regarded as an embodiment of a universal concept of the world that is more widely spread in the world art in comparison with other mythopoetic images. Tree as one of the triad’s components is registered almost everywhere and is represented in both in its pure form and in numerous cultural and historical variants. The image of World Tree, first of all, helps to create a global picture of the world space putting together its binary oppositions. In the Norse mythology, for example, the Ash Yggdrassil mirrors a vertical cosmic projection of the universe according to which its three levels are interconnected: the heaven (Asgard) on which gods live and a paradise for dead warriors is located (valhalla); the earth (Midgard) inhabited by people; and the underworld world – the kingdom of deadmen (hel). At the roots of this tree goddess of destiny (Nornes) and a cosmic snake (Nidhogg) live. On the crown of the Ash a wise eagle sits and a squirrel-prophet runs along the trunk.

In the Egyptian mythology, a gigantic golden tree functions as the Axis of the Earth: its top touches the sky, precious stones grow at its branches and goddess Nut sits there. According to the ancient Indian mythology at the centre of the Universe a sacred fig grows. In ancient China people worshiped the cult of World Tree in the image of a grandiose mulberry at the top of which a cock and ten suns live.

In pagan religions of the Aryans there was a belief according to which there were three skies located one above another: 1. The kingdom of air and clouds; 2. The bright blue sky; 3. The kingdom of eternal light from which according to this belief an evergreen fig spread its branches covering under its blessing shade souls of saints and gods. World Tree of the Slavs grows at the suburbs of the Universe, in Lukomorye; its trunk – a road to other worlds, the path gods follow. In «The Tale of Igor’s Campaign» Bayan travels along the Tree transforming into a mouse (correlates to the earth), an eagle (correlates to the heaven) and a wolf (correlates to the underworld). The Slavonic tradition connects the image of the arbor mundi with an oak. There is a parable according to which there exist two oaks that grow in the middle of the world ocean; two doves sit at their branches – having come down they took some sand and stone from the sea bottom and thus made the earth, the sky and the planets.

The etymology of Tree as a key mythopoetic image that embodies the universal concept of the world originates from the epoch of the Bronze Era (Europe, Middle East) and is richly illustrated with verbal texts, works of applied art, architectural monuments and objects of sculpture as well as ancient rites and games. The image of World Tree played a special part in the formation of ancient peoples’ beliefs connected with basic principles of the world structure. In rock carvings of the Upper Paleolithic there were no clear binary oppositions (sky –
earth, water – fire, earth – underworld, etc.) that demonstrated the way people of that epoch perceived the universe as a total chaos. As the Bronze Era sat in a more clear-cut idea of the Universe structure the dominance of which was the tree, began its formation in ancient peoples’ minds. In the ninth chapter of the Golden Bough “The Worship of Trees” Frazer gives a considerable list of boundless forests that once covered the earth: the Hercynian forest eastward from the Rhine, the great forest of Anderida in the south-east of England, the dreaded Ciminian forest that divided Rome from central Etruria in IV century B.C., beautiful woods of pine, oak, and other trees on the slopes of the high Arcadian mountains in Greece, etc.

The image of World Tree played an organizing part in the formation of mythological beliefs of ancient peoples that touched upon not only basic principles of the Universe structure but also people themselves, stages of their lives and events connected with them. The structure of arbor mundi allowed to distinguish principal zones of the universe (dimensional and temporal): sky – earth – underworld, past – present – future; genealogy: ancestors – current generation – descendants; anatomic features of a man: a head, a body, feet; three kinds of elements: fire, earth, water. A vertical division of the tree allowed to correlate a particular kind of animals with every part of it: branches – birds, a trunk – the hoofed, roots – snakes, frogs, mice, fantastic animals of a chthonian type, etc. All the three tiers of the tree (the roots, the trunk and the crown) were also closely connected with the idea of conception and fertility.

A horizontal structure of the arbor mundi unlike a vertical one symbolizing a mythological sphere correlates with different rites and their participants. In a horizontal projection a key element is a trunk on two sides of which images of animals and human beings are depicted symmetrically. Such a projection introduces notions of four cardinal points, seasons of the year and times of the day. Together with a vertical structure it turns into a universal, entire model of culture. The scheme of World Tree is also connected with the introduction of mythopoetic numeric constants such as the three – an image of an absolute ideal of every action/process (beginning, development, end); the four – an embodiment of a static integrity; the seven – a sum of two previous constants, an image of synthesis of static and dynamic aspects of the universe.

Numerous variants of World Tree can be represented in three major groups in accordance with the functions performed:

I. Cosmogonical – the Tree of Life, the Tree of Centre and the Tree of Fertility;
II. Chthonic – the Tree of Death, the Tree of Evil, the Tree of Underworld and the Tree of Descent;
III. Transcendental – The Tree of Heaven, the Tree of Knowledge, the Mystical Tree, the Shamanistic Tree and the Tree of Ascend.

There also exist a lot of transformations and isofunctional images that can be nominally divided into two groups: abstract (the Axis of the Earth, World Pillar, World Mountain and World Man) and structural (Temple, Triumphal Arch, Column, Obelisk, Throne, Staircase, Cross and Chain).

As for the discourse of Rosa Mundi it has no less significant culturological meaning. And again, to get a clear picture of its etymology, let’s look at the “mythological roots” of this discourse.

Widely spread in different mythopoetic traditions, Rose is an obligatory component of a religious-mythological system that functions in different ways. Its allegorical meanings vary from “unity”, “divine love”, “mercy” “paradise “the joys of paradise” to “pleasure”, “wisdom”, “secret” and even “pride”. In Greece, Rome, China and some German-speaking countries Rose was associated with death often transforming into the flower of the underworld, meanwhile more constant meanings of this mythopoetic image that are deeply rooted in the world culture are “love” and “secret”. Such images as “Rose tree”, “Rose garden”, “Chaplet of roses”, “Rose on the cross”, etc. that are closely connected with this concept have acquired a significant symbolic meaning in numerous works of art.

Rose functions as one of the most important mythopoetic images that takes the leading part in so called “flower code”. In some mythological systems Rose is associated with the sun, the star and the goddess of love and beauty. In the context of other mythological systems Rose is a symbol of death and is connected with funerals and the underworld.

According to Zolotnitskiy the very first mentions of Rose go back to ancient Hindu myths. The status of Rose was so great that in accordance with a traditional custom anyone who brought a rose to the tsar could ask him to grant his any wish. Rose also served as the main décor of temples; the road along which governors followed was covered with them; statues of gods were decorated; the tribute imposed by the governor was paid in roses too. In the houses of the Indian nobility the canals dug along the park paths were filled with roses’ petals, and their smell always stayed in the air. The legend says that the most beautiful woman in the entire world – Lakshmi, a wife of Vishnu, the goddess of beauty was born from the rose that accounted for 108 big petals and 1608 small ones – since that time Rose has been worshiped as a sacred flower, a symbol of secret and beauty. In Egyptian mythology Rose was associated with Isis and functioned as a symbol of innocent love without any hint at sensual passion.

The analyses of symbolic meanings of Rose demonstrates important transformations that this mythopoetic image experienced during the period of its
existence. For example, in Ancient Rome people believed that the flower originated from the tears of Venus. According to Greek and Roman traditions Rose served, on the one hand, as an attribute of joy and festival (dining-rooms were decorated with roses, the chaplets of winners were ornamented too, roses were put at the feet of statues of gods); on the other hand, Rose was a symbol of grief and sorrow (petals of roses covered tombs and mortuary urns, rose was a flower traditionally worn during the morning days as a symbol of temporality of life, besides people believed that the rose's smell prevented from the decay of remains). The bud of a rose was considered to be a symbol of eternity that's why its image could be often seen on Greek tombstones. Warriors believed that roses brought courage to them, and every time preparing for the upcoming struggle they changed their helmets on chaplets of roses. Together with Rome's decay Rose transformed into the symbol of debauchery, small passions, sensual love, and carnal pleasures, having lost its previous role of a the flowers' queen: in Nero's dining-room the ceiling and the walls of which could be turned with the help of a special mechanism depicting four seasons of the year, guests witnessed the rain of roses' petals, and during one of Emperor Elagabalus' banquets several patricians suffocated from the flowers' smell in which the Roman governor's guests just wallowed. Probably, at the same time there appeared a Latin saying that later on became so popular – sub rosa dictum, i.e. told under the rose that means left in secret. This saying originates from the tradition to fix an artificial white rose on the ceiling – the only look at it could restrict the heated heads of drunk dinner companions able to compromise themselves in the face of the Emperor.

According to Arabian beliefs Rose is a symbol of masculine beauty; Islamic tradition turns this flower into a symbol of cosmic power. In Muslim world there is an image of a white rose – the sweat on the face of prophet Muhammad that appeared on his face during his ascension to heaven. In accordance with this belief Rose has a purgatory power and is a sacred flower in the Muslim culture. A red rose is regarded to be the symbol of the prophet's blood and is also connected with his sons Hassan and Hussein who are usually called "eyes" or "roses" of Muhammad. In the context of the Jewish cabala Rose is an image of unity. In Christianity this flower acquires the meaning of mercy, divine love, martyrdom and victory; in the Middle Ages Rose replaced lily having become a symbol of divine joy and also a symbol of the world that is eternally changing and discovering new edges. In Catholicism prayer-beads and a special pray became known as "Rosarium" correlating to the reflexion on three "fives" – five "joyful", five "mournful" and five "glorious" mysteries of the Mother of God's life. She is usually associated with rose or has it as her main attribute – according to a medieval legend the Mother of God was once picking up buds of roses that flew
from the monk's lips who was praying to her - having made a garland she
crowned her head with those buds.

One of the most complete lists of Rose's symbolic meanings can be described
in the following way:
I. *Sensual* – joy, love, pleasure, bliss;
II. *Qualitative* – beauty, perfection, grace, splendor, odor, wisdom;
III. *Emotive* – praise, glory, pride, fire and fury;
IV. *Sacral*: pray, meditation, secret, mystery, silence.

Various Rose's colours as well as its numerous transformations (a chaplet, a
garden, a rose-knot, a rose tree, etc.) in their turn bear a certain symbolic
meaning. For example, a red rose is a traditional Christian symbol of the earth,
while a white rose symbolizes virginity, spirituality, silence, an abstract idea, etc.
A golden rose is a symbol of church, the divine blessing and joy, while a silver
flower is a dwelling of Brahma. The rose's thorn serves as a symbol of suffering,
death and even sin. A rose on the cross is a traditional symbol of Jesus Christ's
death; a cross with a five-petal rose is a symbol of resurrection and joy; a rose in
the centre of a cross symbolizes the initial world unity. A rose-knot in Muslim
culture defines seven names of Allah, while in Buddhism it is a symbol of triple
truth (knowledge, law, and a way of order); it is also connected with the image of
the Universe. A garland of roses is an angel's chaplet, a blessed soul, divine joy; at
the same time, it is an attribute of Cupid and St Cecilia. A similar image – a chaplet
of roses, symbolizes a reward for virtue. A rose tree means a refuge, while a rose
garden is a symbol of new Jerusalem.

The biggest popularity was acquired by the emblem of a secret Rose-Cross
brotherhood that had a St Andrew cross with four roses at corners as their
emblem. Rose was a symbol of divine light of the Universe and the cross meant a
world of sorrows. Thus, roses that grew from the cross became symbols of
resurrection, and numerous petals were symbols of initiations established in the
Order.

What concerns *Ship* as one of the triad's components, it deserves special
attention. Analyses of the mythopoetic image of Ship highlights the existence of a
full-bodied interdiscourse in the framework of which Ship functions in three
major discourses: Noah's Ark, Flying Dutchman and Ship of Fools. These images
formed centuries ago and being widely represented in various forms of arts
created in different historical periods of time have definitely turned into
independent discourses that altogether form the interdiscourse of Ship – one of
the most popular images within centuries and one of the most in-demand in the
arts of the modern epoch.
What serves as an evident fact proving that Ship along with World Tree and Rosa Mundi makes part of the world artistic discourses triad is that no matter what “role” it takes in this or that work of art it is realized on a subconscious level by every person and does not need any detailed explanation of its metaphorical meaning. However, Ship stands out the triad being an interdiscourse, all the three components of which are equally well-known and widely spread in different works of art. Going into details of their etymology evokes some curiosity.

If we follow the chronology of these discourses appearance in the world culture, we should first regard the discourse of Noah’s Ark. What lies at its roots is a ship of Ziusudra – the main character of a famous Sumerian and Akkadian myth that tells about the salvation of a mankind on the board of an ark. The next transformation comes from the Babylonian myth of Atrachasis’ ship, that in its turn, was later on transformed in the context of the Judaistic mythology, in the parable of the Great Deluge and Noah’s Ark. The life-line of this parable about the mankind saving boat continued in the framework of Greek and Roman mythology – in the myth of Deucalion, very popular in ancient times and fixed in various manuscripts of that epoch. However, with the spread of Christianity it was the Old Testament myth that turned out to be the most competitive and long-lasting and finally resulted in its gradual transfer into a full-scale discourse. As for the classical metaphorical meaning that reveals the idea of the mythopoetic image – the basis of a new discourse, it is that of salvation granted to holy people who stand apart from sinful deeds. One of the most intricate artistic embodiments of this discourse has been recently created in Spain – a popular 43 series El Barco first shown in 2011.

The formation of the Flying Dutchman discourse is closely connected with the ancient legend of Charon who guides his boat to the underworld as well as with two glorious heroes that became known due to Apollonius of Rhodes and Homer and their legendary books: Argonautica and Odyssey respectively. One more component that played a significant role in the formation of a new discourse was the infernal vessel from the Norse mythology – Naglfar, a ship made of deadmen’s nails. The images mentioned above laid at the basis of a new discourse that asserted itself to the full extent only in the literature of Romanticism though first bright examples of that new image were created in the time of major geographical discoveries when the story of a ghost ship and a damned crew headed by a cursed captain on its board appeared first in folklore and then in numerous literary works. The legend of the Flying Dutchman became an allegorical story about a man who is punished by Heaven for being too proud to resign himself to God’s will; it became a symbol of a purgatory for sinners who are too arrogant to repent and can only beg for mercy and forgiveness in order to
die with peace. This discourse has recently found its bright continuation in the novel by an American writer Charlotte Rogan “Lifeboat”, published in 2012.

The third discourse – that of the Ship of Fools originates from two chef-d’oeuvres of the Renaissance epoch: the poem by Sebastian Brant and the canvas by Hieronymus Bosch both entitled “Ship of Fools”. Partially it owes its further development to Francois Rabelais’ Gargantua and Pantagruel – in particular, to the last two books of this saga in which the most absurd naval journey in search of the Divine Bottle is masterfully described by the author. The Ship of Fools, a symbol of a state/society that floats on the sea of trouble and uncertainty, has lately been enriched with a bright novel by an English writer Gregory Norminton, published in 2005.

Conclusion

Obviously, the review of the world artistic discourses triad made within the framework of the given article suggests only a brief picture of what stands behind. The topic suggested deserves some profound research that will figure out all the aspects of those discourses that formed the world culture of the present day and will surely make the basis of the culture of a new era.

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“The Huck Finn novel”: Faulkner’s Revision of Twain

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Abstract

_The Reivers: A Reminiscence_ (1962) was conceived 20 years before its publication as “a sort of Huck Finn” novel: following the outline of Twain’s novel but revising and reversing Twain’s vision of the American experience. While Twain depicts the American experience as a fluid experience located forever in the here and now (the timeless present of the primeval river and forest), in the practical and the concrete and in the native (the pristine experience of America, precious if seemingly primitive) that Huck and Jim would happily live in on the raft until they are periodically encroached upon and imperiled by defunct and deadly experiences from the land, grotesquely playacting Europe and its past; Faulkner places America in the stable codes of the past and Europe, more of a concept than a reality. Faulkner opposes Twain’s extreme depictions and expressions of the reality of their world consistently and methodically. The deliberate formlessness of Twain’s narrative (Twain would prosecute, banish and shoot anyone who would look for form or purpose in his narrative!), which projects a formless experience, is replaced by a carefully controlled narrative in which forms become extremely meaningful. In Faulkner’s narrative experience is mellowed and partially presented to produce the comedy in the novel but more importantly to make possible an extreme affirmation of social experience. The reminiscence, which is the essence of the narrative (the novel is subtitled _A Reminiscence_), identifies social experience as a crystallization of a definite legacy: British, conservative and highbrow and presented as older and superior to America. This extreme affirmation of the social experience takes the obvious and extreme form of dictating and prescribing the right and appropriate course of action in any situation, hence the description of _The Reivers_ as a “latter-day courtesy or conduct book”. In the form and content of Faulkner’s novel the revision of (and opposition to) Twain is glaringly obvious. While the hero of Faulkner’s novel comes back home to become a gentleman, Huck is in continuous flight from the restrictiveness of the social and the images of the old world which he encounters at every juncture of his experience.

_The Reivers_ is distinguished from Faulkner’s other novels by its prescription of a remedy for the chaos in the American experience of his time and of the modern world in general (this chaos Twain would identify in his time as alien to America and therefore the only remedy needed is to deny and exclude that which is alien). Although Faulkner’s characters in the fiction after 1950 (after the Nobel Prize address), sometimes moralize and are sententious, they affirm certain values or "verities" as viable but they do not directly prescribe. I do not mean that Faulkner speaks directly and suggests explicitly what he thinks will deliver man from his predicament. I mean that the characters' behaviors constitute a prescription. Faulkner, in effect is defining his role as an artist. He is not content to delineate experience and reveal its depths as he had done in the works of
the prolific period (1929-1936), but he is impelled to subordinate it to certain concepts and values and to present it in such a way as to reflect thought and feeling that that exist prior to it (the opposite of what Twain does in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*).

**Key words**
revision, American experience, The Old World, play, past and present.

William Faulkner’s last novel *The Reivers: A Reminiscence* (1962), generally regarded as a minor work that continues in a mellowed and comic manner the affirmative theme of the works after the Nobel Prize [1], may be seen as expressing not only a serious theme but, more importantly as revealing a final stance to Faulkner’s immediate experience, if how it was conceived and what it finally achieved are carefully considered [2]. The novel was conceived 20 years before its publication as “a sort of Huck Finn novel,” following the outline of Twain’s novel but calculatedly achieving a revision and a reversal of Twain’s vision of the American experience [3]. Faulkner spoke about a novel he was planning to write and whose idea was similar to that of *The Reivers* in a letter dated May 3, 1940, to Robert Haas of Random House:

> It is a sort of Huck Finn novel-a normal boy of twelve or thirteen, a big warmhearted, courageous, honest, utterly unreliable white man with the mentality of a child, an old negro family servant, opinionated, querulous, selfish, fairly unscrupulous, and in his second childhood, and a prostitute not young any more with a great deal of character and generosity and common sense, and a stolen race horse which none of them intended to steal. The story is how they travel for a thousand miles from hand to mouth trying to get away from the police long enough to return the horse. The white man knows the police have been put on his tail by his harridan of a wife whom he has fled from. Actually, the police are trying to get the boy to his parents to get the reward. The story lasts a matter of weeks. During that time the boy grows up, becomes a man, and a good man, mostly because of the influence of the whore. He goes through in miniature all the experiences of youth which moulds a man’s character. They happen to be the very experiences which in his middle class parents’ eyes stand for debauchery and degeneracy and actual criminality; through them he learned courage and honor and generosity and pride and pity. He has been absent only weeks, but as soon as his mother sees him again, she knows what has happened to him. She weeps, says, “He is not my baby any more” (Blotner, *Letters*, p. 123-124).

In its essentials the novel conforms largely to the above outline of the “Huck Finn novel”. The characters described in the outline, the normal boy of twelve or thirteen, the unreliable white man, the opinionated unscrupulous servant and the generous prostitute, correspond roughly to Lucius Priest, Boon Hogganbeck,
Ned McCaslin and Corrie. Both outline and story have a stolen horse “which none of [the characters] intended to steal.” More important is the fact that the novel expresses roughly the same theme as the outline on a large scale. Both the boy of the outline and Lucius Priest go through experiences “of debauchery and degeneracy and actual criminality” that bring to an end their innocence and initiate them into the adult world of choice and responsibility. But there are also obvious differences between the novel and the outline. Lucius is eleven not twelve or thirteen, Boon is not in flight from a wife (like Jiggs, in Pylon), and the story lasts a few days in the novel not “a matter of weeks”. Another detail in the outline that did not go into the novel is how he characters “travel for a thousand miles from hand to mouth trying to get away from the police long enough to return the horse.” This detail went into the short novel, Notes on a Horse Thief, which was published in a limited edition in 1951 and later revised and made part of A Fable (1954).

The outline of the “Huck Finn novel” shows similarities only in surface features of character and action with Twain’s novel (the boy and the elderly Negro and a brief venture into a world removed from the usual sphere of their experience) but would thwart expectations of finding a similar pattern of experience or the kind of character that Twain has made memorable. Essentially the outline of Faulkner’s novel expresses a movement away from stability and a stable society and a moving along with motion (a word used repeatedly by Faulkner throughout his last novel and a state dramatized by Twain throughout his novel) but eventually a return to stability and an affirmation of that which is stable and stays the same, while The Adventure of Huckleberry Finn is virtually unceasing motion that has no end and that constitutes a rejection of stability. In historical and social terms, Faulkner affirms what Twain rejects: the validity of a historical experience that defines America and that produces a viable wholesome social experience; the very experience Twain rejects and damns as destroying all that is American. Both writers, as we shall see, locate that experience outside America, in Europe; but while Faulkner upholds it as the experience that gives America life and meaning, Twain depicts it as a defunct and life-killing experience whose lethal effects are to be seen at every juncture in American life.

Both writers make clear their purposes before they begin their stories. Faulkner’s dedication of The Reivers to his grandchildren and the children of his step children (“To Victoria, Mark, Paul, William, Burks”, [4]) and the opening of his novel with “Grandfather said:” (Novels, p. 725) is assuming a deliberate stance of maintaining the past as the edifying experience that extends into the present, bequeaths values on it, and gives it shape and character. The stance of Lucius McCaslin and Faulkner is a stance of the past imperatively controlling the present [5]. In contrast the seemingly flippant notices that preface The
Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, (but which really, I will try to show, encapsulate the meaning of the book) reject intention, form and purpose in the narrative that follows and in the experience it projects. Virtually those notices propose a present uninformed by anything before it and not informing anything after it:

NOTICE: Persons attempting to find a motive in the narrative will be prosecuted; persons attempting to find a moral in it will be banished; persons attempting to find a plot in it will be shot.

BY ORDER OF THE AUTHOR PER G.G., CHIEF OF ORDINANCE. [6]

EXPLANATORY

In this book a number of dialects are used, to wit: the Missouri Negro dialect; the extremest form of the backwoods South-Western dialect; the ordinary “Pike-County” dialect; and four modified of this last. The shadings have not been done in a haphazard fashion or guess-work; but painstakingly and with the trustworthy guidance and support of personal familiarity with these several forms of speech.

I make this explanation for the reason that without it many readers would suppose that all these characters were trying to talk alike and not succeeding.

THE AUTHOR (Huck Finn, p. 5)

The two narratives elaborate on what preface them, that is what is suggested or insinuated comes out in grand scale narratives but the original ideas are maintained, concretized in telling details. Significantly, the narrators stand apart from the experiences they recount and view and comment on them critically so that the sense of what the two writers are conveying is never missed. If Lucius is clearly viewing his teenage misadventure at an age of expected sobriety and wisdom and therefore can assess it critically, Huck; notwithstanding his young age, inexperience, his occasional neutral reporting of crucial occurrences (as in his reporting of Tom Sawyer’s antics at the end of the book) and his succumbing to others’ directions (as with the King and Dauphin); succeeds in disentangling himself from many contingencies he comes across and earning a sufficient distance from what befalls him and a space of his own where he can have a
stance and a perspective which enable him to view critically what he has got entangled in. Generally what the two narratives bring out is that while both Lucius and Huck throw themselves into motion and that motion becomes the essence of their experiences (the moving in a space transported by a vehicle be it a raft or an automobile but which is at the same time a metaphor for moving away from and unsettling the accepted stable forms in society), they view and deal with motion in opposite ways. Lucius seeks to arrest and control motion and align himself with a world that controls motion and subjects it to its rules and values. Huck, on the other hand, is in quest of motion and fluidity that are not arrested and contained in any forms (and only arrested and controlled temporarily for purposes of survival and essential needs.)

Lucius is an old man who presents himself as a boy who edifies others, leads them to reform, fights for virtue and morality and changes the lives and the world of the grown ups. In the account that he gives, the boy is minimally present; the tone and the commentary are those of the old man. Huck on the other hand is a boy and continues to be a boy although he witnesses and goes through some of the harshest experiences that would transform any Lucius into a man in the short span of time he spends away from home. The difference between the two characters is that Lucius has a reference for his experience outside and before him, in the form of the values and accepted modes of conduct of his family and community (whose roots are elsewhere), while Huck is his own and only reference and is constantly resisting the demands on him to conform to any forms outside his own experience (only occasionally and temporarily would he conform because it is expedient or for the sake of survival). Lucius recaptures the past but in the act of recall the past is obviously reshaped in order to properly contain the present; Huck transcribes the present, not that he is keeping a journal and recording every moment as it is passing, but by describing his own and Jim's efforts to live completely in the here and now on the raft and how that is made difficult by their need to move away from dangers and reach a safe haven. The progress of the two boys through experience yields two diametrically opposed versions of America. While Twain depicts the true American experience as a fluid experience located forever in the here and now (the timeless present of the primeval river and forest), in the practical and the concrete and in the native( the pristine experience of America: its superstitions, legends and folklores: precious if seemingly primitive) that Huck and Jim would live on the raft until they are periodically encroached upon and imperilled by defunct and deadly experiences from the land grotesquely playacting Europe and its past; Faulkner places true America in a past dominated and shaped by Europe, more of a concept than a reality.
It would not be an oversimplification or claiming too much to assert that Twain’s is the more original and more complex vision and perhaps it is the originality of his vision that makes Huck seem occasionally unbelievably above his age. From the beginning Huck creates a distance between him and the boy’s world of The Adventure of Tom Sawyer by the critical summary and assessment of that book and its world. More importantly, Huck brings in from the beginning a key motif in his narrative and that is: the book. Throughout his account the book features as the tool or the device to control experience and gain knowledge: “You don’t know about me unless you have read a book by the name of ‘The Adventure of Tom Sawyer,’ but that it ain’t no matter” (Huck Finn, p. 13). The “you” here is the reader who is used to get his knowledge from books rather than directly from experience. In the book motion is arrested so that experience is preserved in order to be contemplated and comprehended. It is for this person who is used to get his knowledge from books that Huck is compelled to write a book to present and vindicate what he stands for and finally demonstrate its validity against what this reader has been given as the truth in books imported from outside America and that have curiously come to shape its present and future. The sense of a compulsion is clear at the beginning of the narrative: “but that ain’t no matter,” and at its end when Huck announces the completion of the book he has been writing: “...and so there ain’t nothing more to write about, and I am rotten glad of it, because if I knewed what a trouble it was to make a book I wouldn’t a tackled it and ain’t going to no more” (Huck Finn, p. 295-296).

Like Hawthorne (in “The Custom House”), Melville (Chapter 32 of Moby Dick “Cetology”), Emerson (The American Scholar) and Thoreau (Chapter 3 of Walden “Reading”), who recognize the mediation of experience by the book and accept, maintain or reject that mediation, Twain in The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn recognizes and admits mediation but makes a qualified concession. Huck writes a book because he suffers in a world controlled by the book and he makes the painstaking effort in order to be free of that world and move to a world where there are no books, “the Territory” he lights out for “ahead of the rest” (Huck Finn, p. 296). The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn is a book that discredits books and negates the idea of the book.

The pattern of Huck’s experience is clear from the beginning. Huck attempts to live in his way and in a manner unrelated to the community where he lives and is always opposed by the community which attempts to coerce him back within its bounds and norms or it at least makes him settle temporarily and tactically in what others have set for him.

The success of his venture in The Adventures of Tom Sawyer leads to a recognition by the community, a recognition which amounts to an incarceration within its ideological bounds exemplified by the Widow Douglas’s efforts to
“sivilize” him. Unable to stand this “rough living” he moves back into the street idyll of American naturalness “I got into my old rags, and my sugarhead again, and was free and satisfied” (Huck Finn, p. 13) The inadequacy of this state becomes clear (it is stagnant) when he is easily persuaded by Tom Sawyer to move back with the Widow for a promise of an expansive world of play which will liberate him from all restrictions. The return to the Widow’s world provides an opportunity not just to see the deadness of the life of the dominant middle class in America but to discover that America is a travesty and a dim reflection of Europe, the idea that seizes the whole book and prompts its main action. In the widow “learning” Huck about Moses and the Bulrushers (and very likely comparing herself and what she does with Huck to the Pharaoh’s daughter and her discovery and adoption of the baby Moses (Exodus 2.1—10) and in her and her sister’s instruction of Huck in religion and manners and in Tom Sawyer’s playing games in imitation of adventures recounted in European books, the sense of travesty and burlesque is often oppressive.

Huck moves between worlds that he comes to realize, experientially, are unreal, lifeless or even deadly. The movement from the widow’s world to Tom Sawyer’s and then to his father’s constitutes an initial discovery and in miniature of what he will encounter in a large scale when he flees into a wider world. But before he moves out of those constricting beginnings, Huck reveals his own perspective on experience. He lives in and upholds the present completely and in such a way that the past (legacy, tradition) has no place in or relevance to his life:

After supper she got her book and learned me about Moses and the Bulrushers; and I was in sweat to find out about him; but by and by she let out that Moses had been dead a considerable long time; so I didn’t care no more about him; because I don’t take no stock in dead people. (Huck Finn, p. 14)

Instead Huck follows the precepts of his own native (of that time and place) experience which are largely folk beliefs and superstition, and primitive and illiterate though they may seem, they have the value of being rooted in the actual experience of that place and time:

…and I heard an owl way off who-whooing about something that was dead, and a whippoorwill and a dog crying about somebody that was going to die………………Pretty soon a spider went crawling up my shoulder and I flipped it off and it lit in the candle; and before I could budge it shrivelled up. I didn’t need anybody to tell me that that was an awful bad sign and would fetch me some bad luck, so I was scared and most shook the clothes off me (Huck Finn, p. 15).

This is of course the way Jim views the world and reads experience and moreover he can sometimes demonstrate the validity of this perspective. Connected to this stance of Huck is his adherence and affirmation of the concrete
and the practical in experience. Because of this Huck often seems to be too literal and without imagination in his regard of many things he comes across. When Miss Watson tells him he can get what he wants by praying he tries it to get a hook for his fish line; and when Tom Sawyer tells him he can call up a genie to build a palace for him by rubbing an old tin lamp or a ring Huck actually tries that too. In all cases Huck goes to the woods, performs his experiments, does his thinking about others’ assumptions and reaches conclusions that refute what he is told. Huck’s search for the practical aspects of experience and his insistence on concrete evidence to bring out the validity of what he is told, which makes him seem foolish (..she said I was a fool) and stupid (you don’t seem to know anything somehow—a perfect sap-head) reveal an immediate and direct relationship to experience which the Widow, Miss Watson and Tom Sawyer do not have. The way Huck responds to the world and the perspective that come out of this response have their basis on what I would call the native experience: the actual and concrete, the here and now of America—represented by Huck and even better by Jim; an experience Tom and the women and the host of characters Huck encounters throughout the book have alienated themselves from. Tom and the women, and as we shall see all the rest of the characters, relate to the world through the book. What the books tell them they do (“I have seen it in books; and so that is what we’ve got to do.” “Don’t I tell you it is in the books …”Why can’t a body take a club……Because it ain’t in the books so— that’s why” (Huck Finn, p. 21-22). The world Huck moves in is mid-nineteenth century pre-civil war America whose mind and heart, in Twain’s view, were dominated and controlled by the European book: the Bible and the literary work, and more by the literature than the religion of Europe. The outcome of this dominance and control is the emptiness and pervasive boredom in the Widow’s house that makes Huck wish he were dead and the grotesque comedy of Tom Sawyer’s quixotic mimicries that demand of him to efface and robotize himself. References to death and the hereafter in Tom’s play and the Widow’s and her sister’s grim instruction show the life killing essence of this world hidden beneath its innocuous features. When Huck is about to succumb to this state he is thrown back to a condition of life that predates this society and that is obviously deadly and self-destructive exemplified by his father (“A body would a thought he was Adam…” Huck Finn, p. 39). The appearance of Huck’s father seems to bring out a logic of experience which makes clear that Huck who now comes out as the representative of the native experience cannot settle down in and identify himself with any one of the established social or cultural experiences: his father jeering at him expresses this idea comically (“Starchy clothes—very. You think you’re a big bug, don’t you?” (Huck Finn, p. 31). As would be expected Huck’s father destroys his books and forbids him to go to school and thus bars him
completely from the worlds of the Widow and Tom Sawyer. But again when Huck attempts to settle in his father’s world, his father’s destructiveness comes out in an accentuated manner that forces him to flee this world too. The Widow’s, Tom Sawyer’s and Huck’s father’s experiences delineate between them the actual America of the time, a world that has become lifeless because on the one hand it is stifled by impulses foreign to it and on the other because it has stifled its own living impulses and sources of energy. The chain of events in the first seven chapters make clear that in order for Huck to truly live and be completely himself he must die to this world. His “death” in the shape of a flight from this world is therefore inevitable. The flight is the flight of the native American from an America that has gone against itself and therefore that flight must include a black man. Moving out of the Widow’s, Tom Sawyer’s and his father’s worlds, Huck joins Jim who combines in a positive way the roles of the characters Huck flies from; he is at once a twin figure and a father figure. Jim brings out more clearly the sinister aspects of the world they are fleeing from. He is fleeing from a bondage worse than Huck’s. Not only is he dehumanized by slavery but he is also starkly treated as a commodity when his owner, Miss Watson, plans to sell him down the river and separate him from his family. Again, more than Huck, he presents and lives the native experience completely and in its purity. He responds directly and immediately to life (he always expresses his mind and is passionate and compassionate), believes in his native resources (superstition and native lore, and simple reasoning where inference is made directly from appearance as in his discussion of the story of King Solomon and the two women and the baby and his comic reasoning about why a Frenchman does not speak like a man) and unhesitatingly uses them. His color indicates that he carries the burden of experience (black is the condensation of colors and in Jim all natural human impulses are present unrefined) and as a slave he bears the burden of history. Jim represents the native experience in its pristineness: present, earthly and not socially and religiously transcended. As a father figure he is adequate, complex and challenging: the adequacy is in guiding and instructing Huck not only on native lore but more importantly on the appreciation of the basic humanity and the otherness of another regardless of what he socially and historically is: “It was fifteen minutes before I could work myself up to go and humble myself to a nigger—but I done it, and I warn’t sorry for it afterwards, neither” (Huck Finn, p. 95); the complexity and challenge is in his historical and social identity (his Negritude and slavery) exposing and challenging Huck’s conscience (the one aspect of the society Huck is fleeing that he is still carrying with him) and leading to Huck’s crisis of conscience that finally liberates him of that he is fleeing from.
Huck and Jim must be in continuous flight. That Jim is freed at the end of the book and that he can go back to his family is no guarantee of total freedom. The flight and a few periods of peaceful living on the raft are all the freedom and true living they have. The raft is a refuge and a haven. On it Huck and Jim live the simplest physical, perceptual, emotional, and intellectual experiences; there is a sense that where they are, there is no need to stretch the features of man beyond the here and now, to be other than what they are and to respond to anything other than that which is immediate and practical: "...there weren't no home like a raft after all. Other places do seem so cramped up and smothery, but a raft don't" (Huck Finn, p. 134). "Huck and Jim on the raft", as Lionel Trilling remarks, "do indeed make a community of saints...because they do not have an ounce of pride between them" (Inge, 1984, p. 87) However their stance on the raft is untenable because the world outside the raft has a different version of reality that apparently emphasizes transcending the physical and the present in pursuit of a life beyond and above them but it pursues in reality worldly forms that distort and disfigure man's humanity, images of which fills the book. That world constantly remind them that their state cannot be maintained and they have to have a connection with it. Huck and Jim (mostly Huck) are made to go to the shore or right in the middle of towns where Huck discovers that this world is essentially Tom Sawyer's world of play assuming elaborate and sinister proportions when the boy's play is taken up by adults and made into a way of life. Huck shows the people he encounters as perpetually playacting; either role playing, mimicking, pretending or even, as in the case of the king and the duke, playing on a stage. Bruce Michelson suggests that we look at Huckleberry Finn as a novel...about people who play games, who make games out of everything, including matters of moral consequence—and who run into trouble because they do so. Nearly everyone in Huck's and Jim's world (including Huck some of the time) takes play beyond the boundaries of childhood, safety and common sense; the world of the novel is always at play in the wrong place and the wrong time (Inge, 1984, p. 211-212).

Play is at the heart of The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn as it is at the heart of Augustus Baldwin Longstreet's Georgia Scenes. But while the play in Longstreet's book is simple play in which the players play the standard games of their society according to the rules and conventions of that society and in order to express and uphold its values and exemplary character, in The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn play is a complicated activity that may destroy both individual and society. However, it is not just people playing games and making games of everything and taking "play beyond the boundaries of childhood, safety and commons sense," as Michelson suggests. The play in The Adventures of Huckleberry is almost always a re-enactment of scenes, dramas and whole chronicles recounted.
in European books: Walter Scott’s and Alexander Dumas’s romances, Shakespeare’s plays, and almost every literary work that America read at that time. This sense of play cannot be missed. It is glaringly clear in the major episodes of the book: the band of robbers who are about to kill their accomplice are aboard a wrecked steamboat called The Walter Scott, the Grangerford and Shepherdson’s feud almost follows the outline of *Romeo and Juliet* and the Wilks episode brings to mind various European romances. Not that the actions in those episodes are not real but that their reference is outside and away from their world. As Huck and Jim watch the king and the duke play their antics, Huck speaks comically of the European book that may be the source of the con men’s play. As he tells Jim of Henry VIII, he confuses *The Doomsday Book* with *The Arabian Nights* and brings together persons, incidents and centuries that have no connection with Henry VIII. But the connections that Huck makes in ignorance are telling especially when he says:

> And he made every one of them tell him a tale every night; and he kept that up till he had hogged a thousand and one tales that way, and then he put them all in a book, and called it Doomsday Book—which was a good name and stated the case (*Huck Finn*, p. 168).

In the major episodes the lethal aspects and consequences of play are glaringly present. This constitutes a drastic change from the therapeutic and cathartic effects of play in the America of the early nineteenth century as described by Longstreet in *Georgia Scenes* (1835). Ahmed Nimeiri remarks:

> Longstreet suggests in (*Georgia Scenes*) that play is an effective way to end the Southern gentleman’s alienation and bring him close to the positive aspects of Southern life located in what remained of the rural society of the Old South (Nimeiri, 2001, p. 48).

Some of the most alienated Southern gentlemen and ordinary men in nineteenth century American literature are those that play and at play all time in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. I would suggest that the drastic change in the depiction of the effects of play that we find in Twain may be attributed to his sense that play became a response to foreign experiences mediated and distorted by the book. It is very likely because play has become this kind of response in America that even when it is not mediated by the book, even when it is engaged in by people who have no use for the book in their life, it continues to be an absurd activity with destructive effects on the individual and society. This idea is brought out clearly in the Bricksville episode, the episode which comes before the climactic Wilkes episode. The episode sums up the effects of play and brings together all its strands: the king and the duke playact, in a grotesquely comic manner, scenes from Shakespeare’s plays; a circus brings a form of play where human skill is stretched to the limit and ends with a scene of bitter
comedy; and the townspeople entertain themselves in weird ways that end with Colonel Sherburn killing the town drunk Boggs. Bricksville is the only place where folk play is depicted as not affected by or responding to an experience outside its sphere, where it is not mediated by the book, but strangely enough it is the opposite in form and effect to the kind of play Longstreet presents in *Georgia Scenes*. Play in this place is mockery, voyeurism, sadism and cruelty to others especially children and animals. The “tragedy” of the “Royal Nonesuch” performed in a comic but terribly dehumanizing manner by the king in a show in which the townspeople are enraged not morally but because they feel “sold” for not getting enough show for what they have paid for, comes as an apt conclusion to this part and shows unequivocally that play is damned in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. And therefore in the climactic Wilks episode that follows Huck has seen enough of the negative aspects of play and moves from an observer of play or an actor that uses play to survive to one that uses it to help others. This change in Huck must be appreciated in order to understand properly the controversial conclusion of the book, the fate of Huck and what the book ultimately expresses.

If Huck is to finish the book he is writing, which is mainly about games and the play Europe brought into the American scene, he must bring in Tom Sawyer to play those games on a grand scale. From the start Huck has been using tricks, deceptions, and disguises and assuming characters to get out of tight situations. The world he moves in will be readily amenable to Tom Sawyer and Huck therefore often plays the Tom Sawyer kind of play, and in the resolution of the story he is made to assume and accepts Tom Sawyer’s identity. In that role he easily becomes Tom Sawyer’s submissive and helpless accomplice and allows him to direct the action and to play his games on a situation that requires the greatest seriousness and compassion. That is, the role that Huck assumes removes from this scene the compassionate Huck who has taken risks to help the Wilks’s orphan girls and who has felt pity even for the king and duke when they are tarred and feathered. In the end when it is revealed that Jim had been set free by Miss Watson before her death and that Tom has known this all along and that his play has been for the sake of play, the sense of the absurdity of Tom’s play and of this part of the book is pervasive and intense. The ending of the book exposes extreme absurdity of the European book (and the thought and culture that it stands for) when it is used to deal with a real American predicament – Jim’s slavery-and and the absurdity intensifies with every ploy Tom suggests to use to free Jim and insists on in order to follow the books. It becomes clear that Huck joins Tom’s play and colludes in bringing this ending in order to expose the absurdity of play mediated by the European literary book, and European solutions for American dilemmas and predicaments, and generally the absurdity
and deadliness of arresting experience in a book, a medium, a form or a system. Once the play in this part is done and its point is made Huck will be free, at least emotionally and intellectually, from the fetters of the world he has been fleeing from and can “light out for the Territory ahead of the rest”.

If the last part book does not make sense to many critics and readers-if it seems disappointingly anti-climactic, childishly bathetic-it is because what Huck / Twain is doing here (exposing the absurdity of the action of Europe, its play, its book, on America) is missed.

Curiously the book achieves by its baffling ending what it has set out to achieve: to be disappointing to the readers of well-plotted (European) novels and to those who subscribe to Forester’s notion of plot. Leo Marx states that “the flimsy devices of plot, the discordant farcical tone, and the disintegration of the major characters all betray the failure of the ending” (Inge, 1984, p. 119). It may seem critically preposterous to claim that the failure of the ending is an intentional act and part of the purpose of the book. But Twain warns from the beginning that “Persons attempting to find a motive in the narrative will be prosecuted; persons attempting to find a moral in it will be banished; persons attempting to find a plot in it will be shot”, a warning that apparently no critic and reader took seriously. But if the warning were taken seriously the book would make sense and we would see that Huck has written a book that put him on the threshold of an experience without plot or structure where he may have freedom and a real life.

It is precisely the experience without structure and that has no reference or authority outside itself that Faulkner criticizes and discredits in The Reivers: A Reminiscence. His revision of Twain is mainly in his effort to refute the main idea of The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. But Faulkner also provides details of action and aspects of lived experience and history to support claims of a contrary stance to Twain’s in his famous novel.

Faulkner did not know that The Reivers was going to be his last novel. Yet the novel has about it a valedictory aura and a sense of being a coda to a life-work. The situation of the grandfather reminiscing to his grandchildren and in the course of this imparting to them the values he and his ancestors have lived by is a situation which signals the passing of the old and the emergence of the new which is shaped and conditioned by it in order to take its place. It is as if Faulkner were handing a legacy to the grandchildren to whom the book is dedicated and thus discharging a duty before he leaves. The book enhances this quality. It begins by recapitulating Faulkner’s past work and ends with a conscious moral. The sense of a conclusion and coda to Faulkner’s work is inescapable. The situation of the grandfather reminiscing to his grandchildren also directly or indirectly responds to the dismissal of the purport of this kind of
situation in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (as when the Widow reads to Huck from the Bible and instructs him in religion to which he responds by "so I didn’t care no more about him[Moses]; because I don’t take no stock in dead people) and generally to the discrediting and rejection of the book mediating experience.

The situation of the grandfather recreating the past for his grandchildren is a metaphor that expresses a central preoccupation of Faulkner’s work: that of the connection, the tension, and the reconciliation of the past and the present. The idea becomes clear in the encounter between Boss Priest and Lucius at the end of the book. In the first two chapters of the novel, the reality of the past is emphasized. Faulkner gives every person and everything a significant history and uses an involute prose where interlinked phrases and clauses emphasize the continuity of everything in time. Lucius, Boon and Ned move on a landscape peopled with the ghosts of the past. Almost the whole past of Yoknapatawpha comes alive during the trip. But the present is even more real and it takes the form of free unhampered and often foolish and senseless motion. The novel opens with this sense of the present. Boon dashes into Maurys Priest’s office and attempts to take his gun. Failing in this he takes John Powell’s gun, rushes to the square and shoots five times at Ludus and misses him. Apparently this scene is unrelated to the novel but it is deliberately placed at its beginning to give a sense of the present as senseless motion that leads to disastrous results. The rest of the novel expands this idea and illustrates it on a large scale. The pleasure trip to Memphis in Boss Priest’s car and he horse race express the idea of unhampered motion (in spite of the obstacles that meet both the car and the horse, such as the horse’s unwillingness to run) which is pleasurable but ultimately absurd and senseless because of its lack of purpose or connection with a meaningful scheme. The same idea is expressed by the brothel and the easy pleasure it offers. The absurdity of these activities are brought out occasionally by such things as the mud farmer who charges three times as much as he used to charge for pulling the car out of the mud, Ned making Lightning run by giving it sardines and Otis’s stealing of Minnie’s gold tooth. There is a sense of the present threatening to become too fluid, chaotic and unmanageable, if not checked and controlled. The novel expresses the necessity of control and discipline if life is to become liveable and suggests specific kinds of control in the form of marriage and respectability. Lucius’s pricking conscience and the code of the gentleman that he finally opts to live by after his encounter with his grandfather are expressions of the ethics of responsibility, respectability and middle class values that Faulkner prescribes in the novel for a life threatened by chaos. Corrie’s reformation and Boon’s marriage to her express the same idea. *The Reivers* is distinguished from Faulkner’s other novels by its prescription for a remedy to the chaos of
experience. Although Faulkner’s characters in the fiction after 1950, sometimes moralize and are sententious, they affirm certain values or “verities” as viable but they do not directly prescribe. I do not mean that Faulkner in The Reivers speaks directly and suggests explicitly what he thinks will deliver Southerners and Americans from the predicaments he has been depicting them as going through. I mean he shows that the characters’ behaviour constitutes a prescription. Boss Priest, of course, speaks out what a gentleman should be and do. But Lucius also prescribes marriage to Corrie and Boon by his idealization of Corrie and his pressure on both of them to conform to his code of conduct.

It may be strange to speak of Lucius as prescribing to and directing others when he is being initiated into experience. Lucius’s initiation, however, is a special kind of initiation, different from that of Bayard Sartoris, in The Unvanquished, Ike McCaslin, in Go Down, Moses, and Chick Mallison in Intruder in the Dust. While these characters are innocent when they come to experience and gradually discover the realities of the world they come in contact with and are shaken out of innocence into maturity, Lucius comes to experience with innocence but also with values and codes. When Otis tells him about the peephole he does not understand (Otis says to him, “You don’t know much, do you?”) but when Otis explains what it is and what he has done he attacks him fiercely:

I was hitting, clawing, kicking not at one wizened ten-year-old boy, but at Otis and the procuress both ...[and] not just those two but all who had participated in her debasement... (Novels, p. 852).

Boon’s misunderstanding of what Lucius has done and his mistaking it for the typical conduct of a boy his age in a place like that (“Lucius got to know the name of where he’s at to brag about where he’s been” (Novels, p. 852) only emphasizes the difference between Lucius and the innocent characters, both the Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn kind of character. And Corrie’s reformation, familiar and pedestrian though it may seem, makes the same point more strongly. Lucius is not changed by experience but he, we are to believe, changes it. Lucius is innocent only in the sense that he does not have enough information about the world he comes into, but he recognizes the nature of that and is able to live with it. Occasionally he is shaken by the new experience and feels that it is too much for him. But this is because the experience comes abruptly and he is unprepared for it. Later he explains to his grandchildren: “Because you should be prepared for experience, knowledge, knowing; not bludgeoned unaware in the dark as by a highwayman or footpad” (Novels, p. 850). Throughout his progress in the new experience he regards it as amoral, devoid of that which is right and good and designating it as non-virtue. His initiation finally leads only to a confirmation of the values he has temporarily suspended. He “falls”—he tells his grandfather that
he has lied and before this he speaks of being involved in deceptions and tricks—only to gain awareness of the validity and viability of what he has been taught to live and revere. At the end of his experience, when he comes back home, he realizes that he has changed but Jefferson “has not changed” (Novels, p. 967). This realization comes to have a different meaning after his encounter with his grandfather: what have not changed (and do not change) are the values and codes of his grandfather and society.

Codes and manners in this novel replace the “eternal verities” of the novels of the period after the Nobel Prize. But this should be understood properly. It is not an attenuation in moral or literary substance but it is a deliberate stance. The Reivers, in a sense, expresses Faulkner’s relationship to his audience at the end of his career. The image of the grandfather telling stories to his grandchildren and in the course of this instructing them into the proper values and conduct, sums up Faulkner’s sense of this relationship. If the grandfatherly stance is an awkward stance, it is also appropriate in relating to an audience ready to listen and to be influenced. Faulkner, in effect, is redefining his role as an artist. He is not content to delineate experience and reveal its depths, as he has done in the works of the prolific period (1929-1936), but he is impelled to subordinate experience to certain concepts and values and present it in such a way as to reflect thought and feeling that exist prior to it. [7]

The Reivers has a simple narrative structure, perhaps the simplest and most conventional narrative structure in all Faulkner’s novels. Reminiscing about events that occurred fifty-sixty years before and telling the story to his grandchildren, Lucius Priest presents his tale carefully. He has complete control over his material, and its effects are calculated in advance. The story does not grow naturally and develop its own logic but it is ordered by Lucius who imposes on it the simple logic he deems suitable for his special audience. Between the initial folly of Boon Hogganbeck and his rise to responsibility, at the conclusion of the book, there is no logical progression. Yet this ordering of the material of the novel may be seen as the simplest and strictest kind of plot—the extremest form of the literary device Twain warns against and the kind of experience that Huck would regard as the most oppressive and most life killing. While Huck is compelled to flee, Lucius chooses to go out of his normal sphere. Therefore Lucius has a control over his experience that Huck never has and instead is continuously encroached upon by that experience. In artistic terms, Faulkner controls the material of work and directs it along definite ideological lines, whereas Twain explores and discovers.

One aspect of authorial control is the deliberate mellowing of experience. Boon’s shooting at Ludus is a comic act; the brothel becomes almost the boarding house Boon euphemistically calls it, where people start to behave decently and
correctly; and the villainy of Butch Lovemaiden and Otis is diluted by their comic behaviour or their presence in comic contexts. The mellowing of experience and the partial presentation of it make prescription possible.

What Faulkner prescribes needs to be examined carefully. So much has been written about the code of the gentleman as essential to the meaning of the book, and the novel has been described as a latter-day courtesy or conduct book [8]. But even if these characterizations are acceptable, they are still vague. Faulkner is specific about the legacy the grandfather is handing to his grandchildren and which constitutes the essence of his prescription. Lucius Priest refers to it parenthetically (this is only to indicate that it should be well known) when he explains that the source of his regret that Otis, whom he is fighting, is not his size, is his “ancient playing-fields-of Eton avatar” (Novels, 852). Lucius, in effect, is defining his legacy as being British, conservative, and highbrow-as something older and superior to the America he and his grandfather before him have lived in. This definition is also implicit in the code of the gentleman, originally Elizabethan, to which Lucius and his ancestors subscribe. Faulkner expresses a similar idea about his sense of the legacy he is handing to his grandchildren in the title of the novel. Deliberately choosing a word for the title which is obsolete [9], he emphasizes its association with the Old World rather than America by preferring the Old Scottish spelling of the word (reiver) to the American (reaver).

In The Reivers: A Reminiscence, therefore, Faulkner attempts to correct the American experience (with its chaos of lies, thefts, brothels, gambling, extortions) by imposing on it the pattern of an older and, supposedly, superior experience it presumably derived and deviated from. This means that Faulkner, in The Reivers, locates reality—that which is meaningful and significant—in the past and outside America. It becomes clear that The Reivers: A Reminiscence affirms a version of reality, a view of the true American experience and a general concept of experience quite antithetical to that affirmed in The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. We speak of Faulkner revising Twain because he uses the tools that Twain has used: a boy narrator, a similar story line, and some similar characters, to negate the vision that Twain expresses in his novel.

In what it expresses and in its revision of The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, The Reivers: A Reminiscence provides an important clue to the understanding of Faulkner’s vision. Faulkner emerges clearly as a modernist who retreats from the horrors and nightmares of the modern world into a neat world of well-tried, albeit simple, patterns and structures of living.
Notes

[1] Most of the early reviewers of the book regarded it as a minor work. Granville Hicks, for example, remarked in his review of the book in The Saturday Review of June 2, 1962, that The Reivers “isn’t a major Faulkner novel, nor I should say, was meant to be one.” The same idea was expressed by some of the major early critics of Faulkner, such as Irving Howe, Frederick J. Hoffman and Michael Millgate. Later critics mostly noted the simplicity of the novel, that it struck a different note, that it moved away from the themes of the disintegration of Southern life and the fragmentation of the human psyche of the works of the prolific period (1929-1936) and that it expressed the positive sense of affirmation and faith in his last works in a comic manner. Ann Goodwyn Jones, for example, notes that the novel the received little critical attention and not much readers’ interest and surmises it may be because of “the novel’s apparent simplicity.” And that “Its narrative moves in straight chronological line. Its tone is forgiving, humorous, kind, even satirical. Its characters live in a world in which people from all classes, sexes, genders, and races know and accept one another” (Moreland, p. 55).

[2] Views of the novel as similar in one way or another to The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn abound. From the first reviews (e.g George Plimpton in the first major review of the book in the New York Herald Tribune, May 27, 1962, describes the novel as “a boy’s adventure story” like The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, Treasure Island and The Rover Boys.) to recent discussions of the novel, the relation between the two books is at least similarity in story. William Rosky points out similarities between The Reivers and Huckleberry Finn: the boy narrator, fear of capture, the desire to be free of time and society and others; and that these parallels indicate an influence, a spiritual affinity, a common tradition that connect Faulkner and Twain; and ultimately that Twain is Faulkner’s spiritual grandfather (Rosky, p. 373-387). The idea of opposition or even difference in any degree is not detected in any of the discussions of the two novels.

[3] There is a suggestion that Faulkner may have had the idea since the early 1930s. See Carothers, 97n.


[5] Blotner rightly observes in his two-volume biography of Faulkner that the dedication “reinforces the grandfatherly tone of the book” (Blotner, Biography, 1811).

[7] Irving Howe expresses a more critical opinion of this stance. He remarks, “During the last ten or fifteen years of his career, Faulkner came to be surrounded by an aura of solemn adulation that did neither his work nor himself much good. A false impression grew up that his books are neatly planned segments in a mosaic of symbolism and morality, rather than acts of creative passion and, sometimes, disorder. Faulkner himself, in some of his later novels, became quite ponderous, as if overwhelmed by the thought of his own wisdom (Howe, p. 295).


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The Academic Novel
in the Context of Contemporary Croatian Literature

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Abstract
The academic novel found its footing as a genre during the 1950’s, and in the last few decades managed to affirm itself in other English speaking areas. Although the genre remains not well researched in Croatian literary studies, the translated work of British writer and theorist David Lodge enabled a passage into the British university community and thus became a representative specimen of British prose. In accordance with the genre, Marinko Koščec’s Wonderland and Dražen Ilinčić’s Posljednji korak paint a picture of the atmosphere in Croatian universities and make way for comparative research.

Keywords
academic novel, David Lodge, Marinko Koščec, Dražen Ilinčić

Introduction
The academic novel, also known as the university novel, the campus novel and the college novel, belongs to the genre of academic satire, and became fully affirmed in the early 1950’s, first in the United States, and then in Great Britain. Its earliest genre classification is linked to American literary theorist and historian John O. Lyons who in his book The College Novel in America (1962) considers the academic novel to be a novel about academic life “one in which higher education is treated with seriousness and the main characters are students and professors” (Lyons, 1962, p. xvii). Lyons begins his historic overview with Nathaniel Hawthorne’s Fanshawe (1828), and ends it with Louis Simpsons Riverside Drive (1962). Similar to Lyons, in his historic overview The American College Novel: an Annotated Bibliography, John E. Kramer presents the genesis of the academic novel from Nathaniel Hawthorne’s Fanshawe all the way to Gordon Weber’s The Great Buffalo Hotel (1979). Also, in his introduction, Kramer expands the term academic novel as „a full length work of fiction which incorporates an institution of higher learning as a crucial part of its setting and which includes among its principal characters, graduate or undergraduate students, faculty members, administrators, and/ or other academic personnel” (Kramer, 1981, p. ix). The structure of themes and motifs of the academic novel remains more or less the same, but the novelty which Kramer noticed is in regard to the range of the characters which, aside from the usual ones, consist of marginalized social groups like homosexuals, lesbians and other minorities. Also,
the experience of reading an academic novel and living an academic life is characteristic for Kramer: “And during my fifteen years as a college faculty member, I have taken a great deal of perverse delight in reading fictional accounts of people very much like my administrative overseers, my faculty colleagues, my students, and myself” (Kramer, 1982, p. x). Two purposes of the academic novel come out of all this, as recognized by contemporary critics Christian K. Anderson and John R. Thelin: “those who enjoy reading college novels for pleasure and for scholars who use college novels as a tool for understanding how higher education is perceived in American culture and as part of the serious, systematic analysis of higher education” (Anderson & Thelin, 2009, p. 106-107). Lisa Johnson’s contemporary corpus The Life of the Mind: American Academia Reflected through Contemporary Fiction (1995) goes along with Kramer’s historic overview. Aside from the overview of academic novels published between 1980 and 1994 and the genre classification of the academic novel, Johnson offers her own personal attitude towards the academic life: “What is it academia anyway? We profess to hate it, spend endless amounts of time complaining about it, and yet we in academia will do practically anything to stay. The pay may be low, job security elusive, and in the end, it’s not the glamorous work we envisioned it would be. Yet, it still holds fascination and fiction, I mean novels whose main characters are professors, college students, and those about the higher education experience not readily available elsewhere. We learn about ourselves and the university community in which we work” (Johnson, 1994, p. 23). British theorist and author David Lodge has a similar opinion about the position of the academic novel in the literary system as an institution that begins with the relationship between the author and his audience: “In theory, everybody disapproves of academic novels, as being too inbred and stereotyped” but he observes that “in practice there seems to be a very big audience for them” (Moseley, 1991, p. 8). Like Lodge, in her book Faculty Towers, Eleine Showalter talks about the aforementioned double intent of the academic novel and concludes: “The best academic novels experiment and play with the genre of fiction itself, comment on contemporary issues, satirize professorial stereotypes and educational trends, and convey the pain of intellectuals called upon to measure themselves against each other and against their internalized expectations of brilliance” (Showalter, 2005, p. 4). The advantages of the academic novel as a didactic material are made clear in American critic William G. Tierny’s conclusion: “The purpose in reading academic fiction has less to do with proving or disproving the truth of a text; instead, the novel might be thought of as a way to help academics think about how academic life has been structured, defended, and interpreted in order to create constructive change” (Tierney, 2004, p. 164). However, some theorists disagree with such a contribution. Bruce Robins
highlights the negative reception of the academic novel: “The generally unflattering treatment academics have received from the so-called academic novel,” then concludes: “Over the past half-century or so, novelists who turned their attention to the university have arguably contributed more than a little to the acute lack of respect and understanding of which academics... tend to complain” (Robins, 2006, p. 249).

In light of these discussions the development of the academic novel as a genre can be classified within four types of criteria: (1) satire as a dominant literary procedure that comes out of the plot, characters and narrative procedures of the academic novel; (2) stereotype as a crossroad between low- and highbrow literature; (3) autobiography as a crossroad between reality and fiction with the (non) purpose of the didactic, and (4) the use of the literary procedure characteristic for a classical, a modern and a contemporary academic novel.

Also, we should single out a few of the best known academic novels in British and American literature: as the earliest example we have *The Groves of Academe* (1952) by Mary McCarthy, while some more contemporary examples are *Faculty Towers: The Academic Novel and Its Discontents* (2005) by Elaine Showalter and C.P. Snow’s *The Masters*. Also, a few earlier published novels possess some traits of an academic novel, such as *The Professor’s House* (1925) by Willa Cather, *Smith Conundrum* (1928-1931) by Régis Mesac and *Gaudy Night* (1935) by Dorothy L Sayers. We should also mention: *The Master* (1951) by C.P. Snow, *Disgrace* (1999) by J. M. Coetzee, *The Human Stain* (2000) by Phillip Roth, *Campus Trilogy* (1975-2001) by David Lodge and *Nocturne, Opus 1: Sea Foam* (2012) by Norene Moskalski.

The term “academic novel” is fairly unknown in Croatian literary studies, due to few translations of scientific literature and literary form, but also due to different geopolitical and historical circumstances heavily connected with the development of science and the academic society. Croatia became a part of the Bologna process in 2001, and has been its full participant to this very day. All academic programs were consolidated with the demands of the Bologna process in 2005, and all students who are finishing their studies in the Republic of Croatia receive ECTS points and have the right to a diploma supplement regarding their studies. Croatia actively implements other activities connected to the Bologna process, and the system of quality insurance, which was brought into Croatia in 2009, provided a high level of autonomy. Next to the direct influence of the higher education system in Croatian academic community, its indirect impact is also visible in the increasing interest of the reading audience in that type of a novel.

The above mentioned classification of the academic novel should be used in the classification of the British novel *Changing Places: The Tale of Two Campuses*
by David Lodge as a possible representative of the academic prose whose Croatian translation was twenty-six years late. Based on the features of the English campus novel *Changing Places: The Tale of Two Campuses* by David Lodge, the analysis and interpretation two Croatian novels, *Posljednji korak* by Dražen Ilinčić and *Wonderland* by Marinko Koščec, will confirm that the Croatian literary genealogy is richer for one more genre.

**David Lodge between avocation and profession**


Lodge’s *Changing Places: The Tale of Two Campuses* came out of his personal experience as a visiting lecturer at the University of California in 1969 where he got involved in the student revolution and counterculture. Lodge confirms: “It was all very dramatic and exciting to me, coming from England where we did have our own, very civil, small student revolution. I thought of myself as a war correspondent at Berkley in 1969. Great ideas - in theory” (Lodge, 2001, p. 268). Living and working in the industrial town of Birmingham made him understand the differences between an academic life and a blue collar one. Therefore, his literary style offers “some sort of bizarre opposition between two opposite points of view, between two ideologies, cultures and professions” (Lodge, 2001, p. 282)
which can be found in the characters of two professors and their exchange of their respected work places, life circumstances, cultural and social habits and even wives: “a crossing of their paths in a peaceful point of the world that keeps spinning went unnoticed by everyone except the narrator of this duplicitous chronicle” (Lodge, 2001, p. 4). Lodge used this binary opposition in order to “study the conflict between the scientific approach to consciousness and that that he, for a lack of a better term would call a humanistic or literary or sane, intuitive approach to consciousness” (Lodge, 2001, p. 282). In other words, the goal of his novel, according to the Swedish critic Eva Lambertsson Björk is to bridge the gap between a university and the outside world in the sense of a better understanding and mutual communication. Contrary to all this, Lodge's statement about the usage of stylistic procedures such as parody, comedy and satire in the service of researching more serious topics is explained by the British sociologist Michael Mulkay: “When we speak humorously, we are not fully responsible for what we say. From the outside, from within the realm of serious discourse, the messages of humor are extremely difficult to oppose successfully. Yet the messages conveyed by humor may have very serious consequences” (Mulkay, 1988, p. 53). Such an interpretation should be connected with the negative reception of the academic novel as a novel which was not directly intended to better the academic activities.

With Lodge's teaching experience, the knowledge of the contemporary literary history and theory left a noticeable mark on the novel, thus “his campus novels largely coincide and overlap with his scholarly work” (Lambertsson Björk, 1993, p. 40). He refreshes his novels with heated discussions, polemics and debates about literature, literary criticism and literary theory, but manages to keep them in a comical, satiric tone. Aside from this, the main characters are world famous theorist Morris Zapp and much less known British theorist Phillip Wallow, representatives or caricatures of university life in the 1960’s when social heat on campuses was at an all-time high. This is supported by Lodge’s names of the university towns: Chaosville and Euphoria, something which the author explains at the beginning of the novel: “Although some locations and public phenomena shown in the novel are to a certain extent similar to actual locations and phenomena, the characters are completely fictional both as individuals and as members of an institution. Chaosville and Euphoria are places on a map of a comical world similar yet not completely compatible to the one we live in, and full of imagination” (Lodge, 2001, p. 2).

Not only does he manage to lay out a very serious subject matter in a completely accessible and funny way, David Lodge combines, alongside the above mentioned binary oppositions, different prose and media forms (the epistolary novel, a newspaper report, a film screenplay, etc.) and autobiographical and
fictional elements which he does (not) bring to the ultimate purpose of the didactic. He also makes fun of and parodies the life of the academic community, which is all sprinkled with stereotypical features of soap operas like cheating, intrigue, farce, adultery, unexpected twists, etc.

Considering the fact that the rest of this text is about confirming the genre features of the academic novel, we should demonstrate their application on the example of the first novel of Lodge’s trilogy Changing Places: A Tale of Two Campuses.

**Changing Places: A Tale of Two Campuses by David Lodge as a paradigm of the academic novel**

In order to be what it is, the academic novel needs to satisfy some minimal demands of a realistic literary form and the form of a novel: there is no academic novel without a realistic academic frame, characters from the academic community and some sort of a plot about the academic life. Within these basic features, the academic novel can be analyzed with the four types of criteria that come out of theoretical discussions and that we have listed at the beginning. First, satire as the dominant trait of the academic novel that judges human and social flaws in a humorous and mocking way comes out of the need to bridge the gap between the university and the general reading audience in Lodge’s *Changing Places*. Lodge’s “binary oppositions” are catalysts that speed up and simplify – turn into stereotypes – the judgment of the British and American universities, their faculty, study programs and students.

At the very beginning, the author introduces the omniscient narrator who “from a privileged storytelling high (which is higher than any jet)” (Lodge, 2001, p. 5) makes it very clear to the reader that he understands the American and British universities, and has the right to satirize them.

One of the “binary oppositions” which the author uses to discuss the main conflict of the novel begins with the description of two universities: Euphoria State and Chaosville. The reason behind their cooperation is based upon their joint architectural basis, a replica of the leaning tower of Pisa, with considerable amount of satirical differences: “In Euphoria State they made it out of white rock and with dimensions twice as big as the original. In Chaosville they made it out of red brick with dimensions equal to the original, but in both cases they brought it back to an erect position” (Lodge, 2001, p. 10). Also, their satirical names show the real economic, cultural, social, scientific and artistic development. “In short, Euphoria State is still a magical name in teacher salons across the globe. Chaosville, on the other hand, has never been an institution which would surpass its mediocrity and its mediocre reputation (…)” (Lodge, 2001, p. 11). Besides this, according to the original contract, every visiting lecturer receives a salary in the
amount of which the home institution has set aside for a certain teaching position and tenure, but “since no American can survive longer than two- three days with the salary provided by Chaosville, Euphoria State makes up the difference to its staff members (...)” (Lodge, 2001, p. 10). In accordance to this, Euphoria State is one of the leading American universities with distinguished experts who have laboratories, libraries, research donations and “vast amounts of beautiful long legged secretaries” at their disposal (Lodge, 2001, p. 11), while the university of Chaosville fell under proletarian government, and has much less capacity and a much lower reputation.

Lodge’s scheme of the “binary oppositions” can also be used in scientific achievements of the main characters: Zapp is distinguished, Swallow is not. We should add their physical descriptions which do not stand out from the following: “From the stiff, erect body position and saying thank you too much to the stewardess serving him a glass of orange juice, it is obvious that Phillip Swallow, flying to the west is not used to flying; to Morris Zapp, who flatly threw himself into the chair headed to the east, chewing a burned out cigar (the stewardess made him put it out) and throwing murky stares at the pitiful ice portion melting in the plastic bourbon glass, the experience of longer flights is familiar to death” (Lodge, 2001, p. 5). Furthermore, the perception of universities becomes more clear, if the differences in the system of education are taken into account: the graduate level in an American university is not very demanding, so the pressure and demand of excellence are pushed back to the post-graduate level: employment is done through entrepreneurial competing; at a British university the selection is done throughout the studies, and after a lecturer- employee is hired, the employer guarantees him/her a permanent position.

Lodge’s binary oppositions come out of Claude Levi-Strauss’s structural anthropology, which he used as an analytical tool for interpreting myths and other cultural characteristics. In his works he attempted to show how obstacles from every day experience (such as raw/cooked/edible/inedible) point to deeper cultural differences and categorizations (nature/culture). Similarly, the binary oppositions in Changing Places also come out of a descriptive point of view of two cultures, British and American (scientific/expertly, prestigious/mediocre, left/right, rich/poor, big/small, private/public, foreign/domestic, known/unknown), but their strict division in the economic, scientific, cultural and artistic development is even more pronounced through satire.

Satire as a feature of the academic novel aside from the “binary opposition” from which it comes from, makes a schematic, simplified and a difficult to change relationship with the academic community that leads to stereotypization, no matter the circumstances. In other words, the basis of these stereotypes is a
wrong and unjustified generalization and conventional and simplified opinion, conception or belief about the academic community. Thus every collective stereotype which has an extremely emotionally negative assessment of the university, the university professors and students could be seen as prejudice. For example, a university represents a closed society of intellectuals: “the magical name in teaching salons” and the politically active rector is “a quiet lamb” or “a black panther” prone to nepotism. The secretaries are mostly mistresses, and the professors are pedophiles: “When I think about it, there has to be something incestuous in sleeping with the daughter of a guy with whom you switched working places” (Lodge, 2001, p. 160). The doormen and the cleaning ladies are collectors and spreaders of information within the collective and spineless professors are in search of glory and title: “They are a bunch of lying, capricious irresponsible creatures who bathe in relativism like hypos in mud, their noses barely pointing towards common sense. They happily tolerate opinions contradictory to their own – by God, some of them even change their opinion” (Lodge, 2001, p. 47). Some have a fondness for internal jokes: “Gordon Masters decided to support Phillip in the Euphoria exchange because he wanted to promote a considerably younger man from the Division to the position of senior lecturer and it will be much less embarrassing to do so while Phillip is away” (Lodge, 2001, p. 24), and some are greedy and voracious: “At parties they ate the man’s canapés like they had just gotten out of prison” (Lodge, 2001, p. 49). Finally, the students are prideful, amenable and corrupt: “Boon didn’t manage to qualify further, but he diligently stalked the school’s hallway a few months after, bringing the students to the conclusion he works here as a science assistant, hoping he would make the Division so uncomfortable, they will have to hire him” (Lodge, 2001, p. 37).

Stereotypical features of the academic community make the academic novel more complex in the sense of the relationship between low- and highbrow literature. The academic novel can be interpreted as a “low-brow literature” because the use of satire relativizes the academic world and generates stereotypes. Those stereotypes then form schematic features within a genre that the audience detects and recognizes. However, it is possible to interpret the academic novel as a “high-brow literature.” The academic novel like a Bildungsroman, directed to the reader - a university professor who wants to improve the social, economic, scientific, cultural and political relationships within the university community. Furthermore, the genre of the academic novel has autobiographical elements that do not bring into question the choppiness of the discourse or redefining the literary genre in relation to autobiography: it wants to question the role and authenticity of the author’s declaration, the didactic intent and the literary procedure of satire.
In the 1970’s, French theorist Philippe Lejeune identified the basic features of autobiographical texts, which can be used as a genre matrix with limited historical reach - from Romanticism to the present. By leaving the field of just textual classifications, Lejeune reaches for the relationship between the author and the reader and creates the idea of an autobiographical contract. In classifying the autobiography, Lejeune equates the autobiography with a special type, one which emphasizes the origin and development of personality. Lejeune defines the autobiography as a retrospective prose text in which a real person narrates their own living, while emphasizing their personal life, especially the history of the development of their personality. There are four basic definitions: the question of narrating in the first person in prose, the processed subject matter, the identity of the author and storyteller. Lejeune presents the basic idea of the autobiographical contract through a three way identity relationship between the storyteller, the character and the author who signs his name on the book cover. With the author’s signature and his own name, the writer marks his text as an autobiographical one. The reader’s reception is the one that recognizes the autobiographical contract which is offered (Cf. Lejeune, 1975; Zlatar, 2008, p. 78).

In Lodges Changing Places, the autobiographical contract between the author, the storyteller and the character is significantly damaged, but certain narrative figures (persons, space, time, events) become forms that establish the autobiographical prose through secondary texts (author’s notes, interviews, biographical data). Beside putting in his own experience as a university exchange professor and a lecturer at the British university in the industrial town of Birmingham (Chaosville), David Lodge as literary theorist and critic bases his novel on Claude Levi Strauss’s “binary oppositions” and like “all novelists notices things, takes that one or that one, mixes them up and hopes he is not betraying anyone who might recognize themselves and deem it inappropriate” (Lodge, 2001, p. 290). But, Morris Zapp is the only character whom Lodge gave characteristics of a real person - the critic Stanley Fish. Lodge first met him at Berkley in 1965. He admits to what he used: “his signature habit of watching a baseball game on TV while writing mental books about Milton, then the general lack of awe towards the European civilization, and then his jabs such as ‘Travelling narrows the horizons,’ ect. (Lodge, 2001, p. 290). Furthermore, space, time and events are also not random, but are inspired by Lodge’s exchange at the California (Euphoria) University of Berkley in 1969 during the student revolution. However, the credibility that comes out of the autobiographical features (as a mediate connection with the experienced reality which the novel talks about and shapes, because academic novels can only be written by writers from the academic community) is being discredited by satire (as a mediate connection with fiction) what makes the novel more interesting to a wider
audience. Thus, in light of another binary opposition (reality/fiction) the double intent of the academic novel is confirmed.

Considering it is structured within the binary oppositions of reality and fiction, Lodge's academic novel does not have clearly defined genre conventions, but is opened to mixing different types of literary and other artistic types. As a traditional literary term we should understand a realistically formative procedure that sends the message to the reader loud and clear. For this type of literary praxis, the focus towards the reader is characteristic, and so the literary text is clearly structured to satisfy its primary intent. Another type of literature, the modern one is focused on the sender of the literary message/the storyteller/author. The everyday reality is distorted by the creation of a literary structure which is based upon different literary and other artistic types. In this context, we can talk about *Changing Places* as a sublimate of an academic and an epistolary novel where the defining trait of the traditional literary genre is clearly dismantled. A part of the novel, called *Correspondence* is based upon an epistolary communication between two married couples: Hilary and Phillip Swallow and Desiree and Morris Zapp. In the mutual correspondence, the auto-referential and auto-reflexive strategy dominates, but also indirect commenting of significant events tied to the historical, political, cultural and social context. In the epistolary discourse of letters attention is paid to telling and describing personal emotions and psychological states: Hilary and Phillip's relationship is based upon traditional values that come out of a marriage, so love, caring, and respect for the spouse are made clear in the first few letters. But later correspondence reveals their dissatisfaction and a difficult financial situation which results with infidelity on both sides. The relationship between Desiree and Morris is not a harmonious one from the beginning of the correspondence, thus the reasons for divorce become even clearer. This time wrongly accused of infidelity, Morris tries to save the marriage and stay away from female students and secretaries. Desiree is firmly against reconciliation but her sarcastic letters and infidelity provide a reason to tolerate Morris and his latest flirts. Beside the love intrigues, the epistolary discourse mentions actual political and historical events linked to the student revolution, riots, strikes and life threatening boycotts, but also social events like stereotypical traits “versatile” Americans and “closed-off” Brits, and cultural events (when it comes to the structure of the university, study programs, student structure and the atmosphere of academic society).

Beside the epistolary discourse, a part of Lodge’s novel, called *For Reading* consists of articles, ads, daily news, records, comments, manifestos, analytical notes statements and other newspaper types which the author uses to credibly and above all, transparently show events or people crucial to the plot or the
revelation of the novel’s plot. Since we are talking about different newspaper types, from the author’s personal point of view, the same theme is divided from different points of view with the goal of an entire overview, independent from the author’s final attitude. The events concern the year 1968 and the student revolution, turmoil and dissatisfaction of young people who wanted political change, emancipation and sexual equality, both in the U.S. and Great Britain. Since the intensity of the revolution was much stronger in America due to the Freedom of speech movement in 1964, which began at the University of Berkley, the American students were noticeably louder, more demanding and more violent, while the atmosphere at the British university became “politely” heated. But the struggle for social change, democracy and better social rights equally accelerated a reform of the university, advanced the dialogue within the academic community and enabled better student rights.

Furthermore, the modernity of the novel ensues from choosing a film screenplay as the finishing chapter that shows a blueprint of the film with its belonging elements: the description of the scenery, the time during which the story takes place and basic instructions about the actors. At the center of the plot, Lodge placed the confrontation between the main characters, Hilary and Phillip Swallow and Desiree and Morris Zapp, first on an airplane, then in a hotel room. After admitting their mutual infidelities, the main characters try to come to a compromise, both in love and in life. Beside the satire, Lodge’s autobiographical element as a theorist comes into play, which he uses for the ambiguity of the very ending: “What I want to say is, you mentally prepare for the ending of the novel. While you are reading, you are aware of the fact that the book has one or two pages left, and you are prepared to close it. But in film there is no way to make out the difference, especially today when films are structured much loosely and have more meanings than ever. There is no way to tell which shot is going to be the last one. The film flows, just like life flows,, people act this way or that way, they do this or they do that, drink, talk, we watch them and in the moment of the director’s choosing, with no warning, with nothing resolved, explained, rounded up, the film simply... ends” (Lodge, 2001, p. 279). Since it is a trilogy, the plot continues in the next two books.

The contemporary postmodern novel is pointed towards the instrument of literary creation, or a language used for narrating. However, the threading of different textual discourses like newspaper articles, film screenplays and letters is not the primary role of Lodge’s novel. These procedures are not meant to create a new understanding of cultural history, nor is tradition accepted in a new way: Lodge’s academic novel only talks about university matters which can but are not obligated to be read from a personal position, a contemporary position, looking for certain allusions of today’s academic community. In this context,
Lodge’s novel remains in the domain of modern literary expression as a feature characteristic of the academic novel, and literary procedures of narrating (newspaper articles, letters and film screenplays) and satirization, on the one hand confirm the separation from everyday reality, from the contents of a wider social significance, while on the other hand they come closer to it, when it comes to the stereotypical, without deepening the psychological analysis and expressing the psychological state, which is characteristic of the epistolary form.

The Academic novel in the context of Croatian literature

Events in literature always took place alongside stormy changes on the social and political scene. However much some literary historians try to catagoreze national literature according to some immanent literary traits, this is often impossible because the events in the political or cultural history determine the shifting of literary lines and styles. The same goes for Croatian literature in the last two to three decades.

In European terms, the key events that changed the political and cultural image took place in 1968. The student riots and The Prague Spring marked the end of a great enlightening idea about absolute emancipation, equality of genders and total freedom of speech. “Beat”, “hippie” and “punk” and other youth movements brought in from America developed a special counterculture by knocking down the modernistic cultural elitism.

The breaking point for the Croatian social, cultural and political scene took place in 1971, with the attempt of redefining the relationships in Yugoslavia. The movement called “the Croatian spring” ended with the capitulation of the Croatian party leadership in Karadordevo in December of the same year and with the victory of the conservative Unitarian forces. The failure was followed by the exile of intellectuals and artists, trials and a new emigrational wave. Hard times came, full of political pressure, stronger repression and ideological surveillance over artistic production. The crisis peaked in the late 1980’s. At the same time, the political events in the former Soviet Union shape the political landscape: one by one, Communist regimes fall. In May of 1990, Croatia had its first independent elections since World War II. The Croatian people chose a parliamentary democracy and multi- party political system. After the war, and the establishment of an independent Croatian state, the Croatian literary stage had a time of postmodernism, defined by “esthetic signatures like intertextuality, intermedia, quotes, pastiche, palimpsest, remake, recycling, compilations, etc.” (Nemec, 2003, p. 257-264).

In the diverse and ever more jumbled production it is possible to notice the poorly represented, but profiled narrative model of the academic novel. As an
example we have two Croatian novelists, Marinko Koščec (1967) and Dražen Ilinčić (1962).

Next to the socially more involved novels *Otok pod morem* (2008), *Netko drugi* (2001), *To malo pijeska na dlanu* (2005), *Centimetr od sreće* (2008), *Četvrti čovjek* (2011), Koščec’s novel *Wonderland* (2003) which won the V.B.Z. award for the best novel, mostly deals with the academic community, but also with the sociopolitical circumstances that follow it. Dražen Ilinčić’s novels *Berlinski zid* (2006) and *Posljednji korak* are no less critical, considering they discuss homosexualism.

The connective tissue of these two Croatian novels can certainly be found in the genre definition of the academic novel which beside having an academic frame and characters from the academic community, can also have themes and characters from the social margins. However, other criteria according to David Lodge’s paradigmatic novel should be taken into account.

The features of satire in Koščec’s *Wonderland* and Ilinčić’s *Posljednji korak* shine through the theme, characters and narrative procedures. Both novels portray a middle-aged professor who tries to exist within a duplicitous and hypocritical academic and wider social community which relies on elitism, corruption, realization and tycoonship. Both Koščec’s unnamed Professor and Ilinčić’s unnamed/anonymous Pero describe and comment not only on the impressive atmosphere at the University of Zagreb but also on many other current (and in Croatia, deeply rooted) themes. Ranging from bourgeois primitivism, academic mediocrity and "idyllic" metropolitan suburbs, bigotry, ridiculous literary promotions, infantile TV program, local music scene and studio program, to the corruptness of health system, education and politics, both authors constantly draw on literary procedures of satire in order to easier get through Croatian reality which surrounds them. Also, supporting characters such as Allreaching, Young Hope, and Happy Kljukovac have these general names that are in the service of strengthening the satire. It is this universality of their names which shows just how much society, or individuals in that society, are limited by their identities.

What differentiates these novels from the British paradigm is the unusual alternation of the narrative. In Koščec’s *Wonderland*, the paragraphs written in the third person alternate with the ones written in the first person, and it happens without graphic signs in the text, the same as when the narration becomes a commentary or when it becomes a presentation of psychological states. However, it is a bit difficult to follow when the narrator, without an obvious reason, sets himself this or that way. Such alternation of the narrative procedure, unlike Lodge’s narration through omniscient narrator, makes Koščec’s narrator unreliable, because his narration is set mostly by his own point
of view, his own personal impressions and feelings, so the reader has no reason to believe him more than any other character. However, to justify such a procedure, we should take into account possible binary oppositions which in Koščec's novel are signified by the relationship between the academic/family community, and an individual's destiny, because of which the university professor, trapped in his mother–in–law's apartment with too many of his wife's family, expecting a child and his wife's twin pregnancy with a steady career, turns to a separate world, filled with kinky/erotic fantasies. Thus, by changing the narrative procedures of the narrator, the binary relationship of reality and fiction which the author uses to satirize is even more pronounced. To the events surrounding him, such as alienation, emptiness, quasi–intellectualism, questionable humanity and immorality, bourgeoisie, primitivism, the Professor answers with spirit, imagination, hiding within himself, and thus, the satire is felt in that very attempt of building a singular, fictitious world, which is no more humane and in order, than the real world. For example, in reality, the hero will humbly take insults and attacks from the nervous driver whom he had cut off in traffic, while in his imagination, he will bravely tell him off, respond to a violent threat by hitting first: Or he will fantasize about taking female students in consultations or exams, in his imagination will develop an impossible erotic scene, which he will be ashamed of as soon as he comes to. Eventually, he will admit this: “Kind, generous friend, the narrator is not senile” (Koščec, 2003, p. 148).

Also, this binary relationship between reality and fiction is noticeable in Ilinčić's Posljednji korak. The main character Pero wants to become an artist/writer, but does not want to be a person who talks about literature, or the artistic world without passion, or the one who humiliates others in order to promote himself and joins clans and fashionable societies. Thus, Ilinčić's protagonist only after death comes out of reality and starts to write fiction in the form of satire as an acclaimed and respected writer. The main hero Pero was, just like Koščec’s Professor, an invisible member of academic and literary society, who worked just enough to earn, because “one needs to have a job”: “As a scientist, he surely is not behind Rikard, so his results would bring him equal reputation, had they not been published in the wrong publications, had they been supported by more prominent critics, or had they not been left in the drawer, due to negligence or lack of ambition” (Koščec, 2003, p. 40).

Satire as a feature of the academic novel shines through "binary oppositions" of reality and fiction from which it comes, and just like in Lodge's Changing Places, it produces stereotypes about the Croatian academic community. We should list a few common characteristics in Ilinčić’s and Koščec's novels: university presents an elite institution: “While enjoying their elitism, they are
also safe from trans–categorical comparisons. Because the academic, prostitute–like, veteran and all other elites have their own super–elite, politics and music scene, two sorority branches came to be on a golden television tree” (Koščec, 2003, p. 14). The professors are untouchable icons and mediocrities: “...once you earn a doctorate, nobody can take it away from you, nobody asks if you remember a single letter” (Koščec, 2003, p. 36), and they live at the expense of public budget–parasites: “Who really needs that which the Professor contributes to society? Isn’t it perplexing that they want to pay him for it? What good does his existence do locally and globally? It isn’t even harmless, because in order to get through his miserable life, he spends state and natural resources” (Koščec, 2003, p. 52). At the same time, the teaching profession is not paid enough: “...he gives the cabbie his seventy–eight kuna, fine, fine. For that much money he spends an entire afternoon working on his articles for the Lexicon of Literature” (Koščec, 2003, p. 184). The professors are pedophiles and bullies: “Rikard beat up a student! In the middle of a test, he jumped at her and started to slap her, to hit her on the head with a dictionary, that is enough of it, that somebody has to put a stop to this flood of nothingness, of human mud, or who knows what, the kid came to me, crying, and he kept on yelling in the hallways, until he was subdued by the doormen” (Koščec, 2003, p. 186). Art and science are relative professions: “And everyone will become a higher breed, a higher species! People nowadays sign themselves as authors into every little thing, in every area, which before was a term reserved for creators or the widest spiritual range” (Ilinčić, 2013, p. 138). There is also nepotism, frauds, falsely acquired titles, etc.

The stereotypical features of the academic community confirm the double role of the academic novel: didactic function and entertainment. But, the Croatian academic novel, next to attempting to better the function inside the academic community, also tries to raise the reputation of the university, the professors, and the academic activities within the society. By pointing out their shortcomings, and by stereotyping, Ilinčić and Koščec make their audience laugh less and less with their satire, and more and more remind them of the reality they find themselves in, and are a part of.

Furthermore, the genre of the Croatian academic novel also has autobiographical features because it can be used to show and confirm the authenticity of the author’s narration, didactic intent and literary procedure of satire. Just like David Lodge, Marinko Koščec is a contemporary Croatian writer, a professor of French literature at the Department of French language, at the University of Zagreb, an editor in the publishing house SysPrint, who tries to bring his experience of knowing the academic world and living in it to the reader: “Better yet, the text becomes larger than the person who envisioned it. It forces him to his own service; makes him feed it, to put it entirely in his mouth, and to
create food any way he can, since he does not have anything to give from himself. Thus, almost against his will, the author’s "I" turns to the world and merges with it. The world becomes it’s media, it’s texture and it’s destination. This is what differentiates "a book" from entries in a diary. This, incidentally, is why I write books: to deepen, multiply, and enrage my relationships to the world.” (Dugandžija, 2014, online).

Moreover, Dražen Ilinčić studied English and comparative literature at the University of Zagreb, as a long – standing journalist in HTV’s (Croatian National Television) editorial board for culture, he unquestionably knows the surroundings of which he writes and by this confirms the credibility of his story. Beside the topics from the academic world, the academic novel in its categorization can have marginal topics, such as homosexuality. In Ilinčić’s Posljednji korak, the resigned narrator talks about his joyless life in the first person, marked with shame, not only for his literary aspirations and academic circles, but also because of his homosexuality. As a homosexual, Ilinčić lays out his analogy in a interview: “It seemed cute to me that this ambitionless hero works sloppily at some academic department. It felt stupid to make him an actor or a media personality. You know how this college rooms are, they still look at the yard, completely hidden from everything, a man can comfortably and lively hide from everything. From his life, from his career... The book is a criticism of any given artistic circle. We live in mediocre surroundings that nurtures mediocrity and loves it. Success and fame in society are achieved by agreement, things get interconnected. You know who you are supposed to have coffee with, how scholarships are given away, how the people praise each other... The only relationship in creating is the one with the audience. I am fortunate enough that TV allows me to nurture a more author – like approach. Since I live in the center of the city and do not drive a car, people often stop me to say – ‘Oh, I loved your show!’” (Dugandžija, 2014, online). Besides the everyday living in a homophobic society, Ilinčić describes the position as a homosexual from his own personal experience within the gay society, which is also closed off, alienated and intolerant: “In a bar for quee- nies in Zagreb; I notice that not a lot of people meet each other, and go to more intimate places, like apartments. It’s more or less the same crowd, an emphasized good cheer, laughing, but I get the impression that there is not much joy, but there surely is some nervousness and fear” (Ilinčić, 2013, p. 57). Besides, the literary community for which he feels more and more aversion is unjust and hypocritical, and breaks itself between the resistance and belonging to literary circles: “instead of making art a way of experiencing life, these so – called artists understand art as a way for other people to experience them” (Ilinčić, 2013, p. 31).
Individual narrative figures (people, space, time, events) in a whole, become shapes with which we can suggest a probable reality where seeds of Ilinčić’s intimate confession and Koščec’s pseudo – autobiography can be assumed, linked to the narrator’s profession (writer, professor), setting (Zagreb, Novi Vinodolski, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences), and spaces in which he came to know himself (his office). With such a strategy, both novels make immediate connection with the experienced reality and everyday life. Of course, just like in a paradigmatic academic novel, it falls apart and disappears because of satire and stereotypes.

A literary performance which suggests a traditional, a modern or a postmodern academic novel in the Croatian academic prose comes to fruition by combining different narrative procedures and forms, and also, by playing with narrative perspectives, intertextual strategies, allusions to different books, films, music, history. Also, a deep psychological characterization and expression of the psychological state, introspection, retrospection, longing for harmonization of one’s own existence, signifies the search for one’s own, but also national identity. This is what makes these novels stylistically and thematically modern: the individual and how his work influences the (twisted) society, and vice versa. The Croatian academic novel fills such referential frames with another feature which should be found within the genre of the Bildungsroman, with a note that it does not matter that the characters end up tragically (Pero gets killed, and the Professor dies emotionally), they find their inner peace, and represent progress and hope for a society beyond hope.

Conclusion

The discussion of the development of the academic novel genre resulted in many classifications through which the following features can be singled out: (1) satire as a dominant literary procedure that comes out of the plot, characters and narrative procedures of the academic novel; (2) stereotype as a crossroad between low- and highbrow literature; (3) autobiography as a crossroad between reality and fiction with the (non) purpose of the didactic, and (4) the use of the literary procedure characteristic for a classic, a modern and or a contemporary academic novel.

In Croatian literary studies the concept of the academic novel is relatively unknown, due to few translations of scientific literature and literary material, but also because of different geopolitical and historical circumstances closely connected with the development of science and academic society.

The above mentioned classification of features of academic novels is applied in the classification of the British novel Changing Places: The Story of Two Campuses by David Lodge, and has been confirmed as a paradigm of academic
prose. The Croatian novels *Posljednji korak* by Dražen Ilinčić and *Wonderland* by Marinko Koščec share similar features with the English academic novel and bring to the following conclusions in analysis and interpretations.

Satire as the dominant feature of the academic novel in Lodge's *Changing Places* comes out of the need to bridge the gap between the university and a wide reading audience. Next to this, Lodge's "binary oppositions" are catalysts which are used to accelerate and simplify – make stereotypical judgments about the British and American university, their faculty, study programs and students. Koščec's and Ilinčić's satire also has a similar role of binding and better understanding of both the academic, and the everyday world, but it's message is a burdening, and even a depressing one, in a sense of urgency of social, political, economic and cultural problems which troubles Croatia as a country in transition, or as a full member of the EU.

Mutual stereotypical features of the academic community are making all three academic novels even more complicated when we consider the problem of the low- and highbrow literature. The academic novel bows to the interpretation of "a lower type of literature", because the academic world is relativized with satire, and thus, the new stereotypes are actually schematic features within the genre, that the average reader can easily recognize. However, it is also possible to interpret the novels within the features of high-brow literature, according to which the academic novel, just like *Bildungsroman* is completely focused on the reader. The Croatian academic novel also tries to raise the questionable reputation of universities, professors, and academic function within the society in general.

The credibility that comes out of autobiographical features as immediate connection with the experienced reality, which both British and Croatian academic novels us, is tarnished by the literary procedure of satire as a indirect link with fiction and makes the novel more interesting for a wider audience. Just like another binary opposition, (reality/fiction), the didactic function and the low-brow literary value of the academic novel is confirmed. The author of the Croatian novel *Posljednji korak* is not a direct member of the academic community, thus he is not a college professor, but a homosexual, but his direct role is transferred to a wider definition of the academic novel which includes the theme of homosexuality. This means that the analogy between the homosexual orientation and the academic society refers to alienation and homophobia, both outside the community and in it.

Lodge's academic novel exclusively deals with academic topics which may or may not be inferred from his own position that is a necessarily contemporary position by searching for certain allusions to the contemporary academic community. In this context, Lodge's *Changing Places* remains in the domain of a
modern literary expression as a classification characteristic for the academic novel, and the literary procedures of combining (newspaper articles, letters and film screenplays) and satirization, on one hand, confirm the alienation from everyday reality, from the content of a wider societal meaning, while on the other hand, they come closer to it, when it comes to stereotypes, without any deeper meaning of the psychological analysis and expressions of psychological states which is more characteristic for the epistolary form. Literary performance of Ilinić’s and Koščec’s novel is realized with the combining of different narrative procedures and forms, and also by playing with narrative perspectives, intertextual strategies, allusions to different books, films, music, and history. Unlike Lodge’s novel, the deepened psychological characterization and expression of the psychological state, introspection, retrospection, and the longing for harmonization of one’s own existence signifies the search for one’s own, but also national identity. This is what makes the Croatian academic novels stylistically and thematically modern and more than didactic, in the sense that an individual and his work influence a (twisted) society, and vice versa.

Similarly to the English academic novel Changing Places: The Tale of Two Campus, through determination and application of classification properties of the academic novel, Croatian novels by Dražen Ilinić and Marinko Koščec make the Croatian literary genealogy richer for one more genre.

References


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Evaluation of France Prešeren’s Poems

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Abstract
The paper, referring to the school selection of Prešeren’s poems, deals with the problem of evaluating Prešeren’s poems. When selecting literary texts for secondary school reading books, the modern literature didactics recommend giving priority to the principles of reception and literary history. A study of the evaluation criteria of three leading experts on Prešeren from the second half of the 20th century brings recognition that, in spite of significant differences between them, literary historians, above all, value formally complex and receptively demanding poems belonging to the central period of Prešeren’s romanticism. Although the influence of literary-historical principle is also noticed in secondary school students, these attribute the most value to Prešeren’s poems with simple forms and less demanding reception, predominantly those that have a story, are easier to understand and provide a complete experience.

Key words
France Prešeren’s poems, literary history, reception, evaluation, empirical research

1 Introduction
Within the frame of the doctoral thesis entitled Poezija Franceta Prešerna v srednješolskih učbenikih in njena recepcija (Poetry of France Prešeren in secondary school textbooks and its reception), I carried out a year-round pedagogical experiment at four grammar schools in the Severna Primorska region in the 2005/2006 academic year, as an attempt to confirm the didactic usefulness of prosification of some of Prešeren’s poems. Three test questionnaires (before reading Prešeren in class, after it and at the end of the academic year) were used, not only to check the understanding and experiencing of Prešeren’s poems, but also their evaluation. By doing this, I built on the awareness that empirical research of poem evaluation in Slovenia is still in its infancy, although, as early as in the 1970s, Meta Grosman reported on the empirical test of Ivor A. Richards (the first to deal with this type of problem was the scholar and publicist Silvo Fatur, who prepared a selection of Prešeren’s poems according to the affinities of the best grammar school graduates, Prešeren, 2000), presented in the between-the-wars period in his notable work Practical Criticism (Grosman, 1974).

Since it was already Richards who indicated important differences between the evaluations of literary historians and casual readers (in his case,
undergraduate students), I compared the evaluations of Slovene literary historians (Anton Slodnjak, Janko Kos and Boris Paternu – the three most important 20th century researchers of the poetry of France Prešeren) to the evaluations of second year grammar school students. In the first case I mostly used qualitative research methods, while in the second case quantitative methods prevailed. Four grammar schools of the Severna Primorska region (from the towns of Tolmin, Vipava and two from Nova Gorica) took part in the empirical study; all of the said schools had two classes of students in the second year, when Prešeren’s poems are in the curriculum. Approximately two hundred students, a hundred girls and boys respectively, participated. Evaluation-related tasks were included in the Questionnaire II (after discussion of Prešeren’s poetry) and Questionnaire III (at the end of the school year).

For modern study of evaluating Prešeren’s poems, the most explicit seems to be the table in the Annex B (Richards, 1929, p. 365), where Richards presents an evaluation of thirteen poems treated (The relative popularity of the poems). One poem is from the 17th century, four from the 19th century, seven from the 20th century. There is no data for the remaining poem.

The evaluation of Richards’ students was compared (poems were numbered successively from the most to the least popular) with the evaluation of literary history, for which the on-line British encyclopaedia (The British Encyclopaedia contains only eight of the thirteen authors, which means that the remaining five belong to marginal authors, according to beliefs of English literary critics and historians) and Wikipedia were used (in Wikipedia other four authors can be found, while the author of the most popular poem, J. D. C. Pellew, is absent even in Wikipedia). Poets were ranked according to the evaluation designations (John Donne “is often considered the greatest love poet in the English language”, Thomas Hardy is “in general opinion the most important poet of the 20th century”, Henry W. Longfellow is “the most popular American poet of the 19th century”, Christina Rossetti is “one of the most important English poetesses in terms of the scope and quality”, etc.) and also arranged in succession from 1 to 13. This is referred to in the Table 1.

The results were stunning: the first three authors, according to the evaluation criteria of the literary history (Donne, Hardy and Longfellow), scored last in the evaluation of Richards’ students, and vice versa, the first three authors in the students’ evaluation criteria (Pellew, St. Vincent Millay and Studdert Kennedy) seem to be more or less marginal poems according to the evaluations of literary critics and historians. Certainly, one could argue that the evaluation of literary history has essentially changed over the last eighty years, however, Grosman mentions that Richards’ readers, “without supporting data on the canonical value of particular poems, strongly criticized some most notable English poets for their

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUTHOR</th>
<th>EVALUATION OF RICHARDS' STUDENTS</th>
<th>EVALUATION OF THE LITERARY-HISTORY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phillip J. Bailey</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christina Rossetti</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Donne</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geoffrey A. Studdert Kennedy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edna St. Vincent Millay</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerard M. Hopkins</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. D. C. Pellew</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David H. Lawrence</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Noyes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordon H. Luce</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Hardy</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilfred Rowland</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry W. Longfellow</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to influence the selection of Prešeren's poems in the secondary school Slovenian language curricula and in accompanying didactic materials (in the chapter Principles of Selection and Classifying Literary Works, didact Boža Krakar Vogel presents in detail four principles of literary didactics for the school selection of literary works: the reception principle with students as the central criterion, the principle of literary history/a period as the central criterion, the principle of literary theory - theme, type, text as metatext, and similar criteria - as well as the principle of national or international comparison and importance (2004, p. 61-65), my observing focused on the evaluation of secondary school students, i.e. in both experimental and in control groups together. To expose as much as possible the evaluation criteria used by the creators of the curricula and authors of readers (particularly in ascertaining whether a balanced representation of literary-historic and reception-related criteria was observed), I decided first to systematically and in detail research the evaluation criteria of major experts on Prešeren of the second half of the 20th century. The question of literary evaluation is actually one of the most neglected areas of Slovenian
literary science which, however, has been gaining importance lately (Paternu, 1989; Dović, 2000; Ogrin, 2003).

2. Evaluation of the literary history

Individual literary historians and critics attributed different values to Prešeren's poems, evidently depending on the criteria used for that purpose. Lances were broken not only with The Baptism at the Savica, where differences in evaluation were influenced mainly by different, ideologically marked explanations, but also with relatively simple poems, such as The Unmarried Mother. While Boris Paternu acknowledges that this poem “presents a highly complex, yet harmonious and artistically efficient merging of arts and folklore”, he never puts it side by side with The Baptism at the Savica or Sonnets of Unhappiness. Stritar, however, in his essay on Prešeren “attributes extraordinary merit to it and puts it as an example”, and Levstik, in his critique of Kleinmayer’s History of Slovenian Literature proclaims the poem to be “one of the most beautiful in the world” (Paternu, 1977, p. 265). According to Paternu, Stritar referred to the principle that the best poetry is the one that is “of the highest artistry and completely national”, while Levstik attributed “magic language” to The Unmarried Mother.

To analyse literary and historical evaluation, I first chose the extensive Paternu's monograph France Prešeren and His Poetic Work I–II, in spite of its thirty years of being published, since it still presents a basis for the secondary school selection of Prešeren's poems (this is based on the fact that seven out of the nine selected poems are those that “give fundamental orientation in Prešeren's content-related world”; Paternu, 1976, p. 107. Moreover, with the romance The Daughter's Advice - optional choice: The Student and the poem The Unmarried Mother, all five periods of Prešeren’s literary creation are covered, according to Paternu), and then also Prešeren’s Poetic Development by Janko Kos and Prešeren’s Life by Anton Slodnjak, two monographs that marked the 1960s and 1970s. They are namely two living and influential literary historians, while Slodnjak is included due to the fact that his monograph had by far the most reprints with a surprisingly high number of copies.

2.1 Monograph by Boris Paternu

Although there are almost no poems by Prešeren in which Paternu would not find at least some sign of quality, there is a quite clear hierarchy in his evaluation. Prešeren's poems of exceptionally high quality are ranked as the most important, as pieces of art, artistic works, as one of the peaks, etc. Although he highly values poems, such as The Water Man, Rosamund of Turjak or Apelles and the Shoemaker, in his opinion the undisputable artistic peak is achieved by poems such as
Farewell to Youth, Sonnets of Unhappiness, A Wreath of Sonnets, The Baptism at the Savica, To The Poet, A Toast and The Still Beating Heart, that have “an existential theme as a medium of the author’s fundamental experience, awareness of life and his search for the meaning in it” in the focal position (Paternu, 1976:107). Together with this thematic criterion, crucial for Paternu's value-related classification, are also romanticism, the role of a poem in the conceptual and stylistic development of Prešeren’s poetry, as well as its role in the development of Slovenian literature, i.e. literary-historic criteria are emphasized. These three criteria are clearly present in Paternu's designation of the Sonnets of Unhappiness cycle, which he considers to be “a highly visible work of art written by Prešeren, the most important poem beside The Baptism at the Savica": “Yet the cycle has not only an excellent explanatory and referential value for his whole poetry until A Wreath of Sonnets and beyond it” (ibid.: 187). And further on: “The elegy Farewell to Youth starts and the Sonnets of Unhappiness ultimately establish the Slovenian poetic romanticism. However, the cycle did not remain a mere historical fact. With its thematic and expressive state of development, it resounded far into the future until our present time” (ibid.: 210).

It is no coincidence that the above mentioned poems are connected with a pronounced formal and linguistic artistry and an extremely grave, even elegiac relation to the subject-matter. This at the same time means that poems with a simple form and folklore-like style or a humorous or ironic experiential perspective may well be artistic (According to Paternu, such a case is with New Writing which “acted and can act across its time and belongs to poems that “literary entropy” cannot approach easily” (ibid., p. 163). While Kos classifies the poem among occasional ones and does not interpret it, Paternu dedicates almost 5000 words to it and designates it as a “famous satire in dialogue” or a “subjective artistic satire” that, in spite of expression of rough and “low” type, acknowledges that its beginning is a “true small masterpiece of logic and intelligence”, and presentation of purism “consistent, well-rounded and picturesque” (ibid., p. 153-162). Paternu's treatment of New Writing testifies that, together with literary-historic evaluation, he also uses the experiential evaluation, although seeing the latter as less important.

Yet are considered less artistic and of inferior quality to the above-mentioned by Paternu. That and the almost cultish relation to Prešeren’s “high poetry” are seen in Paternu’s designation of Farewell to Youth and Baptism at the Savica: “The first general personal declaration of Prešeren is in front of us. What is new is a tone of soberness, completely devoid of humour. New is also the form, the elegy in first-person, a lyrically direct and distinctively emotive narration” (ibid., p. 107). “The narrative poem could stay in verse form and elevated, high and solemn wording, because Prešeren, even with new awareness, retained a deeply
elegiac, retrospective relation to the great world of romantic rebellion and romantic love” (Paternu, 1977, p. 145).

Paternu writes about the poem, such as Commands: “The poem is therefore an example of artistry which leaves personal poetry and adapts strongly to the procedures of poetic folklore. The latter is even prevailing, if we abstain from stricter observation” (Paternu, 1977, p. 222). And about Saint Senan: “In spite of jocular occasional quality, Prešeren’s text of Saint Senan is carefully developed … (…) The same holds true for the language that, in spite of the occasional similarity with the language of The Water Man, it occupies an essentially lower stylistic plane that corresponds to the humorous and satirical tone of the narration” (ibid., p. 271). Paternu’s designation of this poem confirms the use of experiential criteria: “The story has a dramatically fast pace, it is full, without narrative voids.”

2.2 Monograph by Janko Kos

Similar evaluation criteria can be detected in the monograph by Janko Kos, with the subtitle Interpretation (as Dović refers, following Conrady’s interpretation of Goethe’s poems, the founder of empirical literary science, Siegfried J. Schmidt, divides all interpretative statements into three basic types (descriptive, explanatory and evaluating) - 2004, p. 56) - therefore evaluation makes part of literary-historic interpretation). This is evident from the mere division of the book into individual chapters, since both historians mark as the most important the central romantic period, while definitions of the preceding and following periods indirectly and also directly convey clearly inferior evaluation designations. Paternu begins his treatment of Prešeren’s poems with the chapter entitled Through Poetic Currents of the 18th Century and Kos with The Period of Beginnings; Paternu concludes the treatment of the three periods of Prešeren’s romanticism with the Last Years (evaluating as an extraordinary work of art only The Still Beating Heart), while Kos designates the entire fourth decade as the Period of Conclusions and Decrease (only the poems In the Memory of Andrej Smole and A Toast are designated to have outstanding quality).

Kos denominates the most important or the highest quality of Prešeren’s poems as “one of the peaks”, “the poem that stands above all other of Prešeren’s erotic testimonies”, “point of culmination”, “the most representative work of his mature period”, “the most explicit of Prešeren’s national and social expression”, however, as a rule, he avoids terms such as artistic and a piece of art. A detailed analysis shows that poems Farewell to Youth, Sonnets of Unhappiness, A Wreath of Sonnets, The Baptism at the Savica, In Memory of Andrej Smole and A Toast are classified among the peaks of Prešeren’s poetry. Kos points out that romanticism, thematic completeness and type balance are the most important values.
Romanticism: “As to the motif, the mere title (*Farewell to Youth*, note by Z. B.) and then the poem itself make it immediately evident that it contains the theme that, by 1830, became such general property of European romantic literature, that is was almost inevitably part of its motifs and life psychology” (Kos, 1966, p. 56).

Thematic completeness: “The poet’s expression of life view in *The Baptism* is most closely connected to his erotic, national and social expression. This all but explains that *The Baptism* at the Savica is the most evident final and actually the only synthesis of all three components of Prešeren’s poetic world in his thirties” (ibid., p. 145).

Type balance: “The original balance (i.e. that appeared in key poems of the mature period, note by Z. B.) of lyricism, narration, drama and reflection will be discovered only in very few poems of that period …” (ibid., p. 217).

Contrary to Paternu who, as already mentioned, does not know “bad” Prešeren poems, Kos is considerably more critical, namely he terms a text of inferior artistic quality as an occasional poem. This term is attributed to poems, such as *Night Owl* (*Ponočnjak*), *Romance of Strmi Grad*, *New Writing* (*Nova pisarija*), *How to Write the Word Porridge* (*Al prav se piše kasha ali kaša*), *Elegy to My Compatriots*, *When Apelles Exhibits his Painting*, *Of the Iron Road*, *Celestial Procession*, *In Memory of Matija Čop*, *Saint Senan* and *The Nun and Her Canary*. For Kos, the term occasional poem has a double meaning: in the chapter National, Social and Cultural Declaration, he focuses primarily on the occasional emergence of the poem “in connection with detailed circumstances of a particular environment” (ibid., p. 140; according to these criteria, the poem *Dem Andenken des Matthias Čop*, which he considers an undisputable piece of art, should be classified as an occasional poem by Kos), in the chapter The Period of Conclusions and Decrease, an explicitly evaluating designation is given, since Kos considers occasional those poems that reveal “clear signs of decreasing poetic powers”, therefore “it is not only the period of conclusions, but, in its final image, also a period of decrease” (ibid., p. 184). Kos continues: “This fact is not so much visible in the outer matter, but more in the character of some texts. We can simply name them occasional poems.”

An overview of the poems, designated by Kos as inferior in terms of artistry and quality, such as in Paternu’s monograph, shows that they are either formally simple or satirical and humorous poems. According to Kos, Prešeren’s poetry in the forties “due to their arbitrary, freely built and unfinished framework of form, allows much more optional, free of outer discipline and thus more direct poetic expression – direct can be, of course, in the positive or in the negative meaning of the word” (ibid., p. 181-182). And Kos’s attitude towards humour: “And finally, in
checking inner constituent parts, we should not forget the humour that appears in some occasional songs, etc.” (ibid., p. 218).

While in Paternu’s text, the inferiority of humour is evident mostly because of the praising grave and elegiac character of a poem (a similar formulation also appeared in Kos, when depicting the type of woman, addressed by Prešeren in Wreath of Sonnets: “If she is to be a suitable subject for them, she should be serious, sublime and even strict to others and herself...”, ibid., p. 107), Kos explicitly proclaims humorous poetry to be a sign of human weakness: “…humour, in a certain sense, acknowledges the impossibility to control the outer world, as it is exactly through humour that man escapes by retreating into intellectual acknowledgment of one’s own defeat.” (ibid., p. 164). That is why, according to Kos, due to the inner certainty that “there was no room for retreat”, humour has no significant role in Prešeren’s mature period (ibid., p. 164). Thus it is of no surprise that in his monograph, Kos does not interpret at all some of the satirically-humorous poems, which Paternu and Slodnjak analyse with precision (such as the poems New Writing, How to Write the Word Porridge, When Apelles Exhibits his Painting).

2.3 Monograph by Anton Slodnjak

In the last chapter, Slodnjak’s monograph (which was actually published before those of Kos and Paternu, but I treat it at the end, because Slodnjak’s evaluative approach essentially differs from the approach of the other two experts on Prešeren) also gives a clear definition of Prešeren’s most artistic texts, namely in the Summary the author selects poems Farewell to Youth, Sonnets of Unhappiness, Ghazals, A Wreath of Sonnets, The Baptism at the Savica, The Still Beating Heart and A Toast as the most important texts (Slodnjak, 1964, p. 296). These poems are, according to Slodnjak, “the first pure work of art of our literature” (Farewell to Youth), a work of the “first modern poet of the Slovenian nation“ (Sonnets of Unhappiness), “the most profound poem in the most artistic form known in the literature” (A Wreath of Sonnets), “the thematic and expressive synthesis, as was best suited to the Slovenian people and its secular literature” (The Baptism) and a “pinnacle of Prešeren’s national and general human lyrics”, that also had “among all his poems, the most directly discernible effect on the Slovenians” (A Toast). Although this again is the case of prevailing literary historic criteria, it is evident that Slodnjak, contrary to Paternu and Kos, does not emphasize the romanticism of Prešeren’s poems from the central period, which can be deciphered from chapter titles that mostly follow the poet’s biographical landmarks (such as A Battle for Legal and Poetical Profession, Death of Matija Čop, Marriage of Julija Primic and The Last Two Years of Friendship with A. Smole) (ibid., p. 327).
Together with literary-historical evaluation, Slodnjak however includes the experiential one, as clearly evident in those initial and final texts which, according to Paternu and Kos, do not count among Prešeren’s highest quality poems. It is noteworthy that all three experts unanimously see a qualitative leap into Prešeren’s central creative period in the poem Farewell to Youth, however, they strongly disagree in their judgements when this period ends. Kos in his chapter The Period of Conclusions and Decrease includes all poems from 1841 onwards (poems In Farewell, Lost Faith, Commands, etc.), Paternu in his chapter Final Years all poems from 1844 on (The Unmarried Mother, The Jewish Maid, Of the Iron Road, etc.), while Slodnjak has the last chapter Decline in Kranj (from the end of 1846 on), when Prešeren “could compose only tiny versified puns of erotic and satiric character” (ibid., p. 288). Kos’s chapter on Prešeren’s poetic “decline” matches Slodnjak’s chapter with a significantly different title A New Poem.

According to Slodnjak, The Water Man is an original and harmonious ballad and a “brilliant answer to the creative initiative” (ibid., p. 28), The Unmarried Mother a poem that has “expressive elements in wonderful harmony with the subject-matter” and is “a unique lullaby of the soul, purified in suffering and motherly happiness” (ibid., p. 244), while Under the Window is a masterpiece that Prešeren, in spite of the adopted form, depicted “in such a fresh and perfect way as if its self only came into being with its contents” (ibid., p. 251). Slodnjak’s experiential approach that gives Prešeren’s individual poems an equal value judgement compared to those that comply with stricter literary-historic criteria, is evident in his designation of Rosamund of Turjak: “With great artistry, Prešeren depicted three main persons of the romance, so that their characters are clear and the story of their life experience satisfies and convinces us in the aesthetic and ethic aspects.” (…) “Here lies the source of the great artistic success of Rosamund of Turjak, which we can value no less than a love sonnet.” (ibid., p. 75-76).

Beside the fact that Slodnjak evaluates differently Prešeren’s initial and final poetic texts, he differs essentially from the already mentioned experts on Prešeren in his evaluation of formally simpler, more folklore-like and with humour or satire tinted Prešeren poems. Similarly to Levstik and Stritar, in a simple form of a poem that is easier to understand, he sees a true lyrical expression, absolutely equal to the demanding, more skilful poetic forms. In the poems Commands and The Unmarried Mother, he marks elements of “pure lyrics” and, in his opinion, the poem The Minstrel possesses “classically simple and indisputably convincing form”. In the case of the poem Cure for Love, to which Paternu and Kos attribute considerable significance, he even writes: “In compliance with this structure (…) is its natural, in comparison to sonnets, prose word rhythm and particularly its composition that imitates, with deep intuition, a
tripartite form of folk narrative pieces of art, deepening and broadening it with a sensitive artistic skill” (ibid., p. 204).

Slodnjak’s evaluation of humour becomes even more clearly evident, especially in relation to Kos’s evaluation criteria. In designation of the poem *The Daughter’s Advice*, Slodnjak not only writes that an insignificant motif “shone in the light of realistic, typically Slovene humour” (ibid., p. 47) or that in his opinion the sonnet *Apelles and the Shoemaker*, a “brilliant application of Plini’s tale” possesses “humorous width, coupled with stunning satirical sarcasm” (ibid., p. 60), when discussing the poem *New Writing*, that Kos designates as a “well-known and popular Prešeren’s text” (Kos, 1966, p. 142), but does not interpret it, Slodnjak quite explicitly explains his own view of important elements such as humour or satire in terms of experiencing with the following words: “This would reveal the completeness of his (i.e. Prešeren’s, note by. Z. B.) nature in which the realistic and critical side were developed as harmoniously as the idealistic and idolizing side.” (…) “If, for example, in our satire and also in other youthful poems, the humorist and satirical components of his nature become more exposed, this is nothing ephemeral or even inferior to the tragedy of *A Wreath of Sonnets* or *The Baptism*” (ibid., p. 64-66). Slodnjak’s principle that acknowledges artistic value also to the comic quality (naturally, if connected with wit and drama), is confirmed in his designation of Prešeren’s *New Writing*: “All this he presented in dramatically agitated dispute between the Scribe and the Student, intertwined with humour and roguish caricaturing of illogical and absurd views of both opponents” (ibid., p. 61); “Because of this, the dialogue between the Scribe and the Student is more animated and dramatic than in Alfieri’s text. The Student is more lively, intolerant, ironic and, we could say, more roguish and undoubtedly more evil than Alfieri’s poet” (ibid., p. 64).

### 3 Evaluation in the light of reception theory

At this point, generalizing the above-stated findings, it can be stated that Paternu divides Prešeren’s poems into those of higher and lower value, to higher quality and lower quality poems, Kos to worthy and unworthy, to high quality and inferior quality, while for Slodnjak, all of them are worthy and high quality, they only differ from the point of view of a literary history and experiential aspect. Or, considering these relationships evolutionary: Slodnjak puts equal value to the literary-historic and experiential aspects, Kos considers exclusively the literary-historic one, while Paternu treats the literary-historic one and partly the experiential one, considering the experiential evaluation less important than the literary-historic one. In view of Schmidt’s empirical literary science, an interpretation of literary text that looks for its “original” meaning cannot be a scientific procedure, however, it “does not exclude intersubjectively verifiable
literary communications, but they have to be explicit in the sense that the interpreter explains what he is interested in at reception, the referential frames of the reception and criteria of selection” (Dović, 2004, p. 57-58). Moreover, the interpreter has to take care not to mix the three declaration types (description, justification and evaluation), since chaos with declaration types is typical of the interpretative practice. An analysis of three monographs showed that this is the exact situation in Slovenian literary history.

To better understand the differences in the evaluations of literary historians and secondary school students, I decided to study what the modern reception theory can tell us about the problems of experiencing and evaluating literary texts. Differentiating between more highly valued tragic and less valued comic is typical of literary history and has stretched back from at least the now lost second part of Aristotle’s Poetics onwards, while from the point of view of reception aesthetics, the primary levels of the aesthetic experience are equal: “But together with Adorno to deduct that catharsis /.../ has always been meant to preserve a dictator’s interests (p. 345, here Hans Robert Jauss polemizes with the aesthetic negativity, as developed in his work Aesthetic Theory by Theodor W. Adorno) means, to dispose of the husks together with the grain and not to understand the communicative competence of the arts at the level of primary identifications, such as admiration, emotions, contagious laugh and sympathetic cry, which only aesthetic snobbism can take for vulgar.” (Jauss, 1998, p. 35). A similar quotation from another place: “Speechless amazement, shock, admiration, emotion, sympathetic cry, contagious laugh, astonishment make the scale of such primary levels of aesthetic experience implied by the text during a performance or reading” (ibid., p. 147).

Jauss’s position therefore completely matches Slodnjak’s belief that humour is not inferior to tragedy. The difference between the evaluative approach of Slodnjak and Kos (according to the analysis so far, Paternu is somewhere in between the other two experts on Prešeren) may best be illustrated with Goethe’s aphorism that Jauss quotes as a terse approximation to the modern theory of art: “There are three kinds of readers: one who enjoys without judging; a third who judges without enjoying; and another in the middle, who judges while enjoying and enjoys while judging. The last class truly reproduces a work of art.” (ibid., p. 57; from Goethe’s letter, dated 13th June 1819, to J. F. Rochlitz).

The modern reception theory namely connects an aesthetic experience directly to enjoyment in reading, since “literary communication preserves the nature of the aesthetic experience in all its functional relations only as long as the poetic, aesthetic or cathartic activity remains in the sphere of enjoyment” (ibid., p. 57). Jauss explains this connection more in detail in the case of the experiential lyrics of the 19th century: “This may be illustrated with the famous motto of
Goethe’s Trilogy of Passion: When man had ceased to utter his lament, / A god then let me tell my tale of sorrow. A productive ability of aesthetic experience and its cathartic effect are joined here: the poet who changes his experience into poetic creation finds, while enjoying completion of his work, relaxation of his inner self, in which his addressee can participate. 19th century experiential lyrics lifted such aesthetic experience into the very paradigm of artistic grandeur;” (ibid., p. 28). According to Jauss’s criteria, also in his humorous and satirical texts (such as The Water Man, New Writings, Apelles and the Shoemaker, Rozamund of Turjak, etc.) Prešeren told “the tales of sorrow”.

Considering the fact that it is experiential lyrics that provide identification (According to Jauss, even before romanticism, this was required in the 18th century by the “programmers of bourgeois drama” Diderot and Lessing, ibid., p. 35) and consequently reading pleasure to the reader (“Reading becomes enjoyable only when our productivity is important, i.e. when texts offer reader a possibility to include their own abilities in the play”, Iser, 2001, p. 173), while the analysis so far demonstrated that Kos uplifts Prešeren’s reflective lyrics at the expense of the experiential one, and Slodnjak detects high artistic quality also in non-reflective poems, Goethe’s thought about the three kinds of readers could be understood as follows: readers who enjoy without judgement are secondary school students (more on this in the continuation of this discussion); the reader who judges without enjoyment is Janko Kos (in his evening interview at TV Slovenija 1 on 4th May 2008 - interview led by journalist Lado Ambrožič- Janko Kos declared that as a scientist, he didn’t evaluate Prešeren in his monographs. This declaration is, of course, contestable); the reader who judges while enjoying and enjoys while judging, is Anton Slodnjak (and partly also Boris Paternu).

Certainly, this is only a view through “scientific spectacles” of the reception theory: it has to be borne in mind that understanding the nature of aesthetic experience can be completely different, as it was exactly enjoyment that used to justify engagement in the arts, “while today the aesthetic experience is most often considered genuine only if it has got rid of the pleasure and is raised to the level of aesthetic reflection” (ibid., p. 51). If this is true, then from the point of view of prevailing orientation in literary science, Kos’s evaluation is the most advanced, Slodnjak’s the most conservative, and Paternu’s somewhere in between.

For the sake of comparison with students’ literary tastes, in the end we have to identify those Prešeren poems that present the undisputable artistic peak, according to the opinions of all three experts on Prešeren. These poems are Farewell to Youth, Sonnets of Unhappiness, A Wreath of Sonnets, The Baptism at the Savica and A Toast. With Slodnjak and Paternu also the poem The Still Beating Heart is included. Slodnjak is the only one who puts Ghazals at the same level, only Paternu does the same with To the Poet (Slodnjak does not explicitly
evaluate this Prešeren poem, Kos designates it as “one of the last important
poetic texts that concludes Prešeren's thirties”, while for Paternu To the Poet
represents “the height of Prešeren’s existential and poetic lyricism, key text, that
opens perspectives backward and forward, across all stages in the development
of Prešeren's life view and also his expressive capacity” (Paternu, 1977, p. 153).
This high evaluation was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that in 1960 Paternu
dedicated an exceptionally long discussion to this relatively short poem) and only
Kos with the poem In the Memory of Andrej Smole.

Variety in evaluating Prešeren's Ghazals is not only a consequence of a
subjective evaluation criteria, but a phenomenon that is also relatively frequent
in other literatures. Wolfgang Iser refers to an instructive example of different
evaluations of a famous John Milton epic, namely in the polemics between C. S.
Lewis and F. R. Leavis: “The turning point of this dispute Lewis formulated with
the following words: 'It is not that [Leavis] and I see different things when we
look at Paradise Lost. He sees and hates the very same that I see and love' (Lewis,
1960: 134). Lewis and Leavis deal with characteristics that serve as a basis for
their estimation, as objective facts /…/; it is obvious that the mere act of
comprehending Milton’s epic is intersubjective, since they both responded to
same issues” (Iser, 2001: 48).

To Slodnjak, Ghazals represents a “subtle love song” and a “new and higher
form of Prešeren’s love poem”, justifying its high artistic value as a cycle of poems
“in which every word and line is subordinated to the leading thought”, while the
adopted elements “merged the idea and appropriate word into a single unit”
(Slodnjak, 1964, p. 124). Kos, however, is rather critical towards Ghazals: in his
opinion “the elements of a new erotic idea still appear in a form that is not always
ultimately defined or at least regulated”. His evaluation is based on awareness
that “the whole that serves as their frame is not placed on a unique foundation
which would define their inner measure” and “it is exactly for this reason that
they grow in their own directions, half isolated from each other, disproportionate
or even excessively emphasized” (Kos, 1966, p. 95-96). In this case, Kos and
Slodnjak see completely different features in Ghazals; there is a similar case with
some other poems, such as Commands, where a completely opposite definition of
literary type occurs. According to Slodnjak, Commands are an elegiac poem “with
simple, but clear lyrical wording” (ibid.: 248), while according to Kos it is a poem
in which “evidently decreased importance of lyricism” (…) ” gives way to epic
enumeration” (ibid., p. 217).

4 Evaluation by second year grammar school students

The evaluation criteria of second year grammar school students were studied
empirically with the second and third test questionnaire as part of a pedagogical
experiment in four grammar schools of the Severna Primorska region. The following text systematically presents the evaluation criteria established with the second task in the Questionnaire II (using Prešeren's poems that were treated in classes). The findings were confirmed with the third task in the same questionnaire (the task checked the evaluation of Prešeren's poems that students read independently), and with the second task in the Questionnaire III, which checked the poems which were kept in long-term memory. Since in this case I was not interested in the effects of the experimental factor, I observed classifications in both, the experimental and control groups together.

The second task of the Questionnaire II required that students classify the poems that were treated in classes according to whether they are thematically or formally interesting, easy or difficult to understand, boring, optimistic or pessimistic, and their significance for the Slovenians. The tables first give the part of the task in which understanding and experiential response were checked. They are followed by the second and third part that verify experiencing and evaluating. Reception categories were purposely mixed in the task, in order to obtain answers which were as independent as possible.

4.1 Understanding and experiencing

It is typical that students find it toughest to understand Prešeren's poems which are of greater length and have, above all, the demanding poetic form of a sonnet or some other complex classical strophes, such as octaves (eight-line stanza). On the first three positions are poems which the experimental group treated together with prosified forms of the poems, which confirms my assumption that these three texts are exactly those with the strongest reception problem (in the interpretation of the results, one has to bear in mind that the added prosification of poems considerably facilitates understanding on one hand, while on the other hand it tangibly strengthens the impression of texts that are hard to grasp), so that it requires a didactic aid to facilitate understanding.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THE POEM MOST DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND</th>
<th>THE MOST BORING POEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>A Wreath of Sonnets</em></td>
<td><em>To the Poet</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sonnets of Unhappiness</em></td>
<td><em>Farewell to Youth</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Baptism at the Savica</em></td>
<td><em>Sonnets of Unhappiness</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Still Beating Heart</em></td>
<td><em>A Wreath of Sonnets</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>To the Poet</em></td>
<td><em>The Baptism at the Savica</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Farewell to Youth</em></td>
<td><em>The Daughter's Advice</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Daughter's Advice</em></td>
<td><em>The Unmarried Mother</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the fourth place was the ballad The Still Beating Heart which, although it is written in classical four-line stanzas, contains a very unusual course of events and relatively demanding poetic language. With this poem, a large majority of points were contributed by experimental group students, who had to check understanding as their home assignment. As expected, among the easiest to understand were the poems The Daughter's Advice and The Unmarried Mother, as poems of simple form and poetic language, as well as A Toast which, according to general belief, is not a very easy poem, however, in the students' reception it has a special position on account that its seventh stanza is the Slovenian national anthem.

Classification of poems under the heading “The most boring poem” shows a high correlation with a poem’s clarity of meaning and its relation to reality. The first four poems on the scale are in the top position as the most pessimistic ones (Sonnets of Unhappiness, Farewell to Youth and To the Poet) and as the most difficult to understand (A Wreath of Sonnets and Sonnets of Unhappiness). And the opposite, the last four poems on the scale (except The Still Bearing Heart) are at the top as the most optimistic (A Toast, The Daughter's Advice and The Unmarried Mother) and at the bottom of the list of the most difficult to understand (the same three poems). Another noticeable characteristic of this heading is the fact that students classify, as the most boring, pure lyrical poems without epic elements, and among the least boring, A Toast excepted, poems with a distinctive story, i.e. an epic element that allows identification.
4.2 Experiencing and evaluating

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POEM WITH THE MOST INTERESTING CONTENT</th>
<th>MOST INTERESTING FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Baptism at the Savica</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Still Beating Heart</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Daughter's Advice</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Toast</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Unmarried Mother</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonnets of Unhappiness</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farewell to Youth</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Wreath of Sonnets</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Poet</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Previous findings that students' evaluation is directly connected to understanding and, above all, to experiencing, confirm classification of poems that complies with the attractiveness of its content. In this case, too, the top four positions are taken by poems with explicit story elements (The Baptism, The Still Beating Heart and The Daughter's Advice) or A Toast with its specific status, while the last four positions are occupied by poems of pure personal expression with a complex form and a predominantly pessimistic attitude towards reality. It is already Mahnič who referred to, as experientially strongest and thus dangerous for the youth, Prešeren's poems from the initial and final creative period: “Read his To Girls, The Unmarried Mother, The Daughter's Advice, The Still Beating Heart etc., and you will see if soon your young blood will boil, your imagination fill with seducing images, your heart drink unattainable ideals, longing for which is destined to push a man into unhappiness and despair” (1887, p. 176).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POEM WITH THE MOST INTERESTING CONTENT</th>
<th>MOST INTERESTING FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Toast</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Wreath of Sonnets</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Poet</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Baptism at the Savica</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THE MOST RELEVANT FOR SLOVENIANS</th>
<th>FOR SLOVENIANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Toast</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Wreath of Sonnets</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Baptism at the Savica</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farewell to Youth</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The last two headings (interesting form and relevance for Slovenians) testify to the highest influence of school on the evaluation of second year grammar school students, naturally, with certain peculiarities. For students, the most interesting three poems regarding the form are A Toast, A Wreath of Sonnets and To the Poet. According to literary historians, they typically have a very intricate form or construction, a fact that Slovene language teachers usually emphasize in classes. Previous statements about the specific position of A Toast as a cult poem are confirmed by this classification, as the poem should be at the third place, after A Wreath of Sonnets and To the Poet, according to the evaluation criteria of literary historians. Evidently, more than with the extremely complex intertwining of sonnets in the A Wreath and the vocal orchestration in the poem To the Poet, A Toast attracts as a carmen figuratum, i.e. its visualization of the content.

There is a similarity in students’ evaluation that the poems most relevant for Slovenians are A Toast, A Wreath of Sonnets and The Baptism at the Savica. Even if they experienced A Wreath of Sonnets as the most difficult poem to understand, as a relatively boring one and as a poem with extremely uninteresting content, in compliance with the school doctrine they, however, attributed considerable relevance to it, probably following the well-known thesis “With his works of art (A Wreath of Sonnets being at the top of the list), Prešeren raised Slovenian poetry to the European level”. This heading may even more distinctly show the specific position of A Toast as the actual Slovenian anthem or the influence of its current social status on the reception of secondary school students. Literary history (that includes all three Prešeren specialists: Slodnjak, Kos and Paternu) undisputedly classifies A Toast as to its importance for Slovenians after both “great” poems, The Baptism and A Wreath.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poems</th>
<th>Home</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sonnets of Unhappiness</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Still Beating Heart</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Daughter’s Advice</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Unmarried Mother</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farewell to Youth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3 Additional test of grammar school students’ evaluation criteria

The third task in the Questionnaire II that required quoting independently read Prešeren’s poems and their evaluation was meant to establish the degree to which the school treatment of Prešeren motivates students to spontaneously read his poems, and whether such a task can refute or confirm previous findings on the evaluation criteria of second year grammar school students. Out of the Prešeren poems they read at home by themselves, students had to name those
three they liked best. Considering the fact that there were no significant differences (students of the experimental group had altogether 97 mentions of Prešeren's poems, students of the control group had 87 mentions, and on the first six places stand the same poems in both groups) between the experimental and control groups, the results are given for both groups together:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Water Man</th>
<th>Ghazals</th>
<th>The Song of the Fair Vida</th>
<th>Lost Faith</th>
<th>Lenora</th>
<th>Memento mori</th>
<th>Under the Window</th>
<th>Commands</th>
<th>The Jewish Maid</th>
<th>To the Strings</th>
<th>The Abandoned One</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosamund of Turjak</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Whither?</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Memento mori</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lenora</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Apelles and the Shoemaker</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>To Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>To Girls</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Under the Window</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lenora</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Abandoned One</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>The Abandoned One</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questionnaire II was completed by a total of 191 students, which means that 573 mentions of Prešeren's poems were possible, if each student put down three of those poems that they read independently of classes. The total sum of 184 references (i.e. 32 %) proves that, on average, only every third student in the second year read Prešeren's poetry at home, therefore school selection of Prešeren's poems and their whole interpretation at school do not motivate enough for independent reading, which is one of the main goals of teaching literature. It can be concluded that all teachers, when treating Prešeren in class, do not practice speech presentations (reciting poems), as in such a case (assuming that students themselves select poems they experience more intimately, so they memorize them better) results would certainly be better.

The mention of the first three poems stands out (The Water Man, Rosamund of Turjak and Apelles and the Shoemaker). Typical for them is their more epic than lyric character and the fact that they belong to the more accessible of Prešeren's poems, which undoubtedly confirms our previous findings regarding secondary school students' evaluation criteria. The problem lies in the fact that the first five top ranking poems are exclusively the poems that were treated in the elementary school, as foreseen by the curriculum, so in reality Prešeren's poems may not have been read independently at home, but were only the titles that students remembered from their elementary school.

Finally, the results can be tested with the second task in the Questionnaire III (checking durability of the acquired knowledge) if the results of recognizing the poems treated in classes are given for both groups together:
With the assumption that students better remembered the poems that offered them a stronger experience (and are thus, of course, more highly valued) it can be confirmed that students of secondary schools favour those poems of Prešeren that have distinctive epic elements (with *A Toast* again as the exception), while they evaluate much lower pure lyrical poems, particularly so, if they are harder to understand and of pessimistic character.

**5 Conclusions**

In the conclusion of this chapter, it is first necessary to emphasize that the evaluation criteria of literary historians and secondary school students largely differ regarding Prešeren's poems. Although in judging artistic form and relevance of a particular poem for Slovenians, students show the influence of treating Prešeren at schol (the latter, in spite of personal affinities of a particular teacher, usually follow the trusted findings and criteria of literary history), it is very clear that non-reception criteria (the position of a text in an author's work and literary history, its stylistic clarity and unique form) prevail, while basic evaluation criteria for students are clarity of meaning and experiential potential. Already in the 19th century, completely different, explicitly reception-related criteria were accessible to compilers of literary anthologies. For example, Razlag's book of poems from 1868 publishes 11 Prešeren poems, namely *The Soldier's Poem*, *In the Memory of Valentin Vodnik*, *To the Strings*, *Under the Window*, *Comments*, *The Power of Memory*, *Lost Faith*, *In Farewell*, *The Sailor*, *Whither?* and *A Toast*. The majority of these poems were created in the last period of Prešeren's romanticism (according to Paternu's division in periods) or after 1841; most of them have a simple form (not a single sonnet is included!), less demanding poetic language and enable a full emotional response.

The problem of difference between elite and mass literature readers is actually no novelty, since even at end of the 19th century Fran Grivec, a contemporary of representatives of modernism, evaluated the literary attitudes of students at that time as follows: “Our average school mates found authors (Gogolj, Tolstoj, Dostojevski, etc.) somewhat alien and boring. This was our criterion to distinguish who had sense and understanding for the artistic side of
literature and who was only attracted by skilful narration and fine stories” (Prijatelj, 1952, p. VII-VIII).

With the modern mass reader, who has gathered ten years of experience with literary reading, studies reveal a negative attitude towards formally and receptively demanding literary text, too. Meta Grosman, for example, illustrates the present situation with answers to a survey given by students who successfully passed matura: “Not even one is interested in form-related aspects of artistic texts, while many of them think that literature is not interesting at all. Those who find reading interesting, as a rule, explain the fact with a personal response to a text and its educational content, but adding that this is true only for the texts of their own choice and not for compulsory readings!” (ibid., s. 253-254).

Thus it is reasonable to believe that the European society of the last two centuries consists of two parallel evaluation systems: the exclusive literary historic system where the general reader is in the background, and that of mass reception, where the general reader is in the foreground. Schmidt (quoted from Dović, 2004, p. 74) explains the emergence of such dualism as follows: “Schiller and Goethe divide work and criticism from other factors (market, readers), writing and critique become a literary imminent activities, thus making art autonomous and depoliticized. Criticism is no longer interested in whether a literary work pleases (the public) in general, but whether it complies with elite-oriented highest artistic requirements.” The first prevail in public, preserving, through the school system, their privileged position of canonized authors and texts, while the second prevail in private life. Future curricula and didactic materials should, with a new selection of Prešeren’s poems (as documented previously, the existing grammar school selection almost completely follows the literary-historic criteria of Boris Paternu or his monograph France Prešeren in njegovo pesniško delo I–II.), create an appropriate synthesis of both evaluation approaches (here, I rely on positions of empirical literary science regarding teaching literature at schools: “Since literary socialization is crucial for general socialization, literary curriculum is always subject to ideological discussions and disagreements, so that it raises questions about the concepts of literature, literary canon and literary values. First, a distinction has to be made between literary science and literary didactics: the latter is understood by Schmidt as an independent integrated science, connected to literary science, pedagogics, psychology and sociology, that needs to develop its own concept of literary socialization during education at the theoretical level as well” - Dović, 2004, p. 85), founded on the latest findings of the Slovenian literature didactics. In this context Krakar refers to “the principle of reception-oriented selection of literary works in their “pure” form as the most important at the initial stages of literary
teaching, (...) later, with increased reading experiences, personal development, interests and with intensifying general educational goals, the reception principle becomes a complementary inherent part of other aspects of the selection and classification process” (2004, p. 62).

References

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Appendix

Questionnaire II (after the experiment)

SCHOOL: CLASS:
GENDER: M F
FATHER’S EDUCATION: elementary secondary higher
MATHER’S EDUCATION: elementary secondary higher

2. You discussed the following poems in the classroom: To the Poet, The Daughter’s Advice, The Unmarried Mother, Farewell to My Youth, The Still Beating Heart, The Toast, Sonnets of Unhappiness, A Wreath of Sonnets, and The Baptism at the Savica.

Among the poems discussed during class, select and quote the poem that
You found the most interesting for its contents ..............................................................,
You found the most interesting for its form ..............................................................,
You found the most difficult to understand ..............................................................,
You found the most boring ...........................................................................................
You think is the most optimistic.................................................................................
You think is the most pessimistic..............................................................................
Is the most significant for Slovenians........................................................................

3. If you have read other Prešeren’s poems besides the poems discussed at school, complete the sentence.
Out of those I read independently, I liked the following three poems the most:
........................................................................................................................................

Questionnaire III (at the end of the school year)

SCHOOL: CLASS:
GENDER: M F

2. Determine which Prešeren’s poems that you discussed in classes the following verses belong to.

| Na tleh leže slovenstva stebri stari,  | Vremena bodo Kranjcem se zjasnile, |
| v domačih šegah utrjene postave;  | jim milši zvezde kakor zdej sijale; |
| Al’ ko si je zvolila mladenča druzega, | Modrost, pravičnost, učenost, device |
| iz prs nobena njemu ni pesem več prišla; | brez dot žal’vati videl sem, samice; |
| Življenje ječa, čas v nji rabelj hudi, | Meni nebo odprto se zdi, |
| skrb vsak dan mu pomlajena nevesta; | kadar se v tvoje ozrem oči; |
| V sovražnike ’z oblakov rodu naj našga trešči grom; | Odkrila se bo tebi onstran groba |
| Kako bit hočeš poet in ti pretežko je v prsih nosit’ al pekel al nebo! | ljubezni moje čistost in zvestoba; |
| Ljubice pod okno dragi pride marsiktero noč; |
Regulating Roma Language and Culture in Central Europe

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Abstract

For members of the political and linguistic mainstream, the problem with minority children is often seen as an inability to speak or act in culturally acceptable ways. This sentiment is also understood as unwillingness to become part of the and to reject the welcome “we” offer “them.” While it is now politically incorrect to insist that people forsake their own culture and stop speaking their mother tongues, the goal of total linguistic and cultural assimilation seems still to be the goal of much educational policy and practice everywhere. This paper explores the ways through which official and popular discourse strips minorities of their language and culture, while retaining moral legitimacy.

Key words

Roma language, minority language, ethnic identity, language attitudes, language maintenance, linguistic assimilation, cultural assimilation

This essay concerns language policies in Central European countries that have affected the education, language, and cultural identity of Roma children, from late 18th century regulations to the recent European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) decisions. Since the 16th century, Roma people have lived side by side with Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Austrians, and Croatians – speaking various dialects of their own Indic language, Romani, along with the official languages of the lands where they reside. The Roma have been the subject of every imaginable form of discrimination and violence, from enslavement to genocide to school exclusion to garden-variety popular prejudice. Unfortunately, ‘anti-Gypsyism’ is still expressed daily at every level of contemporary Central European society. Present-day perspectives on Roma language and education reflect the conflict between the liberal values of citizenship first articulated during the 18th century, and nationalist values with respect to membership, which came to the fore in the early 19th century.

The invention of the abstract citizen is part of German Enlightenment thinking of figures like Kant, who asserted that the political rights of the citizen were the foundation of any modern, and moral, constitutional state. But the ‘Enlightened’ state of citizens, conceived as an alternative to the arbitrary rule of despots and the Church, bound itself tightly in the 19th century to national identities and national languages. Primordial theories of the nation --'unenlightened' insofar as
they tied identity to irrational, organic ties to blood, to history, and to language – were closely linked to the particular German form of Orientalism, in which the Roma were understood as inferior, albeit exotic. This ‘Orientalism’ reached its fullest expression in the Nazi ideologies that rationalized the genocide of millions of Jews, Roma, and others. Since the late 18th century, non-Roma have struggled with the question of whether ‘uncivilized’ peoples (like the Roma, in their minds) should or could be considered proper citizens, as carrier of rights. While this question may have been officially settled in the latter half of the 20th century, when everyone was accorded equal rights, the issue of whether the Roma can be one of 'us' remains quite unsettled in the popular imagination. Meanwhile ‘liberal’ states committed to equal rights have, from 1848 onwards, unapologetically maintained assimilatory policies with respect to language and schooling toward its non-European ‘citizens’ within their ‘national’ borders.

I propose that this historically persistent pattern of officially recognizing the rights of culturally different citizens within the nation-state, while simultaneously and necessarily taking back from those who are different most of what citizenship was supposed to guarantee, puts ‘insider outsiders’ like Roma children in a double bind when it comes to gaining an education and fashioning a life they have reason to value (Smith, 2013). In making this argument, I will consider historical case studies from countries that formerly were part of the Hapsburg Empire, including Slovakia and Croatia which were dominated by Hungarians (and the Magyar language), and the Czech Republic, dominated by Austrians (and German). All but Austria also share the legacies of forty years of communist rule. The history and situation for Roma in other parts of Europe is similar in many ways, but there are also distinctive factors in this part of the world with respect to regulation, perspectives on language and nation, and attitudes toward race. I will argue that these shared factors have deeply influenced the unique manner that the governance of Roma language, education, and cultural continuity takes today in the region.

‘The Roma have no language’

This assertion was offered casually by the director of a Czech NGO about the children with whom his organization works. The setting was an office near the historical center of a medium-sized industrial city, at some distance from the ‘socially excluded localities’ where most Roma reside. This highly educated and well-intentioned psychologist did not mean literally that these children or their parents could not communicate in Czech or Romani, or even that their communication was not effective, at least in the contexts where it took place. What he meant was that speaking this 'ethnolect' instead of proper Czech was a primary component of social exclusion, and an obstacle to the integration of
Roma children in Czech schools. His assertion resonates with conversations occurring regularly in all the countries where Roma schooling is a pressing social and political issue: which is to say, in every European country. The real and/or perceived deficiency of Roma children with respect to the national languages of the countries where they reside is a prime rationale for their placement in Roma-only classes – sometimes separate classes in regular schools and sometimes 'special schools' – when they begin their formal education. Unfortunately, this inauspicious start leads a majority of Roma students to an early exit from schooling, which reinforces the totalizing processes of social exclusion. While segregation on ethnic or racial grounds is recognized as a human rights violation, separating those who are unable to speak the common tongue from the native speakers is generally permissible under the European Convention on Human Rights, and qualifies in many instances as 'best practice' (May, 2011b; Paz, 2013).

The first detailed descriptions of the Czech Roma ethnolect was offered by Milena Hübschmannová (1979) in the communist Czechoslovak era, who studied the transition in the competency of Roma children in Czech at a time when contact with non-Roma was increasing through an increase in school attendance by Roma, and because of the forced relocation of many Roma to urban areas. She pointed out that while many young Roma became 'freer in speaking Czech ... their Czech parole [did] not observe the phonetic, grammatical, semantic and stylistic norms of Czech.' Stress and intonation echoed Romani; case, verb tense, and aspect were in some cases not expressed in correct standard Czech; and there were significant gaps in lexical knowledge' (p. 46). Czech Roma (nearly all of whom are the product of emigration from Slovakia since 1950) continue to speak this ethnolect rather than the Czech spoken by children raised in non-Roma households. When these children bring their non-standard variant of Czech to kindergarten and first grade, they are not received well.

The statement that 'the Roma have no language' might also be interpreted as a statement about the Romani language or about the Roma people who are presumed to speak it, or who have 'lost' it. Concern for Czech Roma children's language capacity in Romani is certainly well placed, because an increasingly large percentage lack full or any competence at all in their heritage language. Historically, this can be seen as 'language loss', since Romani was the primary language of nearly all Czech and Slovak Roma as recently as fifty years ago. The relatively small size of the Czech Roma population – less than 5 % – and its fragmentation due to the processes of social exclusion heighten the risk of language and culture loss. The problem of 'language loss' is not as acute in countries where Roma communities, and the Roma percentage of total population, are larger. But even where Romani is spoken by most of the Roma population, it lacks some important characteristics of official state languages,
which all Roma also speak, in one fashion or another. Contemporary forms of Romani have developed in relatively small linguistic communities occupying highly circumscribed social and even geographical locations, resulting in some lexical impoverishment; a written form of Romani has existed for only a few decades and then very minimally, compared to the literature in official languages; interaction between Romani linguistic communities has been inhibited by external and internal constraints, leading to a profusion of dialects that are not wholly mutually comprehensible; and perhaps most significant in our present context, Romani has not been ever been the language of mass schooling. There are also many places where communities of Roma have not spoken Romani for hundreds of years, including much of Hungary, Spain, England, and Finland (Kyuchukov, 2006; Matras, 2000).

But the competency of Roma children in Romani is not typically a pressing concern for non-Roma, at least not in the context of education. Rather, it is exclusively their competence in official state languages – whether Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, German, or Croatian – that garners concern, not only in the making of education policy but in the daily formation of ethnic attitudes. Language purity has been a preoccupation of Central European scholars and politicians since at least the beginning of the 19th century, partly at least in response to the suppression of their national languages by their Hapsburg and Magyar rulers. Speaking a 'degraded' variant of Czech or German or Hungarian, and degraded through an admixture with a language that many might not count as a real language, marks Roma as culturally, racially, and socially not-Czech, not-Austrian, not-Hungarian, not-European. And in most national contexts, 'not' translates automatically to 'less than'.

**Linguistic rights as human rights**

The contemporary states that succeeded the Hapsburg Empire are all party to international agreements that assert that using minority languages in private and in public is a human right. Article 5 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1994), for example, states that the signatories shall undertake to promote the conditions necessary for persons belonging to national minorities to maintain and develop their culture, and to preserve the essential elements of their identity, namely their religion, language, traditions and cultural heritage.

There are many reasons to believe that human rights include linguistic rights. Language may not determine cultural and national identities, but no one seems to doubt the significance of language to identity. De Witte and Mancini (2008) suggest that protecting the linguistic rights of minorities can be considered a primary means to promote a harmonious cultural diversity, and this goal --
particularly in multinational contexts like the EU – underpins all the other social and economic goals of the European community. A literal reading of the Framework would even lead one to believe, if not hope, that States would 'refrain from policies or practices aimed at assimilation of persons belonging to national minorities against their will.

But if that were the hope, then one would be disappointed, because States have not generally acknowledged that the abstract language rights of minorities granted by the Framework guarantee, for instance, public schooling in other than the official state language, or even the right to use one's own language to defined oneself in court (Paz, 2013). The ECtHR has generally taken the narrowest, most pragmatic approach in language rights cases, beginning with a case in Belgium where French parents living in the Dutch-speaking part of the country claimed unsuccessfully that not providing a French education for their children constituted discrimination (Belgian Language Case, 1968). The Court, using a logic that prevails until today, wrote that interpreting the law against discrimination as 'as conferring on everyone within the jurisdiction of a State a right to obtain education in the language of his own choice would lead to absurd results, for it would be open to anyone to claim any language of instruction in any of the territories of the Contracting Parties' (p. 32). Had the school in question been teaching French to some children and not others, then there would have qualified as discrimination, but as long as everyone receives the same education, there is no discrimination. That speakers of the majority language are thereby given a distinct advantage in school, which nearly always extends to social and economic advantages later on, or that the speakers of minority languages tend increasingly to be already otherwise disadvantaged, does not figure into this logic.

The logic that permits or requires both (a) endorsement of liberal ideals of equal rights, with language figuring as a protected right, and (b) the promotion of the language of the State, and assimilation to the common civic conventions, is a binding part of the fabric of modern nation states (May, 2011a). All national or ethnic minorities experience this combination as problematic, since the general theme is to grant rights in theory that are only partly, or not at all, respected in official policy or popular practice. Nowhere is this truer than the 'new democracies' of Central Europe, the successors of the Hapsburg Empire, for whom dismemberment, domination, and disappearance have been historical realities and are not unjustified fears for the future. This territorial and cultural vulnerability is increased by economic precarity, and their continued subordination to the 'Great Powers' and their globalized neoliberal markets.
De Domiciliatione et regulation zingarorum (Emperor Josef II, 1783)

The Hapsburg Empire of the 18th century was a steaming brew of countless ethnicities and languages, mired in an unproductive and immiserating system of lords and serfs, all dominated by religious authorities. The Enlightenment philosophies that circulated among the upper classes, and found their refractory ways into government policies, held that the un-freedoms on all sides and of all kinds that characterized this milieu were an affront to human potential, and the potential to be human. The Roma, particularly in the Hungarian portion of the empire, were a special case among the dominated classes, most of whom were sedentary; or rather, bound to the lands of their lords. Some Roma were settled, among and apart from the majority population, and some Roma 'wandered' from place to place plying their different trades, speaking their own undecipherable language between themselves, and some form of the local *lingua franca* in their transactions with non-Roma. They were also dark-skinned, must darker probably then than now. The Roma were not then, as they are not now, a unitary people, and in some cases it appears that the common appellation of 'gypsy' (cikani, Zigeuner, etc.) denoted a broader class of unsettled individuals who were not ethnically Roma. The Roma also spoke a variety of Romani dialects, and some like the Boyash – former slaves from Romania who had emigrated to Hungary – did not speak Romani at all. The Roma were subject to popular prejudice and mistreatment, as well as to official policies that promoted persecution, violence, and exclusion (Crowe, 1994; Fraser, 1992).

In the early 18th century, simply being Roma and being present was in some places a crime subject to capital punishment. Official attitudes by the time of Josef II, Holy Roman Emperor from 1765-1790, had softened considerably, but the 'crimes' of the Roma, and their correction, remained a preoccupation of the Emperor. Outright violence against Roma, with legal sanction, was still however the practice across the Empire. It should be noted that criminal justice for anyone, particularly the peasantry, was often arbitrary and punishment extreme across the Empire.

The restrictions placed on Roma freedoms by Josef II, however onerous, should not be read simply as an extension of this kind of anti-Roma sentiment of the general populace or local authorities. On the contrary, Josef II believed himself to 'have weakened the influences resulting from prejudices and old, deep-rooted habits by means of Enlightenment [Aufklärung] ...' But enlightenment did not mean respect, or even tolerance, for alternate ways of life. While not as harsh as the solutions to the 'Gypsy problem' put into effect by previous monarchs, which included banishment and corporal punishment, freedom from 'prejudice and old, deep-rooted habits' translated for the Roma into forceful assimilation. Where 'the good can only be one thing, namely what
concerns the general and the greatest number ... [and] nation [and] religion must make no difference in all of this', there was no place for ways of life that deviated from the common good, and disrupted the order, of the monarchy (Bright, 1970, p. 133). The main purposes of Josef's Regulatione Zingarorum (Crowe, 1994; Mayerhofer, 1987) were to control the movement of the Roma, and their outward expressions of 'otherness'; to make them proper, German-speaking citizens of the empire, where the value of citizenship accrued to the empire, not so much to individual citizens.

   The regulations stipulated that:
   · The Roma were no longer allowed to set up tents in the woods; rather, they should be urged to farm the land in towns in scarcely-wooded areas.
   · The Roma were not allowed to keep horses for the sole purpose of selling them.
   · 24 strokes with the cane were set as punishment for the use of the “Gypsy language”.
   · The same punishment applied to those who ate carrions.
   · Roma were not allowed to marry among each other.
   · The “jurassores” (district judges) had to report monthly about the Roma’s way of life.
   · The number of Roma musicians was restricted.
   · Roma children should, from the age of 4 onwards, be distributed among the neighboring towns, at least every two years.

   It is worth noting the prominent place accorded to language and the disposition of children in this scheme to make citizens of the wayward Gypsies. Attentive to the stance taken by contemporary philosophers on the inseparability of culture and language, and the importance of language in the growth of a nation, Josef II believed that making a modern state required expunging difference and disorder. All official affairs and all business must be conducted in German, so schooling beyond the initial years required learning and using German exclusively. The prime lever for civilizing or citizen-izing the Gypsies was to cut the children off from their mother tongue

   Josef II's regulations went into effect in the same year as the publication of H.M.G. Grellmann's Dissertation on the Gipsies (1783; 1807), where contemporaneous theories about the Indian origins of the Roma and their language were first gathered in a single text. Grellmann was a 30-year old history student at the university in Göttingen (Germany) whose work consisted mostly of compiling previous accounts of the Roma published in journals and books, though his own voice is clear throughout. ‘Gipsies’ were also of great interest at
the time among learned classes across Europe, perhaps spurred by contemporary accounts of Roma cannibalism that had spread through the press. A band of ‘Gipsies’ in Hungary was accused of robbing, then disfiguring and eating, a group of travelers. Eighty-four members of the band confessed to the crimes, and forty-one were subsequently executed: the means of execution included beheading with sword, breaking on the wheel, and crucifixion. When an imperial commissioner from Vienna later came to the area to investigate further, he discovered that none of the individuals purportedly eaten were actually missing (Willems, 1997). This incident reflects on local attitudes toward the Roma, as well as on the fascination of readers and writers in the Enlightenment context with the barbarian ‘Gipsy’. In Grellmann’s work, as in other contemporary sources, the fluctuation between feelings of wonder and horror on the part of Europeans toward the Roma is quite evident.

Grellmann reflections on Roma cannibalism are part of his detailed ‘anthropological’ descriptions, though it is not certain how much contact he had himself with Roma. He established an ethnological lineage to India, based on recently published reports of the similarities between Hindi and Romani, that mostly reinforced prevailing opinion about the Roma, because it had already been assumed that this people had come from the exotic East. Previously, most had believed that the Roma came from Egypt, rather than India, due to how many Roma had identified themselves in earlier times. It is worth noting that links to the East were taken as evidence for claims of moral, intellectual, and ‘racial’ inferiority, not as evidence of connections to great civilizations and cultures. That the Roma were descended — according to Grellmann (p. 201) and his contemporary European sources — from the Suder (or Pariahs), the lowest of the four Hindu castes, is taken to legitimize their low status in Europe:

These Suder are held in the greatest contempt: they are considered infamous and unclean, from their occupations ... Of this very caste, as will appear by the following comparison, our Gipseys are composed. We have seen that the Gipsey are in the highest degree filthy, and disgusting; and with regard to character, of the most depraved hearts: that they are thievish, liars, fraudulent to excess — and these are exactly the qualities of the Suder ... The Gipsey’s solicitude to conceal his language is likewise a striking Indian trait. Custom ... has rendered them [the Suder] to greatest degrees suspicious about their language.

The conclusions that Grellmann drew from his historical speculations about the ‘Gipsies’ were congruent with popular thinking of the time about the primordial sources of national traits.

The thinking behind Josef Il’s Regulatione is congruent with Grellmann’s representations. In fact, Grellmann was enthusiastic about Josef’s policy toward the Roma: ‘He has pulled more than eighty thousand of these poor wretches, who live
in wickedness and barbarity, ignorant of God and decency, only half human in their bewilderment, out of their filth and has turned them into human beings and worthy citizens’ (Grellmann, p. 151). He agreed that the younger generation of Roma might be split off from the influence of their parents and family, and so become something more tolerable. But while Josef II’s logic seems more abstract, a precursor of the liberal discourse of citizenship that will follow in the next century, Grellmann’s approach is more consistent with the thinking of ‘anti-Enlightenment’ thinkers like Herder, who argued that ‘nations’ (ethnic groups, not states) were bound together by primordial ties. Language was understood to be fundamental to the culture of the nation, so to separate individuals from their mother tongue was to separate them from their national culture, and to cut them off from the past. The Regulatione Zingarorum reflects some of this ambivalence, this lack of belief in the real possibilities of turning these black-skinned children into compliant citizens of the State, which was not yet a state in the modern sense. There was certainly convergence with respect to language. Germanization for the enlightened despot was an instrumental means to more rationally manage the empire, or the state. For primordialists, language education was a key means on one hand to ensure national continuity, and was on the other hand a means to potentially incorporate new members into the nation, albeit with less than full status.

**Hungarian education law of 1868**

Through the first half of the 19th century, Hungary remained a largely rural and feudal society ruled by Austrian emperors, with upwards of 90% of the population tied to the land, under tremendous burdens of taxation and other obligations to the nobles who owned the land. Hungarian liberals unsuccessfully attempted to throw off Austrian rule in 1848, but a compromise separating Hungary and Austria was reached in 1868. That same year, a new education act provided national minorities – like Slovaks and Romanians – the right to an education in their mother tongues. It also made elementary schooling compulsory and included provisions for remedying shortages in schools and teachers. At the time, all schools were operated by local religious authorities of the many denominations found in the multi-national Hungarian empire. In principle, the Education Law of 1868 extended language education rights to the Roma also, but only if they constituted 20% of the school population served by a denominational school. But that was not likely to ever be the case, and even if it were, there were not religious authorities that took Romani as their language of faith or teaching. In any case, schooling was minimally available, and upwards of 80% of the peasantry was illiterate (Fraser, 1992; Seton-Watson, 1908).
Relatively little is known specifically about the schooling of Roma in 19th century Hungary. We do know that while the edicts of Josef II with regard to the Roma were not formally repudiated at his death, as were most of his reforms, neither were they enforced. On the other hand, the ubiquitous presence of the Roma at every level of Hungarian society is clearly marked in the record, as is the diversity of the Roma population and the diversity of responses to Roma by Hungarians at different levels of society. The majority of the Roma lived in rural Hungary, sometimes among the Hungarian peasants, and sometimes separated. More than half of the Hungarian Roma probably spoke Hungarian as their first, and perhaps sometimes, only language, while Romani was the first language of perhaps a third of the population. Most Hungarian Roma were also sedentary, and most of the popular animus of the peasantry and nobility was directed toward the minority who pursued an itinerant lifestyle (Crowe, 1994). We can surmise from census records that some Roma children did attend school, and that these few spoke the school language on offer wherever they lived: the Hungarian plain, Transylvania, the Carpathian region of Slovakia, etc.

The liberal policy allowing the use of minority language in 1868 had attempted to balance competing demands among the liberal intelligentsia for Magyarization, on one hand, and tolerance and equality before the law on the other. But by 1879 when the act was revised, official enthusiasm for national minority language education, or the use of minority language in other official capacities, had waned and there was a reversion to a more extreme policy and practice of Magyarization. In any case, the governmental support for non-Magyar schooling had never materialized, and every new school opened by the government (instead of a church) featured the Hungarian language. Schooling at the elementary level was severely underdeveloped, due in part to the shortage of teachers in any language. Since half of the children in the Hungarian lands did not speak Magyar as their first language, the task of producing sufficient teachers of Magyar for all the children from one half the population proved impossible. Additionally, teachers were very poorly paid: the result was that a large proportion of children did not attend school, or did not attend regularly, and when they did the quality of the education was poor (Bödy, 1972; Seton-Watson, 1908).

What was the situation for the Roma within this context? It seems that for many Roma, the policy of Magyarization, and singular importance placed on language with respect to social identity, made assimilation to Magyar society attractive, albeit challenging, since the ethnic distrust of the Roma as 'other' had hardly disappeared. The feudal laws that had been the dominant feature of rural Hungarian society for nearly a millennium had been revoked also in 1848, but the economic status of the peasantry remained bleak, and many emigrated. There
was little incentive for Roma to identify with other minorities, who often held them in even lower regard than did the Hungarians.

The dynamic of this relationship for Magyar and Roma youth is vividly evoked in Endre Ady’s (1994; 1907) short story, "Hoeing the beet." The scene of the story is the large estate of Tom Batary who, 'like a regular Romany ... led by his two dappled greys, ... wandered around his lands at all hours of the day.' In the story, a group of girls, some of them peasants of landless nobles, and two of them Gypsies, are working for 30 krajcars a day hoeing beets, a very small sum of money. All of them are desperately poor, 'living on bread and a slice of stale bacon.' Even though they work altogether, the Magyar girls refuse to drink from the same water jugs as the Roma girls, who protest. But the Roma girls turn down the separate jugs offered to them by Tom Batary, who is trying to achieve some kind of justice. The Roma girls want to drink from the same jug as the Magyar girls. Tom Batary would like to make the Magyar girls drink from the same jugs, but he does not want to alienate them, because they are willing to do anything of him for only 30 krajcars a day. The Roma girls still refuse to drink from the jugs set aside for them, and nearly die from thirst. 'They were ... hired hands, same as the others,' Ady explains. 'They were girls, too, and young, just like them.' The Magyar girls laugh at the misery of their Roma co-workers, and hide their own jug of water in a grove of trees. One night all the girls sleep in the fields, because they must start so early in the morning that it is not worth going home. The Roma girls find the jug of water in the trees and drink it all. The Magyar girls are giggling the next morning when they go to get their water. 'No Gypsy is going to drink out of this!' they say, but the jug is empty. So on this morning the Roma girls are happy too. 'And that is how the beet is hoed in our glorious Hungary,' Ady concludes.

In this instance, the Roma and the peasant Hungarians are equal with respect to way of life and economic plight, but the Magyar girls at least cling to their claim to a superior cultural identity, for whatever it might be worth in this context of undifferentiated economic exploitation. There are signs in how Ady portrays the conflict that liberal notions of citizenship and equality are beginning to be felt even in rural, agricultural Hungary. The Roma girls – and the author, a cosmopolitan figure from Budapest – believe that they are entitled to equal treatment and equal respect. They resist even when the distribution of goods has been equalized, because full integration is felt to be their right. The Hungarian girls have not come so far toward the liberal viewpoint, however. They cling to a more view of national superiority. It is also worth noting that Ady presumes that everyone in this story speaks Magyar, that whatever cultural conflict exists between the girls does not have a linguistic basis. We could assume from this, and other accounts, that linguistic assimilation of Roma has become ‘normal.’
The extent to which Gypsies came to be identified as Hungarians -- at least in the realm of music -- was illustrative of another side of nationalism. By the end of the 19th century, 'Gypsy music' and 'Hungarian music' were in many minds synonymous. This was partly due to Liszt's book about 'Gypsy music' in conjunction with his very popular Hungarian Rhapsodies that were based on the forms popularized by Hungarian Gypsies: it is worth noting that Liszt himself was a Hungarian who hardly spoke any Magyar. This identification Hungarian folk music as Gypsy music aggravated the composer Bartok, who wrote several essays in the early 1900s attempting to demonstrate that the Gypsy musicians, ubiquitous in Hungary, while very talented, had only stolen popular Hungarian music – not authentic folk music – and embellished (corrupted) it (Bartók & Suchoff, 1993). While there seems to be some historical truth to Bartok's claims about the relationship between professional Roma musician and the origins of the music they play (Sárosi, 2014), it also seems -- and Ady pointed this out to Bartok (Trumpener, 2000) -- that a good measure of irrational nationalism had seeped into the ethno-musicological reasoning, whereby the association between the Roma – acknowledged as the preeminent performers of the day – and the music they played was depicted as degenerate in some ways. The 'real' Hungarian music was taken to be something quite different, something not connected with Gypsies.

Assimilation for Roma with respect to culture and language was thus supported institutionally in several ways: through the operation of the education laws, through the nationalistic impetus for Magyarization (aimed primarily at large minorities but disproportionately effective for smallest, least politically powerful minorities like the Roma), and through the differing levels of civil and economic opportunities offered to Roma who were sedentary and integrated, and those who were less so. However, nothing approaching full equality seems to have been the outcome of integration and assimilation, as Ady's story shows. At best, assimilated Gypsies could live side by side with non-Roma, and perhaps attend the same schools and work the same jobs, but stigma persisted. Even in arenas where Roma exhibited 'cultural superiority,' like music, there were efforts at the highest levels of Hungarian, i.e. European, culture to discredit their contributions.

**Oršuš v. Croatia, 2010**

This recent ECtHR decision in favor of Roma plaintiffs originated in 2003 in two small villages in northeastern Croatia, where Roma students were placed in special classes within regular schools because of purported deficiencies in their knowledge and use of the Croatian language. While the data concerning the fourteen Roma students was typically bleak — none of them finished primary
school and many were absent from school as much as they were present — the Grand Chamber of the ECtHR decided only 9-8 that discrimination with respect to unequal treatment in education had occurred. While advocates of the Roma cause claimed that the decision made discrimination on the basis of language difference illegal, that seems a wishful representation of what the majority actually said. Separation of students into separate classes on the basis of language difference or deficiency was not found to be illegitimate in itself, but rather the majority concluded that the two village schools in Croatia had not taken adequate measures to see that the Roma children were given the opportunity to actually learn Croatian or the rest of the mainstream curriculum in their Roma-only classes. Had they just done better at teaching the Roma children how to speak Croatian, then their separation would have been justified.

But eight of the seventeen judges disagreed, arguing instead that the Roma students were in fact sufficiently deficient in Croatian when they entered school to legitimate their separation, and that the schools had through their curriculum and other programs offered met the test of reasonable accommodation. Albeit, what counted as reasonable had be very minimal to reach that conclusion, since the Roma children did not in fact become literate in Croatian. The judges instead laid blame on the Roma parents for not supporting the educational needs of their children. The most telling remark was that “the present case is thus not about the situation of a minority in general but about a concrete question of education practice (in two schools) in respect of a minority insufficiently conversant with the language of instruction, and the measures taken by the domestic authorities to deal with such a situation” (Oršuš: §14). So, while it may well be true that the segregation on the basis of language more clearly violated the Convention in this case than the eight dissenters allowed, it is probably also true that it will ’not be easy for the respondent State or any other State party to the Convention faced with schooling problems in relation to minority groups to follow the present judgment” (Oršuš, §15). Or, to put it more plainly and pragmatically, where a commitment to full social integration of the Roma is not popular, it ought to be possible to devise and implement school policies that separate students on the basis on language (while simultaneously suppressing mention of other grounds on which the separation is occurring), and still meet the fairly low standard of reasonable justification. In fact, this is exactly what one sees wherever Roma children go to school.

Three important features of this court case are the limited imagination of what might count as “remedial” for Roma students; an under-appreciation of the real difficulties of managing linguistic and cultural differences in schooling; and an almost complete neglect of the “cultural rights” of the Roma children. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (article 30), cited in Oršuš
(2010: §95), states that “a child belonging to ... a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practice his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language.” But while language use and education in one's mother tongue (a problematic ascription in any case), are claimed as human rights by many, they are rarely provided by States except in narrow utilitarian sense. State authorities might grant the contention that there exist very important connections between language and cultural identity, but either they don't really believe in this connection for members of 'other' groups, or they don't care enough to preserve it for 'others' as they do for members of the dominant group, because practical policy is aimed almost exclusively as assimilation.

Juxtaposed to the abstractions of the ECtHR decision with respect to the relations between Roma and Croatians (or other non-Roma) in the educational sphere, where Roma students are accorded at least formal equality, is the ongoing racial violence against Roma. Two years after the ECtHR rights verdict in Orsus, more than 40 non-Roma parents barred entry to the Roma students who had been assigned to the school where their children attended (European Roma Rights Center, 2012). This incident resonates with a series of violent attacks against Roma carried out over the past decade in Croatia, and in other Central European countries. The ECtHR has decided on three cases in the past ten years related to violence against Roma, though the focus of these cases is not on the perpetrators, but on the unwillingness or inability of the State to effectively prosecute the offenders (see, for example, Case of Šećić v. Croatia, 2007). While the perpetrators of some of these violent acts are individuals unaffiliated with any particular institutions, others have clear connections with neo-Nazi groups, some of which explicitly associate themselves with the Ustaša, the Nazi-inspired organization responsible for genocide against Roma during World War II. Anti-Gypsyism has always taken a very particular form in Croatia and neighboring countries, tied closely to ethnic categorizations involving groups with more political salience. For Croatian nationalists, Jews were associated with Serbs, and Roma with the Balkans. Croatian nationalists (among which some have exhibited the willingness to engage in overt violence and murder) are committed generally to a form of ethnic purity – which includes linguistic purity – that required the symbolic and practical exclusion of both Serbian and Balkan (Roma) elements (Korb, 2010). Here, we see that nationalist tendencies, with linguistic undertones, preclude assimilation or inclusion of Roma, no matter what languages they speak, while the liberal theory of formally equal citizens, as embodied by the European Court of Human Rights, offers narrow interpretations of language rights, with little force of implementation.
Conclusion

Let's return to the NGO office in the small city in the Czech Republic, where European policy toward the language of minority children is being articulated and enacted. Today, notwithstanding the overt discrimination against Roma in the public sphere, Roma children are considered citizens with the same rights as other citizens, no matter their ethnicity or their mother tongue. There can, therefore, be no regulations such as those promulgated by Josef II, an authoritarian despot however enlightened, because it is no longer permissible to pick out one social group from the many inhabiting the nation state and make rules, particularly discriminatory rules, that affect them uniquely. In many of the former Hapsburg countries, this reluctance to regulate one social group differently than others translates also into a reluctance to grant rights to groups, or to allow what Europeans call 'positive discrimination' and Americans call 'affirmative action.' When applied in educational spheres, the resistance to 'positive discrimination' often appears as the unwillingness even to make those educational accommodations that would be necessary to ensure that individual students were able to exercise their rights.

The right to an education in one's mother tongue, or one's heritage language in those cases where the dominant national language has become the 'mother-tongue' of an ethnic minority – as is the case for most Roma – is not practically recognized in the EU, at least not for small minorities who do not speak the language of another member of the EU. This is not so different than the situation in the 19th century in Hungary, when a nation state could make the dual, and perhaps contradictory claims, that every citizen had equal rights, but that the language of the ruling 'nation' would be the language of the state. The concern with language rights is, after all, only the flip side of linguistic nationalism. We must also retreat from the notion that 'policy' can be identified as what the government says, or what the law says: our brief history of Roma language and education should remind us that the policy that might matter most to the Roma child is that of the third grade teacher in a school in rural Slovakia about whether he or she is going to allow the Roma kids in the class to even speak to one another in Romani. Official policy might well be considered as just another form of 'public education' whereby the people are taught what is officially legitimate and what is not, i.e. what is politically correct. In many respects, so-called public policy has the function of legitimating the local policies of everyday people and public functionaries, like teachers and judges, who determine how language will be used in public institutions like schools.

We can ask again, in this context, what is meant by the statement that 'the Roma (child) has no language', and we can think about projecting into the future, and asking how she or he might acquire a language. This is also to ask how Roma
children might escape from the double bind. We can start by agreeing with Paz that continuing to assert the claim that education in minority languages is a right will not cut the cake: whether or not this is a right like other human rights -- the this is by no means certain -- history suggests that in nationalist contexts this demand will not be met. There are other options perhaps, though space does not permit their full exploration. One might make the instrumental argument that bilingual education serves the assimilatory, inclusive educational goals of the State, by improving the learning of both the mother tongue and the targeted second language. There is considerable evidence from psycholinguistic research that this is the case. Additionally, as official proponents of bilingual education in American schools suddenly now argue, bilingual education improves the relationship between minority parents, children and the schools (Bialystok & Craik, 2010; Kroll & Bialystok, 2013). This increases attendance and persistence, and may eventually increase participation in higher education and in the economy. The benefit for society is a decrease in welfare dependency and the decrease in the size of a disenfranchised, potentially unstable, minority population. Working out this possibility and others must wait for another day.

References


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“It’s not important where you are, it’s important what you are”:
International Armenian Cultural Education as a Strategy for
Language Maintenance

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Abstract
This article draws on ethnographic and interview data to document a case of transnational cultural education in a diasporan context. The activities of the cultural and educational arm of an Armenian political party are described in terms of their curricular, extracurricular and social variety, and in terms of their transnational organizational structure. The author regards two important theories, Fishman’s (1965, 1991, 2001) domains model and Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (Allard & Landry, 1986, 1992; Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977) as complementary in their contributions to the understanding of language maintenance as opposed to language shift. These frameworks are applied to analyze the language maintenance value of the organization’s programming, and to identify weaknesses in the current model. Challenges for the organization itself and for other communities who may wish to implement such a model for language maintenance or revitalization are discussed, and areas for further research are identified. While the model’s strength lies in its immersive teaching, especially of extracurricular subjects, a significant weakness is found in the application of a maintenance model of cultural education to situations where language revitalization is needed.

Keywords
Ethnolinguistic vitality, domains of language use, language maintenance, revitalization, Armenian diaspora

Introduction
The increasing global problem of language endangerment has created an urgent need for language maintenance and revitalization programs, and for research into the efficacy of various models for these programs. This paper seeks to contribute to this worldwide project by documenting some of the activities of one organization that is setting a powerful example for cultural education institutions, due to the breadth, variety and transnational connections of its programs. After documenting a selection of the organization’s current activities, limited due to space constraints, the paper goes on to present two frameworks that have been developed to explain why languages survive or die. The author argues that these two frameworks each help us to better understand the relevance of the other. The organization’s activities are then analyzed in terms of
how they correspond to the measures of each framework, strengths and weaknesses are identified from each perspective. Finally, practical challenges for this organization are discussed, and areas for growth are suggested.

The Western Armenian language has been maintained in diaspora, without an accessible homeland or the support of any regional power structure (Western Armenian is a language native to Anatolia, distinct from Eastern Armenian, which is now the official language of Armenia. The two languages share an alphabet but have distinct grammars and limited lexical intelligibility), for nearly one hundred years after a catastrophic genocide and exile from what is now Turkey. Educational programs are strongly associated with this success by many members of the speaker community. The language has a unique alphabet that is held in reverence by most speakers, and many centuries of literary history. The organization discussed here is one of several that have built transnational ties between Armenian cultural education programs, and its context spans the gap between immigrant and indigenous language community experiences in a way unique to a diaspora situation.

Creating an international network of language and cultural education addresses significant issues of resource development and distribution, and cultural education can complement or improve upon a dominant schooling system. But what is the value of such a network of organizations and activities for the maintenance of a language? How to combat the pull of language shift, such that activities that teach culture do not lose all potential to support the language’s vitality, with language becoming only ceremonial or symbolic? How to leverage social and cultural interests to help young people attain and maintain fluency in the heritage language? In order to answer these questions, a theoretical framework is needed to shed light on what helps a language live, and what makes it die. Here we look through the lens of theory at a particular organization.

Hamazkayin Armenian Educational and Cultural Society

Hamazkayin Armenian Educational and Cultural Society is a non-profit organization operating since 1928 with chapters in more than 10 countries (Hamazkayin.com, 2010c) It is the cultural and educational establishment of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (better known as the Tashnag/Dashnak party, or Dashnaktsutyun), the Armenian Socialist Party. This is a diaspora-specific political party, founded in Tbilisi in 1890 (notably before the Armenian genocide in Anatolia), and names its founding principles as “social justice, democracy and national self-determination for the Armenian people.” The party has long had social and political hegemony in the Lebanese Armenian community, which is culturally and politically central to the Armenian diaspora globally. The party has affiliations with the Armenian General Sports and Scouts
Union, known as Homentmen, with the Armenian Relief Society (ARS), which largely consists of charitable activities carried out especially by women, as well as Hamazkayin (ARF, 2014; Migliorino, 2009). The organizational and often physical proximity between Hamazkayin installations and Homentmen and ARS centers of operation establish the relevance of their activities to the topic of this paper. Below are some of Hamazkayin’s significant transnational activities.

Hamazkayin has as its objective “to provide a sound education to the new generation, and to strive towards the preservation of the ethnic identity and cultural heritage of the Armenian people living outside their homeland.” (ACCC, 2014) Although Hamazkayin is an explicitly diasporan organization, a chapter exists in Armenia and there is a very frequent flow of experts, performers, teachers and other resources from Armenia to branches throughout the diaspora. The Hamazkayin Student Cultural Forum, initiated in 1994, is an annual gathering of Armenian youth from across the diaspora, with a focus on discussing common concerns and fueling motivations for cultural maintenance. Until 2002, this gathering took place in Beirut, the cultural hub of the diaspora, and included meetings with leaders of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Since 2002, the event takes place in Armenia. Round-table discussions are organized, as well as visits to important cultural landmarks and social events. Although the event is held in Armenian, translation is often offered for those participants who do not speak Armenian. Leadership and pride in Armenian identity are emphasized. Interviewees in both France and England reported that youth return highly motivated from this trip, and are often seen to be speaking noticeably more Armenian with peers after the experience.

Hamazkayin runs a publishing house and bookstore, located in Beirut, Lebanon, which is a major source of both literature and textbooks in Western Armenian, and these are distributed to all parts of the diaspora. This includes distribution to Armenian schools run by other international Armenian educational organizations, such as Armenian Evangelical schools and the programs of the Armenian General Benevolent Union. The publishing house also runs a printing press, which prints private and institutional materials to order in Armenian, Arabic and Latin alphabets. The publishing house holds yearly contests for Armenian writing and bookmaking (including illustrations) for schoolchildren. Important areas of focus for the publishing house are the development of modern and updated textbooks for Armenian language, history and religion classes, the printing of scholarly works by Armenian diasporan writers (in numerous languages) or on Armenian scholarly topics, and the production of engaging children’s books in Western Armenian. As far as this researcher has been able to learn, nearly all Armenian schools in the diaspora are currently using the same textbook for Armenian History (hayotz badmoutioun)
classes, and this book is well-known for being out of date. The publishing house is currently working with a committee of respected community members to produce an updated book, and several interviewees expressed hopes that the end product would represent a more critical-thinking-based and interactive approach to instruction. Others have pointed out that textbooks are primarily resources for teachers to prevent them from reinventing the proverbial wheel, but that pedagogical innovations and “life” are brought to the instruction by the individual teacher at the time of teaching. The publishing house building also houses a Hamazkayin art gallery and a sound studio. The Voice of Van radio station and the Aztag newspaper, both media outlets of the Tashnag political party, are also headquartered there and have occasional youth participation.

Hamazkayin has developed an alternative Armenian teacher training model, after a previous institution that offered teaching training closed for lack of enrollment. This model augments local teacher training regimes and offers salary increase incentives for those who teach Armenian in a Hamazkayin school, although enrollment is still in the single digits for this internationally-available opportunity. Furthermore, the organization played a key role in funding a unique and very useful online compilation of Western Armenian dictionaries. A mobile application has been developed with some of the site’s functionality, and some preliminary applications have been tried for children’s games and stories. The organization is seeking to fund the development of other online and application resources with more entertaining content in Western Armenian.

Fundraising is a huge component of Hamazkayin activities, as all of their activities and facilities are supported by the global Armenian community. In virtually all cases where an institution has been established, an individual or small group of donors have made relatively huge contributions for its funding, and usually the institution bears a name reflecting this. Although all administrators interviewed have expressed distress about the financial situation of Armenian institutions, and schools in particular have had many struggles (Migliorino, 2009) large-scale fundraising efforts continue to be successful. In Lebanon, for example, the Hamazkayin Djemaran (school) has recently secured a foundational donation to build a very large, modern sports complex on the undeveloped part of its property, which is on a hill overlooking the Mediterranean Sea in a suburb just northeast of Beirut. It is important to note that participants in classes, teams, troupes or activities, like enrollment in Hamazkayin schools, is open to everyone without expectation of party membership. Election to committees and employment in leadership roles, however, is of course meant for party members or at least supporters, though this may be established unofficially. Furthermore, Hamazkayin scholarships, such as those that help youth attend the Youth Cultural Forum, do not require
membership. Below are some specific details about what Hamazkayin programs are available in certain countries. The aim of the following section is to illustrate the variety of activities an organization can offer, while mentioning some effects of geographic contexts on these offerings.

**Selected Hamazkayin Activities**

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<tr>
<th>Lebanon</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Curricular Activities</strong></td>
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| **Extracurricular Activities** | Committees for each program: |
| | • multiple community-based youth choirs (around 150 participants), adult choir |
| | • Theatre and theatre group, youth theatre group |
| | • Dance troupe (about 40 members), dance school |
| | • Visual arts school (around 60 students) |
| | • Music school (around 200 students) |
| | • Sports center with many community teams Homentmen |
| | • Scouts |
| | • Internationally competitive sports teams (basketball, soccer, track and field, cycling, ping-pong, martial arts, etc.) |

<p>| <strong>Social Programs/Activities</strong> | • Armenian Relief Society |
| | • Charitable activities for local and international needs |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>United Kingdom</th>
<th>Frequent fundraising events for various committee/program</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Curricular Activities</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extracurricular Activities</td>
<td>Homentmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- scouting (the best language immersion opportunity for non-speakers)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- community sports teams</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Programs/Activities</td>
<td>charitable work to support development in rural Armenia</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- scholarships for youth to join the annual forum in Armenia</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- fundraisers to support the activities of the chapter</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- lectures on Armenian topics (often, but not always, in Armenian with some translation offered for young people who do not understand sufficiently)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- a youth committee that works alongside the chapter committee to develop activities</td>
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<tr>
<th>France</th>
<th>Marseille Djemaran</th>
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<tr>
<td>Curricular Activities</td>
<td>full-time, all grade levels (about 341 students)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50/50 French- and Armenian-immersion in kindergarten</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Armenian singing and dancing extracurriculars are offered</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Armenian holidays and traditional celebrations, always in Armenian</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Armenian is an elective subject on the French Baccalaureate exams</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecole Tarkmanchatz (near Paris)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>full-time, elementary only</td>
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<td></td>
<td>50/50 French- and Armenian-immersion in pre-school and kindergarten</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Each grade has a teacher for core subjects and another for Armenian Studies, taught in Armenian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Extracurricular Activities</td>
<td>Homentmen</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>scouting, basketball and soccer clubs near Paris, though not in the same suburb as the school</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Programs/Activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Charitable activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Cultural events discussing Armenian arts and heritage</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Committees for the development of projects</td>
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<tr>
<th>Australia</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Curricular Activities</strong> Galstaun College (Sydney)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• full-time primary and secondary school (about 240 students)</td>
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<tr>
<td>“To develop in our students a striving for excellence; to relay to them the essence of a 3,000 year culture; to prepare them to be responsible, productive and contributing citizens and leaders of the future.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>• termly multi-page newsletter in Armenian with colored photos of school events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• rich and up-to-date website, laboratories for science and computers, smartboards at every academic level and a modern library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Government curriculum with about one period per day in Armenian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Preparation for elective graduation exams requires knowledge of both Eastern and Western</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four regional complementary schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• offer four or five hours of intensive Armenian language and culture instruction, one day per week</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Extracurricular Activities  |  |
| • two dance troupes  |  |
| • multiple regional adult and youth choirs  |  |
| • a theatre group  |  |

| Social Programs/Activities  |  |
| • secondary class trip to Armenia for language and cultural immersion  |  |
| • Student Representative Council engages in raising money to support an orphanage in Armenia, among other projects  |  |
The Hamazkayin Djemaran in Beirut was opened in 1930.

“The goal of the Armenian Lyceum (Djemaran) was to furnish upcoming Armenian generations with a sound general knowledge, but most importantly, with a solid Armenian education. Its aim was also to keep the national spirit (in this context, “national” refers specifically to that which is derived from, or symbolic of, membership in the global Armenian population, which includes speakers of both Western and Eastern Armenian), the love of the mother language and the Armenian culture alive within its students, educate them into individuals aware of their national values, and guide them to develop into dedicated and conscientious Armenian intellectuals” (Hamazkayin.com, 2010b)

Indeed these sentiments were echoed, almost exactly, by the staff interviewed.

Students in the Lebanese Djemaran and other programs, with only rare exceptions, are native speakers of Western Armenian, who arrive to the programs dominant or monolingual in that language. Armenian is the language of the community and, outside of instructional immersion for the teaching of foreign language, it is not generally acceptable for Armenians to interact in a language other than Armenian. This contrasts starkly with the linguistic ecology surrounding Hamazkayin programs in France, Australia and England.

The linguistic dynamics in the United Kingdom can be well summed up by the observations of a Hamazkayin volunteer:

“[P]eople above 50, they all know Armenian. People below 50, below say 20 or 30, they either don’t know at all, or if they know, they don’t understand, or if they understand they can’t speak. These people who were born here, and they don’t have proper schooling of, everyday schooling of Armenian language or history or whatever. But that middle part, who are the parents of the youngsters, because they don’t know Armenian, so their youngsters, their children, they don’t know either. So it’s these people who come to learn something so they can transfer it to their children. They are a minority, though. The older generation they’re always the biggest part” (UKPM1).

Perhaps the most intensive activity for young people in this area is scouting with Homentmen. This is done through the medium of Armenian, and may be the most instructive and immersive opportunity available to children who did learn Armenian at home.

It can be generally said of the language's situation in France that very few of the enrolled children use Armenian at home, and where (at least) one parent speaks predominantly Armenian, it is most common for children to reply in French. This is related to the dynamic of students using French between themselves, even in Armenian classes, while teachers may use Armenian with them. Teachers of Armenian at the Marseille school are actively engaged in re-
thinking the Armenian language pedagogy, developing assessments that suit their student population, and working to overcome the dominance of French in their students’ language use by engaging them in more student-centered projects and activity-based learning units. Although these teachers actively encourage the use of Armenian in verbal interactions, they rarely take a strict immersion approach wherein they demand that students communicate in Armenian, even at the secondary level when students have high competence in the language.

Similarly, in Australia, the language of Hamazkayin activities is Armenian, and several of the extracurricular teachers have been hired from Armenia (this is consistently true internationally of dance teachers in particular), but it is generally the case that young people speak English to one another and some struggle to understand the content of meetings or instructions in Armenian, and then they may ask elders to explain in English. This creates a “pull” on activity leaders to use more English, while jeopardizing the language transmission potential of the activity. The Sydney school does explicitly offer small-group and individual tutoring in Armenian language, however, for children who enroll without having learned Armenian at home, and they expect that these children will soon be able to participate in Armenian-language courses.

Hamazkayin as a Model for Language Maintenance and Revitalization Efforts: A Domain-based View

Fishman (1965) found that, in multilingual contexts, it is rare that two languages occupy the same place in the social life of the speakers. Thus, there is usually a stratification of language use, where each is preferred for certain functions, which Fishman delineated by location, topic of conversation, and the speakers involved. He calls these functions “domains” (Fig. 1). A minority language will often be spoken in the areas of family, religion, friendship, and neighborhood (in order from most to least intimate), whereas it will be spoken far less in areas such as business, education, government or employment. When the functions of a language become restricted, it is generally due to the gradual transition from one language to another in a given domain. Changes in domains of use, whether toward language shift or toward its reversal, usually have either official (legal) or demographic causes.

This framework has served as the basis for Fishman’s own theories of language vitality and revitalization progression (Fig. 2) (Fishman, 1991, 2001), and has informed the current UNESCO rubric for evaluating the vitality of a language (Fig. 3, Fig. 4) (cf. Dwyer, 2012).
Fig 1: A possible model of domains

Fig 2: An interpretation of Fishman’s (1991) model of Reversing Language Shift

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of Endangerment</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>New Domains and Media Accepted by the Endangered Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dynamic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>The language is used in all new domains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>robust/active</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>The language is used in most new domains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>receptive</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>The language is used in many domains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coping</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>The language is used in some new domains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minimal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The language is used only in a few new domains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inactive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>The language is not used in any new domains.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig 3: UNESCO’s Vitality Factor “Response to New Domains”
Fishman does not prescribe an a priori breakdown of domains, as the divisions are produced by each individual society and new domains (such as “internet communication”) may develop over time. The concept of domains is also closely linked to the concept of linguistic registers (Agha, 2007), which are an important aspect of language competence, confidence, and, thus, vitality. When speakers only use a language in a limited range of situations, they are likely to master and retain a similarly limited range of vocabulary, grammatical forms, and level of formality/politeness. Speaker confidence has been shown (Cenoz & Valencia, 1993; Labrie, 1984) to be strongly linked to subjective vitality, and thus to crucial choices about language maintenance. Furthermore, education, which is our interest here, is specifically concerned with developing domains (and thereby, registers) of language that may otherwise weaken, such as literature, philosophical reasoning, historical documentation, and formal verbal interactions. Extracurricular classes can be thought of as adding to the artistic, social and sport domains that may not be as developed by the curriculum of the school. Community groups and teams may not specifically aim to develop or transmit language, but in fact do so by combining the social domain with technical and artistic uses of the language.

A worthwhile critique of this model is that it assumes a neat division between languages (as opposed to mixing or alternations), and in cases of societal plurilingualism (where not only the minority group is plurilingual), more than one language may indeed be used in some, especially spoken, domains, without this being an inherent indication of language loss (in Lebanon, many native
speakers of Armenian live in quadrilingual contexts, where they may, for example, use Western Armenian exclusively with their parents, some combination of Western Armenian and French with siblings and Armenian friends, Arabic and English with non-Armenian friends, and English and Armenian in work and study).

Hamazkayin's international programs operate within a continuum of language vitality situations, but certainly in no case is the language used in the domains of government or media at the national level. A crucial function of the programs, then, is to provide the possibility for use of Western Armenian in domains other than the family and religion, to which it may otherwise be restricted. It can be argued that Hamazkayin schools, clubs, committees and classes create parallel domains of government, work, education and community socialization that differ from the larger regional or national domains notably by their use, at least in part, of Western Armenian. Schools do this most significantly, by permitting the creation of grammars, textbooks, teaching materials and even literature on a huge variety of topics, providing jobs that require high levels of competence in Armenian, and introducing students to core subjects through the medium of Armenian in the youngest grades.

While most members may use the dominant language(s) in their work or educational lives, those who are employed by or volunteer for committees, centers and groups will be expected or strongly encouraged to use Armenian in a professional manner to discuss topics related to their work in the organization. Radio stations, newsletters and the production of Armenian music and entertainment add to the domains of media and arts. Extracurricular classes and sports, whether they take place within schools or outside, provide not only specific sub-domains of life in which the use of Armenian is expected or encouraged (depending on the vitality context), but also provide the otherwise scarce input of activity-specific vocabulary and expressions. Dance students, for example, learn terms for movements and anatomy, commands and evaluative expressions from their Armenian-speaking teachers, while basketball players learn parallel content for their activity of choice. Those participating in audio/visual recording or creative writing activities, for example, will be exposed not only to the concrete "tools of the trade" in Armenian, but also to more abstract expressions of inspiration and evaluation. Scouts are specifically acquiring vocabulary for narrow tasks, but these may range enormously and change often as a scout progresses through different challenges and endeavors. Additionally, all schools, classes and scouting environments are sites for language about discipline, ethics, identity and other abstract concepts, as character education is a goal for these programs as well.
Rates of consumption may not be as high as the community would hope, but it is of some benefit that community members, especially youth, have local access to opportunities for both consumption and production of audiovisual and print media in Western Armenian. An important endeavor of the organization is the funding and development of electronic resources, such as the electronic collection of dictionaries nayiri.com, and a series of mobile device applications that allow typing in Armenian, as well as others that have engaging Armenian content for audiences of different generations. This is key to expanding the use of Armenian to the technological domain, where its lagging has aroused widespread concerns among community leaders.

The greater the range of activities offered by Hamazkayin or Homentmen, the more domains can be named where the language is being used and/or transmitted. Thus, the programs in Lebanon are clearly far more effective in creating a breadth of relevance for the language than are those in other countries. When one considers sub-domains such as visual arts, music production, and the crucial area of parenting, there is room for improvement in the organization’s offerings. Of course, the wealth of programming in Lebanon exists in a cyclical relationship with the vitality of the language and the size of the speaker community, but a broader range of interests should nonetheless be targeted with the available resources in other contexts.

The family domain is notably absent from the purview of the organization, but interviewees whose sole Armenian institutional affiliation was a club and its activities reported that their children were more likely to speak and be interested in the Armenian language at home as their participation in club activities increased, and that the club was an important site for the development of friendships with other young Armenian speakers. While family language policy has been shown to be more consequential than educational or social contexts for minority language vitality, activities like those run by Hamazkayin can have an indirect effect on the use of Armenian within the family, by offering increased domains of use and opportunities to practice to the members of each generation.

Complementary Theoretical Frameworks
As readers have seen, the groundbreaking concept of domains of language use has been vital to understanding how multiple languages can co-exist in a society. Its framework has since served to conceptualize how languages decline, and the steps that can be taken to revitalize them. It does not address, however, what conditions are likely to foster the motivation needed on the part of speakers to revive and maintain their language. This is richly explained by Ethnolinguistic Vitality (ELV) Theory, and aspects of the latter, such as the measures of
legitimacy and efficacy, are much more concretely understood when domains of use are considered.

The Theory of Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory is grounded in a prolonged academic discussion, starting from the socio-psychological work of Giles, Taylor & Bourhis (1973) and of Tajfel & Turner (1979). The fact that much of language maintenance or language shift depends on speaker motivation is taken as a basis for attempts to specify the factors influencing this motivation. This theory aspires to predict the degree of maintenance of, or shift from, a given minority language. An understanding has developed within this field (Allard & Landry, 1986) that some disparity may exist between the “objective” state of a language among a community of speakers, and speakers’ “subjective” perception of the same situation. On the socio-psychological level, ELV theorists find significance in the nature of contacts between a speaker and her Interpersonal Network of Linguistic Contacts (INLC), as well as her scholastic experiences, media contacts, and contacts with speakers of other languages. These can either reinforce or reduce her pride in or esteem for her language, and thereby influence her language attitudes, vitality ideas, and, ultimately, language behavior. On the psychological level, a person’s competence in a language, as well as his perception of his own competence, are considered important factors in whether the individual seeks to use the language often or not. While a ranking of the importance of factors in language maintenance or shift has not been developed, an inventory of relevant factors has been outlined and applied to a wide variety of minority language situations (Cenoz & Valencia, 1993; Currie & Hogg, 1994; Ytsma, Viladot & Giles, 1994). Each of the following factors affects the prospects for maintenance of the minority language, and a reciprocal relationship is understood to exist between how speakers perceive these factors and how the general state of these factors evolves (Gilbert, et al., 2005).

Future Vitality: This is the vitality that a language will have (objectively), or is expected to have (subjectively), in the future.

Legitimate Vitality: Legitimacy is used here in the sense of what people agree on, or what society accepts. This is different than the present vitality of a language in that people from different groups may believe that a given language should be more or less widely used, and there may even be discord between high legitimate vitality, in the sense that a language may be declared an official national or regional language, and its legitimate use in socially-controlled domains, as the latter may lag behind or even exceed the former.

Social Models: This measure is based on the importance of social learning, in that friends and role models may demonstrate language use patterns that
increase or decrease the attractiveness of speaking a given language. Friends and role models also provide critical linguistic input needed for acquisition. This factor is indirectly related to language use domains, in that one function of role models is to define the appropriate domains for use of the minority language.

Belongingness: This category measures the importance of target language competence for membership in a social or ethnic group. It may also refer to the degree of success in achieving membership that speakers feel they have by virtue of speaking the language. In other words, if one does not need to speak the language in order to be considered a member of the group, or if one fails to be considered a member in spite of language competence and use, this metric would be low.

Valorization: This is the value assigned, implicitly or explicitly, to the pursuit of language competence and use either in daily life or inside given institutions. This assumes that access to resources is possible, and measures the attitude toward the act of accessing those resources.

Efficacy: This is the possibility of achieving one’s objectives in life through use of the target language. This is essentially a speaker’s understanding of the usefulness of the language in domains related to economic and political success.

Goals and Wishes: This is a more personal measure of whether a given individual sees competence in or use of the language as one of, or a means to, her particular goals in life. This admits an individual’s possible differentiation from the larger group or society in terms of motivation and usefulness. In both this and the efficacy metric, domain use and development play a key role. If language input and models are not available in a desired domain, most speakers are doomed to see the language as irrelevant, or perhaps as a hindrance, to related pursuits.

An Ethnolinguistic Vitality Critique

Legitimate Vitality: Hamazkayin’s activities are intended to be spaces where Armenian is the only acceptable language of use, and is the medium, rather than the object of instruction. While young people whose families have shifted from Armenian use at home may not be able to meet this expectation, the institution’s culture nonetheless creates a space in which Armenian competence and use is validated and rewarded. At present, activities do not affect the language’s legitimacy in the wider society, however.

Since the school is known to be, in Jaffe’s (2011) words, “a conservative, gate-keeping institution which traditionally validates only one right answer, one legitimate code, one form of knowledge,” (and indeed, Hamazkayin has built schools with forms of conservation in mind), they teach a standard of language that is idealized, and which cannot possibly represent the spectrum of registers,
styles, hybrids and competencies of all people who use that language. Armenian schools and language classes define “Armenian” as either Standard Eastern Armenian or Standard Western Armenian, and teach a manner of using the language that is considered to be refined, eloquent, consistent and free of foreign material. A “good” speaker of the language is someone who can and does use this variant of the language in the overwhelming majority of her speech and written compositions. Recent controversies within the Lebanese theatre group illustrate the practical complications of this, as committee members overseeing productions have clashed with playwrights and directors about the use of local colloquialisms and Turkish borrowings in the dialogue of plays. When some plays were not approved, some later productions were done without first seeking approval. This tension represents one side of the problem of linguistic purism - or the opposition of authority and authenticity (cf. Jaffe, 2011) - while the linguistic tug-of-war between youth, activity leaders, and, indirectly, those who hire the activity leaders represent another.

Social Models: Armenian-speaking teachers provide both linguistic input and role modeling of Armenian competence and use, and relationships developed within Hamazkayin, Homentmen and ARS programs are important foundations for Armenian-speaking INLCs. Even in cases where not all participants are fluent speakers of Armenian, an INLC is nonetheless formed within which Armenian is valued and desired, and where other elements of ethnolinguistic identity are promoted, although this does not necessarily translate into language maintenance.

Belongingness: Language is central to the global discourse of Armenian identity, and language maintenance is an aim, explicit or implicit, of most Hamazkayin activities. Thus, mastery and use of the language function as access keys to the community and networks of the organization. In cases (rare in Lebanon, common in France) where students enroll in a Hamazkayin school without functional fluency in Armenian, they are immersed in the language and have to acquire it in order to participate in the daily activities of the school. Homentmen scouts create this pressure as well, even in contexts of falling family transmission such as the UK. Furthermore, prominent discourses about the value of literacy in Armenian and cultural education hold that these are most important so that young people can “access” or “understand” their heritage and identity, so levels of belongingness are implicitly multiple, with greater mastery of the language and familiarity with history and tradition strengthening one’s claim to community membership, and functioning as sites of prestige and validation. It is notable that this larger, more historically-embedded conception of Armenianness includes speakers of Eastern Armenian, and is equally available to the children of
mixed marriages and those who may have greater fluency in another language, making greater acceptance possible.

For many migrant groups, the concept of “homeland” and a return to such may be more concrete than it is for Armenians, but organizations like Hamazkayin have nonetheless helped to cultivate a nostalgic view of Armenia among even those who have no personal or historical experience of the place, and despite the fact that immigration to Armenia is relatively uncommon at this time. Young participants in an organization like Hamazkayin are likely to cultivate a transnational perspective, as has been attested among other migrant populations (Meintel, 1994; Mitchell, 2001). Growing up in a multilingual context allows speakers to place contextual, rather than absolute, value on a language (Lamarre & Dagenais, 2004). Furthermore, motivations for language acquisition or use are often products of the relevance of a given language to the identity a speaker is developing. Armenians in the high-vitality communities of Lebanon, for example, must master spoken Arabic for practical purposes, but the ability to switch easily to English allows them to distance themselves from the threat that fluency in Arabic poses to their unique Armenian identity. In low-vitality contexts like the UK or France, it is precisely the idea that acquiring Western Armenian will validate a person’s Armenianness that is the primary motivating discourse.

**Valorization:** The valorization of the Armenian language, literary history and alphabet in Hamazkayin institutions is impossible to overstate. The alphabet is displayed ubiquitously and artistically, and its history specifically taught as part of the cultural patrimony. The language is talked about in positive terms with regard to its longevity, rich vocabulary, artistic potential and indispensability to the “Armenianness” of one’s mind. Even Armenian interviewees who were not literate in the language subscribed to the view that literacy was inextricably linked to Armenian identity and pride. Spoken fluency in the language is held in even higher regard, travel to Armenia is promoted for language acquisition purposes, and the organization explicitly works to make modern, attractive language learning tools available to young people and parents.

**Efficacy:** One downside of sourcing teachers from Armenia and high-vitality centers of the diaspora is that students and parents are not seeing people from their own communities attaining careers as a virtue of their fluency in Armenian or their ethnolinguistic expertise. On the other hand, although economic and political goals outside of the organization are rarely attainable as a direct result of competence in Armenian, Hamazkayin does provide these limited contexts.

**Goals and Wishes:** In the case of some participants, the content of a class, extracurricular activity or group may be a highly desirable pursuit, such as dancing, playing basketball or learning traditional handicrafts. In this scenario, mastery of the appropriate language and skills within the Armenian contest will
have instrumental value for the individual. While this cannot be the role of all or perhaps even most participants, the existence of Hamazkayin programs makes such a dynamic possible, and in some cases an activity may become a hobby that ties the individual to the community in a stable way, such as those who make a long-term (side) career in community theatre or sports. With this in mind, it is advisable for Hamazkayin to direct resources toward the development of a wider range of activities, particularly extracurriculars, in low vitality countries, since this will allow more individuals to pursue their particular interests while simultaneously gaining exposure to Armenian, rather than having to commit to pursuing the latter on its own.

**Future Vitality:** This measure has been discussed last as it can really only be viewed as an outcome of the combined strength of the preceding factors. Some discouraging realities are the high rate of shift for young people in France, the UK and Australia. The fact that schools and clubs are struggling to cope with this reality is indicative of the inadequacy of a maintenance model in situations where revitalization has become necessary. Furthermore, the ubiquitous hiring of teachers from Armenia and the high-vitality areas of the diaspora, which very often were sites of previous residence for Armenians now living in low-vitality areas, tends to communicate that Armenian is somehow “kept” there, that a “reaching back” is needed in order to obtain legitimate, fluent speakers and ethnolinguistic representatives. Nonetheless, the longevity of the language and its future vitality are frequent topics of discussion in Hamazkayin settings, sometimes in a polemic way, and sometimes in a way that communicates that they are taken for granted. The continuing success of certain fundraising efforts has implicit implications for this measure, but these are unevenly distributed throughout the diaspora.

**Conclusion: Future Challenges for Hamazkayin and Directions for Research**

Crombie, Houia & Reedy (2000), Huss (2008) and Shohamy (2006) have demonstrated that some educational programming that is intended to support language vitality lacks integration of cultural activities that allow students to optimally acquire a heritage language in another lifestyle context. There has also been found to be a cyclical relationship between community, non-academic life, and the extent to which the school can transmit high levels of competence in the language. Fishman’s (1965) domain model for language maintenance predicts that even full immersion in the language, if restricted to the domains of the school, will not necessarily secure vitality for the language as a mother tongue. This has been borne out in some of the most successful cases of schooling in an endangered language (e.g., Edwards & Newcombe, 2005, Landry & Allard, 1993).
Given these various limitations on academic instruction as a means of transmitting a language and its cultural heritage, cultural and extra-curricular programs present themselves as an interesting alternative/supplement for language transmission. The effectiveness of this approach appears to be supported by data from interviews with Armenian students and parents who do not participate in curricular programs in Armenian, but who are involved in clubs and other social and cultural activities.

An immediate challenge for Hamazkayin to face, and one that can be informative for other programs developing in diasporic situations, is the inadequacy of maintenance models of ethnolinguistic, and particularly linguistic, transmission in low-vitality situations where intergenerational transmission in the home is weak. What’s more, the need for revitalization efforts already exists alongside maintenance situations in high-vitality areas like Lebanon, since rates of mixed marriage are thought to exceed 50% and full-time school enrollment is falling. There are few options for families who have not begun raising their children in Armenian immersion to “re-enter the fold” within the maintenance model, and therefore this trend is inevitable. Teachers in the Marseille Djemaran and perhaps pedagogues from Australia may be able to offer leadership in this matter, as they have already begun developing new teaching techniques and materials to better suit low-vitality communities. Language nests and parental support programs have played keys roles in this in other contexts (Edwards & Newcombe, 2005; McIvor, 1998) In this context, transnational continuity may function as an obstacle to innovation and adaptation, but with sufficient accord between members on the need for such adaptation, the mechanisms of resource sharing and distribution already in existence could be key to creating, distributing, and training speakers in, the necessary language instruction curricula. Internationally, language revitalization programs have been successful when they linked language to culture, had written teaching materials, integrated relevant technologies and had sufficient community support and parental involvement (Stiles, 1997). Existing Hamazkayin programs demonstrate high potential in all of these areas, so a change in approach would likely be met with sufficient resources.

Moreover, this paper has mentioned several instances in which the current realities of Hamazkayin activities offer contradictory prospects for language maintenance, according to an ethnolinguistic vitality assessment. Measurement is needed for the outcomes of the program, and particularly for the language competence and actual language use outcomes. Leaders in research on language planning and policy have emphasized that no one-size-fits-all program evaluation can be advocated, since the evaluation of any program depends on its goals. Development of measures will require careful accounting for diasporan realities,
and differences across vitality contexts and program offerings. Outcomes can then inform program development along these same lines, and can provide further guidance for other communities looking to develop similar structures.

Other specific topics for further research include the linguistic needs of young participants in each diasporan community, in order to better understand the grey areas of intergenerational transmission and family language policies that are common there, as well as their linguistic consequences for speakers, and the relationship between teacher training of different types and language outcomes for low-vitality situation programs, since the training of experts in non-language areas would be needed in order to leverage these activities in a revitalization model.

To propose Hamazkayin as a model for other speaker communities may seem to set a high bar in many respects. Certainly, the offerings and approach to administering programs that Hamazkayin has are rooted in its unique history, political character, and cultural priorities. This paper most notably underlines the breadth of its activity as a promising alternative to an entirely schools-driven approach to language maintenance or revitalization.

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Enhancing Nigerian Students’ Intercultural Competence and Achievement in Social Studies Through Outdoor Activities

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Abstract
The study determined the effect of outdoor activities on students’ intercultural competence and achievement in Social Studies in Kwara, Oyo and Ogun States of Nigeria. The moderating effects of age and religious beliefs were also examined. The study adopted pretest-posttest, control group, quasi-experimental design. Two instruments were used namely intercultural competence scale ($r = .74$) and Social Studies achievement test ($r = .84$). The students in the experimental group were exposed to instruction through outdoor activities while the control groups were taught with conventional activities strategy. Four null hypotheses were tested at 0.05 level of significance. Findings reveal that treatment had significant main effect on students intercultural competence ($F_{2,347} = 35.36; p < .05$) and achievement in Social Studies is ($F_{2,347} = 232.148; p < .05$). Students in the outdoor activities group had higher mean scores of intercultural competence and achievement in Social Studies than the control. Age had significant main effect on intercultural competence of students ($F_{2,347} = 4.729; p < .05$) and achievement in Social Studies ($F_{2,347} = 6.96; p < .05$). While religion had significant main effect on intercultural competence ($F_{2,347} = 66.608; p < .05$), it did not on achievement in Social Studies, Interaction effect of treatment, age and religion was significant.

Based on these findings, it is recommended that outdoor activities should be embraced by teachers to improve intercultural competence and achievement in Social Studies of Nigeria students.

Key Words: social Studies, intercultural competence, achievement, interpersonal communication, unity in diversity

Introduction
Nigeria came into existence as a nation-state in 1914 when the Northern and the Southern protectorates were amalgamated following the solution mooted in 1896 by Sir Ralph Moore of the Niger Coast Protectorate. Even though this amalgamation meant little more than amalgamation of certain government departments, it marked another stage in the establishment of British rule and the beginning of Nigeria’s ethnic rivalries. Prior to that time, there existed various separate cultural, ethnic, and linguistic groups such as the Yoruba, Edo, Nupe, Jukun, Kanuri, Hausa, Fulani Tiv, Igbo, Ibibio and Ijo. These peoples lived in kingdoms, emirates, empires, and relatively small but strong, and indeed resistant, ethnic groups.
These various groups inhabiting Nigeria came under one government during the colonial period. The establishment of British rule led to the ‘fixing’ of boundaries between the various ethnic groups and brought to an end the practice whereby powerful land-hungry groups could forcibly encroach upon the land of neighboring groups (Ikime, 1980). Trade and cultural contacts among the different ethnic groups were substantially increased by the building of roads and railways during the colonial period. These also led to urbanization and the emergence of tribalism or ethnicity. However, as observed by Fajokwu (1996), the country’s heterogeneous ethnicities have, through the course of historical and political association since the 1914 amalgamation, emerged as a vibrant, independent nation-state.

Despite the potentials the country parades, many of the ethnic groups live within the borders of the country whose cultural groups and ideas have not been properly blended into a nation. This situation has been caused by and given rise to ethnic riots, religious imbalances, and fratricidal struggles for resource control. The unity in diversity, which has remained “one the enigmatic phenomena that have confounded the would-be analysts of Nigeria’s socioeconomic and political labyrinth” (Ajitoni, 2011), has not helped to bring communal harmony and national integration. The values associated with modernization, higher income, education, information and political participation–are increasingly being shared by all members of these ethnic groups. The hope had been that these values, or the perception that they are being achieved and shared would help to moderate conflicts based on differences in the values of traditional cultures (Ajitoni, 2013). On the contrary, after a century of existence as a unified state and of the so-called “modernization”, it has become clear that ethnicity has not only persisted in Nigerian politics but has intensified. In fact, going by Hansen’s (1966) ‘Law of the Third Generation’, there is an irresistible tendency toward an increased awareness of ethnicity with the passage of time. Hence, Nigeria has not qualified to be called a nation but nation-state. Even with the celebration of a hundred years of existence as a unified country amidst an unparalleled pomp and pageantry Nigeria does not yet qualify to be called a nation.

**Cultural Issues and Problems in Nigeria:** Nigeria’s cultural diversity which should be a potential source of strength and unity, is threatening the peace, unity and corporate existence of the country. The phenomena of ethnicity and religious intolerance have led to incessant ethno-religious conflicts (Salawu, 2010). An outcrop of all these is the growth of ethnic militias like the Oodua Peoples Congress (OPC), the Bakassi Boys, the Egbesu Boys, the Ijaw Youth Congress (IYC), the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra.
(MASSOB), and the seemingly intractable Boko Haram. The foregoing does not imply that the disappearance or significant amelioration of ethnic conflict is possible. Rather, it is that the stability of the Nigerian society is threatened not by communalism per se, but by the failure of national institutions to explicitly recognize and accommodate existing ethnic divisions and interests. There is need for political arrangements which accord to all communal groups a meaningful role in national life and which are able to keep communal conflicts within manageable bounds.

**Insurgencies and Education:** The growing spate of crises and insurgencies in Nigeria has been traced to inadequacies in the knowledge of intergroup relations (Ajitoni, 2011; Ajitoni & Salako, 2012). This knowledge should start in education institutions. Effective education demands an understanding of the culture. Educators and learners need to respect the ways people in any one culture communicate with each other, taking account of conventions of greetings, of conventional structure and features of non-verbal behaviour. Such points matter in pictures and speech, methods as well as materials of teaching. For much education and national unity, therefore, there is the need to study people’s everyday lives. All this is because the culture of each ethnic group in Nigeria emanates from the group’s social, economic and political organization and its systems of moral and religious belief (Osiki, 2008).

To accomplish the foregoing tasks, the learner in Nigerian school needs skills in intercultural communication. The twenty-first century is an era of increasing globalization and competence in intercultural communication is becoming an absolute necessity. In both private and public lives, in individual’s personal and professional endeavors, it is imperative that the individual learns to communicate with people whose cultural heritage makes them vastly different from theirs (Ajitoni & Salako, 2012).

Moreover, there is a heightened emphasis on culture and a corresponding interplay of forces that both encourage and discourage accommodation and understanding among different peoples in Nigeria. Various associations have been formed in the country which cut across many ethnic and cultural groups such as the various political parties, religious and economic unions. These are a few of the changes which direct attention to the problems and possibilities inherent in all attempts at communication among Nigerians from different ethnic and cultural groups.

A counter-weight to these trends at unity, integration, accommodation and intercultural communication, is the all-present and equally powerful emphasis on what Campbell (1996) referred to as “cultural uniqueness.” There is the growing importance of maintaining one’s cultural identity– and therefore the need to preserve, protect, and defend one’s culturally shared values– which often creates
a rising tide of emotion. The emotion promotes fear and distrust and encourages cultural autonomy and independence. This situation has been compounded by the inequalities created by factors such as education, geography, the preponderance of natural resources in some areas, and so on (Ajiboye, 2010). The 1966-1970 episode epitomized one of Nigeria’s political disenchantment, the country’s momentary disrepute and postulated disintegration.

Students in a multicultural community as intercultural communicators need specific skills about what they know, how they should interpret their feelings, and how they ought to behave in order to be competent in a given situation. This study, through Social Studies, is intended to help students accomplish that goal. This is particularly important as diversity in languages and cultures has become prominent in Nigerian schools, from the primary through secondary to tertiary institutions. This mixture has impacted on students’ learning and interpersonal relationships. In addition, cultural differences in communication affect the ability of all involved in the educational process to achieve their educational goals (Lustig & Koester, 1996). Personal satisfaction also will increasingly depend upon the ability to communicate competently with people from other cultures. The challenge posed by these situations to people in Nigeria will be to understand and to appreciate cultural differences and to translate such understanding into competent interpersonal communication.

Social Studies Multicultural Education and Intercultural Competence as Intervention Strategies: Intercultural competence is a symbolic process in which people from different cultures and ethnic groups create shared meanings (Lustig & Koester, 1996). The degree of difference between people is so large and important as to create dissimilar interpretations and expectations about what are regarded as competent behaviours that should be used to create shared meanings. The degree to which individuals differ is the degree to which there is intercultureness in a given instance of communication (Lustig & Koester, 1996). The use of the term intercultural denotes the presence of at least two individuals who are culturally different from each other on such attributes as their value orientations, preferred communication codes, role expectations, and perceived rules of social relationships. Intercultural communication is used in this paper instead of interethnic or interracial communication because of the hysteria and negative impact the concepts of race and ethnic groups create in the minds of the people. Intercultural communication is used to explain differences in communication between members of ethnic groups in Nigeria who are members of the same nation-state. The relationship between culture and communication is important to many disciplines, particularly Social Studies (Lee, 2006).

Social Studies is a dynamic discipline that incorporates such areas as environmental education, multicultural education, citizenship and civic
education, population education, sex and family life education, among others. The discipline deals with human’s various interactions in the physical and social environments. In each of the settings an individual conducts his/her lives in work, school, the neighborhood, personal relationships and the family intercultural competence is crucial.

The ultimate goal of education in Social Studies is the development of desirable socio-civic and personal behaviour. People’s behaviour tends to reflect the values, ideals, beliefs, and attitudes which they accept (Macionis, 2007). Social studies, as seen by Ajiboye (2010), is a school subject that is out to direct and give learners a free hand and opportunity to make enquires: investigate, discover, discuss, experiment, and acquire experiences, in order to make decisions on social issues and problems and find solutions to them. This view of social studies as well as others like it underscores the fact that the subject has in built mechanism that enhances its dynamism. This dynamism in Social Studies is reflected in its capacity to absorb new and emerging issues and areas of study such as multicultural education, drug abuse education, environmental education, among others (Ajiboye, 2010).

The sweeping demographic changes and increasing ethnic, cultural, language, religious and perhaps racial diversity in Nigerian classrooms raise new and competing questions about educating Nigerian students for effective citizenship and the accompanying intercultural competence. It is apposite to rethink issues and questions related to multicultural education, the contents, methods, and materials, in Social Studies. It has been noticed that multicultural education should be the intervention education for ameliorating the effects of ethno-religious crises, and for improving intercultural competence in Nigeria (Ajitoni & Salako, 2012).

Multicultural education is a field of study and an emerging discipline that mainly aims to create equal educational opportunities for students from diverse ethnic, social-class, and cultural groups (Banks, 1995). One of the important goals of multicultural education is to help all students to acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function effectively in a pluralistic democratic society to create a civic and moral community that works for the common good. Today, in Nigerian classrooms, multicultural education concepts are taught in Social Studies and civic education.

**Obstacles to Intercultural Competence:** Competence in interpersonal communication is a worthy but often elusive goal in Nigeria. This goal has become a more difficult objective to achieve in Nigeria because cultural differences create dissimilar meanings and expectations that require even greater levels of communication skill. These dissimilar meanings and expectations have resulted in various obstacles to intercultural competence in
Nigeria. Among these obstacles are ethnocentrism, stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination, ethnicity/racism, dominance and subordination, and lack of knowledge, motivation, and skill.

All cultures have a strong ethnocentric tendency, that is, the tendency to use the categories of one’s own culture to evaluate the actions of others. Ethnocentrism can occur along all of the following dimensions of cultural patterns: beliefs, values, and norms. When what is familiar and comfortable inevitably seems the best, right and natural way of doing things, ethnocentrism then becomes an obstacle to intercultural competence (Lustig & Koester, 1996).

**Ethnicism** is another obstacle to intercultural competence in Nigeria. Ethnicism often plays a major role in the communication that occurs between people of different ethnic groups. At the cultural level, ethnicism denies the existence of the culture of a particular group. Hence, the different names used by one ethnic group to describe and deride other ethnic groups in Nigeria. This leads to the rejection by one group of the beliefs and values of another, such as the negative evaluations of one culture as being inferior to other cultures, and the inability of different religious groups to co-exist.

Dominance and subordination between groups can become an obstacle to intercultural competence within settings. In Nigeria, it is not all groups within the country, that have equal access to sources of institutional or economic power. In a situation where cultures share the same political, geographic, and economic landscapes, some form of a status hierarchy often develops. Distinctions in religious, political, cultural, or ethnic identity can lead groups of people to struggle among themselves for dominance and control of the available economic and political resources. When these kinds of tensions characterize the political and economic setting in which people of different cultures co-exist, intercultural communication will be affected.

To overcome ethnocentrism, stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination, and ethnicism which are already familiar and comfortable features in Nigeria, there should be commitment both to learning about other people’s cultures and to understanding one’s own. It is essential to have the willingness to explore various cultural experiences without prejudgment. Even though, people cannot completely overcome the obstacles to intercultural competence that naturally exist, the requisite knowledge, motivation, and skill can certainly help to minimize the negative effects of prejudice and discrimination.

Active learning methods have been recommended for the teaching of multicultural education concepts. Among such active learning methods are field trips, service learning, outdoor, adventure education, and so on (Banks, 1995). This study has adopted outdoor education activities in teaching multicultural education concepts to students. Outdoor education covers the different types of
education activities that take place in the outdoors (Olatundun, 2008) as a means to enrich the curriculum. Thus, in this study, the students undertook education activities outside the classroom situation in the course of learning.

**Statement of the Problem**

Diversity in Nigeria has been viewed as a potential source of unity, strength and development, but this is already threatening the corporate existence of the various groups brought together in the 1914 amalgamation. Education, particularly multicultural education, and acquisition of intercultural competence have been acknowledged as potent factors in ameliorating the effects of ethnicity and religious intolerance on the country's unity. However, multicultural education concepts are at present taught mainly in Social Studies with the chalk-and-talk teaching strategies. Moreover, factors of ethnicity (ethnocentrism, stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination, dominance and subordination) and lack of knowledge, motivation and skill are inhibiting students’ intercultural competence and achievement in Social Studies. This study, therefore, determined the effects of outdoor activities on students’ intercultural competence and achievement in multicultural concepts in Social Studies. It also examined the moderating effects of age and religious beliefs on the dependent variables.

**Hypotheses**

*H01:* There is no significant main effect of treatment on students’ intercultural competence and achievement in Social Studies.

*H02:* There is no significant main effect of age on students’ intercultural competence and achievement in Social Studies.

*H03:* There is no significant main effect of religious on students’ intercultural competence and achievement in Social Studies.

*H04:* There is no significant 3-way interaction effect of treatment, age and religion on students' intercultural competence and achievement in Social Studies.

**Methodology**

The study adopted a pretest-posttest, control group, quasi-experimental design, with a 2x2x2 factorial matrix. The independent variable was instructional strategy manipulated at two levels of outdoor activities and lecture method; the moderator variables were age: (2 levels—children of below 12 years and adolescents of 13 to 18 years); and religion at two levels of Christianity and Islam. The study was carried out in three States in Nigeria—Kwara, Osun and Oyo States. The capital cities of these States—Ilorin, Osogbo and Ibadan respectively were purposively selected for the study. The reason was that each of these cities was found to contain a higher concentration of many ethnic and racial groups.
than the other towns and cities in each of the States. A total of 347 Junior Secondary 3 students randomly selected from two public schools in each State participated in the study.

The instruments for the study were two: Intercultural Competency Scale (ICS) and Social Studies Achievement Test (SSAT). The ICS consisted of 24 items based on three components of intercultural competence—context, appropriateness effectiveness and knowledge, motivations, and actions. The SSAT was made up of 16 items on multicultural concept in Social Studies. The instruments were duly validated. The internal consistently of the ICS using Kuder-Richardson 20 (Kr 20) yielded a reliability value of 0.74 while that of the SSAT yielded a reliability value of 0.84.

The data collected were analyzed using the analysis of covariance (ANCOVA). The Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) aspects of ANCOVA was used to determine the magnitude of the performance of the groups, while Scheffe Post hoc test was used to determine the source(s) of significant main effects where observed. All hypotheses were tested at 0.05 level of significance.

Results

H01: There is no significant main effect of treatment on students’ intercultural competence and achievement in Social Studies.

The result in Table 1 shows that treatment had significant effect on variation in students’ intercultural competence ($F_{(2,347)} = 135.36; p<0.05$). This implies that there were significant differences in intercultural competence of students exposed to outdoor activities and the lecture method. The MCA at Table 2 shows information on the performance of the various groups.

From Table 2, students in the outdoor activities group had a higher adjusted posttest intercultural competency score ($\bar{X} = 60.94$) than their counterparts exposed to the lecture method. This finding shows that the outdoor instructional strategy proved more effective than the lecture method in students’ intercultural competence.

Table 3 shows that there was a significant main effect of treatment on the posttest achievement scores of students ($F_{(2,340)} = 232.148, p<0.05$). The MCA at Table 4 shows the performance of each of the groups.

Table 4 shows that students exposed to outdoor activities scored higher ($54.53+11.11-65.64$) than those in the control, conventional method ($54.53-7.73= 46.80$).
Table 1: 2x2x2 ANCOVA of posttest intercultural competency scores of students by treatment age and religion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of variance</th>
<th>Sum of squares</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>Mean squares</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig</th>
<th>Partial Eta squared</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>6.454</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.454</td>
<td>.224</td>
<td>.636</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main Effects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment Groups</td>
<td>7834.076</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7834.076</td>
<td>135.866</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>272.662</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>272.662</td>
<td>4.729</td>
<td>.009*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>973.645</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>973.645</td>
<td>66.608</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2-way Interactions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment x Age</td>
<td>437.363</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>218.682</td>
<td>3.397</td>
<td>.005*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment x Religion</td>
<td>43.467</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21.734</td>
<td>1.243</td>
<td>.042*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age x Religion</td>
<td>1756.757</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>88.379</td>
<td>3.065</td>
<td>.048*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3-way Interaction</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment x Age x Religion</td>
<td>104.3456</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>72.173</td>
<td>.905</td>
<td>.046*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explained</td>
<td>37125.215</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3093.768</td>
<td>71.541</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>10984.313</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>32.789</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10984.313</td>
<td>347</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* significant at p<0.05

Table 2: Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) showing the duration of difference in students’ intercultural competence between treatment groups, age and religion; Grand Mean= 98.22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable + Category</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Unadjusted variation</th>
<th>Eta</th>
<th>Adjusted for independent-covariates deviation</th>
<th>Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Treatment Groups</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Outdoor Activities</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>12.85</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>12.72</td>
<td>.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Control</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>–7.53</td>
<td></td>
<td>–7.52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Below 12 years</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>3.49</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 13 – 18 years</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>–1.15</td>
<td></td>
<td>–2.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religion</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Christianity</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Islam</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>–4.75</td>
<td></td>
<td>–4.38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* significant at p<0.05
Table 3: 2x2x2, ANCOVA of posttest achievements scores of students by treatment, age and religion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of variance</th>
<th>Sum of squares</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>Mean squares</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>233.288</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>233.288</td>
<td>16.569</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main Effects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment Groups</td>
<td>5665.188</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5665.188</td>
<td>323.148</td>
<td>.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>187.108</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>187.108</td>
<td>6.696</td>
<td>.001*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>63.687</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>63.687</td>
<td>3.140</td>
<td>.077*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significant at p<0.05

Table 4: Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) showing direction of difference in students’ achievement scores by treatment groups, age and religion; Grand Mean= 54.53

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable + Category</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Unadjusted variation</th>
<th>Eta</th>
<th>Adjusted for independent covariates deviation</th>
<th>Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Treatment Groups</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Outdoor Activities</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>11.74</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>11.11</td>
<td>.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Control</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>– 8.10</td>
<td></td>
<td>– 7.73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Below 12 years</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>– 4.16</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>– 3.98</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 13 – 18 years</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>6.84</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religion</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Christianity</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Islam</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>– 0.15</td>
<td></td>
<td>.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* significant at p<0.05

**H02:** There is no significant main effect of age on students’ intercultural competence and achievement in Social Studies.

Tables 1 and 3 reveal that age had significant effects on students’ intercultural competence ($F_{(2,347)} = 4.729$, p<0.05) and on achievement in Social Studies($F_{(2,347)} = 6.696$, p<0.05) respectively. Table 2 shows that students below age 12 had a higher intercultural competency score (51.71) than those aged 13-18 years (46.22). However, Table 4 shows that students aged 13-18 years
had a higher achievement score ($\bar{x}_1 = 60.69$) than those below 12 years ($\bar{x}_2 = 50.55$).

**H03**: There is no significant main effect of religious on students’ intercultural competence and achievement in Social Studies.

Whereas Table 1 shows that religion had a significant effect on students’ intercultural competence ($F_{(2,347)} = 66.608, < p<0.05$). Table 3 shows that there was no significant effect of religion on students’ achievement ($F_{(2,347)} = 3.140, p>0.05$).

In the competency scores, Table 2 shows that Christian students had ($\bar{x}_1 = 52.60$); while Muslim students scored ($\bar{x}_2 = 43.84$).

**H04**: There is no significant 3-way interaction effect of treatment, age and religion on students’ intercultural competence and achievement in Social Studies.

Table 1 shows that there was significant 3-way interaction effect of treatment, age and religion on students’ intercultural competence ($F_{(2,347)} = .905; p<0.05$).

**Discussion**

The results of this study showed that treatment, age and religion had significant effects on Nigerian secondary school students’ intercultural competency scores in Social Studies classroom settings. Treatment and age also affected the achievement of the students in multicultural concepts in Social Studies but religion did not have a significant effect on the students’ achievement. Outdoor educational activities method had more positive effects on the students’ multicultural competence and achievement in Social Studies than the students exposed to the conventional lecture method. This finding of the relative efficacy of outdoor educational method and active learning method, is in line with earlier findings on the effectiveness of active learning strategies over strategies where students are passive recipients of knowledge (Brooks, 2004; Ajiboye & Ajitoni, 2008; Olatundun, 2008; Ajitoni, 2011; Salako & Ojebiyi, 2012; Gbadamosi, 2012).

These findings might have resulted from the fact that outdoor educational activities afforded the students opportunities to learn on their own and receive first-hand information, having been exposed to various interpersonal and intercultural communication issues and problems in the society.

The use of outdoor educational activities was helpful in reducing among the students some of the obstacles to intercultural competence such as ethnocentrism, stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination. Ajitoni (2011) observed that prejudice is easy to learn in any society like Nigeria’s which is structured by ethnicity, religious and homophobic ideology. Children learn prejudice early in their life from parents, siblings and peers. Similarly, in families,
the burden of learned ethnicism is passed down from generation to generation. The first hand information students gathered through outdoor activities served as an eye-opener for the students and helped them grasp the evil effects of ethnicism in the Nigerian society.

Human relations improved as the students saw people from other ethnic groups sitting together as humans and not just as isolated entities. Thus, the students had time to reorient themselves to the whole business of being humans among other humans. They learnt to expect people to differ from themselves, not out of ignorance, but out of differences in what they knew. Thus, they gained new meaning for the idea that all persons are equal. Remarks made by students such as “I learned to like other people,” were pointers to the essentially unsocial nature of the methods used in the educational system. They also highlight the essence of intercultural competence and that education must become a human business if the ethnic groups in Nigeria are to grow toward each other rather than apart.

The scores of the students in intercultural competence and achievement lend support to the fact that even though children learn prejudice and other vices often at an early age (Ajitoni, 2011), with effective methods of teaching, these attitudes of the children could be positively modified. Students who come from stressed and disruptive families, where safety and security are often missing, misinformation and prejudice are often projected onto groups who serve as convenient targets to blame for the problems in the family, neighbourhood, the school, or the economy.

The insignificant difference in the achievement scores of the Christian and Muslim students in the treatment groups could have resulted from the relative peace and harmony among the religious groups in the study areas.

**Recommendations**

The findings in this study point to the need for some recommendations. The first is that active learning strategies such as outdoor educational activities should be adopted in Nigerian schools in the teaching of multicultural concepts. The constantly changing political and economic situations which have brought many ethnic groups together in cities and classrooms demand this.

The sweeping demographic changes and increasing ethnic, cultural, language and religious diversify in Nigerian classrooms require that issues related to multicultural education should take a pride of place in our curriculum. The multicultural concepts in Social Studies curriculum are too scanty for effective interpersonal and intercultural competence in communication. These concepts need to be broadened.
For educators and learners to respect the ways people in anyone culture communicate with each other, there is the need to study people’s everyday lives. Materials and methods, as well as pictures and speech, should conform to these multicultural aspects of our life.

Intercultural competence should be made a compulsory aspect of school subjects in Nigeria. These should include the contextual, appropriate, effective, knowledge and motivations and actions components of intercultural competence. Competence is not independent of the relationships and situations within which communication occurs.

References


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Singing Identities: 
Expressing British Identities in Sporting Song from the Late Victorian Era to the Eve of the First World War

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Abstract
This paper will analyse popular songs which contain sporting themes and/or were sung in sporting environments. The focus of the analysis will be the expression of national and regional British identities. The paper will begin by briefly describing the developments in popular song during the period, followed by a discussion of the interrelationships between popular song and sport. Examples of sporting music hall song of Northern England will then be presented, showing how regional identity was expressed through the feats and virtues of local sporting heroes. After explaining the decline of this type of sporting song, the paper will look at the parallel emergence of crowd singing in sporting environments and how this replaced music hall song as a context for the expression of local loyalties and affinities. It will then be argued that through processes of cultural mobility, the practice of crowd singing spread throughout the country in the first decade of the twentieth century. Finally, it will be suggested that similar cultural processes were promoting the expression of national allegiance in the same period.

Keywords
sporting song, music hall, crowd singing, football song, regional identity, national identity

1. Introduction
The following paper forms part of a wider project to trace the history of British sporting song and analyse certain cultural themes present in the texts of the songs. It is the author's view that any study of the culture of English speaking countries should focus at least as much on popular culture as on the more traditional areas of high culture. Many university courses in British culture do indeed focus on popular culture but tend to take the post-war period as their starting point. The first aim of this paper is to show that Britain, in the period under discussion, had a vital popular culture, which was especially evident in the realms of sport and music. In the areas where these two realms intersected, whether via sport in music or music in sport, the genre of the sporting song was a key outlet for popular cultural expression and the construction of identities. More specifically, the sporting music hall song of the mid-nineteenth century to the 1880’s was an important element in the construction of regional identities,
particularly in the North of England. Such songs only occasionally expressed national identity. From the 1880’s, however, as the nature of music hall song evolved, this form of regional expression ebbed away. The author’s main thesis is to show that the construction and expression of regional identities through sporting song moved from the music hall to the sports stadium and its environs. It was here, through music in sport, that people (in the main, working class men) could express their identification with place, most often industrial towns. The author will argue that via processes of cultural mobility, these initially local practices were subsequently employed in similar patterns across Britain. Further, they had started to express some of the national identities that existed within the country by the first decade of the twentieth century. Indeed, it can be said that the sporting arena, both physically and metaphorically, was an example of a cultural contact zone.

The paper will first discuss some of the methodological problems involved with using sporting music hall songs as a source and then outline the methodological tools used for analysis of stadium singing. Examples of sporting music hall song which expressed identification with place, locality and towns will then be presented. This will be followed by a discussion of how music hall evolved in the 1880’s and 1890’s and how this affected regional sporting songs. The paper will then describe the emergence of mass sports and how these sports were particularly conducive to the expression of regional identity. The first examples of crowd singing and football and rugby terrace songs and chants will then be outlined. The final section of the paper will present the results of the author’s research into local newspaper reports of the period, describing crowd singing in different areas of the country. This will be accompanied by an analysis of the songs to show some of the cultural processes involved and identities which were being expressed.

2. Methodological considerations

The first point which needs to be made here is that music hall song presents a number of problems when used as a textual source for research. Firstly, the songs were performed live and accompanied by music, which adds layers of potential meaning which are impossible to analyse alongside the texts. Further, as Gregson (1983) has noted, there is no way of knowing the context in which the songs were performed and how they were perceived and received by audiences. Music hall singers often punctuated the songs with patter and varied the lyrics to fit in with a particular audience (Russell, 1997). And as we have no way of knowing how popular a particular song was, any choice of songs for study is essentially random. Nevertheless, music hall songs are a genre with much to communicate in a direct and powerful way to the large and possibly impressionable proportion of
the population who would have heard them. Gregson and Huggins, in their analysis of northern songs of the nineteenth century, are in no doubt of their value:

"...the discursive analysis of such songs, cultural texts consumed by large audiences, which often contained tropes of individual treatment, achievement, competition and rivalry, triumph and disaster, has much to tell us about the complex ways in which song portrayals of sporting heroes underpinned a collective consciousness of pride in people and place" (Gregson & Huggins, 2007, p. 142).

The discussion of music hall songs presented below will thus comprise elements of such discursive analysis while accepting the weaknesses mentioned above.

When it comes to crowd singing, it is not so much the texts of the songs that are interesting to the author, rather the processes by which the singing came about. As we shall see, the very act of singing in unison with thousands of others while following a sports team was in itself an expression of cultural identity. The songs themselves were often simple reworkings of popular songs of the day or rhythmic repetitions of stock phrases from the sports arena. Here, it is context, rather than content, which is key. It has become fashionable in recent years for cultural scholars to stress the importance of cultural mobility, and how this should be an important focus for historical research. As Stephen Greenblatt (2010, p. 2) argues, the writing of convincing and accurate cultural analyses of centuries past should not require the description of inevitable progress from traceable origins. In Greenblatt's 'manifesto' for cultural mobility (2010, p.4) he stresses that: "Literary and historical research has tended to ignore the extent to which, with very few exceptions, in matters of culture the local has always been irradiated, as it were, by the larger world".

When we come to look at the processes by which groups of sports fans in localised contexts expressed their identity through communal singing, and how this soon became a national phenomenon, Greenblatt's tools become relevant. Indeed, he further spells out his Manifesto for mobility studies with ideas which this author will employ in this paper. He stresses that mobility must be taken in a highly literal sense, as it is only when physical conditions are grasped that metaphorical movements, such as those between centre and periphery, will be understood. He also argues that mobility studies should identify and analyse the 'contact' zones where cultural good are exchanged (2010, p.250). Both of these concepts are very useful when looking at the cultural processes involved in crowd singing. A final methodological justification of the following paper involves the idea of inductive pragmatism. Both when looking at music hall song and
crowd singing we will be taking a number of specific localised examples and making judgments that apply to a wider British culture. This type of inductive reasoning has already been employed in some of the best analyses of music hall as a whole (Bailey, 1978; Kift, 1996), and can effectively be employed here. As Werner and Zimmerman point out in their presentation of the concept of histoire croiséé, "common forms of concert organisation can be studied from highly varied local constellations and through the concrete practises of the relevant actors, institutions, such as concert societies or generic figures, such as the impresario" (2006 p. 47). They further argue that this cannot be reduced to a process of linear evolution, and the same applies to the phenomena which will be discussed in this paper.

3. Sporting music hall song and regional identity

Music hall was one of the most remarkable products of the industrial era and a major element in the revolutionary transformation of popular music. Once the music hall was established it grew to become one of the most important cultural features of nineteenth and early twentieth century British history and the main source of musical entertainment for most urban working and lower-middle class people. The fact that music hall often dealt with sporting themes can partly be explained by the fact that something of a sporting industry also arose in the same period. Nineteenth century Britain displayed great interest in sport and music and the two often existed in the same cultural space (Russell 2013, p.303). This is hardly surprising when one considers that the huge growth in interest and participation in music was accompanied in the Victorian period by an even more dramatic explosion in sporting activity. There was a sporting culture in Britain before Victoria came to the throne, of course, with the public paying to go into arenas, gamble and watch sports like cricket, horse-racing, foot-racing, prize-fighting and wrestling in the late eighteenth century. The sporting broadside ballad reflected this, with the above-mentioned sports prevalent in the lyrics (Newsham, 2012). And while sporting broadside ballads continues to be printed and sung in public houses through the Victorian period, by the mid-nineteenth century the music hall was the key context for the transmission of sporting songs.

The songs analysed in the following section specifically come from the north of England, where local and regional songs were particularly popular. In the 1870’s and 1880’s mass team sports had begun to take hold in the North, particularly in Lancashire and Yorkshire, but for the time being most sporting music hall song covered sports with individual competitors such as rowing, foot racing and prize fighting. As Doug Reid points out, such songs "gave expression to a basic affectation for the city which represented the framework for people's lives", and further that "the importance of self-conscious regional and intra-
regional loyalties cannot be underestimated” (as cited in Gregson & Huggins, 2007, p. 147). This is echoed in Benedict Anderson’ theory (1991) of an 'imagined community', which he posits as an important element in the emergence of nationalism. It is not necessary to describe the wholesale social and economic transformation of Britain in the Victorian era here, though it is worth remembering that a significant proportion of the urban population at this time would have experienced displacement from the countryside either themselves or via their parents and grandparents. It is unsurprising that such people would look to the town or city in which they had settled as a source of pride and identity. What is also evident in some of the songs is what Gregson and Huggins (2007, p. 147) describe as "relational identity", where identity is expressed through a dislike of the 'other'. More often than not, this 'other' was London and Londoners. We can see this in a song cited in Gregson and Huggins (2007, p.148) describing Newcastle's Rob Chambers' defeat of a London rival in a rowing race. In each of the choruses, the Londoners are mocked, here is an example:

Oh ye cockneys all
Ye mun think't very funny,
For Bob he gars and lick's ye all
An collars all yaw money

Like most Tyneside songs of the period, the lyrics are written in local dialect, another source of regional pride. The reference to collaring "all yaw money" concerns the popular activity of betting on races. As in the case of Chambers, who was a regular victor in races against the top London rowers, "sports stars were presented in song as iconic of regional superiority and hegemonic masculinity" (Gregson & Huggins, 2007, p. 148). Joe Wilson, posthumously known as 'the bard of Newcastle', in the song "Wor Geordie's Album" (as cited in Gregson & Huggins, 2007, p. 149) lists eighteen characters who were deemed iconic in the city. Of the eighteen, six were rowers and one a jockey, illustrating the importance of sports stars to the city’s identity.:

Lang may Chambers an’ Cooper live,
For i’ them we can confide,
What’s dearest to each honest heart,
The honor ov auld Tyneside

Se pass the glass, an’ chant a stave,
An join its chorus sweetly,
I praise o’Tyneside lads, se brave
They bang the world completely

'An sing this song wi' voices strange
-let it echo far an' wide
The great renoon o' wor canny Toon,
and the heores o' Tyneside

A couple of illustrative examples have been provided here of a large body of songs with similar content found in sources such as Joe Wilson's *Tyneside Songs and Drolleries* (1894). It is clear that the sporting stars' achievements were the town's achievements. The songs describe the success, mental strength, honesty and modesty of the heroes, reflecting a self-image of the north and its people. Earlier songs and ballads described the sporting heroes of other industrial areas in the north in a similar vein. The song *The Great Foot Race* (as cited in Palmer & Raven, 1976, p. 48) describes the running feats of George Eastham of Preston, also known as 'The Flying Clogger', in terms reminiscent of the Tyneside songs:

The flower of Lancashire was there, all men of high renown.
So cheer your spirits up my lads, and let the bets go round,

The Clogger's speed was very swift, his courage stout and good,
And for to run his rival, at the starting place he stood

Again we see the association of the hero with place - this time Lancashire, and the description of courage and moral virtue. Music hall songs of this nature continued to be written and sung in the furthest northern reaches of England (Tyneside, Cumbria, Durham and Northumbria) well into the 1880's because, unlike in Lancashire and Yorkshire, football had not really take a hold by then. In other districts football had become a topic for some music hall songs though they tended to focus on themes like poor refereeing and football violence (Gregson & Huggins, 2007, p. 150).

4. Music hall song and national identity

There are very few examples of sporting music hall songs from earlier in the period under discussion which expressed any form of national identity. One exception was a music hall song describing an international prize fight between the English champion Tom Sayers and an Irish American J. Heenan. Here, it is the
pride of nations, rather than regions, which is at stake. In Sayers’ and Heenan’s *Great Fight* (as cited in Palmer & Raven, 1976, p. 41) the challenger Heenan, though American, makes his allegiances with his Irish roots clear in the following line: *Erin-go-bragh! Heenan cried, I’ll conquer lads or die. ‘Erin-go-bragh!’ means ‘Ireland forever!’* in Gaelic. Sayers makes it clear in his response that it is more important for him that Heenan is American (a Yankee): *Cried Sayers, I’ll not give in to a Yankee, I’ll not yield.* This is an exception rather than an illustrative example in a sport which peculiarly captured the nation’s imagination like no other, even to the extent that the Prime Minister of the day, Lord Palmerston, attended the fight described above.

From the 1880’s music hall started to evolve into a national institution through the syndicalisation of ownership of the halls. What had begun as an institution with a diversity of regional characteristics and performers became standardised throughout the country. Music halls now booked national performers on a national circuit and this is one of the reasons given by Gregson and Huggins for the virtual disappearance of regional songs about local sporting heroes: "From the 1880's touring groups proliferated and the top billings were increasingly drawn from a far wider region, importing much London based materials" (2007, p. 145). They also argue that individual sports like rowing became less of an attraction whereas the growing mass team sports like football and rugby, with paid entrance and enclosed stadiums, limited audience knowledge of sporting heroes (2007, p. 144). This author does not necessarily agree with Gregson and Huggins’ point about team sports not being conducive to songs about local sporting heroes. What will be argued in the rest of this paper is that very similar expressions of regional identity in sporting song were transferred from the music hall to other contexts.

5. Mass sports and identity

When discussing the mass sports which emerged in the late nineteenth century, particularly in the context of fans singing songs, we are, of course, largely talking about football, though the phenomenon was also evident in both rugby classifications - union and league. In his definitive history of British football, Matthew Taylor (2008, p. 96) explains how football was indeed conducive to the expression of local identity: "Sport generally, and football specifically, played a leading role in providing a sense of place and belonging in the urban environment as well as constructing and promoting broader town and city identities". Brad Beaven’s study of working class leisure in selected towns, including Coventry, corroborate this, with the local football club proving more effective than any municipal campaigns in providing a sense of attachment to the city (as cited in Taylor, 2008, p. 97). Eric Hobsbawm saw how the sport of
football could just as easily foster national identity, explaining that, "the imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people" (1990, p. 143). In contrast to the sporting heroes of music hall song, Richard Holt (1989, p. 171) argues that "the birthplace of the players was of little significance to the crowds that blew horns threw confetti and chanted snatches of popular songs changing the words to celebrate the team". Holt explains further that crowds at football and rugby matches felt part of something even though they were complete strangers to one another. By following one team against teams from other towns, fans were developing their own pride of place. In the same way as the sporting heroes of earlier decades represented values which their followers could identify with, "the team symbolised the men who supported it, its characteristics were their characteristics" (Holt, 1989, p. 173). In an article in the Daily Gazette for Middlesbrough (1889, December 7), the journalist explains how these feelings of identity could be expressed:

"A football match simply seems to be a sort of popular safety valve for the pent-up energies and passions of an energetic and high-spirited people. The roar of the football crowd is raised in one long continued roar of request, command, entreaty and reproach. And the most phlegmatic of men finds himself carried away by the exhilarating influences of the mimic war".

The journalist goes on to point out that the intense local rivalry and passion of supporters was specific to North Country football, where the crowd possesses characteristics such as "intense enthusiasm, unbridled license of tongue and temper and perfect familiarity with every player and his points". As Russell points out (2013, p. 310) the evolution of crowd music and singing in this kind of intense environment was "a logical extension of the habits of singing and playing in the street, the pub and elsewhere".

6. Early crowd singing

It is impossible for us to ever be really sure when the first group of sports fans took to song in unison at sports events. There are many anecdotal examples, however, of the phenomenon taking place before the end of the nineteenth century, not just when fans were in the stadium but also when they were travelling to and from games and attending civic receptions for victorious cup-winning teams. Dave Russell (2013, p. 310) notes that the Chorus of Handel's Judas Maccabaeus "See the conquering hero comes!" was often played and sung at such receptions. Russell also notes that at the 1899 FA Cup Final Sheffield United fans hummed "The Dead March" from Handel's Saul. In riposte, Derby County
fans sang the popular music hall song "The Rowdy Dowdy Boys". Later, this music hall song became associated with Sheffield United fans (Taylor, 2008, p. 96). This is a first example of how the sports arena was a location for cultural contact and very clear cultural mobility. There is also newspaper evidence that the practice of crowd singing was established in the 1890's. In an article in the Belfast News Letter (1898, December 27) titled "Amusements Football Crowds Invent", we can read a very vivid description of "ingenious and startling" ways for the crowd to amuse themselves while waiting for a match:

"Every big club has its own particular song and by singing this the spectators can keep themselves in good humour. Northern fans are the most enthusiastic - the top part of the crowd asks a question, the bottom answers. This can comprise up to 50 verses, lasting up to 1 hour, for example:

Will the bounding boys of B____ ever fail?  
Answer: No they won't! 
Will our noble captain ever turn and quail?  
Answer: No he won't!

The result is far from unmusical".

The description of 'our noble captain' again gives the idea that the fans identified with the virtues of the players on the pitch who were a source of local pride. Interestingly, the journalist talks about every club having their own song by this stage. It is not clear from this passage whether the article is talking about football in England or Ireland, though this author suggests it is more likely the former. There is much debate amongst contemporary fans over who had the first specific club song or chant. As early as 1888, an article in the Huddersfield Chronicle (1888, April 28) describes a meeting of the local rugby club where an ex-player, C.C Sykes, reads "The Huddersfield Rugby Song". Norwich City Football Club is often credited with having one of the oldest club songs 'On the ball, City!', which was sung from the club's formation in 1902. Sheffield Wednesday fans are believed to have sung 'The Good Old Wednesday Boys' from the 1890's. (Russell, 2013, p. 315). Even Sir Edward Elgar got in on the act, penning the song "He Banged the Leather Goal" in praise of his beloved Wolverhampton Wanderers in around 1899, though it is not clear whether the song was ever sung by fans (Alleyne, 2010).

When it comes to football chants, it was the south coast that led the way. Newspaper reports of the 1890's report Southampton F.C. fans' Yi! Yi! Yi! whisper
being sung both in the stadium and in places where fans gathered before and after matches (Jason, n.d.). This rhythmic whisper which started quietly and gradually increased in volume was, according to the editor's note at the end of Jason's article, also chanted by Glasgow's Third Lanark in the 1890's. Glasgow is a long way from Southampton and the editor of Soccer History (Jason, n.d.) argues in the footnotes to Jason's article that the two sets of fans may have had identical chants as both were port towns. Men from Glasgow would certainly have been working in Southampton and vice versa at this time. Again, this is an illustration of Greenblatt's concept of cultural mobility (2010) in action. Southampton's local rivals Portsmouth, however, claim to have the oldest football chant, 'The Pompey Chime', allegedly sung from the 1880's ('Pompey' was and still is the nickname for both Portsmouth the town and the football club). The chant went in time with the clock at the port docks and according to the official Portsmouth Football Club Handbook for the season 1900-1901 (Fellows & Fellows, n.d.), these were the words accompanying the chant:

"Play up Pompey,
Just one more goal;
Make tracks! What o!
Hallo! Hallo!
Bomg!"

Versions of the same chant are still sung at Portsmouth and other football clubs to this day.

7. Fans on the move: the development of crowd singing
As we move into the twentieth century, there is newspaper evidence of crowd songs and chants being sung in all areas of Britain. The practice of fans travelling in large numbers to watch their teams play away matches was also now well established and clubs supporters' groups would organise excursions to away matches. Songs and chants were sung while fans were travelling, gathering before matches and also in the stadiums. Of the many examples the author has come across in contemporary local newspaper reports, two from the Burnley press describing fan behaviour are perhaps the most illustrative. In the Burnley Express article "Memorable Match with Mangnall's Men" (1909, March 10) we read a report of an FA Cup match between Burnley and local rivals and reigning league champions Manchester United. The game was called off due to bad weather with Burnley leading 1-0, much to the locals' discontent. The journalist describes the scene before the match: "A large section whiled away the tedium of waiting by singing snatches of popular songs, including 'Antonio' in praise of the
'Newcastle hero' ('The Newcastle Hero' refers to Fred Barron, a Burnley wing-half who was born in the Newcastle area: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fred_Barron_(footballer). Later on in the report the newspaper prints versions of songs sent in by the team's supporters. The following example mocks Manchester's chances of progressing in the competition:

PROPHECY IN POETRY

Play up, United, and be content
For you the cup was never meant
The only cup that you can win
Is the butter-"cup" that bloom in spring

E.F. Burnley

Any doubts that this type of fan-generated verse was actually sung by the crowd is countered by a similar report in the same newspaper from a month previous. The Burnley Express article (1909, February 3), "The Coming Up Contest" describes the fans' preparations for another FA Cup tie in London against Crystal Palace:

"A Burnley Lane enthusiast has gone into verse, the song being to the tune of Maggie Murphy's Home. On a former occasion, when the song was new and popular, a parody was sung en route to Everton, where Burnley prevailed. The Burnley enthusiasts who make the journey to the Palace will have the opportunity of giving vent to their feelings. If the prediction comes off they will doubtless be in good voice on the return journey":

The Burnley lads they are the lads
For giving great surprise
They're going to play to win the game
They're playing for the prize
Playing for the English cup
The cup they love so dear
And now for Burnley's plucky lads
Let's give a ringing cheer

According to Dave Russell, the idea of both clubs and the local press inviting supporters to come up with songs to support the team may well have been a common practice by this stage. He cites a Chelsea FC programme of 1911 which asks for the reworking of popular numbers into songs of the 'play-up Chelsea' type (2013, p. 313). For Russell, the connection between such songs and identity
is clear: "Irrespective of specific repertoire, these supporters were using music to express loyalty to a team and town or city and thereby demonstrating one of its most powerful functions in sport: the articulation and generation of personal and collective identities" (2013, p. 315).

8. Crowd singing and national identity

As has been discussed, in the first decade of the twentieth century the practice of crowds singing in support of their local team and expressing identification with their home town was evident all around the country. With the mobility of the supporters and they very public nature of the singing it is perhaps unsurprising that it spread very quickly. And for Russell, identity with locality and region was frequently a building block for expression of national allegiance (2013, p. 318). The singing of the national anthem as well as the patriotic song "Heart of Oak" was popular at England's home football internationals by this time. But it is in the game of rugby rather than football that we see national identity being expressed through song most vividly. In an issue of The Cornishman newspaper (1905, December 21), the article "Defeat of the Colonials" describes a rugby international between Wales and New Zealand:

"The streets of Cardiff thronged with people - when the gates were opened at midday there was a rush of spectators to secure the best positions. The colonials gave their customary war cry, and the Welsh responded by singing "Land of my Fathers", the chorus being taken up by the crowd in a very impressive fashion".

The Welsh have always been famous for their fervent support of the national rugby team, and rousing choruses of national songs such as the above-mentioned can still be heard at international matches in Cardiff today. As Richard Holt points out, "Rugby in Wales became the one great pastime of the people" (1989, p. 250), capturing the national imagination in a way that football did in England and Scotland. For Welsh rugby fans the sport represented the ethnic qualities of the Celts.

The West Country of England was another area where rugby had captured the public imagination more than football. This was particularly true in Cornwall which, like Wales, had Celtic ethnicity and was only partially industrialised. In a letter to the Cornishman (1906, December 20) almost exactly a year later than the article mentioned above, about an upcoming rugby match between Cornwall and The Springboks (South Africa), we read the following suggestion:
"Further, we hear of the Welsh, All Blacks\textsuperscript{2}, and the Springbocks singing their war song at the commencement of their matches, and we ask: why can't Cornwall do likewise, by singing the grand old "Trelawny"? It would certainly put heart into and inspire the Cornish footballers".

Although Cornwall was and still is a region of England, many Cornish people considered themselves a separate nation from the English and "Trelawny" is a national song along the same lines as "Land of my Fathers". Both songs are sung by the respective rugby teams' fans today. Although there are far fewer anecdotal examples of expressions of national identity through crowd singing than there are of local identity (one reason could be that quite simply there were fewer fixtures), it also seems to be a practice that was well established. We can also see once again, via the letter to the Cornishman, how this practice was spread in a final example of cultural mobility.

9. Conclusion

When it comes to sporting music hall song, any conclusions are necessarily tentative due to the nature of the material. It is clear, however, that such songs often reflected loyalty and identification with particular geographical locations. Through songs describing the virtues of sporting heroes of individual sports like rowing and foot racing, people constructed the image of their home town and thus their self-image. This was the case particularly in the North of England from the beginnings of the music hall in the 1840’s and 1850’s and more specifically in the far Northern counties in the 1870's and 1880's, where the mass team sports became popular later than in Lancashire and Yorkshire. By the late 1880's, such songs were disappearing from music hall repertoires, largely because of the syndicalisation of music hall entertainment. This author questions Gregson and Huggins' assertion (2007) that this was also because team sports like football were less conducive to regional songs about sporting heroes. As we have seen, it could be argued that the opposite was the case. Right from the beginnings of codified football and rugby, there is evidence of widespread crowd singing both in the form of songs and chants specific to certain clubs and reworkings of popular songs. Exactly the same kinds of expressions of regional identity as in the sporting music hall songs were now being expressed in this new context. By the early twentieth century there is further evidence that through processes of cultural mobility, with the stadium and its surroundings acting as a cultural contact zone, such activities were being practiced nationwide. This was

\textsuperscript{2} 'The All Blacks' is the nickname for the New Zealand international rugby team
encouraged by the local press by inviting supporters to send in songs for publication and later crowd singing. Finally, there are sources showing that similar cultural processes were encouraging the expression of national identity via crowd singing, particularly in the context of rugby internationals.

References


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Transformative Rhetoric: How Obama Became the New Face of America. A Linguistic Analysis

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Abstract
His brilliant use of rhetoric made Obama the face of 21st century America. His ability to portray himself as the embodiment of the American dream and to relate to the stories of other Americans brought many to support his candidacy. This article presents a discussion of his use of personal narrative, stories, repetition, metaphors, clichés, audience involvement, and humor with illustrative examples from Obama’s most memorable speeches.

Keywords
Obama, campaign speeches, rhetoric, rhetorical devices

Introduction
America, the land of opportunity, where any little boy can grow up to be president. Until 2008 that little boy had to be white and preferably the son of a wealthy and well-connected family. The fact that Barack Obama became America’s first non-white president was a major glass ceiling breakthrough but even more significant was how he managed to market himself to the American people as the face of 21st century America. In this paper I will examine the rhetorical devices that Obama used to convey his message and convince the American people to elect him as their 44th president. Those devices that Obama uses so expertly include the use of personal narrative, stories, repetition, metaphors, clichés, audience involvement, and humor.

Peretz and Peretz in their book Barack Obama’s Secrets of Persuasion and Influence (2010) discuss many of the rhetorical devices Obama uses but one aspect that they don’t address is his ability to incorporate three or more rhetorical devices in the same sentence or paragraph in an overlapping manner so that the emotive power of his rhetoric is enhanced. Take for example the following sentence from A More Perfect Union “The Race Speech” delivered in Philadelphia, PA. on March 18, 2008: “I’ve gone to some of the best schools in America and lived in one of the world’s poorest nations.” In those nineteen words we see the following rhetorical devices: personal narrative, use of opposites as a means of emphasis, superlatives, and pairs. Additional examples will be discussed further on.
Background

In my book *Obama’s Message – An Examination of Political Rhetoric* (Kayam, 2013) I present the view that rhetoric is “verbal manipulation”, the theory of written or verbal expression using words in an effective manner to influence or convince another person. Rhetoric is a tool to transmit information, influence, persuasion and action whose techniques of speaking and writing, when used in the proper and efficient manner, are essential in most areas of life and are used by many. In almost every person, be they a ruler or a common citizen, there exists the urge to impose their opinions and tendencies on others and to dictate their way of life. The ability to convince or persuade another to change their beliefs or attitudes is accomplished by means of communication (Wolman, 1990). Aristotle defined rhetoric as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (Aristotle, 1954).

Rhetoric has been a significant factor in public dialogue from ancient Greece to modern times (Clarke, 1962; Kennedy, 1963). Its development and status are inseparable from the development of patterns of democratic government in Greece. Verbal persuasiveness was essential not only in forwarding public affairs but was a necessary skill for every citizen wanting to find their place in the social system (Aristotle, 1954). The origin of the art of discourse as a subject of formal study goes back to the fifth century BC, and the father of the art of discourse was Corax of Syracuse in Sicily. In 466 BC the tyrant of Syracuse was overthrown and a democratic regime was established in its place. Many residents of the city who had fled or were exiled returned and found that their land and property had been expropriated (Nedava, 1957). As a result of the ensuing wave of property lawsuits Corax and Tisias, two residents of Syracuse, developed a method meant to advise people on how to conduct themselves in a court of law. At the height of the Athenian State the use of rhetoric was found not only in courts of law and meetings but its echo was heard also in tragedy, comedy, philosophy and historiography (Aristotle, 1954).

Researchers in the field of rhetoric differentiate between two types of persuasion: convincing, which appeals to one’s sense of logic, and persuading, which appeals to one’s emotions. Landau points out that the difference between convincing and persuading is expressed, inter alia, in that with convincing the speaker is interested in convincing the listener of the truth of his or her arguments as they are determined by the intellect, while with persuading, the speaker is interested in getting his or her audience to agree with his or her position. Audience of listeners is a key concept in rhetoric (Gitay 1991, 1996; Speigel, 1973).

Landau (1988) also points out that the main characteristic of emotive rhetoric is that it generally does not raise arguments but rather gives an emotive-stylistic
character to the text and provides the listener with pleasure from its manner of linguistic expression. In contrast, the aim of rhetorical argument is to raise arguments as a means of addressing reason and not emotion (of course, this division is not absolute, and there are rhetorical devices that include both). Another difference between emotive rhetoric and rhetorical argument is that the former focuses on words and their combinations and only sometimes complete sentences, while the latter employs sentences and units larger than sentences.

In this article I will show how Obama uses the above tools so successfully.

**Method**

In my book *Obama's Message – An Examination of Political Rhetoric* (Kayam, 2013) I chose to examine eight key speeches starting with the 2004 Keynote Address at the Democratic National Convention, and ending with the 2009 Inaugural Address.

The devices were sorted by known rhetorical criteria (Kayam, 2011). The devices will be analyzed and their theoretical background presented along with examples taken from the speeches.

In this article I present a selection of the choicest examples from those speeches.

**Use of Personal Narrative and Stories**

Narrative derives from the Latin verb *narrare*, "to tell", and is related to the adjective *gnarus*, "knowing" or "skilled" (*Oxford English Dictionary Online*, "narrate, v.". Oxford University Press, 2007). The narrative is a story that has been changed by a process of internalization derived from the teller’s experience (Dr. Eli Avrahami eli-avrahami.com).

Obama made extensive use of the rhetorical device of narrative, both his personal narrative as well as the narratives of others. Obama was born on August 4, 1961 in Honolulu, Hawaii, the son of a white mother and a black father and in his early childhood he experienced changes in the family framework, parental figures, living environment – country, culture, language – and even his personal identity (Peretz & Peretz, 2010). The circumstances of his life molded him and gave him a unique character. Prior leaders of the American people absorbed the American way of life and developed patterns of understanding reality in the spirit of the American dream. Obama’s conceptual world and experiences was not exactly the American way (Hoffman, 1968). Obama’s self-defined identity is complex and encompasses all his varied background, experiences, lessons learned and internalized in various cultural settings without any one being dominant, which enables him to observe with a certain distance the charged issues of race.
It is ironic that Obama, with a father who wasn’t even an American and who had abandoned him at a young age, managed to play the American dream narrative so successfully. Starting with the Keynote Address at the Democratic Convention in 2004, where he told the story of how his parents met and declared himself “grateful for the diversity of my heritage” and his story “part of the larger American story”, Obama turned his outsider status into something quintessentially American. This was repeated again in his speech A More Perfect Union where he also added his wife’s family narrative to his own saying: “I am the son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas. I was raised with the help of a white grandfather who survived a Depression to serve in Patton’s Army during World War II and a white grandmother who worked on a bomber assembly line at Fort Leavenworth while he was overseas. I’ve gone to some of the best schools in America and lived in one of the world’s poorest nations. I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slave owners - an inheritance we pass on to our two precious daughters. I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins, of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents, and for as long as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible.”

Also in that speech Obama demonstrated how he could effectively use other peoples’ stories to bring home his message, in this case black and white, young and old, coming together in common purpose: “There is one story in particularly that I’d like to leave you with today - a story I told when I had the great honor of speaking on Dr. King’s birthday at his home church, Ebenezer Baptist, in Atlanta.

There is a young, twenty-three year old white woman named Ashley Baia who organized for our campaign in Florence, South Carolina. She had been working to organize a mostly African-American community since the beginning of this campaign, and one day she was at a roundtable discussion where everyone went around telling their story and why they were there.

And Ashley said that when she was nine years old, her mother got cancer. And because she had to miss days of work, she was let go and lost her health care. They had to file for bankruptcy, and that’s when Ashley decided that she had to do something to help her mom.

She knew that food was one of their most expensive costs, and so Ashley convinced her mother that what she really liked and really wanted to eat more than anything else was mustard and relish sandwiches. Because that was the cheapest way to eat.

She did this for a year until her mom got better, and she told everyone at the roundtable that the reason she joined our campaign was so that she could help the
millions of other children in the country who want and need to help their parents too.

Now Ashley might have made a different choice. Perhaps somebody told her along the way that the source of her mother’s problems were blacks who were on welfare and too lazy to work, or Hispanics who were coming into the country illegally. But she didn’t. She sought out allies in her fight against injustice.

Anyway, Ashley finishes her story and then goes around the room and asks everyone else why they’re supporting the campaign. They all have different stories and reasons. Many bring up a specific issue. And finally they come to this elderly black man who’s been sitting there quietly the entire time. And Ashley asks him why he’s there. And he does not bring up a specific issue. He does not say health care or the economy. He does not say education or the war. He does not say that he was there because of Barack Obama. He simply says to everyone in the room, "I am here because of Ashley."

"I’m here because of Ashley." By itself, that single moment of recognition between that young white girl and that old black man is not enough. It is not enough to give health care to the sick, or jobs to the jobless, or education to our children.

But it is where we start. It is where our union grows stronger. And as so many generations have come to realize over the course of the two-hundred and twenty one years since a band of patriots signed that document in Philadelphia, that is where the perfection begins."

Ashley’s story and the response of the elderly black man create a strong reaction in the listener and support Obama’s message.

Another example of using other peoples’ stories to strengthen his case comes from a speech he gave in Ohio one week before Election Day:

“I still remember the email that a woman named Robyn sent me after I met her in Ft. Lauderdale. Sometime after our event, her son nearly went into cardiac arrest, and was diagnosed with a heart condition that could only be treated with a procedure that cost tens of thousands of dollars. Her insurance company refused to pay, and their family just didn’t have that kind of money.

In her email, Robyn wrote, “I ask only this of you – on the days where you feel so tired you can’t think of uttering another word to the people, think of us. When those who oppose you have you down, reach deep and fight back harder.”

Let us conclude with the story of Ann Nixon Cooper from Obama’s election night victory speech. Note that while telling this story Obama incorporates additional rhetorical devices (clichés, repetition, use of we, opposites and referencing giants which will be discussed later):

“... Ann Nixon Cooper is 106 years old. She was born just a generation past slavery; a time when there were no cars on the road or planes in the sky; when
someone like her couldn’t vote for two reasons – because she was a woman and because of the color of her skin...

She was there for the buses in Montgomery, the hoses in Birmingham, a bridge in Selma, and a preacher from Atlanta who told a people that “We Shall Overcome.” Yes we can.

A man touched down on the moon, a wall came down in Berlin, a world was connected by our own science and imagination. And this year, in this election, she touched her finger to a screen, and cast her vote, because after 106 years in America, through the best of times and the darkest of hours, she knows how America can change. Yes we can.”

Metaphors

Figurative speech is the use of pictures and metaphors to express ideas. Landau (1988) says that the main function of figurative speech is to express the requested message in a picturesque and tangible way that will be absorbed by the listener’s emotions rather than their thoughts. The impact of figurative speech is very strong because the message is made clear and tangible, and yet direct. When using figurative speech, complex ideas can be expressed in a brief text.

The most prominent form of figurative speech is the metaphor: A metaphor has a double meaning; it transfers the meaning from one semantic field to another semantic field; or it is a word or group of words that is given a second broader meaning (Nir, 1978). In literary theory a metaphor is a word or group of words, which have been given a different meaning that is broader than their dictionary meaning (Ochmani, Lexicon of Literary Terms). Tzarfati (1978) adds that the power of the metaphor is its ability to bring alive, renew, and strengthen the impact of the message. A successful metaphor will leave a strong impression on the listener.

An examination of Obama’s speeches from the 2008 campaign found extensive use of metaphors. From a rhetorical standpoint Obama’s use of metaphors is divided into two categories: old worn out metaphors, much used and of little rhetorical impact, and full picture metaphors having genuine rhetorical effect in addition to the aesthetic pleasure and emotions they arouse. Nir (1978) states that the more complex the metaphor, the more impressive its effect. When a metaphor is used too frequently, its figurativeness is diminished to the point where the stylistic-rhetorical transformation becomes a permanent word in the lexicon (e.g. bottleneck). A metaphor’s degree of figurativeness ranges from one-time use, which has the highest degree of figurativeness, to those metaphors so commonly used that their figurativeness is no longer felt and they become dead metaphors.
In the first category we see the following examples:

**October 27, 2008 One Week**  
*Broken politics*

**October 27, 2008 One Week**  
*Seeing the highest mountaintop from the deepest valley*

**March 2008 The Race Speech**  
*Continue on the path of a more perfect union*  
*They can write their own destiny*  
*Glass ceiling*

**November 2008 Election Night Victory Speech (Peretz)**  
*America’s beacon still burns as bright*

For the most part however we find in Obama’s speeches metaphors from the second category which include within them additional rhetorical elements. So for example, the metaphorical image is not presented as a whole but is integrated within text that is not in itself figurative. Landau contends that his technique enables the writer to achieve two ends: The incomplete metaphor awakens the listeners’ emotions in the first part of the text, he continues to impart his message in metaphor free language returning only at the end to complete the metaphorical image which leaves his audience with a greater effect than if the two parts of the metaphor has been contiguous.

In other cases there is a combination of rhetorical devices that intensifies the rhetorical-metaphorical effect.

Here are some examples:

**January 2008 New Hampshire Primary**  
*Get a seat at the table*  
*They don’t get to buy every chair*

“To get a seat at the table” is a well-known lexical term whose simple meaning is “to take part in the discussion”. Obama uses that well-known phrase and then adds on to it: “They don’t get to buy every chair”, meaning that while they are welcome to participate in the discussion they don’t get to decide the outcome in advance in accordance with their own interests. Thus Obama takes a simple metaphor and upgrades it breathing new life into a tired metaphor while censuring his opponents (in this case the insurance and drug companies).
January 2008 New Hampshire Primary

A president who chose the moon as our new frontier
A king who took us to the mountaintop
And pointed the way to the promise land

In this example, in addition to the use of metaphors, Obama references two great American historical figures. The references are so clear to any American that explicit mention of their names is unnecessary. The allusion to President Kennedy and Martin Luther King reinforces Obama’s message that nothing is impossible and that what is perceived as unattainable will be attained by the right person at the right time: Kennedy–King—and by extension, unstated but clearly intended, Obama.

Kayam (2011) and Livnat and Kayam (2004) contend that building on, quoting or referencing “giants” (a term meaning any famous public figure held in high esteem) is an encompassing rhetorical device, filling many varied roles, such as reinforcing the speaker’s position, presenting and promoting information, stylistic ornamentation, etc. These may have added rhetorical value when used as argumentative rhetorical devices or emotive–stylistic means of persuasion, where the aesthetic pleasure, the emotion that they arouse in the listener and the atmosphere created on the text, can contribute an important part to the work of persuasion.

**Cliches**

The word cliché, a French word that has infiltrated into most languages, was originally a block, a mold, or a board that was used as a template in photography or printing.

The word underwent a metaphorical transformation and today is synonymous with a common, worn out expression that has lost some of its original meaning (Fruchtman, 2002). Fruchtman notes that the term does not have an exact definition appropriate for all those expressions that are termed cliché, therefore, there is a great deal of vagueness in the ability to sort clichés by type.

Fruchtman divides clichés into five categories: common idioms that include basic stereotypes (e.g. Where there’s smoke, there’s fire); idioms from animal life (e.g. He works like a dog); slogans with no connection to truth (e.g. We will win); conversation fillers (e.g. Really!); template examples from different domains, such as sports, politics, and media (e.g. Hitting below the belt).

An analysis of the clichés in the language of the Obama campaign speeches examined found that most were of the template variety. The following clichés have a nature theme:
January 2009 Inaugural Address
Rising tides
Still waters
Gathering clouds
Raging storms
Long rugged path
Depth of winter
This winter of our hardship

And then there are the Obama favorites, clichés taken from the semantic fields of “hope”, “freedom”, and “a better future”. There are so many of these that we are speaking of many tens if not hundreds of examples just in the examined speeches and the fact that there are so many from the same semantic field intensifies the strength of the rhetoric and gives Obama’s speeches their power and uniqueness. Here are some examples:

2004 DNC Keynote
beacon of freedom
doors of opportunity
There are better days ahead
A brighter day will come

August 2008 The American Promise Acceptance Speech DNC
The American promise (repeated multiple times)

October 13, 2008 Economy Speech
we can overcome (echoes “We Shall Overcome”)

November 2008 Election Night Victory Speech
All things are possible... the dream of our founders...the power of our democracy
Hope of a better day
This nation’s promise
Our destiny is shared
A new dawn
Doors of opportunity

And of course it is impossible to conclude without the winning slogan “Yes we can”.

Audience Involvement
Perlman (1984) writes that rhetoric is the art of persuading and convincing people. The study of rhetoric examines the techniques used to bring about the
agreement or deepen the agreement of the audience with the positions or arguments presented.

Kayam (2011) writes that the audience’s agreement is essential. A speech can have influence only if it is customized to the audience that is supposed to be convinced by it. Peretz and Peretz (2010) contend that Obama harnesses his listeners and, in effect, makes them active partners by establishing a relationship with them, with America in fact.

Obama gives his audience decisive importance, in essence viewing them as equals among equals, and even more than that, throughout his campaign he repeatedly stressed the message: “I am not the most important thing in this election. You are the most important thing in this election.” When he gives his listeners the feeling that the American people and their best interest are what is important, that we work together and our goals are shared, then it is easy to be swept away and to identify with and agree with his message.

Furthermore, Obama conducts a relationship with his opponents as well as we see in his November 4, 2008 victory speech when he said:

“And to those Americans whose support I have yet to earn – I may not have won your vote, but I hear your voices, I need your help, and I will be your President too.”

Examples of the use of “we”, “us”, “our”, “together”:

January 2008 New Hampshire Primary

We will end this war in Iraq. We will bring our troops home. We will finish the job -- we will finish the job against Al Qaida in Afghanistan. We will care for our veterans. We will restore our moral standing in the world.

For when we have faced down impossible odds, when we've been told we're not ready or that we shouldn't try or that we can't, generations of Americans have responded with a simple creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes, we can. Yes, we can. Yes, we can.

August 2008 The American Promise Acceptance Speech DNC

America, we are better than these last eight years. We are a better country than this.

So let us agree that patriotism has no party. I love this country, and so do you, and so does John McCain. The men and women who serve in our battlefields may be Democrats and Republicans and Independents, but they have fought together and bled together and some died together under the same proud flag. They have not served a Red America or a Blue America - they have served the United States of America.
October 27, 2008 One Week
we will not just win Ohio, we will not just win this election, but together, we will change this country and we will change the world.

Rhetorical Repetition and the use of 3
Persuasive texts are characterized by, among other things, unique syntax structure whose purpose is to influence the listener. One way to achieve this end is by use of a specific linguistic structure – the parallel structure. The parallel structure contains at least two elements equal in their internal structure or in their syntactical function in the sentence. Researchers attribute rhetorical advantages to the use of parallel structures. Hughes and Duhamel (1962) contend that ideas can be effectively transmitted by the use of parallel sentences. They add that the parallel individualizes the style of the speaker, emphasizes ideas, and clarifies the relationship between the ideas.

Brooks and Warren (1970) contend that proper use of parallelisms can turn them into a very powerful rhetorical tool, where they emphasize and highlight ideas and create a debate between them. Shilo (1996) notes that repetition is a speaker’s tool to present his ideas in a prominent or directed manner that can make his words more persuasive. Maadia (1985) points out that the syntactic parallel influences listeners and enables them to absorb messages more effectively and retain them for longer. She adds that this rhetorical structure allows listeners to draw logical analogies and anticipate what will follow.

Peretz and Peretz (2010) contend that Obama makes certain to repeat over and over the messages that he wishes to inculcate. He knows that the secret of inculcating messages is a combination of a simple message and repetition, similar to the brainwashing of commercials. Repetitions influence the structure of Obama’s speeches and also the minds of his listeners. They transform every speech to a poem with an identifiable repeated refrain and sometimes several repeated refrains. According to Peretz and Peretz, this style of repetition does not bore the audience. On the contrary, it helps maintain concentration and helps the listener follow what is being said while deeply internalizing the message.

Peretz and Peretz (2010) state that Obama frequently uses asyndetic sentences in order to intensify his speech rate and create verbal energy and concentration on the part of his audience. Obama, who learned some of his secrets of success from former presidents, adopted this technique from Pres. Kennedy who used it in his Inaugural Address and from Pres. Lincoln who used it in the Gettysburg Address.

Here are examples of syntactic parallel structures taken from the speeches:
2004 DNC Keynote

*I say to you tonight: we have more work to do.

More to do for the workers I met in Galesburg, Illinois, who are losing their union jobs at the Maytag plant that’s moving to Mexico, and now are having to compete with their own children for jobs that pay seven bucks an hour. More to do for the father I met who was losing his job and choking back tears, wondering how he would pay $4,500 a month for the drugs his son needs without the health benefits he counted on. More to do for the young woman in East St. Louis, and thousands more like her, who has the grades, has the drive, has the will, but doesn’t have the money to go to college.

August 2008 The American Promise Acceptance Speech DNC

*Now is the time to help families with paid sick days and better family leave, because nobody in America should have to choose between keeping their jobs and caring for a sick child or ailing parent.

Now is the time to change our bankruptcy laws, so that your pensions are protected ahead of CEO bonuses; and the time to protect Social Security for future generations.

And now is the time to keep the promise of equal pay for an equal day’s work, because I want my daughters to have exactly the same opportunities as your sons.

As stated, Obama frequently uses parallel structures of three elements (“triple parallels”). According to Peretz and Peretz (2010) the use of this device enables Obama to express an idea more completely, to raise interest and emphasize the principal message and to increase the memorability of the message, which is aided by the rhythm that is pleasant to the ear. They cite studies that show that our brains are more effectively able to absorb, retain and retrieve information presented in this format.

Obama uses the triple structure in different syntactic variations: repetition of three words, repetition of three sentences and repetition of three parallel sections, and sometimes all of these together, that is, in an alternating integrated triple structure as in the examples below:

2004 DNC Keynote Address

*to win the war, secure the peace, and earn the respect
must be found...must be pursued...must be defeated

January 2008 New Hampshire Primary

*We will end this war in Iraq. We will bring our troops home. We will finish the job -- we will finish the job against Al Qaida in Afghanistan. We will care for our veterans. We will restore our moral standing in the world.
For when we have faced down impossible odds, when we've been told we're not ready or that we shouldn't try or that we can't, generations of Americans have responded with a simple creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes, we can. Yes, we can.

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**August 2008 The American Promise Acceptance Speech DNC**

cars you can't afford to drive, credit card bills you can't afford to pay, and tuition that's beyond your reach.

And for the sake of our economy, our security, and the future of our planet

**November 2008 Election Night Victory Speech**

This is our chance to answer that call. This is our moment. This is our time.

**Word Repetition**

Word repetition is repetition of grammatical or lexicon (i.e. content) words. This repetition is not natural usage of either written or spoken language as the monotony could bore the listener or reader and give the impression of linguistic poverty, which for sure is not the intention of the speaker. However, judicious use of this technique can be an important tool of persuasion.

Here is an outstanding example of the use of word repetition that not only is not boring it is truly inspirational:

**January 2008 New Hampshire Primary**

It was a creed written into the founding documents that declared the destiny of a nation: Yes, we can.

It was whispered by slaves and abolitionists as they blazed a trail towards freedom through the darkest of nights: Yes, we can.

It was sung by immigrants as they struck out from distant shores and pioneers who pushed westward against an unforgiving wilderness: Yes, we can.

It was the call of workers who organized, women who reached for the ballot, a president who chose the moon as our new frontier...yes we can to justice and equality.

Yes, we can, to opportunity and prosperity. Yes, we can heal this nation. Yes, we can repair this world. Yes, we can.

**Humor**

Humor in politics is the expression of a position. The politics of humor challenges the political status quo and strengthens values and dominant aspects of politics (Tsakona & Popa, 2011).

Humor in its essence is not aggressive and even when it is, the aggressiveness is concealed or softened by the humoristic structure that envelopes the contents
of the text. A political position and humor take into consideration the social environment in which they are expressed and in which they are likely to be valid and acceptable.

Another characteristic feature of humor is that it is a good means of breaking down cognitive barriers and enabling the penetration of messages to another’s mind. One who addresses another using humor, is perceived by him as someone positive and friendly, one who is worth being around. At the same time the humor causes him to unconsciously open cognitive barriers and makes him receptive to messages that if heard in a different manner, without humor, he might not have been open to or agree with.

A politician who is aware of this feature of humor and has the talent to use humor to transmit messages and political positions makes use of one of the best tools for ensuring that the views he expresses will be absorbed by another, in the hope that the other will change his position to that of the politician’s.

Humor has become a confrontational tool in the political domain. Politicians have learned that it is preferable to use humorous rhetoric to attack one’s opponent and damage his image because of the positive attitude and receptiveness of the public to this approach. Therefore it is also recommended that every politician be able to respond in a humorous manner against such an attack by his opponent (Ridanpää, 2009; Rolfe, 2010; Tsakona, 2009).

Barack Obama’s humor

Obama is blessed with a healthy sense of humor. He knows that if he can get his audience to smile, then he will probably succeed in breaking down barriers, arousing interest, giving pleasure, and perhaps, also winning support and influencing his listeners and bringing them over to his side (Peretz & Peretz, 2010). Most of the examples cited below were taken from David Remnick’s 2010 biography of Barack Obama and transcribed here exactly as they appear in the original including examples from interviews on radio and television and conversations with colleagues and others.

The following are some examples where Obama chose to use his characteristic humor:

Many years ago, before Obama’s presidential campaign, when he was the newly elected junior state senator of the minority party, he was asked if he wanted to be president. His answer was:

“Guys, I am a state senator. I was elected yesterday. I have never set foot in the U.S. Senate. I have never worked in Washington. And the notion that somehow I am going to start running for higher office, it just doesn’t make sense.....I am going to be spending the first several months of my career in the U.S. Senate looking for the washroom and trying to figure out how the phones work” (Remnick, 2010).
Before he was sworn in as president and after publication of his book *Dreams of My Father*, Obama appeared in many places. His appearance on the David Letterman show gave him a platform to display his wit (Remnick, 2010):

`Letterman: The thing about your name, it’s easy to pronounce and it’s cool.
Obama: Well, that’s what I think, that’s what I think. You know, there were some advisors who told me to change my name.
Letterman: Really?
Obama: Yeah, and somebody suggested “Cat Stevens,” for example...`

Here we see Obama’s ability to use humor in an aggressive manner, something that politicians who have the appropriate skills are wont to do opposite their political rivals (Georgalidou, 2011). Relating to his rival for the democratic nomination Hillary Clinton he said that she was a skilled and seasoned politician who was conducting her campaign “by the book” but that “the problem is the book itself” (Peretz & Peretz, 2010). The concluding phrase “the problem is the book itself”, completely changes the meaning of what he had appeared to be saying about Hillary Clinton. Here are two clearly humoristic elements: One is the transformation of the listener’s format of thinking – which happens in most jokes, and the surprise which is one of the basic elements in the creation of many humorous situations (Sover, 2009; Sover, 2011).

When he attacks an opponent he does so with dignity and sensitivity interwoven with subtle humor as seen in the following examples (Remnick, 2010):

“I don’t think George Bush is a bad man. I think he’s a patriotic person and I don’t think that the people who work for him are stupid people. I think a lot of them are smart in their own way. I think that the problem is that they’ve got a different idea of America than the idea we’ve got.”

In this section, he creates meanings that are not visible and it is up to the reader or listener to discover and interpret them. This is one of the ways of transforming a text to contain humorous qualities (Sover, 2009). Note the highlighted words in the text. The words a lot, adds an additional meaning which is not said outright that some of the people who work with Bush are in fact stupid. In another point instead of saying that those stupid people are grossly mistaken, he says that they have “a different idea of America than the idea we’ve got”. The word America intensifies the extent of the mistake that results from those of his advisors who are unworthy.

When Obama decided to run for president, during a meeting in David Axelrod’s office he was handed a background memo which included questions like “Are you intimidated by the prospect of being leader of the free world?” He laughed and replied “Someone’s got to do it” (Remnick, 2010).
Back in 2004 in his keynote address at the Democratic National Convention he called himself: “a skinny kid with a funny name”.

During the 2008 campaign Obama said: “I don't look like I came out of central casting when it comes to Presidential candidates” (Remnick, 2010).

Peretz and Peretz (2010) say Obama does not act in an expected manner. He laughs at himself and his weaknesses. Most people prefer to promote themselves and to play down their weaknesses. His use of this technique in the proper dosage wins him points with his audience, for a person who is able to laugh at himself proves his modesty and his humanity. He also shows integrity in that he presents himself in a natural light without trying to beautify reality or the “product”.

To conclude, here is an example taken from Obama’s 2004 DNC Keynote Address:

*That we can participate in the political process...and that our votes will be counted...At least most of the time.*

**Conclusions and Methodological Implications**

In this article, six rhetorical devices that Obama used extensively in his campaign speeches were examined: personal narrative, stories, metaphors, clichés, audience involvement, repetition, and humor. I showed how use of these rhetorical devices helped Obama to win over his audience. He managed to portray his own exotic background, a combination of his mother’s mainstream white ancestry and his father’s African upbringing and dreams and aspirations, as the epitome of the diversity of the American experience. His use of other peoples' stories allowed his audience to identify with him.

An examination of Obama’s speeches from the 2008 campaign found extensive use of metaphors, both old, worn out metaphors of little rhetorical impact, and full picture metaphors, original and having great rhetorical effect.

There was also extensive use of clichés. Obama used clichés from the semantic fields of nature and "hope", "freedom", and "a better future".

His repeated use of "we" and "our" gave his audience to understand that they were not merely passive listeners but active partners in an important process.

Use of repetition, metaphors and clichés drove his message home and audience involvement turned his audience into partners. Finally, the use of humor made him more accessible.

In this article, I have shown Obama’s brilliant use of rhetorical devices. Even years after the 2008 campaign the rhetoric is still impressive and inspirational and others would do well to learn from his example.
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Illocution & Modality: The Case of the Imperative in English & Serbian

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Abstract
Based on the theoretical background from pragmatics and syntax, this paper examines the notion of the imperative mood in Serbian and English, in terms of its illocutionary force and potential relationship between the force and modal verbs. The aim of the paper is to determine similarities and differences in usage (i.e. meaning) of the imperative mood in the two languages, as well as to show that imperative sentences do, actually, bear the same illocutionary force as deontic sentences with modal verbs (or modal constructions). A contrastive research has been conducted, and the results of the corpus-based analysis, proved similarities between English and Serbian, both in terms of usage of the imperative and its interchangeability with some modal verbs.

Key words
syntax, pragmatics, imperative, meaning/illocutionary force, modal verbs, Serbian, English

1. Introduction

The definition of the notion of modality, according to what can be found in literature, and also, as well as on the basis of previous research on modality, by both domestic and foreign authors, is a very complex issue, and consequently, it is very hard to tell what, in fact, is modal in language, and what is not (Ivić, Trbojević-Milošević, Palmer, Nuyts ...).

In this regard, there is no universally accepted and precise definition of modal sentences — on the basis of what we know about language rules, a sentence gets the modal character with the usage of lexical means and the implementation of a special conjugation form of the predicate. However, it is believed that the sentence should be considered modal if it, in addition to information on the situation, also provides an evaluation of the situation. This, of course, says that we should not necessarily consider each sentence with a modal verb to be a modal sentence, because, according to the abovementioned, this is not a necessary and sufficient condition for its modal character; at this place we can also conclude that that the determination of modality requires the involvement of many parts of language (but, of course, and cognitive) apparatus.

The bond between logic and modality has been known since Ancient times; anyhow, this paper will not pay a special attention to the mentioned bond, but we
find the attitude of a logician von Wright (1951) worth mentioning at this place; namely, he gives the classification of modal categories: 1) alethic modes (modes of truth); 2) epistemic modes (modes of thought); 3) deontic modes (modes of liability); 4) existential modes (modes of existence / existence). Palmer (1986) himself, as one of the leading theorists of modality, appreciates this classification, especially the part related to the differentiation of epistemic and deontic modality (he also attaches alethic modality to epistemic modality and considers existential modality to be a part of epistemic modality).

At the same time, Lyons (1977) another author who, in many ways, deals with modality, accepts this classification of modality to epistemic and deontic, but separates them into subjective and objective modality. The main difference, he says, is that subjective modality contains the component I say so, while objective modality contains the component It is so (the above-mentioned components are related to epistemic modality). On the other hand, deontic modality is based on the component So be it, but also contains qualitative differences unlike epistemic — quantitative differences (characteristics).

Modality is also interrelated with the Theory of Speech Acts, which, in fact, in linguistics, en général, occupies an important place. The most important names that are related to speech act theory are Austin and Searle. Austin, in his book, How to Do Things with Words (1962), identified utterances he named performatives, using which we, at the same time, perform what we say (they operate in the first person singular present tense). The mentioned author, at the same time, proposed a three-member frame (classification): Locution — the words that the speaker utters, that is, the literal meaning of the statement; Ilocution — which bears the force of the utterance, that is, what the speaker wants to achieve with the utterance and Perlocution — the effect that the utterance has on the hearer. Austin considers Ilocution to be the most important part of this tripartite framework, since it bears the illocutionary force, which, in some cases, is explicit, and in some cases is not.

Based on the phenomenon of illocution, Searle classifies speech acts as follows:

a) Assertives — producer is committed to the truthfulness of the utterance (I claim, I assume);
b) Directives — producer makes the recipient perform the action (I beg, I command);
c) Commissives — producer commits himself (I guarantee, I promise);
d) Expressives — producer expresses his attitude (I congratulate, I thank);
e) Declaratives — the current state of the situation is changed by the usage of the utterance (I resign, I release sbd) (Polovina, 2010, p. 15).
According to Palmer (1986), each of these types of speech acts is connected with modality (either epistemic or deontic). Assertives can be linked to epistemic modality, because by these speech acts the speaker expresses a state of affairs; then, directives, by which the speaker seeks to make the hearer perform an action, which is associated with deontic modality; with the usage of comissives the speaker obliges himself to do something, which is also connected with deontic modality; finally, for expressives and declaratives Palmer himself does not know whether to connect them with modality and call them modal. Be that as it may, the bond between speech acts and modality is indisputable, since speech acts, like modality itself cannot be seen out of context.

Defining the concept of modality largely depends upon the determination of modal meanings of verb forms (and vice versa), since, in fact, both moods and tenses carry a characteristic of modality. However, the category of mood is often difficult to define, since the category of mood overlaps with other grammatical categories. Anyhow, both English and Serbian have, in their linguistic inventories, the imperative, structurally and functionally correspondent within their respective and corresponding systems of mood. According to the cultural stereotypes the Serbian language tends to be more direct and thus more prone to using the imperative than the English language, since the Anglo-Saxon language perceives the imperative as a metaphor of imposition upon the autonomy and personal space of an individual. On the other hand, it is believed that in Serbian the imperative is used more often, even without politeness markers, though the language inventory provides similar number of language markers of this kind.

Mood (even taken in this traditional, syntactic sense) can be viewed through a different prism, which takes into account illocution and modality, and then factuality, as well, where illocution refers to the identification of sentence realization of a given speech act, and modality refers to the modification of the content of the speech act (mood, in this sense, behaving as an illocutionary force indicating device, on the one hand, and propositional content indicator, on the other hand).

Given the abovementioned, the subject of this paper is the link between the imperative mood and modality, as well as the illocutionary force that the imperative bears, and all this on the example of Serbian and English. The aim of this paper is to show the similarities and differences in the usage (meaning) of the imperative in the English and Serbian language, and, at the same time, to examine whether imperative sentences, in fact, do have the force (illocutionary) of deontic sentences with modal verbs (or modal constructions). By imperative sentences, in this paper, we will consider all the sentences with a verb in the imperative, and other analytic and synthetic forms of the imperative (if they
occur in the data). On the other hand, by deontic sentences we will consider all the sentences containing a modal verb, such as: can, must, should, etc.

2. Data & Research Methodology

To get answers to the questions about the similarities and differences in the usage of the imperative in Serbian and English, and the interchangeability of the imperative and deontic sentences (sentences with modal verbs) we conducted a survey in which academics from universities in Serbia and Great Britain participated. There were 60 of them, 30 per language, both males and females. The participants were informed that all the answers would remain unanimous and used for the purposes of this study only.

A questionnaire made, and distributed to respondents, consisted of nine tasks, i.e. mini-dialogues, which represent everyday-conversation situations. Each situation includes, in one of the sentences, the imperative form, and the task of participants was to choose one of the listed meanings of the imperative that, in their opinion, best described the situation, and then to give the imperative replacement (if possible) with one of the offered modal verbs. The questionnaire itself was designed by the author of the paper, and prior to its distribution to the respondents, it had been completed by a pilot group of respondents, namely EFL teachers (each of them with the history of leaning English for at least 15 years, and all of them being at, according to the Common European Framework of Reference, C2 level, when it comes to the English language competence, meaning that their linguistic competence is either equal or approaching the one of an educated native speaker), in order for the author to get insight into the questionnaire’s validity (in both the languages) for the purposes of this study. The pilot study respondents were divided into two groups, one having been given the questionnaire in English and the other one the questionnaire in Serbian.

As for the meanings of the imperative, offered in the questionnaire, there were 9 meanings of this mood, representing the sublimation of all the meanings, which we had previously come across, by a thorough insight in the literature on mood, in both the examined languages, with the freedom of the author when formulating the ‘names’ of some meanings, as well as with the freedom in making the decision on the meanings which would be incorporated or not, in the questionnaire, as a tool for collecting data for this study. The following meanings (functions) of the imperative are offered in the questionnaire:

*Get out of here, I do not want to see you!*

Command

*Be kind and admit everything you have done wrong, we will not punish you.*

Plea/appeal

*You’d better tell me everything you know, we all save our lives in that way.*
Advice
   Give me the cup for the table.
Request
   Bring your winter jackets, it is cold in the mountains.
Recommendation
   Just try me spill the hot liquid on my clothes one more time!
Threat
   Do not go in, there are a lot of dangerous dogs out there!
Warning
   Do not cry, everything will be fine, you’ll get over it.
Comfort
   Leave your car in my yard.
Permission

The questionnaire was designed in both Serbian and English (with complementary examples, each of which was designed by the author of the paper), and the questionnaire sample (in English) can be found in the appendix to this work. Half of the subjects (academics from Serbia and Great Britain) were given a questionnaire in Serbian and the other half of the subjects in English. All the respondents were informed about the nature of the study and accepted to fill in the questionnaire voluntarily. The purpose of this method of data collection was to, in the data analysis itself, provide the contrasting of Serbian and English meanings of the imperative and the usage of modal verbs that match the meanings.

3. Data Analysis & Discussion

All the responses obtained from the respondents, via the 9 situations from the questionnaire, were observed individually. Namely, we counted how many times each of 9 situations was connected with a specific meaning of the imperative offered, and then how many times each of the situations was linked (if linked at all) with one of the provided modal verbs (which the respondents, as indicated in the questionnaire, considered to be adequate substitutes for the imperative forms in the sentences).

The results of the data analysis have shown that the respondents, in both the languages, understood, in the same way, the illocutionary force of the imperative, and connected the imperative forms, from almost all the dialogs, with the same meanings, in both the observed language samples. Each of the nine dialogues, which were the body of the instrument for data collection, except for the second and the third one, led to the same responses in both the groups of our corpus;
more precisely, the imperatives in the dialogues were associated with the same meanings in Serbian and in English. The imperative form from the first dialogue:

A: The food is very tasty, compliments to the chef.
B: You’re right, but it’s somewhat insipid to my taste. **Pass me the salt.**

was associated with the meaning of *request* by respondents in both English and Serbian. However, the verb in the imperative mood, from the second dialogue:

A: I’ve drunk so much coffee today that I won’t sleep a wink tonight.
B: If you experience any troubles with insomnia, **have** a cup of warm milk.

was associated with the meaning of *recommendation* in the Serbian part of the corpus, and the meaning of the *advice*, in the English sample. The imperative form from the third dialogue:

A: Hey, we’re leaving for the seaside tomorrow!
B: **Drive** carefully, there are many careless drivers on the road during the summer.

in the Serbian language sample was also connected with the meaning of *recommendation*, and in English with the meaning of *warning*. Here we can see the problem of differentiating very similar meanings: *advice*, *warning* and *recommendation*, and this is not surprising, since the differences between the meanings, are, actually, subtle ones. This was confirmed in the fifth dialogue as well:

A: I lent some money to the new neighbour yesterday.
B: **Don’t mess** with him, there’s a rumour going around that his past is not so bright.

where the respondents, in both the languages, hesitated between the meanings of *advice* and *warning*. While composing the questionnaire, the author saw each of the offered imperative forms as corresponding to one of the offered meanings only; anyhow, it should be noted that the author had in mind the possibility of mixing the three abovementioned meanings, because of the similarities they share. In this regard, following the results of the analysed data, form the respondents, native speakers of the two languages, the question arises about the necessity of potential grouping of some of the three, or even all three of these meanings, when describing the usage of the imperative (in the future).

Anyhow, as we have already noted before, the rest of the dialogues showed the same preferences by the respondents in the two languages, and thus, for the fourth dialogue, i.e. the imperative form placed there:

A: Hey, bro, I’ve just drunk all your Coke.
B: Just **try** to do it one more time!

respondents chose the meaning of *threat* to correspond to it. Then, with regard to the imperative used in the sixth dialogue:
A: Imagine, my dear, the bastard has cheated on me, after so many years together!
B: **Don’t lose** your nerves, he’ll soon get his, you know as they say: What goes around comes around.

the meaning of comfort was chosen to be the one appropriate for the used verb form. The seventh situation:
A: I’m out of space for all my antiques but I don’t have the heart to get rid of them.
B: **Bring** some of them here; you know that we’ve got plenty of space.

and the verb *to bring* in the imperative mood was perceived as the bearer of the meaning of permission, both in English and in Serbian.

For the imperative in last but one dialogue-task in the questionnaire:
A: Sorry for being rude to you.
B: **Get out** of my sight immediately!

respondents connected the underlined imperative form with the meaning of order. Finally, the dialogue:
A: You know that I don’t like when you spend so much money on trinkets.
B: But, mummy, **give** me some money only this time.

and the underlined imperative form was seen as the one with the meaning of appeal.

As we can see, native speakers of both the examined languages, actually, understood, in the same way, the illocutionary force of the verbs given in the dialogues, and, at the same time, the illocution of the offered meanings (recommendation, threat, request, comfort, advice, warning, permission, order, appeal), with the exception of some slight differences, mentioned earlier, regarding the usage, and illocutionary force of the three similar meanings/functions of the imperative, namely, the meanings of: recommendation, advice and warning.

The second part of the questionnaire, in which the task of the respondents was to replace the imperative form from the dialogues, with some of the available modal verbs, if possible, again, resulted in similar results in both the languages. Based on these results, we can conclude that the meaning of *request, permission* and *plea/appeal* were, in both the languages, identified with the modal verb *can*; then, similar and often confusing meanings, we mentioned earlier: *recommendation, advice* and *warning* were identified with the modal *should*, while the remaining three meanings of the imperative in the two languages brought some differences. First, we find the meaning of *threat*, which, in the part of the corpus in the English language, was not connected with any of the listed modals as frequently so that we could say that, in fact, it corresponds to any of the given modals’ meaning; in the Serbian language, on the other hand, this meaning was related to the modal *can/be allowed to* (with negation). Next, the
meaning of comfort, in English, was associated with several modal verbs; moreover, the respondents showed, in the aggregate, indecision when choosing a modal that would characterize this meaning, while in the Serbian language sample, modal verb should was chosen to be the representative of this meaning. Finally, there is the meaning of command, whose illocutionary force, in English, to some extent, was identified with the force carried by the modal verb must, while the respondents who filled in the questionnaire in the Serbian language, gave the meaning no adequate replacement with any of the offered modal verbs. If we, once again, on the whole, look at the results of this part of the research, regarding modal verbs and the meanings of the imperative which correspond to the modals, minor differences should not be surprising, given the fact that the Serbian language has less organized system of modal verbs than the English language.

4. Conclusion

As shown in the analysis of the data, there is a large number of similarities in the understanding and usage of the imperative in the Serbian and English language. Namely, in the two groups of respondents, one of which was filling in the questionnaire in English, and the other group of respondents the questionnaire in the Serbian language, the imperative was, in a very similar way, connected with the offered meanings, i.e. respondents showed that they understood the imperatives from the dialogues in a similar way. At the same time, the differences, in relation to decisions on the modal verbs which can, potentially, semantically adequately, replace the imperative forms, were slight. We can conclude that in the Serbian and English language, based on the analyzed data, the imperative mood carries the same illocutionary force, to be more precise — the meanings ascribed to it, for the most part, are identical in the two observed language samples, and the imperative forms used to express the given meanings can be adequately replaced with deontic sentences (sentences with modal verbs), without losing any part of the illocutionary force they bear.

References


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Appendix 1

Dear Respondent,

Please read the following dialogues carefully and then fulfil the tasks below. Thank you!

I Match the underlined imperative with one of the following meanings (one meaning per one underlined imperative): RECOMMENDATION, THREAT, REQUEST, COMFORT, ADVICE, WARNING, PERMISSION, ORDER, APPEAL.

1. A: The food is very tasty, compliments to the chef.
   B: You’re right, but it’s somewhat insipid to my taste. Pass me the salt.

2. A: I’ve drunk so much coffee today that I won’t sleep a wink tonight.
   B: If you experience any troubles with insomnia, have a cup of warm milk.

3. A: Hey, we’re leaving for the seaside tomorrow!
   B: Drive carefully, there are many careless drivers on the road during the summer.

4. A: Hey, bro, I’ve just drunk all your Coke.
   B: Just try to do it one more time!

5. A: I lent some money to the new neighbour yesterday.
   B: Don’t mess with him, there’s a rumour going around that his past is not so bright.

6. A: Imagine, my dear, the bastard has cheated on me, after so many years together!
   B: Don’t lose your nerves, he’ll soon get his, you know as they say: What goes around comes around.

7. A: I’m out of space for all my antiques but I don’t have the heart to get rid of them.
   B: Bring some of them here; you know that we’ve got plenty of space.

8. A: Sorry for being rude to you.
   B: Get out of my sight immediately!

9. A: You know that I don’t like when you spend so much money on trinkets.
   B: But, mummy, give me some money only this time.

II Now, choose one of the following verbs, which, according to your opinion, can be used instead of the underlined forms: CAN/COULD, MUST/HAVE TO, MAY/MIGHT, SHOULD/ OUGHT TO, WILL/ WOULD (the verbs are not restricted to one underlined form only). However, if there are underlined forms that you do not find interchangeable with the abovementioned verbs, please state so.

E.g. Take the sun-protection cream to the beach. ➔ Should (You should take the sun-protection cream to the beach.)
Slavonic Element in Jewish American English: The Case of Human-specific Vocabulary Items

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Abstract
The paper aims at presenting Yiddish-originating lexical items that have been incorporated into the field HUMAN BEING in English, and – to be more precise – mainly in the American variety of English. The words analysed here: nebbich, paskudnyak and schlub have been directly taken from Yiddish, yet may be said to be of very international character, chiefly Slavonic languages such as Czech, Polish, Russian and Slovak.

Keywords
Yiddish, Jewish English, Slavonic Languages, nebbich, paskudnyak, schlub

On Yiddish Language and the Slavonic Impact on Mame-Loshn
The prevailing and most readily recognized theory of the genesis of Yiddish places the origin of this language on the banks of the Rhine and the Moselle around the 10th century. According to Weinreich (1980, p. 1-9), the language was developed by French and Italian Jews who settled in what today is known as the Rhineland (more precisely explained by Weinreich, 1980, p. 1, as the cities and regions along the Rhine and Moselle, in the area designated by the Jews as Loter). Three to four centuries later the language began to make contact with Slavonic languages, first with the western Slavonic group i.e. Czech, Polish, Slovak and Sorbic-Polabian, then Belorussian, Russian and Ukrainian. The famous linguist Uriel Weinreich presented his theory of the languages in contact for the first time in 1953 while Paul Wexler developed a contrasting theory of the rise of Yiddish which will be outlined later in this paper.

The fusion approach developed by Weinreich (1980) focuses on the system of Yiddish rather than on identifying elements as German, Hebrew or Slavonic. Since Weinreich (1980, p. 546) speaks of the Yiddish as a ‘fusion language’ it is worth pointing out the fact that in most cases the co-territorial non-Jewish language with which Yiddish speakers came into contact was one of the Slavonic languages, such as Belorussian, Polish, Russian, or Ukrainian, and hence one can speak of the Yiddish and Slavonic bilingualism among Jews which was the rule rather than the exception. This easily noticeable contact resulted in a widespread Slavonic influence on Yiddish language at every cultural and religious level. Some most common examples include:
1. A Slavonic-type rule of anticipatory (regressive) voicing assimilation, as in *fus* + *benkl* which forms *fuzbenkl* ‘stool’.

2. A system of verbal aspect highly influenced by the semantics of Slavonic aspect, as in the prefix *tse*- (*tsebrekhen* ‘to break’).

3. A number of borrowed derivational morphemes, such as the agentive -*nik* (as in *nudnik* ‘bore’ from *nudne* ‘boring’ and *paskudnyak* meaning ‘foul’), and the diminutives -*tshik* (boytshik ‘a boy’, ‘a young man’) and -*ke* (*tchotchke* ‘a small item’).

4. Numerous borrowed verbs, with an especially high proportion of verbs that distinguish manner of action, such as *shushken* ‘whisper’, *kvitshen* ‘scream’ and *mlien* ‘simme’.

5. Slavonic kinship terms adopted for several major categories, for example, *zeyde* ‘grandfather’, *bobe* ‘grandmother’ and *plemenik* ‘nephew’.

The scholar concludes that as for Yiddish origins, a special framework is essential for any discussion of its etymological sources. Weinreich (1980) distinguishes the following three key terms, that is *stock*, *determinant* and *component* (see Jacobs 2005, p. 20). The term *stock language* refers to the external languages which are relevant for the fusion approach, i.e., German, Hebrew, Aramaic, Polish and Russian. For Weinreich (1980) the determinant is that subset of a stock language which potentially could have served as a source for elements of features which surface in the system of Yiddish. Here, the term *determinant* serves as the means of narrowing down more precisely what is meant by the term *stock*. The knowledge of geography, history and diachronic developments that affected the history of the language are essential in this case. In turn, the term *components* refers to those elements of the determinant which became part of Yiddish. As Jacobs (2005, p. 20) puts it, the term *is basically an etymological footnote concerning a given element in Yiddish*. Yiddish does not consist of “scraps” of the grammars of Polish, Hebrew, German, etc. Rather, Yiddish grammar is to be analyzed in terms of its internal system.

Significantly, Wexler (1987, 2002, 2006) challenges Weinreich (1980) and maintains that *Weinreich’s model of Yiddish is essentially wrong in most of its details*. Instead, the scholar provides linguistic evidence to show that (Judeo-) Slavonic and (Judeo-) Greek elements were also present at the birth of Yiddish, and, therefore, localizes its origin to areas which were under Slavonic influence. Wexler (1987) proposed a theory that Yiddish was not a Germanic language, but rather a Western Slavonic language, whose vocabulary items were largely replaced by High German elements. One of the followers of this theory is Geller (2008, p. 19) who claims that Yiddish is a mixed language which was based on
the Slavonic roots, and then by means of the language shift was Germanized, i.e. the Slavocentric approach to Yiddish versus Germanocentric.

Wexler (2002, p. 9) speculates that Jews speaking Judeo-Serbian between the 9th and 12th centuries had resisted the pressure to change to German language as they avoided conversion to Christianity. Although Germans migrated into a largely Serbian and Polabian lands, Jews living in that region made only a partial shift to German. To prove his theory valid Wexler (2002, p. 13) provides examples of evidently Slavonic terms used in Yiddish, such as mame ‘grandmother’ and tate ‘grandfather’.

Interestingly, it is worth pointing out that on the eve of World War 2 there were about 11 million speakers of Yiddish residing, mainly on the Polish, Czech, Slovak, Russian territories. Obviously, this number was drastically reduced both by the Holocaust and by massive shifts to other primary languages (Weinreich 1953, p. 126). As Jacobs (2005, p. 2) rightly observes Yiddish in modern times, both in the European home territory and in the Ashkenazic Diaspora, served as the language of the Ashkenazic masses in every walk of life, at home, in theatre, cinema, literature, politics, journalism and in schools – both secular and religious. Yiddish became the most important means of communication among Jews when YIVO (Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut, founded in 1925 in Wilno, Poland, now Vilnius, Lithuania, as the Yiddish Scientific Institute. The YIVO Institute for Jewish Research is dedicated to the history and culture of Ashkenazi Jewry and to its influence in the North and South America. Headquartered in New York City since 1940, today YIVO is the world’s preeminent resource center for East European Jewish Studies, Yiddish language, literature and folklore as well as the American Jewish immigrant experience) was established in Vilna. It is important to stress that of the six million Jews that perished in the Nazi genocide, approximately 5 million were Yiddish speakers (see Jacobs, 2005, p. 3).

Yiddish Element in American English – The Development of Jewish English

Now, let us move our discussion – across the ocean – and present a review of Jewish varieties of English. Steinmetz (1981, p. 14) defines Jewish English as [...] a form of Yiddish- and Hebrew-influenced English used by Jews, regardless of the extent of its hybridization. On the one hand, the spectrum of Jewish English speakers includes at one extreme those who are labelled as Modern Orthodox Jews, who are likely to be fluent in Yiddish, and – on the other hand – secularized Jews who may be familiar with Jewish English yet they tend to employ it only to a limited degree in their day-to-day communication. Gold (1985, p. 281) defines Jewish English as a cover term for a continuum of dialects whose distance from non-Jewish English (i.e., general English) varies. According to Gold (1985, p. 282),
the need to express Jewish experience is the reason why there are so many Jewish varieties of English. First and foremost, Jews are inclined to use certain lexical items to express the peculiarities of their daily existence. They use such words as *shabes clocks* ‘a clock which shows when the Shabes begins and finishes’, *yortsal calendar* ‘anniversary’ or *matse-meal* ‘a brittle, flat piece of unleavened bread eaten during Passover’. Another reason for the development of Jewish English is the influence of other natural languages. Gold (1985, p. 282) states that speakers of Jewish languages, like any others, [...] as they get older, find it even harder to acquire a native grasp of another language, hence features of other languages one knows may influence the newly acquired one [...] to impart a more Jewish character to a newly acquired language. Gold (1985, p. 283) also claims that Hebrew and Yiddish are archistratal languages in Anglophone countries, and hence they may be potential sources of influence on the English used by Jews.

Several reasons can be discerned for the development of Jewish varieties of English in history. For example, a native speaker of Yiddish who learns English as an adult may speak English which shows some Yiddish influence. This influence is passed on to the succeeding generation and becomes fused. Hence, when a hearer becomes acquainted with a certain dialect, he or she normally begins by hearing the vestiges of a certain substratum in one’s speech. In his seminal sociolinguistic work titled *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* Labov (1966) demonstrates that certain features of New York speech, such as raised intonation in words like *off* and *cough*, are more common among Jewish Americans than among Italian American and Irish Americans.

Moreover, there are many communal variations among American Jews, for example, the speech pattern of members of different religious synagogues (e.g., Orthodox, Conservative, Reform), or between religious speakers and secularized Jews. As Gold (1985, p. 283) puts it [...] each item of Jewish English has a certain currency from the individual, generational, chronological, Jewish communal, and non-Jewish viewpoints. The major communal line of division in Jewish English runs between Ashkenazic and non-Ashkenazic varieties, with most of the Ashkenazic varieties being Sephardic English. Interestingly, as observed by Gold (1985:284), if one needs to integrate, for example, Yiddish verbs into the tissue of American English the Yiddish infinitive ending must be dropped. Therefore, Yiddish *shepn* ‘draw’ or *kvetchn* ‘complain’ appear in English use in a modified form as *shep* and *kvetch*.

There are American Jews who communicate in vulgar varieties of Jewish English to express swearing and obscenity of various kinds (see, for example, the writings of Phillip Roth, Saul Bellow and Leo Rosten). Noteworthy, this style-shift occurs when one discusses Jewish subjects with a ‘non-Jew’ (gentile) or in order
to be more cryptic so that non-Jews could be hindered in understanding a thing. Significantly, normally a typical Jew tends to avoid expressions with non-Jewish connotations, such as the *Old Testament, B.C. ‘before Christ’, A.D. ‘anno domini’*. Most speakers of Jew.E. use those varieties which are based on Eastern Yiddish which are called collectively *Eastern Ashkenazic English*. Most other varieties of Jewish English, for example the variety based on *Judezmo*, are obsolete or hardly ever used any more. Indeed, those Jewish English lexical items which were domesticated in general English are of Yiddish origin.

Moreover, according to McArthur (1992, p. 546), Jewish English is a collective term that covers several varieties of English which are spoken and written by Jews all over the world, mostly in English speaking countries. The language is marked by a range of lexical items, grammatical and other linguistic and paralinguistic elements. McArthur (1992, p. 546) informs us that *Jewish English has existed in one way or another as long as Jews have been speaking English*. At present, the most common variety of language is a type of English influenced by strong Yiddish and Hebrew admixture. Indeed, the impact of Ashkenazi Jews on mostly Northern American culture is so immense that the introduction of such neologisms as *mave* ‘an expert’, *schmuck* ‘a stupid or foolish person’, *nosh* ‘a snack’ and *schlep* ‘to pull’ is easily observable.

**Slavonic Element in Jewish American English: The Case of Human-specific Vocabulary Items**

It is worth pointing out that English has never been a language of people isolated to the extent of not having any contacts with the world outside their own society. Baugh and Cable (1993, p. 1) put it in the following manner:

*The diversity of cultures that find expression in it is a reminder that the history of English is a story of cultures in contact during the past 1,500 years. It understates matters to say that political, social, and cultural forces influence a language.*

Following this line of reasoning, one should mention Slavonic lexical items that entered the American variety of English through the means of Yiddish as numerous Jewish American writers, comedians and scriptwriters introduced elements of Yiddish culture and words into popular American culture. Let us now concentrate on examining the semantic evolution of three words – one Czech, one Polish and one Russian lexical item – related to the conceptual macrocategory **HUMAN BEING** that are key examples of Yiddish-originating lexical items in American English (for the sake of maximum methodological accuracy of the research intended, a congruent body of semantic components have been employed. In attempting to achieve the goals of the analysis, certain elements of Componential Analysis will be set to work – in particular – the versions
developed in the earlier literature of the subject by Nida (1975) and – in a refined and modified form – by Kleparski (1986, 1990) of the Rzeszów School of Diachronic Semantics.

**NEBBICH (1892→present):** The majority of reference sources that have been put to use here, such as the *OED, MW, UD, Rosten* (1968), Bluestein (1998), Eisenberg and Scolnic (2006) inform us that the Yiddish lexical item nebbich (נעביש) (with alternative forms: nebbish, nebich, nebbishe, nebbisher, nebbish, neb) is used in the general sense ‘a nobody’ and ‘a nonentity’. As given in the *OED*, the lexical item in question is of Western-Yiddish origin employed in the sense of ‘regret’ and ‘pity’. It is used as a noun, an adjective and an adverb, and most often as an interjection, for example:

2011 Nebich, the poor man. He is a great nebbich. (object of pity).

As to the etymology of nebbich, Zunz (1880, p. 456) argues that it is of Polish origin. However, Grünbaum (1882, p. 394) speaks of its German roots, namely Nie bei euch, based on Jewish religious translations of the Torah, such as *Lam i. 12*, which Jewish commentators such as Rashi and Ibn Ezra read as ‘May such a calamity not come upon you’. Similarly, Polish Jews frequently employed the Hebrew words of that passage, Lo ‘alekem, in the same sense. However, the *RHD, MW* and *ED* also speak of its Slavonic roots, and compare it to the Czech word nebohý ‘poor’ also spelled with -sh which is probably the Western Yiddish form of the word. Wexler (1987, p. 159) discusses the etymology of the word nebbich possibly deriving from Old Cze nebohý ‘deceased’, ModCze ‘unfortunate, poor’). The lexical item in question is used chiefly in the American English slang with the sense range ‘a pitifully ineffectual’, ‘luckless and timid person’. The *RHD* records its first attestation in American English at the end of 19th century and informs us of its Yiddish origin used in the sense nebekh ‘poor’, ‘unfortunate’. Likewise, the *OED* speaks in favour of Yiddish etymology of this lexical item which continues to be used in the same sense today, as testified by the following late 19th and 20th century quotations:
1892 'Achi nebbich, poor little thing!' cried Mrs. Kosminski, who was in a tender mood.

1959 It's ach a nebish Harry now. It's not easy for him. Other men get ill but they fight.

1975 Mr. Antonacci is both antic and affecting as the jumpy, craven nebbish Honey Boy, and John Bottoms is superb in several roles.

2001 They asked me, nebekh, to break the sad news.

Interestingly enough, the OED informs us that the word nebbich is also used in the adjectival form meaning ‘innocuous,’ ‘ineffectual,’ ‘luckless,’ ‘hapless’, but also as an expression of commiseration and dismay. Bluestein (1998, p. 76) provides the following definition of the semantics of nebbich, that is ‘a nothing’ and ‘a loser’ and quotes Styron’s Sophie’s Choice (1979): And me a hungry Jewish youth, a poor nebbish with five dollars landing on Ellis Island not knowing a single individual. Similarly, Rosten (1968, p. 264) defines the sense of the discussed lexical item as ‘an ineffectual, weak, helpless, unfortunate person, a loser and a nonentity and a nothing of a person’. Also Wexler (1987, p. 159) points to the usage of this noun which serves as an interjection or used in the sense ‘poor’ and ‘an unfortunate person as in dos mejdel nebbich translated as ‘the poor girl’. We are also informed by Wexler (1987:159) that the lexical item in question spread from Western Yiddish to German and Dutch slang used in the sense ‘nothing’, ‘naught’, ‘lost’.

Apart from the presence of such human-specific common components as [+ANIMATE] and [+HUMAN] that locate the sense of the word in the macrocategory HUMAN BEING, one can clearly speak of the word being associated with such diagnostic components as (αMALE), (+WEAK), (+HELPLESS) and (+INCAPABLE). Additionally, Eisenberg and Scolnic (2006:110) inform us that the lexical item is often [...] used to describe someone you feel sorry for which makes the semantics of the word associated with such negatively loaded elements (supplementary rather than diagnostic) as /+MISERABLE/ and /+PITIFUL/.
**PASKUDNYAK (1968→present):** The word (alternative form: *paskudnak*) is a /+SLANG/ marked expression used in present-day Am.E. of Yiddish provenance based on the Polish/Ukrainian adjective *paskudny*. The noun *paskudny* in Polish is used in the following senses, as confirmed by the *SJP*: 1) ‘an ugly man’ 2) ‘a mean, unpleasant person’ 3) [as in] *mleczaj paskudnik* ‘type of edible mushroom’ and 4) (old fashioned use) ‘cattle and horse disease treated by removing of the membrane of the eye’ (see Dziama, 2013). It is used in the sense ‘nasty’, ‘dirty’ and ‘mean’ (see the *UD*, Rosten). As for the semantics of the Yiddish word *paskudnyak*, it is not infrequently argued that it is based on the Russian word *паскуд* used in the sense ‘bastard’. Likewise, in Polish the word *paskudzić* means ‘to bungle,’ ‘mess up’ or ‘botch’. Also, in Polish the noun employed to express the abomination is *Paskudztwo!* ‘What an ugly thing to see!’.

Similarly, a related word in Russian is *позорный* which is used in the sense ‘dishonorable’. Rosten (1968, p. 285) defines its sense as ‘a man or a woman who is *paskudne*’, hence ‘nasty, mean, odious and contemptible’, and – in general – the word is linked to a highly opprobrious sense. The author provides us with the following quotation from the 1960s:

1968 I wouldn’t say Hello to a *paskudnyak* like that.

The author goes on to say that this lexical item is one of the most graphically illustrative words in Yiddish as it offers [...] the connoisseur three nice, long syllables, starting with a sibilant of reprehension and ending with a nasality of scorn. In other words, it adds cadence to contempt (Rosten, 1968, p. 238). Also, the *UD* informs us that the word *paskudnyak* is an extremely expressive Yiddish insult [...] the most potent and offensive insult known to man. It has so much connotation that cannot be truly defined that the closest you can come to its meaning is ‘horrible person’. No other definition has the meaning, and there is no way to convey how powerful that word is and should be used with caution. Similarly, Wex (2006, p. 155) points to the strength of this lexical item, and compares it to the sense of English *S. O. B*. In current American English *paskudnyak* is used with the strongly negative evaluative load ‘oral violence’ which allows us to postulate the presence of such diagnostic components as (+DISGUSTING), (+MEAN) and (+UNKIND). The sense is evidenced in the following recent context:

2005 Hitler was a prime example of a *paskudnyak*. You’d be hard pressed to come up with others.

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Interestingly enough, the lexical item in question has not been added to the OED records yet. Nevertheless, one may expect the term will be noticed by the English dictionary scholars as there is a growing tendency in American English works of fiction, film industry and television to use the word *paskudnyak* in the sense ‘utter ugliness’ (see, for example, Cooper’s *Prince Paskudnyak and the Giant Bats*).

**SCHLUB (1964→present):** The noun *schlub* (alternative forms: *shlub, zlob, z lub*) is used chiefly in American English as a slang appellation to convey the sense ‘a worthless person,’ and ‘a jerk’ (see the OED, MW). It comes from Yiddish, possibly modelled upon Polish *żłób* ‘a blockhead’ (see the ED). When we go back to the beginnings of the word, we see that its historically primary meaning is presumably similar to the Polish lexical item *żłób*, in its original sense, that is ‘a crib’ or ‘a manger’ (cf. Czech *ž lab*, Slovak *žl‘ab*), the sense which is associated with the presence of such elements as [−ANIMATE] and [−HUMAN] that place the sense in the sphere of **INANIMATE OBJECTS**. The metaphorical process operating here may be said to have involved the substitution of the components [+ANIMATE] and [+HUMAN] to account for the rise of the human-specific sense threads ‘a worthless person’ and ‘a jerk’. Additionally, one may speak of addition of such diagnostic components as (+WORTHLESS) and (+DESPICABLE) illustrated by the following 20th century OED quotations:

**1964** ‘Kaplowitz,’ I say, ‘are you a janitor or a *schlub*? I’m a janitor. And such a dirty basement I can’t stand.’

††

**1970** He backed out—can you imagine? Hired a couple of college *shlubs*.

††

**1978** After bearing two children of the real-estate *shlub*, Earl Jr.

The sense of the lexical item is colourfully and jocularly depicted in the book *From Schlub to Stud: How to Embrace Your Inner Mensch and Conquer the Big City* by a Jewish American New York Post journalist and writer Max Gross who explained in the interview:

*I don’t think that schlubs are necessarily failures in life. They’re a little disorganized [....] I think you can find them all throughout history. My father thinks*
that Kaiser Wilhelm II was a big schlub [...] he had this incredible empire [...] and he screwed it up forever (Brostoff, 2008).

**Conclusion**

It goes without saying that English vocabulary is one of the most cosmopolitan lexicons in the body of all natural languages of the world. This is made evident by specialist studies on the subject, such as, for example, Rayevska (1979), Baugh and Cable (1993), but also in the introductory handbooks on language and its development such as Fromkin and Rodman (1993) and Finegan (1999).

It seems that many words in the English lexico-semantic system, and, especially – as this paper shows – American English, represent cases of borrowings inside borrowings. In other words, many American English words, such as, to list just a few examples, bubbe, kalikeh, nebbich, paskudnyak, schlub, schmatte and trombenik all represent borrowings from one of the Slavonic languages, though not necessarily determinable with 100% certainty. These words were taken from Czech, Polish, Russian, Slovak or Ukrainian to Yiddish and then – with various phonetic and semantic modifications that followed – enriched the vocabulary of American English from where they seem to be spreading into other language zones where English is spoken as the official language. This spread is greatly accelerated by the ramification of American culture with American film and music industries coming to the fore.

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Our Common Pedagogical Dilemma: Designing Literary Essay Assignments Not Easily Bought or “Found”

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Abstract
Many of the small number of English majors at the American University of Kuwait (AUK) are ESL learners who say they do not like to read. Of this group, most are looking to finish the degree quickly and preferably without reading texts closely or the bother of using MLA citation style. Instead of writing essays, these students seek to “find” one on the Internet or to have their maids or a local business complete the work for them while they pursue other interests. Given this population, one of my biggest pedagogical challenges as a literature professor at AUK is designing essay assignments that do not lend themselves as readily to the common forms of cheating. Plagiarism is a dilemma that most professors will encounter. My work focuses on assignments I create to encourage this ESL population to engage in literary criticism using copying (or pastiche) and social media formats without cheating. Their creative undertakings must be accompanied by an argumentative essay that explains the intellectual underpinnings of their creations. After nearly four years of this textual intervention approach, many students have achieved desirable learning outcomes with these assignments.

Keywords
Textual intervention, plagiarism, creativity

As a professor who teaches medieval and nineteenth-century British and American literature courses at a private university in Kuwait, I have often listened sympathetically as my colleagues complained of student plagiarism. One colleague read a student paper that appeared very familiar to him, only to realize that his student had found one of his articles online and given it to him as her work. Another colleague had a mother accompany her son to his office hours to berate him about the “F” he had given her son because, in the mother’s words, “we paid good money for an “A” paper.”

That parent brought up a situation that may or may not be unique to Kuwait. Parents go to brick and mortar businesses to buy assignments for their children. Of course, every society has students who cheat, but until arriving in Kuwait I had no experience of parents that routinely buy homework assignments. This phenomenon starts in elementary school and continues through university, as my colleague discovered. (In addition to speaking about this issue with my university colleagues, I have had many discussions with a number of Americans who teach elementary students in various schools in Kuwait. It is from this wide
circle of educators that I have learned the extent of the issue of parental involvement in buying homework assignments.) While I have not been to one of those businesses, I know they exist because the businesses advertise. One afternoon our security guards caught workers putting flyers on the cars in the student-faculty parking lot that urged students to visit their business or, for the student who is both dishonest and lazy, send syllabi via their mobiles and have their homework delivered to them at school.

Literary essay assignments are particularly ripe for plagiarism because most undergraduates read from popular anthologies or critical editions. It is impossible to surf the Internet and not find a paper on canonical works such as *The Canterbury Tales*, *Wuthering Heights* or *The Scarlet Letter*. Moreover, with just a little effort, students can cobble together what they term as “smart” sounding essays using passages from *Spark Notes* or *Cliff Notes*. Students, as we know, are masters at navigating the Web. Some find it hard to resist global or incremental plagiarism in their mindless pursuit of an “A.”

This issue of plagiarism plagues educators worldwide. In opening a discussion on our common pedagogical problem, my purpose is not to criticize Kuwaiti students or their parents. Instead, my goal is to discuss a shift in my pedagogical approach to assignment creation, given the realities of the educational climate where I work. For this discussion I will explain how textual intervention forms the theoretical basis for my assignments, describe some of the assignments I have created using textual intervention, provide examples from the work that students submitted, and discuss how this approach enhances student learning outcomes by making old texts more relevant for twenty-first century students as well as preparing strong students for advanced studies. Before I discuss the areas outlined above, I will provide a general profile of my students.

The majority of the English majors I teach are privileged, Arab, second-language students. Women outnumber men by almost three to one. Some of them say that they hate to read and write essays. Many are English majors because their high-school grade point averages were not high enough to claim a government scholarship to study the more popular majors such as engineering or business. Given their antipathy for the demands of the discipline and their desire to have a different major, our students are conscripts to the English department much like the idlers from earlier centuries that awoke from merry-making and found themselves in the British navy.

When I gave my first standard literary essay assignment to this population, I failed six students for plagiarism after Turn-It-In demonstrated conclusively that those students were not the originators of the essays they gave me. The students could not argue with evidence, but they did produce plenty of tears and dramatics as they implored me not to fail their assignments. One even filed a
grade complaint against me for giving her an “F” after she had worked very hard “researching” that paper.

That semester forced me to think seriously about the nature of my assignments. I was not going to spend semester after semester hosting sobbing cheaters in my office. I could foresee an endless and futile uphill battle ahead with me trying to convince students whose parents may have bought their assignments for most of their academic careers that they should do their own work or fail the course. If my students would not change significantly, my assignments had to change. I had to create assignments that would both assess student learning in relationship to the stated course outcomes and cut the ease of plagiarism. Thus, like many instructors before me, I turned to textual intervention. A simple definition for this critical approach to criticism is offered by Buckton-Tucker (2012) who quotes Kimber as saying that textual interventions is “‘a way of challenging existing texts to create original work’, implying, as he says, that texts need to be regarded as dynamic and open-ended, rather than fixed and finished” (2012, p. 1).

In Textual Intervention: Critical and Creative Strategies for Literary Studies (1995), Pope states that the best way to understand how a text works “is to change it: to play around with it, to intervene in it in some way (large or small), and then try to account for the exact effect of what you have done” (1995, p. 1). His words describe my pastiche assignments perfectly. For example, when I teach Old English literature in my survey class I ask students to create a pastiche of The Wife’s Lament or The Wanderer that describes an event from their lives in Kuwait using the four major conventions of that period poetry – ubi sunt, the elegiac mood, the kenning, and alliteration. This pastiche allows students to express their own ideas as they demonstrate their comprehension of the conventions that made a good scop (= the Old English word for poet). Instead of plagiarism I received some impressive efforts such as The Woe of a Word-Smith. The first three paragraphs are:

A cornucopia of crass cross-cultural invective invites itself to inflict injury on my inventory of ideas. Pen to paper is sword to soul. This is the woe of a winded word-smith...

Two purposes predicate my printed-passages: my own and my grade-givers’. Ordered in chronology but not in priority, long gone are the days when they were at parity, longer still from when personal projects possessed primacy.

I wrote when I was sad, and I grew glad. The word broth in my thought-cauldron, agitated by anger and alienation, fused into cohesion, bonded together by strong emotion. I wrote on religion, irreligion,
Kierkegaard, suicide and God. I wrote about my first heartbreak. I kept an intricate, insightful thought-book (submitted by a student in ENGL 211 during the Fall 2013 semester).

Pastiche is not the only permutation of textual intervention I use. In periods more accessible to my students then the medieval period, I give essay assignments that stress the augmentation of canonical works instead of the rewriting of them. For example in my courses on nineteenth-century British or American literature, the majority of my essay assignments have two parts. Students submit a creative writing component accompanied by an essay that explains the analytical underpinnings for the choices made in their creative work. I ensure the creative assignments incorporate something familiar to my students. Most recently the familiar component has involved social media. However, in my assignments, unlike actual social media sites, English spelling, grammar, and usage must be correct. One recent assignment required students to create a Facebook page for a character from Wuthering Heights or Emma. After creating this supplementary text, they were asked to write an essay explaining the choices they made for the Facebook creation grounding their intervention with more traditional literary criticism.

One student created a Facebook page in which Heathcliff befriended only Catherine Earnshaw and Nelly Dean. His posts berated people, especially Isabella Linton, for trying to befriend him and railed against all gentle sentiments including life itself. She defended this invention in her essay using the quotation from the text when Heathcliff brags of his abuse of Isabella to Dean and says of his unhappy wife she “degenerates into a real slut! She is tired of trying to please me uncommanly early” (p. 117). Not only did the creative exercise and essay demonstrate the student’s understanding of character, plot, convention, culture, and the usual conversations that accompany Bronte’s text, it also allowed her to choose images that expressed her interventions in the text and display her linguistic savvy in realizing that the word slut as Bronte used it meant nothing more nefarious than an unkempt woman.

My students have not figured out an easy method of plagiarizing these two-component papers from the Internet. Thus my assignments have proven as cheat proof as work completed outside the classroom can be. Students have noticed this about my assignments. While conversing with a student about his idea for a Facebook page, I implored him not to procrastinate in starting his work because he could not complete my assignments with a paper found via Google. Much to my surprise, he admitted to discussing that issue with his peers before concluding, “I know, and we hate your assignments because of that.” Without trying to do so, that student gave me a compliment. He affirmed my pedagogical
approach to minimizing plagiarism and maximizing learning while assuring me that my evaluations of the assignments are accurate assessments of a student’s ability to write, analyze, criticize, theorize, and comprehend rather than a reflection of the wonders of Internet search engines.

In developing essay assignments I am also careful to acknowledge the standardized needs of the students who excel at this university and wish to earn advanced degrees. They must understand close reading, theory, criticism, and how to hold traditional conversations about canonical texts since they will leave university hoping to be accepted into graduate programs in the UK or US. We must prepare them for advanced studies. Therefore, my assignments cannot become too esoteric or open-ended. The two-part assignment avoids that pitfall and encourages creativity as it caters to all of the diverse learning needs of my classroom in Kuwait.

My final assignment examples come from a Twitter assignment in my American literature class that uses *The Norton Anthology of American Literature Vol. B*. The students could choose from Washington Irving’s *Rip Van Winkle* or *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* or the excerpts from James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Pioneers* or *The Last of the Mohicans* or Catharine Maria Sedgwick’s *Hope Leslie*. I asked them to create a series of seven tweets between two characters from their chosen text. The tweets had to reflect cultural conventions of the period as well as be a plausible interaction between the characters given the parameters the author created. To accompany the tweets, students were asked to submit an essay that situated their tweets within the texts, developed an appropriate literary theory, and demonstrated an understanding of the cultural milieu of eighteenth-century America.

It is apparent immediately when students do not understand issues or procrastinate and rush through the assignments. I received two papers that did not pass. The first featured Natty Bumppo and his Native American friend, Chingacaghook tweeting about going to the theater. Of course, there was no theater in the community where they lived. Bumppo, nicknamed Leatherstocking, for the Native American clothing that he always wore, had rejected cultivated existence to live as simply as Chingacaghook. And, finally, a community still smarting over King Phillip’s War would not be inclined to allow a Native American into their theater even if they had one. His essay consisted merely of a restating of tweets using more words than allowed by Twitter. The main point of the essay was that the two men were friends who did activities together. Unfortunately, that issue is not debatable because Cooper establishes their mutual good-will.

Another failing paper was also on Cooper. It involved tweets between Judge Marmaduke Temple and his daughter Elizabeth. She asked him why the early
settlers faced famine. This was an interesting conversation to imagine. However, the father told his daughter that the settlers went on vacation in the summer and their crops failed. Once again the student did not represent the cultural milieu of the text accurately. Settlers of the wilderness did not go on long vacations in the summer as modern-day Kuwaitis do. Once again the essay was a longer explanation of the tweets.

In each case, the students failed to understand the historical context of the novel and how to interpret the important issues in Cooper’s work critically. All of the other submissions were considerably more astute. One student submitted the following tweet between the children of Rip Van Winkle. She chose two characters that Irving describes but does not allow them to speak as children. Irving tells us that Van Winkle’s son is just like him and describes his daughter as the wife of a man who fulfills his duty to provide for his family as head of the household. That daughter, Judith Gardenier, has a well-maintained home where Van Winkle goes to live once he awakens from his 20-year slumber. Her tweets between siblings are situated a year before their father’s return. She tweets:

Judith Gardenier@ JudithGardenier
Rip! Lazing away from your chores again? Has father’s spirit bonded with you for you are his image in minding all business but your own!

Rip Van Winkle Jr.@ lazyismymiddlename
And you, the voice of mother! During the 15 years since father disappeared, have you not wondered if he left to escape our mother’s nagging?

Judith Gardenier@ JudithGardenier
I looked for him, as did mother. Since he disappeared I often wondered if he abandoned us for a life of leisure over duty to his family.

Rip Van Winkle Jr.@ lazyismymiddlename
Duty? Was he not the beloved of the town for helping those in need? They blame ma for driving him away when he did tasks no one else did!

Judith Gardenier@ JudithGardenier
I cannot fault mother. I understand the hardships she went through taking on father’s duty in a world that allows women little freedom.

Rip Van Winkle Jr.@ lazyismymiddlename
Surely father did what he could. Did he not clothe and feed us? Did he not leave us the farm? Are you yet unsatisfied enough to blame him?

Judith Gardenier@JudithGardenier

We starved, walked around in rags, had our land squandered away as our farm fell to despair. Charity begins at home and I pity him for never understanding this.

The essay that accompanied this tweet examines the sibling relationship and familial space of the Van Winkle household through a feminist critical approach. The student argues that the narrator’s jocular tone and sympathetic description of Van Winkle’s plight masks the seriousness of the domestic abandonment of the title character’s wife and children who could not fend for themselves in eighteenth-century America. She may have nagged him but the condition of their farm and clothing certainly gave her cause for anger. In the tweet, Judith stops her brother from romanticizing their deadbeat father and makes him understand the reality of life that so bedeviled their mother.

Another student also chose to focus the assignment on *Rip Van Winkle* and submitted a tweet that gives another silenced character, Dame Van Winkle, voice. Irving’s story bemoans her as a shrew. The student acknowledges the supposed shrillness of her manner in writing her tweets all in capital letters. And yet her demands are proper. As in the tweets of the first student, he focuses on the gender dynamics at work in eighteenth-century America. Van Winkle is neglectful and the student demonstrates his inattention to husbandly and paternal duty through the sloppiness – abbreviations and poor spelling – of his tweets. He writes:

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Dam. Winkle: RIP!! GET HOME NOW!!! THE FARM HAS BEEN FALLOW FOR FAR TOO LONG! THE WEEDS HAVE BEGUN TO OUTGROW THE CROPS THAT ALREADY MANAGED TO SPROUT!!
Rvwin: why so loud, why the neighbours can hear u through the letters of ur every word u send
Dam. Winkle: NEIGHBOURS!? YOU MEAN THE WRETCHES AND DRUNKARDS AT THAT HORRID TAVERN!!
Rvwin: Ill have u know ive yet to drink a pint. Mrs roddenly needed a hand at home and I was passing by and there and then offered my help
Dam. Winkle: WOULD YOU BE AS DILLIGENT TO YOUR FAMILY AND CHILDREN AS YOU ARE TO STANGERS WITH THEIR MINOR NEEDS!!
Rvwin: Ill be home in a bit and look after the garden and fields but i am thirsty. A quick stop at the pub and ill be back before lunch
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Dam.Winkle: LUN-? RIP VAN WINKLE, IT’S PAST NOON AND NEARING TH- (Turned off, and tucked into a vest pocket, to a male chorus of “RIIIIP!!!”) (both Tweets were submitted by ENGL 310 students in the Spring 2014 semester)

In each of these papers the students were free to intervene in the text as they added to critical discussions of important questions raised by Irving’s text.

One of the major outcomes I have stressed is the infrequency of plagiarism using textual intervention. However, that is only half of the success story of my use of textual intervention in Kuwait. The other major outcome, one that I hope that the examples of student writing demonstrate, is that this approach helps hard-working students gain access to texts that pose linguistic, historical, and cultural challenges to young people who speak Arabic as their native language and reside in twenty-first century Kuwait. High achieving students comment on how much they enjoy the assignments because it challenges them as they engage the readings. Or as John McRae writes in Introduction to Literature Language and Culture, language “awareness, text awareness and cultural awareness are now seen as empowering the learner. The authority of the text is now more open to discussion, rewriting, creative reading and interpretation, and indeed all aspects of creativity and re-creation, than it has ever been” (n.d., para 6). Another student sums up her approval of my assignments with a question, we “get creativity as well as critical literary skills. What else can a serious student want?”

References

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Facing Grammar Problems with the Aid of Lexicographic Tools

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Abstract
In general, dictionaries are considered to be repositories of invaluable linguistic information about words. Traditionally, the facts about language in general dictionaries are presented in form of information categories discussed within a given dictionary article, to name but a few: pronunciation, meaning, spelling or usage. The fact is, however, that the retrieval of this data from lexicographic works of reference is, not infrequently, severely hindered by their users' poor dictionary skills and, as a result, a great deal of the linguistic wealth provided there remains unexplored. The present paper is aimed at a more in-depth presentation of one of numerous information categories described in a dictionary entry – grammatical information and, particularly, part-of-speech membership. We shall primarily discuss the coverage of syntactic behaviours of verbs, the properties of nouns as well as the characteristics of adjectives. The character of this study is general, with no comparison of this information treatment in other languages or within different lexicographic conventions. We will focus on the types and quantity of information that can be extracted from the part-of-speech indication.

Key words grammatical information, information category, dictionary entry/article, part-of-speech indication

Introduction
It is common knowledge that bilingual dictionaries have always enjoyed greater popularity with the foreign language learners, even those at advanced level. The advantages are fairly straightforward: the access to specific information is uncomplicated, there are direct translations (which reduce the risk of ambiguity, at least initially) and – finally – more and more bilingual dictionaries try to provide assistance with syntagmatic relations between the words, as well as grammatical and discoursal information. However, despite all these attempts to improve their quality, the gravest disadvantages of bilingual dictionaries still remain the fragmentary character of the information provided, as well as the fact that they do not describe the foreign language in its own right. Therefore, due to the extraordinary range of lexical and grammatical information provided in monolingual learners’ dictionaries, they are – despite all the obvious shortcomings – generally more successful at meeting their users’ production needs, and – with no doubt – shifting their interests from bilingual to monolingual dictionaries could only be potentially beneficial. In general,
monolingual learners’ dictionaries, together with the ones onomasiologically/conceptually-organised, seem to have greater potential for all the stages of any productive type of tasks and learners must be systematically reminded that with this type of activities, more than with receptive ones, more groundwork is required and even the best bilingual dictionaries (often perceived as easy to use) will not be able to meet this criterion (Rundell 1999).

In the sections that follow we shall present some reports on how the authors of the most well known and best recognized EFL dictionaries attempt facing the difficult task of reconciling different rigours and constraints posed by the theory of dictionary making and the needs of their users occurring on the day-to-day basis in the process of foreign language learning. The synopsis offered here covers the studies and results of research projects carried out by de Caluwe and van Santen (2003).

**Nouns in dictionaries**

As observed by de Caluwe and van Santen (2003), with regard to the question of the plurality of nouns in English and its predictability, some dictionaries (for instance *Longman, Chambers* and *Oxford*) choose not to mention the plural forms at all, though their examples feature ones. As a result, it is not always evident for the user whether a given plural form can be formed at all, if it is not specified in the dictionary entry. This obscurity, however, can be largely eliminated by the provision of the label specifying the semantic distinction between countable and uncountable nouns which indirectly helps to determine whether a noun can take a plural or not. Moreover, note that this distinction proves useful in the determination of both an article and other determiners. Naturally, to save on space, dictionary compilers resort to various “tricks”, and the *Oxford English Dictionary*, for instance, provides a label for uncountable nouns solely, and the uncountable form occurs whenever one and the same word can appear in both forms. In such cases some irregularities, such as spelling in the formation of a number of plural forms of nouns, for example, may be listed as an accompanying but separate note, albeit they are customarily given in the headword too.

In general, one may say that even though an overwhelming majority of nouns in English are countable, and the formation of the plural form is highly predictable, there are some focal points which should not be disregarded in the compilation and – more precisely – in the provision of the description of nouns in any monolingual pedagogical dictionaries. The issue of voicing in the irregular plural formation, for instance, needs proper consideration since even if a given plural is formed in a regular way (like *house* ~ *houses*), the pronunciation pattern is often irregular and, as in this case, changes from the voiceless fricative in singular into a voiced one in plural (e.g. */haus/ ~ */hauziz/). Another feature
which requires particular care in lexicographic works of reference is a vowel gradation. The authorities on the subject such as Quirk and Greenbaum (1990) refer to these plurals as *mutation plurals*. They are formed by an irregular alteration of vowel sound and spelling, with no ending attached to them, for example: *man ~ men, tooth ~ teeth* and *foot ~ feet*. There is also a large group of nouns (usually denoting animals), that demonstrate no difference in form between singular and plural number (e.g. *sheep, fish*), as well as nouns of quantity (referring to number, length, weight, etc.), which do not take a plural form when preceded by another word expressing quantity, e.g. *six thousand, ten million*, etc. Moreover, among some other types of irregular forms which – in an alternative manner, individually selected by a particular title – must be included in a dictionary, one should not ignore foreign plurals (e.g. *stimulus ~ stimuli, stratum ~ strata, tempo ~ tempi, larva ~ larvae*) or nouns resistant to number contrast (ordinarily singular, e.g. *news/mumps/physics is* and not *are*, and ordinarily plural, e.g. *scissors, jeans, braces, slacks, tongs*) (Quirk and Greenbaum 1990: 93-99).

**Verbs in dictionaries**

When browsing through literature on grammatical information in learners’ dictionaries, one can easily notice that the analysis of the syntax of the verb seems to be most lengthy and detailed. Take, for example, regular verbs in English which have four morphological forms: the base form (e.g. *call*), the third person singular form (*calls*), -ing participle (*calling*), -ed form (*called*). As regards irregular full verbs there is no analogy to regular forms, as here different verbs can appear in a different number of forms (e.g. the verb *speak* has five forms while the verb *cut* only three). With reference to the -s ending of regular verbs, its pronunciation pattern can vary in the manner analogous to the changes in pronunciation of plural form of nouns (e.g. *catches /iz/, calls /z/, cut /s/*). The ending -ed has three pronunciation realisations, that is *patted /id/, called /d/ or packed /t/* – and the pattern can be guessed by the phonological form of the stem and therefore, with some exceptions e.g. (*Collins* dictionary), dictionaries commonly provide only the base form. As for the spelling irregularities, such as doubling of consonant before -ing, and -ed, deletion and addition of -e, different treatment of -y, they are covered in most dictionaries. All in all, the major characteristics of irregular full verbs are as follows:

1) they have no -ed ending or the inflection is reflected in an alternative form with /d/ /t/ – both regular and irregular forms appear together, e.g. *burnt/burned, learnt/learned, dwelt/dwelled*,

2) the change in the base vowel mutation is characteristic of irregular verbs, e.g. *sing /sang/sung, ring/rang/rung, swim/swam/swum, spring/sprang/sprung,*
3) there is a changing number of forms a given irregular verb can have – the principal parts are: the base form, the past simple form and the past participle form.

These three forms are differently realised in practice:
1) all the three forms may have the same form (e.g. put/put/put, set/set/set, cut/cut/cut, cast/cast/cast),
2) the past and past participle forms are the same and different from the base form (e.g. teach/taught/taught, build/built/built, catch/catched/catched, cling/clung/clung),
3) the base and past forms are the same and differ from the past participle form (e.g. beat/beat/beaten),
4) the base and past participle forms are the same and only the past form is different (e.g. become/became/become, run/ran/run),
5) all the three forms are different as in fall/fell/fallen, see/saw/seen, draw/drew/drawn.

Note that in a dictionary all these irregular forms are typically listed together with the stem (base form), as well as a separate entry. Simultaneously, it is to be observed that some types of verbs seem to have an unclear status and, for example, their inflected forms are fairly uncommon. In such cases, one can observe a different practice in the lexicographic treatment – some dictionaries do not provide the inflected forms at all while others provide all inflected forms and/or examples (de Caluwe and van Santen 2003).

Bogaards and van der Kloot (2001, p. 97-121), drawing on the works authored by Cowie (1999) and Lemmens and Wekker (1986), provide a brief, yet informative, overview of the evolution that has taken place over the past sixty years in the attempts to devise the most transparent systems of presentation of complex grammatical features within the canvas of pedagogical dictionaries. As mentioned in the foregoing, as early as in the 1930s the first attempts at devising complete systems for construction-patterns were made by H. E. Plamer and A.S. Hornby. In the 1942 edition of the *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary* included 25 verb patterns, the scheme which was later preserved in the following, second edition of *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* and significantly altered in its third edition in 1974. The new subsections were provided in order to explain in a more satisfactory manner more sophisticated niceties occurring between the verbs within the same class. At the same time, *OALD* was for the first time confronted with another publication of the same type in 1978, that is *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (LDOCE1)*, which applied an alternative analytical approach, as well as coding system for verbs.
The major distinction between the two reference works rested in the indication of patterns. While OALD provided each pattern with a serial number or a number and a letter (e.g. VP1, VP6A), LDOCE1 indicated the patterns by letters and numbers 0-9 and, additionally, more information was included directly with the pattern code, e.g. no pass./usu. pass. were used to indicate whether a given verb could be used in the passive voice or not. However, one may generalise and say that neither these two systems nor the systems employed in other learner-oriented dictionaries at that time received plausible comments with regard either to their completeness, consistency and user-friendliness. (More comprehensive comparison and analysis of different schemes and coding systems was done, among many others, by Lemmens and Wekker (1986) and Aarts (1999).

It is noteworthy to mention that while all the studies of this important issue focus on the questions related to the aspects of completeness, consistency, explicitness and user-friendliness of grammatical description of, among others a verb, very little has been done to investigate the usefulness and effectiveness of the data provided. Bogaards and van der Kloot (2001, p. 97-121) quote two examples of research works – Tono (1986) and Nesi (1999) – interested in the evaluation of the latter issues.

The former one conducted a study among the Japanese students of English who were to translate a selection of English texts which only seemingly were typical texts. In fact, the texts included some new words selected for the purpose of the study that were to be looked up in a dictionary by the students in the process of translation. The procedure adopted allowed the analysts to check the degree of dictionary consultation to retrieve grammatical information needed to choose the correct translations. Not surprisingly, the results revealed that the students took far greater advantage of contextualised information than of grammatical indications which were largely disregarded.

In turn Nesi (1999) examined primary school students from Africa and Middle East for whom English was the language of instruction. In this case the students received lists of six words accompanied by information with the definitions, examples, as well as grammatical information which was presented from implicit (no word class or forms) to explicit (both word class and forms were given in full versions). Every word had three sentences attached to it which were to be judged as either correct or incorrect by the subjects. It goes without saying that in order to make such choices the students had to draw on the provided information about word class and morphological features. The conclusion the author of the experiment arrived at was that despite the fact that the grammatical information was viewed as clearly unhelpful, it was still used by the students in order to indicate the correct sentences. Additionally, the grammatical items accounted for explicitly rather than implicitly were particularly helpful to those students who
had no prior knowledge of a given word. Nesi (1999, p. 41) concludes that the research confirmed the hypothesis that the children would achieve higher scores on grammar recognition tasks when provided with higher levels of grammatical information. With regard to this, Bogaards and van der Kloot (2001) comment that although the two studies are hardly related to each other in any way, they both emphasise the need for more research regarding the helpfulness of grammatical information in pedagogical dictionaries and its practical implications. For more information on the problems with the treatment of, for example, function words in dictionaries, please refer to Hoekstra (2010), and on the research into the interpretation of grammatical information by Polish learners in monolingual and bilingual learners' dictionaries, see Dick-Bursztyn (2011).

For the definition of the term entry, go to, among others, Whitcut (1985), Hartman and James (1998), Burkhanov (1998). The authors themselves conducted research into the usefulness of grammatical information on verb structures and verb complementation, in particular in the English learners' dictionaries. As to its subjects, the experiment was carried out among secondary school and university students with quite high level of language proficiency. Three dictionaries were selected for the purposes of the experiment, that is: LDOCE3, COBUILD2 and Cambridge International Dictionary of English (henceforth: CIDE). In the process, the students received a booklet with a selection of sentences in their native language (Dutch), and their partial translations in English (verb structures were missing). For each sentence there was a copy of the relevant dictionary entry. Here, the subjects' task was to complete the English sentences at the same time specifying which information was used and how much time was needed to do that. All in all, it turned out that some verbs appeared more challenging in the look-up process than others, and the factor responsible for that may have been – to some extent – the choice of a dictionary. Moreover, these differences were also varied within the two groups of learners. Likewise, the results of the study clearly indicated that the groups of secondary-school students took more time to find the needed grammatical information and, additionally, they were less successful with their search results than the first-year university students.

Also Dziemianko (2005) points out that the techniques used to present syntactic information in the headword so that it fits into a regular format of an entry have long posed a real challenge to lexicographers. According to the author, the major difficulty is the fact that there are numerous and complex interdependencies between a verb and the properties of complements it takes. The author notes that the traditional microstructure in alphabetical dictionaries is a significant limitation on reflecting there the intricate syntax of many English
verbs and concludes that the research based on a selection of learner-oriented dictionaries into the ways in which verb codes are located within the microstructure and related to verbal illustration proves that the attempts to cover the complexity of the English verb syntax have lead to many valuable solutions.

Dziemianko (2005) argues after Jackson (1985:59) that the inclusion of grammatical information in the dictionary is the contribution to making the language learner an independent learner, to enabling the learner to produce for himself correct sentences in the language he is learning. The final conclusion formulated by Dziemianko (2005) includes the evaluation that the patterns and trends used to present the syntax of the verb in its entry have been enhanced for the benefit of the user. However, the author also points out to the fact that these tendencies need time to become more prevalent in the lexicographic practice and – additionally – will still need to be refined.

Adjectives in dictionaries

In their seminal work, Quirk and Greenbaum (1990:129) determine four basic characteristic features of adjectives:

1) they can be used in their attributive function, e.g. they can premodify a noun (as in a pretty woman, a popular band, an interesting story),

2) they can occur in the predicative function as subject (e.g. The painting is ugly; My glass is empty; They are ill), or object complement (e.g. He thought the painting ugly; We find them very pleasant; I found the information useful),

3) they can be used with the intensifier very (e.g. The dogs are very loud; The boys are very clever),

4) they occur in comparative and superlative forms which are made by means of inflections (e.g. big-bigger-biggest; thin-thinner-thinnest; long-longer-longest) or by the use of premodifiers more and most (as in, e.g. These exercises are more challenging/the most difficult of all; Her daughters are more beautiful than yours/ the most beautiful in the town; This article is more interesting than the book/the most interesting of all I have ever read).

The syntactic functions of adjectives include both attributive and predicative ones, as well as postpositive function in the structure of a sentence, which can also be referred to as a reduced relative clause (e.g. something that is unusual). Another important point to be made about adjectives is that the ones with complementation cannot be used in an attributive position but require postposition. Adjectives also function as heads of noun phrases that are to be used with a definite determiner. There are three types of adjectives with this function:
1) adjectives used as noun-phrase heads with plural and generic reference denoting classes, types of people as in, e.g. the blind, the old, the brave, the innocent,

2) adjectives can function as noun-phrase heads in the denotation of nationalities, e.g. the French, The Dutch, the Chinese,

3) adjectives can be used as noun-phrase heads when they are have abstract reference, e.g. the exotic, the unreal, the unknown.

Other functions of adjectives described extensively by Quirk and Greenbaum (1990) are verbless clauses, contingent verbless clauses and exclamatory adjective clauses. In addition to these syntactic functions of this word class, one should not forget about their semantic classification, which is expressed by the following divisions: stative vs. dynamic, gradable vs. nongradable, inherent vs. inherent and, finally, ordering of adjectives in premodification. It seems that all these properties are crucial in the design of a microstructure of a headword in the dictionary for learners of English as a foreign language.

**Conclusion**

The amount of grammatical information provided in the dictionary varies on account of the type of a lexicographic work of reference it is to be put in. It is more than natural that this information category must be treated with particular importance in dictionaries designed for production or in those used during the activity of L1-L2 translation. Above we have shown how different parts of speech can be accounted for in the dictionary but one must remember that it is done in a number of manners in different lexicographic traditions. As stated by Svensén (2009:144), the level of abstraction can vary from a formalised and coded notation to authentic examples. The choice is governed by the nature of the dictionary (monolingual or bilingual, for production or reception) and by presumed capability of the users. Facing grammar problems with the aid of lexicographic tools is not at all an easy task, due to, among many other reasons, the complexity of the character of this type of information, as well as the reluctance of dictionary users to make use of the vital explanation provided for them in the front matter of a work of reference (often referred to as a user’s guide).

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Translation – A Showdown between Languages and Cultures

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Abstract
The picture that has been shown so far reveals the need of relating the concept of translation with the variety of ways of thinking and speaking, a variety that has been modeled on the historic evolution of languages, cultures, literature and societies. We can therefore enlarge this picture since translation reflects not only the “state of things” in a certain era, but it can also help in disseminating new models and styles leavened upon various different linguistic and cultural structures; it can even get that far as to impact the transformation and evolution of a culture. The latter is an aspect that is rarely taken into consideration, even though in recent times a closer relation between the literary tradition and current translations has been noted, assessing thus the reciprocal input as well.

The act of translation, in this context, goes beyond a mechanical process or a mere dislocation. Apart from the showdown between two different linguistic systems, it also brings the confrontation between two different cultures. If textual acquisition with all of its complications represents the primary objective of translation, the achievement of such an objective unavoidably goes through the aspect of the data from the initial culture. This is how their interjection in the cultural context of achievement is caused, whereas those dealing with the translated text can notice the presence of a culture, which could be completely anonymous to them.

Keywords
translation, interpretation, linguistics, culture

Introduction
The experiences to date speak in favor of the need of relating the concept of translation with the variety of ways of thinking and speaking – a variety that has been modulated on the historic evolution of languages, cultures, literatures and societies. We can, therefore, expand this viewpoint because translation does not reflect only the state of things in a given era, but rather can help in disseminating new models and styles established on various different linguistic and cultural structures, and can even go that far as to impact the transformation and evolution of a complete culture. The latter is an aspect that is rarely taken into consideration, even though recently a closer relation between literary tradition of a culture and existing translations has begun to be established, by assessing thus the reciprocal input as well.

The relations between the cultural tradition and translation, referred to by G. Steiner, is once more retaken by Gianfranco Folena at the point where he says
that “every civilization emerges from a single translation” (Folena, 1991) and “at least from Latin, the notion of translation becomes very important in establishing new linguistic and cultural traditions“ (Folena, 1991).

Folena recalls that Latin literature was constructed upon translation from Greek, whereas modern German literature, especially written language, owes much to the translation of the Bible by Martin Luther.

He was able to position himself in synchrony with the German spirit, thus making way to a national language and strengthening the cultural identity of his nation. His thesis, included in the concept of “translation as tradition” (Folena, 1991), deals with the impossibility of the elaboration of a theory outside any historical experience and helps us discuss the prevalence of formalisms in theoretical linguistics. Folena’s work is also mentioned in Shuttleworth & Cowie’s Dictionary of Translation Studies for having coined the terms horizontal translation and vertical translation (1999, p. 71, 195). Folena distinguishes two types of translations typical of the Middle Ages, which are defined according to the relationship between the languages involved in the translation: horizontal translation is a translation between two languages which have a similar semantic, morphological and lexical structure, and are culturally close (a translation from Italian vernacular into French vernacular, for instance); vertical translation occurs when the source language (usually Latin in the Middle Ages) becomes the model language(/culture) for the target language (Folena, 1991, p. 13).

The act of translation, in this context, goes beyond a mechanical process or a mere transposition. Apart from facing with two different linguistic systems, it also causes a showdown between two different cultures. If textual acquisition represents the primary translation objective, the achievement of such an objective, unavoidably goes through the aspect of the data from the original culture. This is how their interjection occurs in the cultural context of achievement, and whosoever deals with the translated text, notices the presence of a culture, which could be completely enigmatic to them.

**The art of translation**

After the universe, translation remains one of the most complicated and enigmatic phenomena. In translating a foreign speech, there is always something unreachable, there is always something that can be improved, there is always something that can be done differently, there is always something… especially for those who have focused all of their hopes on the use of dictionaries...

As we all know, language is the most important means of communication through which people exchange ideas and achieve mutual understanding. The communication among people, through the language is realized in two ways, orally and in a written form. If the speakers master the same language, then
communication is carried out directly; but, when they speak different languages, direct communication is impossible. This is when translation comes to help. Many scholars define translation as a transmission of thoughts from one language to another. Therefore, translation is a very important tool that helps the realization of the communicative function when people express their thoughts in different languages. Translation plays a crucial role in exchanging ideas and opinions among different nations and serves to the issue of dissemination of values in the global culture.

Translation has existed since ancient times. Whenever two neighbouring nations have to communicate, regardless of the reasons, such as wars, trade, etc., they need translators, namely interpreters. In other words, they need a person who knows at least something from both languages so that they can understand each other, be that in rough outlines, as the worst case. In the modern world, borders are relatively open and international communication in a wide range of fields occurs on daily basis, such as culture, business, trade, education, sports, science, research, etc. On one hand, this provides a great interest for languages, but on the other, the demand for professional translators and interpreters is constantly growing. In agreements and treaties, exhibitions and fairs, conferences and seminars, congresses and scientific gatherings, tourist arrangements and guides – translators and interpreters are always required. The most frequent are cases of main European languages such as English, German, French, Italian, Spanish and Russian, though others can also find good and well-paid jobs.

What does it mean to translate? At first sight, this seems very easy and simple. What has been written or said in the original language should be formulated in another language, by constructing in this case regular and understandable clauses and sentences. However, there is an anecdote about a person who had to translate a Latin sentence in his language. The sentence was as follows: “Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma”.

This is an evangelic sentence meaning: “The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak”, whereas the person in question translated it as “alcohol is good, but meat is rotten”.

This translation could be fine in terms of translating every word literally and have a meaningful sentence; however, the message of the original text is not transmitted. Translating something accurately from one language to another, be it the interlocutor’s speech, artistic literature or a scientific work, is quite often an art not less important than the creation of a correct copy of a masterpiece in the field of painting. Every art is a product of creation that has nothing in common with textuality. Boris Pasternak in “Boris Pasternak's Translations of Shakespeare” says, “Translation should inspire the impression of life not the
artistic impression” (Barnes, 2004). In one of the translation conferences, a presenter begins his paper presentation in this way: “Art in general is a difficult problem. But the art of translation is an even more difficult problem”; and this is how it should be; difficulties in translators’ professional lives can be numerous, one of them being understanding the original source of text. If the translator does not manage to transmit the power, diversity and harmony of the original source, it is not something to be ashamed of. However, the mistake caused by misunderstanding the original text means a serious strike against the translator’s reputation.

One of the most common types of translation errors are those known as false friends (pairs of words or phrases in two languages or dialects (or letters in two alphabets) that look or sound similar, but differ significantly in meaning). For example, eventually in English means finally, in the end, in conclusion, etc. In Albanian, the word eventualisht means in case, if; another example would be pretend (in English: make-believe) and pretendoj (in Albanian: claim, intend to reach something), etc.

There is no doubt that every translation, as a creative process, should be characterized by the translator’s individuality. The main duty of a translator remains the transmission of the original’s authentic features. In order to create a suitable emotional and artistic impression with the original, the best linguistic means and tools should be applied: selection of synonyms, equivalent artistic images, etc.

**What makes a good translator?**

The first and most important is the knowledge of language or languages. Of course, in order to produce a genuine and almost perfect translation, one should have excellent knowledge of his/her mother tongue, of its expression tools and stylistics. A translator that has no good knowledge of his mother tongue, can not only deform the meaning of the translated text, but is at the same time a victim of his/her own professionalism. This mainly deals with artistic literary translators, though other types and genres are not excluded too.

Those that strive for gaining high-level professionalism and specialization in the field of translation and interpretation, should not only undergo the traditional written and spoken testing and/or examinations, but rather come under a general profile preparation procedure. Translators, same as writers, have to have an overwhelming life experience and knowledge.

Every language “sees” world in its own unique way, and each of them shapes their speakers’ conscience. Perhaps we should also translate the way we see the world???
The great linguist, Wilhelm von Humboldt says, “All translation seems to me simply an attempt to solve an impossible task.

Every translator is doomed to be done in by one of two stumbling blocks: he will either stay too close to the original, at the cost of taste and the language of his nation, or he will adhere too closely to the characteristics peculiar to his nation, at the cost of the original. The medium between the two is not only difficult, but downright impossible” (Humboldt, 1999).

Greater difficulties emerge when the source language and the target language belong to distant cultures and civilizations. For instance, the works of Arab writers are full of citations from the Holy Qur’an and intimations on Qur’an topics. An Arab reader finds it very easily to comprehend, similar to a European reader who comprehends intimations from the Holy Bible or antique myths. In translation, these citations remain incomprehensible for the European reader.

The translation specialization, by default, is chosen by those who have the propensity for languages and who know what their ultimate goal is. Valery Larbaud seems to have defined the ideal of a translator’s specialist, when he says, “A real translator has a combination of the rarest and the most precious human features: knowledge and patience, even clemency, sincerity and lucid mind, broad knowledge and a rich and skilful memory” (Larbaud, 1981).

Non-verbal communication
We communicate with each other not only through language, but non-verbally too, in order to transmit our messages and aims. In general, we refer to non-verbal communication when we speak about “signs which are given a meaning and not about the process of analysing that particular meaning” (Knapp & Hall, 2013). Non-verbal communication can happen through the visual, audio, scent, touch and taste channels. Argyle determines five non-verbal human communication functions: (Argyle, 1988) concluded there are five primary functions of nonverbal bodily behavior in human communication:

- Express emotions
- Express interpersonal attitudes
- To accompany speech in managing the cues of interaction between speakers and listeners
- Self-presentation of one’s personality
- Rituals (greetings)

Non-verbal communication can also be used to perfect verbal messages; when clarity is of a great importance, we should be more careful in making these two types of communication complement each other. People learn to distinguish
facial expressions, body movements, etc. as part of the expression of their feelings and goals.

Non-verbal communication can be classified in various different categories and modes. These include gestures, body movements, facial expressions, eyesight, clothes, as well as non-verbal vocalisms. It also includes visual symbols consisting of signs, colors, numbers and the usage of space.

Verbal communication

Semantic connections and idiomatic language

Language is far more important than various different subjects can comprehend. For example, advertisements, which consist of cultural values and elements, are sometimes difficult to translate. These could be brand names, product names, or company names, and can have different meanings in different languages and cultures.

Production companies should carefully investigate the foreign market as well as linguistic differences and varieties, before launching a certain product. When Rolls Royce decided to present their new model in the German market, they initially thought of presenting it with its original name “Silver Mist”. Fortunately, the company discovered that the word “mist” in German meant “manure”, “rubbish”, etc. before launching the product and this is how they avoided quite a big misinterpretation.

In their new book Found in Translation, professional translators Nataly Kelly and Jost Zetzsche give a spirited tour of the world of translation, full of fascinating stories about everything from volunteer text message translators during the Haitian earthquake rescue effort, to the challenges of translation at the Olympics and the World Cup, to the personal friendships celebrities like Yao Ming and Marlee Matlin have with their translators.

The importance of good translation is most obvious when things go wrong. Here are nine examples from the book that show just how high-stakes the job of translation can be.

1. The seventy-one-million-dollar word

In 1980, 18-year-old Willie Ramirez was admitted to a Florida hospital in a comatose state. His friends and family tried to describe his condition to the paramedics and doctors who treated him, but they only spoke Spanish. Translation was provided by a bilingual staff member who translated "intoxicado" as "intoxicated." A professional interpreter would have known that "intoxicado" is closer to "poisoned" and doesn't carry the same connotations of drug or alcohol use that "intoxicated" does. Ramirez's family believed he was suffering from food poisoning. He was actually suffering from an intracerebral
hemorrhage, but the doctors proceeded as if he were suffering from an intentional drug overdose, which can lead to some of the symptoms he displayed. Because of the delay in treatment, Ramirez was left quadriplegic. He received a malpractice settlement of $71 million.

2. Your lusts for the future
When President Carter traveled to Poland in 1977, the State Department hired a Russian interpreter who knew Polish, but was not used to interpreting professionally in that language. Through the interpreter, Carter ended up saying things in Polish like "when I abandoned the United States" (for "when I left the United States") and "your lusts for the future" (for "your desires for the future"), mistakes that the media in both countries very much enjoyed.

3. We will bury you
At the height of the cold war, Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev gave a speech in which he uttered a phrase that interpreted from Russian as "we will bury you." It was taken as chilling threat to bury the U.S. with a nuclear attack and escalated the tension between the U.S. and Russia. However, the translation was a bit too literal. The sense of the Russian phrase was more that "we will live to see you buried" or "we will outlast you." Still not exactly friendly, but not quite so threatening.

4. Do nothing
In 2009, HSBC bank had to launch a $10 million rebranding campaign to repair the damage done when its catchphrase "Assume Nothing" was mistranslated as "Do Nothing" in various countries.

5. Markets tumble
A panic in the world's foreign exchange market led the U.S. dollar to plunge in value after a poor English translation of an article by Guan Xiangdong of the China News Service zoomed around the Internet. The original article was a casual, speculative overview of some financial reports, but the English translation sounded much more authoritative and concrete.

6. What's that on Moses's head?
St. Jerome, the patron saint of translators, studied Hebrew so he could translate the Old Testament into Latin from the original, instead of from the third century Greek version that everyone else had used.

The resulting Latin version, which became the basis for hundreds of subsequent translations, contained a famous mistake. When Moses comes down
from Mount Sinai his head has "radiance" or, in Hebrew, "karan." But Hebrew is written without the vowels, and St. Jerome had read "karan" as "keren," or "horned." From this error came centuries of paintings and sculptures of Moses with horns and the odd offensive stereotype of the horned Jew.

7. Chocolates for him
In the 50s, when chocolate companies began encouraging people to celebrate Valentine’s Day in Japan, a mistranslation from one company gave people the idea that it was customary for women to give chocolate to men on the holiday. And that’s what they do to this day. On February 14, the women of Japan shower their men with chocolate hearts and truffles, and on March 14, the men return the favor. An all around win for the chocolate companies!

8. You must defeat Sheng Long
In the Japanese video game Street Fighter II a character says, "if you cannot overcome the Rising Dragon Punch, you cannot win!" When this was translated from Japanese into English, the characters for "rising dragon" were interpreted as "Sheng Long." The same characters can have different readings in Japanese, and the translator, working on a list of phrases and unaware of the context, thought a new person was being introduced to the game. Gamers went crazy trying to figure out who this Sheng Long was and how they could defeat him. In 1992, as an April Fools Day joke, Electronic Gaming Monthly published elaborate and difficult to execute instructions for how to find Sheng Long. It was not revealed as a hoax until that December, after countless hours had no doubt been wasted.

9. Trouble at Waitangi
In 1840, the British government made a deal with the Maori chiefs in New Zealand. The Maori wanted protection from marauding convicts, sailors, and traders running roughshod through their villages, and the British wanted to expand their colonial holdings. The Treaty of Waitangi was drawn up and both sides signed it. But they were signing different documents. In the English version, the Maori were to "cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty." In the Maori translation, composed by a British missionary, they were not to give up sovereignty, but governance. They thought they were getting a legal system, but keeping their right to rule themselves. That is not how it turned out, and generations later, the issues around the meaning of this treaty are still being worked out.
The linguistic concept of translation

The intensive development of the translation theory corresponds with theories of linguistics and information. Therefore, in the attempts of being an exact science, which would explain and improve the translation process, the theory of translation is related to that of information. Such a thing is possible first of all because translation itself is an act of communication.

On the other hand, scientific studies are object of the information theory and they explain the processes of sending and receiving messages. The origin of these studies dates back to the beginning of World War 2, when the American scientist, Norbert Viner, the founder of cybernetics, established them as a separate discipline. The theory of information is the basis of cybernetic studies, whereas the basic theses and interpretations on the importance of this discipline in the development of science in general have been given by mathematicians Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver. There are different communication models among people; communication can be carried out through contact, vision, clothing, music, etc. though most frequently through signals, which should previously be agreed upon. These signals can be different. The most frequent are linguistic signals, the gestures, mimics, etc. which can replace human speech, bright signals, the Morse code, and many others.

In order to have successful communication among people, certain conditions have to be met in terms of information exchange:
- The person providing the information during the simultaneous or consecutive translation/interpretation should be available;
- People receiving the translation/interpretation from the information provider, through headphones or directly;
- Communication itself aims at transmitting certain information, which in communication sciences is known as the message;
- The information contains certain matter that has to be transmitted to the receiver. This information object is known as referent;
- During the information transmission, orally or in a written form, both the sender and the receiver use a system of signs familiar to them, known as communication code;
- In order for the information to be received, a physical tool, known in communication as the communication channel, should be available.

The successful transmission of information should be realized in such a way that the receiver not only disseminates the message but s/he also analyzes it in terms of decoding the encoded information by the sender. However, in order to be able to fully comprehend the sent information by the receiver, the information context is also necessary. This context can be both linguistic and non-linguistic.
The linguistic context has to do with the extraction of the meaning of the message from the text whose part it is, whereas the non-linguistic context has to do with the so-called communication circumstance.

**Linguistic components of translation**

Linguistic components play an important role in the theory of communication, namely translation as a type of communication. The linguistic, psycho-linguistic and socio-linguistic components comprise important elements of translation.

**Linguistic components**

Every piece of information is encoded through a certain linguistic system. In this respect, language can be seen as a common code for all members of a linguistic community. Every person that takes part in translation has his/her own way of communication, namely individual language. In this respect, the German theoretician, Otto Kade, writes that there is no absolute equality in communication codes, namely participants in communication in the same linguistic environment, because there are individual linguistic differences and life experiences (Gambier & Doorslaer, 2009). This causes the creation of idiolects (individual language) in people who speak the same language.

**Psycho-linguistic components**

The psycho-linguistic component plays an important role in the modification of information, in situations when the sender utilizes a familiar linguistic variation. During the information encoding, the sender uses a foreign language, which he knows, and is therefore obliged to follow the recipient in decoding the information, namely in the correct transmission of its content. If there is a need of information decoding, then the sender has to act in modifying the information so that the recipient transmits its full content.

**Socio-linguistic components**

The socio-linguistic component is one of the most important factors of communication in terms of the accurate information transmission. In this case, the information can undergo certain modifications through the communication channel. The transmission of information through the communication channel can cause problems in given situations in terms of the accurate transmission of the content, e.g. if there are audible obstacles, which influences the modification of information.

During the transmission of information through the communication channel, a series of other factors come to surface, such as modifications in the language in which the encoding has been done, or changes in the extra-linguistic reality, such
as the content of certain notions, which some time ago had had other meanings, but are now differently understood or have another completely different meaning from previous versions.

Poetry, as the art of the written word, causes difficulties in translation, because it comprises of a very specific language and has its own peculiarities, which make it completely different from translating prose. However, the translation of poetry depends very much on the translator’s professionalism, qualities, general knowledge, etc.

**Conclusion**

In the end, we would like to say that the role of translator has always been important for purposes of successful communication among people. Umberto Eco, has justly pointed out that “the craft of translation is a profession that belongs to the future”; modern world, regardless of how advanced it may get, will not be able to make it without translators. Therefore, this difficult task shouldered by translators requires commitment, responsibility and accountability.

**References**


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Review

Learning a Language through Creeping into Its Culture


The bilingual Slovak-Arabic textbook, written by Al-Absi and Al-Absiová, is intended mainly for university students whose primary focus is on Middle East Studies, Arabic Language and Culture as well as Cultural Studies, Tourism and History. Since the book is written in two languages, it not only offers its prospective recipients a sensible background to the Arab culture but it also accommodates them with solid Arabic vocabulary from the respective field. Thus, the book enables the reader to learn a language by “creeping” into its culture.

The textbook is divided into two major parts. The initial Slovak part discusses Arabic language from various perspectives. First, the authors locate the Arabic language within the linguistic scope of the Middle East region by looking at variable language groups that affected the contemporary form of this Semitic language. The writers confront Arabic with other languages subsistent in the Arab-Islamic culture. The second chapter focuses on the historical development of the Arabic language and Arabic script. The accentuation shifts from the predecessors of Arabic to the Arabic language in its contemporary, diglossic form. At the same time, the classical language of the Holy Quran is compared with contemporary modern standard Arabic (fushā) as distinct from the colloquial (amīya) varieties and their categorisations (Syro-Palestinian, Iraqi, Egyptian and Sudanese dialects in addition to the colloquial varieties of the Arab Peninsula and North Africa). The third chapter familiarises the reader with al-chatt al-arabī (Arabic calligraphy) as an artistic practice of handwriting without which any discussion of the Arabic language could be viewed as incomplete. The description of various calligraphic styles and techniques is accompanied with attractive visual samples demonstrating the styles under discussion. In the last Slovak chapter, the authors manage to bring another perspective of the Arabic language. Discussing the traditional Arab translation schools, they view Arabic through the prism of inter-cultural dialogue. For it is primarily by means of translation that a culture and its cultural heritage are retained.

The following three chapters, written in Arabic, are not direct, word-for-word renderings of the initial part of the textbook. Despite the fact that they concentrate on the same topics (al-khatt al-arabī/Arabic calligraphy, al-lugha al-
arabīya/Arabic language, and targama ainda al-arab/Arab translation schools), they are not literal translations of the Slovak texts. Their main aim is to provide the reader with the crucial vocabulary related to the topic. The texts are written in a relatively simple language appropriate for intermediate and advanced students who have managed to master the crucial issues related to Arabic morphology and syntax. Since the textbook is aimed at university students, I would appreciate a bilingual dictionary at the end of each chapter which would make it easier for less advanced students to comprehend the Arabic chapters.

All in all, the aim of the book is not to dissect every single topic in detail. From methodological perspective, the publication aims to provide a general, essential but still comprehensive overview of the topic. Drawing on Arabic, English, Czech, and Slovak sources, the authors succeeded in creating a full-ranging, straightforward and intelligible perspective of the Arabic culture with the Arabic language as its solid foundation. The book may thus serve as an introduction to the study of the historical and cultural perspectives of the Middle East region (focusing, of course, mainly on Arab-Islamic culture). As the authors draw the attention of the reader to other relevant sources related to the topic, the book may prove a useful resource of miscellaneous material for the readers interested in conducting more research into the problem. Moreover, the unique bilingual form of the book might be of interest for all students of Arabic language who want to learn about the Arab culture through authentic, comprehensible and lucid materials. After all, learning a language without “creeping” into its culture is virtually impossible.

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