Current Topics in Language and Literature

An International Perspective

Edited by Nataša Bakić-Mirić,
Mirjana Lončar-Vujnović
and Mladen Jakovljević

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It is not our differences that divide us. It is our inability to recognize, accept and celebrate those differences.

Audre Lorde (1934-1992)
American writer, poet, feminist and civil rights activist

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We want to express our deep appreciation and gratitude to our colleagues from around the globe. Without your commitment, we doubt that we would have been able to complete this book. We value the knowledge and insight you have shared with us and the rest of the world, and we credit you for the success of this project.

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Finally, we are indebted to our families whose patience and support were invaluable during the time we were busy with this book.

The Editors.

INTRODUCTION

This book comprises a collection of 15 peer-reviewed papers written by scholars from around the globe who came together with a shared interest to offer new and innovative approaches to current topics in language and literature. The book offers new perspectives on topics such as cross-cultural communication, linguistics, teaching methods, ICT in post-secondary education, promotional and business discourse, gender studies and literature studies. Offering a diverse range of topics, the book will be a valuable contribution to all educators, researchers and students who want to view current topics from a completely different perspective.

The purpose of this book is to bring forward current topics in language and literature. The book synthesizes current practical topics in post-secondary education written by active researchers and practitioners in their respective areas. It is comprehensive in dealing with issues facing educators such as changing perceptions of topics in the fields of language and literature.

Using contemporary approaches to research such as mixed methods research, case study research, discourse analysis, grounded theory and the repertory grid the authors offer insights into the ways in which higher education continuously changes, evolves and rises to face constant challenges resulting from new instructional practices and current research investigations. Taking this into consideration, this book will serve as a bedrock to help educators, researchers and students alike to keep up with these changes and stay current in all areas relating to post-secondary education.

The emphasis in this book is on promoting an understanding of and appreciation for the rich and varied current theoretical assumptions surrounding language and literature. Thus, the papers in this volume offer a fresh outlook, and rigor and relevance in discussion of numerous aspects in scientific discourse and lexis.

These illuminating essays highlight that contemporary scholars look upon these issues through a dynamic global prism and beyond any strict set of rules, which would otherwise lead them to ignore the ever-shifting changes in language and literature and the accompanying cultural spaces and realities.

Lastly, the complexity and novelty of these 15 essays offer fresh views to the topic postulated in the title of this book. Therefore, the editors believe that they will stimulate intellectual curiosity of the diverse readership across the scientific fields and further develop ideas for future research.

The Editors.

PART I

LANGUAGE

Chapter One

Instructional Activity Sequences in an Interaction Task Environment

Brent M. Davis

Outline

Once the interactions have been established in a curriculum, it is time to refine the objectives for each interaction into instructional activity sequences for lesson planning purposes (Davis, A Communicative-Competence Syllabus Organized According to Social Institutions, 2016). Such sequences must meet several criteria: relevance, engagement, and, crucially, use of the contrast between pedagogical content knowledge and expert knowledge to pose problems which will help students to inductively (with minimal teacher intervention) arrive at deeper understandings of an interaction's functions and forms (Davis, Addressing Grammar in the Interaction Task-Based Learning Environment, 2017); (Lemov, 2015) (Lamonica, 2018) (Schwartz, Tsang, & Blair, 2016). A typical sequence involves posing the communication problem which the interaction is expected to resolve, setting roles, key vocabulary and situational parameters, eliciting interaction turns in group or pair work, and then observing expert (native-speaker) turns.

Attention should be directed to identifying formal differences between learner and proficient turns. Learners should then collaborate to determine the differences and how their turns could be improved. Finally, the teacher highlights revisions which are more proficient and provides engaging practice activities. Examples from the author's classes will be provided.

Introduction

Never forget that your task is to develop people who are self-directed, who are disciplined, who do what they do because they choose to do it (Hendricks, 1987, p. 48). This is best accomplished in a learning

community. By that, I mean a group dedicated to the learning task, but even more to interacting with each other in a caring and challenging environment. When purpose, environment, content, activities, individual abilities and social scaffolding are all aligned the learner is in the zone of optimal learning. Secondarily the teacher is seeking to develop the English skills of his/her students. Perhaps the best way to do this is with meaningful tasks that emphasize communication.

In Figure 1 we see the factors that make for optimal learning. In this diagram the teacher combines expert knowledge of the interaction and pedagogical knowledge to generate an interaction task for the learners to collaborate on. If the learner's state is in the zone of proximal development (Doolittle, 1995) (with the support of other learners and the teacher), the task is well-matched to the learner's abilities, and if the structural-functional feedback is successful then the learner's knowledge base is altered to become more like the expert knowledge base. This is shown by the curving arrow which shows the knowledge being filtered through all these learning influences. The colored area in the background represents the physical environment including sound, lighting, space and temperature.

Let us briefly consider the environment and learner states before considering the details of the interaction activity sequence. First, the environment, any teacher knows that surroundings have a significant impact upon learning (Graetz, 2006). More importantly the learner's state is critical to the success of the activity sequence. If the learner is too tired, depressed, anxious or even too relaxed, optimal learning will not occur. Teachers need to consider the environment and learner's individual characteristics before crafting the interaction task, or adapt flexibly at the time of the lesson.

Goals for Interactive Task-Based Learning

Language is not a static structure, but the result of dynamic interaction among members of a society, and learning is also a social activity. Our first language learning takes place in the context of human interaction during the socialization process. This being the case, the most natural approach to language learning is through social interaction. The goal of interaction task-based learning is to provide a supportive learning community and meaningful interactions with elaborated feedback. More specifically, it is to give a meaningful, collaborative interaction task with elaborated feedback leading to improved future interactions in an upward spiral of gradually more complex interactions. Our example in this article will be a common interaction for language learners: an IELTS practice

speaking exercise. Since many learners will need this test, it is meaningful, and there are many pedagogical elements readily available to illustrate the parts of the activity sequence.

Learner Needs Assessment

As noted earlier, teachers must study their learners' individual characteristics. Learners are not peas in a pod. Each of them is unique, shaped by their life history, biology and culture. It is not enough for the teacher to know the subject; knowledge of the learner is extremely necessary for the activity to be in the zone of proximal development. Needs assessments can be done to discover some elements of the learner's current knowledge base (with respect to the target interaction) through asking what they know about the topic prior to initiating the task. Also learning styles and disabilities can be identified through testing.

The interaction task will ideally include elements that bring out knowledge gaps and misunderstandings as compared with an experts' knowledge of the interaction. This should definitely include vocabulary. Vocabulary is fundamental (along with prosodics and turn taking behavior). Also, the task should consider relative abilities of the learner's which may shape pairings and groupings, as well as crafting the activity to be more active for kinesthetic learners or providing songs for the musically intelligent as part of structural feedback, for example. These factors will be discussed in the following description of the activity sequence.

Effort should also be made in identifying any physical or psychological problems, such as hearing loss or depression which may affect optimal learning and corrective measures taken.

Motivational Activity

If the learners are connected members of a learning community (see for example Cox (2015) and, from a business perspective Blanchard and Bowles (1998), on creating community), motivation will not, normally, be extremely difficult, but will be enhanced by attention to the following:

Setting Goals

Before students can be motivated to master an activity, they need to understand the goals of the activity. The goals for an IELTS speaking test are to assess the learner's ability in the areas of:

fluency and coherence
lexical resource
grammatical range and accuracy
pronunciation (Cambridge IELTS, 2015)

The goal for the day can be written on the board at the beginning of class to focus the students. For this lesson the goal might look like this: "To learn vocabulary and other language structures related to discussing one's hometown and use this knowledge to answer questions in a practice IELTS test."

Why

Explaining why can be inspiring and motivating (Sinek, 2009). Taking the IELTS test is a very likely activity for language learners. Doing well could allow them to pursue higher education or find better employment, both good extrinsic motivators. As noted above, state the lesson goal/objective in advance and connect it with the assessment rubric. Goals should answer the question why and perhaps how and what as well.

Who and How

In control of a doable path to the goal. If the goal seems unachievable or the path seems too unclear, learners may give up. Learners, especially adults, need to be respected with having some control over finding the path (House & Mitchell, 1975). Engage the learners in finding the path through dialogue (Vella, 2002). This can be done as a small group exercise with each group reporting and having someone record the suggestions. If there is confusion, identify the problem, give feedback and iterate. When learners become comfortable with taking over some control of the process they will be more motivated. Obviously, the teacher will have to set some parameters, especially if some learners have very little motivation in the beginning. "… tell the learner nothing—and do nothing for him—that he can learn or do for himself" (Hendricks, 1987, p. 39).

Gamification

Teachers can learn a great deal about motivation from video game designers. One such designer has a very interesting taxonomy of motivation called octalysis (Chou, 2017). Gamification is related to old-fashioned behavior modification which I used with a class of refugee

children. In the beginning, they were rather rowdy, but after we instituted a system of awarding points for good behavior and gave them prizes (toys, coloring books) after a certain number of points were earned, our behavior problems went almost to zero.

Time limits can also provide a certain amount of motivation to achieve the goal by setting a challenging, but achievable time. Physical activity and caffeine also help (Schwartz, Tsang, & Blair, 2016, p. X).

Vocabulary Activity

As noted earlier, vocabulary is fundamental to language communication (Willis & Willis, 2007, p. sec. 1.3). A baby's first words are eagerly awaited by the parents. This activity should use elaboration (Schwartz, Tsang, & Blair, 2016, p. E). For example, I have had my students write a sentence using a vocabulary item and a paraphrase (Avaliable at http://www.ldonline.org/article/5759, Accessed June 15th, 2018). Learners take the word "interaction" and write a sentence such as "During the interaction the two students engaged in dialogue." Through elaboration the mind uses context to learn vocabulary.

Learners also enjoy and are motivated by online games like Kahoots (Plump & LaRosa, 2017). Teachers can create their own vocabulary or other lists for these games.

To illustrate this activity sequence we will use the IELTS 'hometown' question. There are a number of resources for this such as: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lAgFE9QBtag.

A possible vocabulary word for this interaction could be "museum." First learners could create an elaborated, definition-containing sentence: "The Museum of Folk Art has exhibits showing national arts and crafts." Then learners can share their sentences and, further, quiz each other to reinforce the vocabulary items: Q: "What has exhibits of national arts and crafts?" A: "The Museum of Folk Art."

Interaction Activity

Learners will need to know purpose (introduced in the motivation activity), statuses, roles (these are explained in the sociology of interaction (Sociology: Understanding and Changing the Social World, 2010) and various contextual parameters such as setting, emotional tone, time constraints, and medium. Conversation analysis also suggests other points to consider such as social identity (Thornbury, 2006). A general action

sequence may be provided by the teacher, or the learners may generate this as they perform the activity.

In our example, the learner has the status of a student and whatever ascribed statuses he/she normally has. The roles are interviewer and interviewee. The tone will be somewhat formal as the interactants are strangers and there is a power mismatch. Consequently, a somewhat formal register (Derewianka & Jones, 2010) should be used.

The activity should involve learners interacting with each other in creating the text of the conversation. Typical questions can be obtained from IELTS websites while the answers will vary with each learner.

Collaboration

A conversation activity should be structured so that both participants have relatively equal speaking time (Kagan & Kagan, 2009). For this activity a Kagan Inside-Outside Circle structure might be appropriate. An example of this technique can be observed on Youtube (http://www.yout ube.com/watch?v=8thtYN3ydM): if there is an odd number, then the teacher can join in. Otherwise, the teacher should be listening to the learners and taking notes on structural misunderstandings to address in the feedback section. A timer can be used to mark the time to change questions. Learners should close each interaction with a word of encouragement to their partner.

Rubric

A rubric should be given to the learners to allow them to evaluate their efforts and form a framework for noticing the improvements in the model interaction to be presented later. IELTS already has a rubric prepared which makes this exercise easier to prepare for (see for example: https://takeielts.britishcouncil.org/find-out-about-results/ielts-assessment-criteria). Learners should critique each other's efforts using this rubric. This can be done in pairs. If learners do not recall what their partner said from the circle, they can briefly practice a question or two with each other as a basis for assessment.

Model Comparison Activity

Noticing

After the peer review exercise, it is time to look at the expert model. By examining the product of the expert knowledge base, the learner can modify his/her knowledge base to become more like the expert's. Again,

the rubric is used to drive the noticing exercise. Returning to the IELTS 'hometown' question video we can play the suggestions mentioned in the vocabulary section or one of the videos where a high-level speaker answers this question. This can be played back slowly or stopped to allow time for the learner to notice structural differences. In this example, the expert model will, of course, have some different vocabulary as each hometown will be different. Alternatively, the teacher can put corrected sentences on the board based on observations during the interaction activity.

Feedback

Feedback is the hinge that connects teaching and learning (Pollock, 2012). By providing feedback regarding the activity, the learner is able to adjust her/his knowledge base concerning this interaction.

Structural-functional Development Activity

The feedback should range over the spectrum of language components, lexis, rhetorical devices, cohesive devices and prosodic devices, but it is expected by most learners that there will be a particular emphasis upon syntax, or grammar. The interaction naturally grounds this grammar lesson in a usage context so that the function of the structures discussed is clear. The grammar points used here are taken from a transcript of the hometown question (https://www.ielts.org//media/pdfs/115045_speaking_sample_task_-_part_1_transcript.ashx?la=en). The teacher should endeavor to explain or elicit explanations of any unusual usage points. The emphasis is on structure in use.

For beginners, we might note simple present tense plus adjective combinations. Examples: "It is quiet. They are friendly."

For intermediate learners we could introduce the function of emphasis with cleft sentences: "What I like about our town is that it is quiet. It's the friendliness of our town that strikes most visitors."

For advanced learners one could introduce adverb clauses and other adverbs: "When visitors come to our town, they are often struck by the friendliness of our people. There are two shops in the village where people can buy groceries and sundries; otherwise, it is necessary to go to Zurich for any major purchases." Learners should be aware that complexity leads to higher scores on the IELTS test.

These examples could be supplemented by additional grammar points or activities that address multiple intelligences. For example, the grammar

of politeness features in the questions could be highlighted, such as: "would like," "Okay?" and "Let us." Additionally, activities can address multiple intelligences by providing songs, doing kinesthetic activities (like moving cards with words on them into correct word order), or having mathematically oriented learners calculate average band score improvement after the interaction is revised.

The rationale for giving grammar as feedback rather than presenting it before the learner interaction is discussed in Willis and Willis (2007, p. Sec. 1.6). Briefly, there are two points discussed there: the learner will be overloaded if trying to focus on meaning and, at the same time, use a newly introduced structure, and secondly, language acquisition research does not support this order. We might also add a third point, putting the learner production first helps us to analyze the learner's knowledge base and provide feedback that specifically addresses discrepancies between that knowledge base and the expert knowledge base.

Further Practice

The learners should now be given a chance to rewrite the interaction using the target structures, and again practice collaboratively. Have the students work in a different collaborative structure (for the sake of variety use a different Kagan structure like Mix-Pair-Share) to expand their communicative competence by generating some new sentences using the new grammar. Students could also submit their corrected written answers for assessment and written feedback.

Reflective Assessment Activity

At this point it is time to wrap up the activity sequence with a time of reflection. What did learners learn? What is still bothering them? How was the pace? The teacher should also reflect on the level of engagement and assess the degree of mastery of the interaction task. Very importantly, progress should be celebrated. Formal assessments would presumably follow upon completing a certain number of these sequences.

Conclusion

By creating a learning community, we have done more than helped learners develop language skills, we have helped them to develop life skills. By building on a supportive community we have made motivation and engagement easier. By setting clear, meaningful goals we have

increased motivation and understanding. By paying attention to learner's states and existing knowledge base we have crafted interaction tasks and feedback that make use of social scaffolding, multiple intelligences and identification of learner misunderstandings. Finally, by reflecting and celebrating we give learners honest assessment with hope and encouragement, what the Scriptures call: "speaking the truth in love" (Epistle to the Ephesians, p. 4:15).

What did you learn from these activities? Take a moment to reflect on your reading of this article. If you have questions or comments, please, contact me at bmdavis@outlook.com.

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CHAPTER TWO

COMPLIANCE WITH GRICE'S
MAXIM OF MANNER DURING CAE AND CPE
CAMBRIDGE MOCK EXAMS OF ENGLISH

NATASHA KOCHOVA
AND ANA LAZAROVA-NIKOVSKA

Outline

The chapter is grounded in two areas of applied linguistics: pragmatics and second language acquisition (SLA). From a pragmatics point of view, the research is based on Grice's *cooperative principle* (Grice 1989), an essential tacit principle which enables effective communication among interlocutors. In regards to the field of second language acquisition, the research focuses on the language skill 'speaking', which unfairly receives less attention during class instruction time in comparison to other skills such as acquisition of the grammatical form of the language and the lexis. Such classroom practice may lead to the achievement of a lower level of communicative competence, particularly expected under examination conditions, when a candidate has limited time to perform the speaking task.

The research attempts to analyse the individual speaking task during the Cambridge English language CAE (advanced level – C1) and CPE (proficiency level – C2) mock speaking examinations through the prism of Grice's maxims of speech, specifically the *maxim of manner*. The testing was carried out at a private language centre in Skopje, Republic of Macedonia where two groups were tested: candidates taking the CAE Speaking Paper and candidates taking the CPE Speaking Paper.

The results gathered from the research will be of benefit to the instructors who hold preparatory classes for the above mentioned examinations, the assessors of the Speaking Paper as well as the candidates

themselves in regards to the expectations for the examination involving their level of performance based on the specific assessment criteria. Taking into consideration the global presence and popularity of the Cambridge English exams, it is our hope that the results from the research find applicability outside of the Macedonian context.

1. Introduction

Language learning is multi-faceted: the form of a language is undoubtedly regarded as one of the essential components in any language acquisition process; nevertheless, it does not hold exclusivity. Instead, it is in a harmonious and constructive relationship with the function of the language, to communicate effectively. *Communicative competence*, a term originally coined by Dell Hymes (1966) is becoming more widely accepted as one of the essential goals of language education since it incorporates at least three main aspects of language knowledge: grammatical competence, pragmatic competence and strategic competence. One of the most notable contributions in the field of pragmatics arose from the linguistic philosopher Herbert Paul Grice, who in 1967 formally proposed the notion of *conversational implicature* (CI). The basic assumption of conversation is the *cooperative principle* (CP) which enables participants to engage in speech by means of mutual aim: in order to achieve fruitful conversation participants must cooperate and converse in a sincere, adequate, relevant and lucid manner. By doing so, they observe the co-operative principle and the four *maxims of speech* which are in a symbiotic relationship.

The idea behind the current chapter arose from the prevailing assumption that speaking, as a skill for non-native speakers of English (EFL), tends to receive less attention during instruction in comparison to studying the grammatical form of the language, for example. Consequently, this may translate into lower levels of communicative competence among EFL learners.

Such a situation is even more accentuated in times of examinations; students and candidates of English language exams have a predetermined time, precisely a limited time during which they are expected to perform the speaking task(s). To add another layer of difficulty is the fact that the examination environment in which candidates are in is perceived as stressful. This scenario is of particular relevance to private language schools, which offer preparatory examination classes, where the performance level of candidates is examined and graded.

The current research analyses the Speaking parts of the *Cambridge Certificate of Advanced English* (*CAE*) and *Cambridge Certificate of Proficiency English* (*CPE*), language examinations offered on a global level. Annually eight million Cambridge Assessment examinations are taken in over 130 countries. The exams are structured based on a concrete framework; they have a specific format and there are detailed requirements and expectations which are assumed to be met by the candidates at each level of examination. Of particular interest to the current chapter are analyses of the individual stretches of speech within the Speaking part (Task 2 for the CAE and Task 3 for the CPE), which will be examined from the prism of Grice's conversational maxims: precisely the *maxim of manner*.

The research is envisioned to provide information on the manner Cambridge CAE and CPE Speaking Paper examinations are designed and how this translates in practical terms, during mock exams in EFL contexts, in the Republic of Macedonia, although we hope that the research results may also find relevance beyond the Macedonian context.

The reason behind choosing the 'advanced' and 'proficiency' level of examination is mainly due to the fact that these two levels demonstrate the highest obtained knowledge and competencies of the language. The candidates' individual responses to these tasks where they need to follow certain instructions during the mock CAE and CPE Speaking Papers, respectively, are analysed through the use of specific tokens to test the use of cohesive devices and discourse markers.

Indeed, the original research also included analysis of the *maxim of relation*, analysis of the relevant information included in the official Cambridge Handbooks for the CAE and the CPE exams, as well as qualitative analysis of a questionnaire carried out among the tested EFL learners regarding their views of pragmatics and Grice's maxims. In the current chapter, we focus on part of the entire research, presented below. The following hypothesis (H) and a research question (RQ) are addressed in the chapter: Firstly, the assumption is made that since candidates are already at advanced stages of L2A, there will be compliance towards the *maxim of manner* (H). The research question which naturally follows from the hypothesis and the one we shall address in the current chapter can be formulated as follows: How do the candidates apply the *maxim of manner* (the nature of application, i.e. the features and linguistic devices used) (RQ)?

The research approach adopted in this study combines descriptive (qualitative) and statistical (quantitative) analyses.

The chapter is organised as follows: following the Introduction, in Section 2 we offer literature review in the realm of pragmatics, looking at key pragmatic and discourse terms and markers relevant for the topic and the analysis of the Gricean maxims of speech. In Section 3, the link is discussed between pragmatics and second language acquisition (L2A). Section 4 focuses on the aspect of language testing and Cambridge examinations where preparation for the CAE and CPE are the aim of the research. The following part, Section 5, deals with the research methodology. In Section 6, the results and analysis of the candidates' answers from the CAE and CPE Speaking Papers are presented and discussed. In the final section, the Conclusions, summary of the research is given, along with possible recommendations, limitations of the current research are pointed out and suggestions are offered for further research.

2. The cooperative principle of conversational implicature

Communicating ideas is achieved through the use of language. Stubbs (1986) claims that language is used to express beliefs and adopt positions in the process of interaction with the other. How speakers use language to communicate ideas and information is the ideational function of language.

J.L. Austin, a philosopher at Oxford University (1940s-1950s) who was interested in language, laid the groundwork for what was to become Pragmatics – an independent branch of linguistics in the 1960s and 1970s. His aim was to find out how humans manage to communicate despite the imperfections in language, how they communicate as efficiently as they do. In fact, as stated by Aitchison, Austin was "...convinced that we do not just use language to *say* things (to make statements), but to *do* things (perform actions)" (Aitchison 2003, 31). In essence, pragmatics is the branch of linguistics which studies how speakers use language to achieve their goals and how hearers interpret the meaning the speaker wishes to convey. Furthermore, pragmatics is concerned with the role of context in language and how speakers and listeners rely on it for successful communication.

A great deal of what is unsaid is recognised as part of the communicated message. To provide further explanation, this intricate yet interwoven framework is presented by Yule in four parts: "...pragmatics is the study of speaker meaning, pragmatics is the study of contextual meaning, it is the study of how more gets communicated than is said, and the study of the expression of relative distance" (1996, 3).

In the field of Pragmatics, co-operation and implicature play an important role. Current pragmatic treatments are influenced by the work of

Grice (1967/1989) whose inferential approach to communication is fundamental. In what follows, attention will be placed precisely on Grice's work, providing an overview of the *conversational implicature* (CI) and *cooperative principle* (CP) and more specifically on Gricean's *maxim of manner* - relevant for the current research.

In 1967, the theory of conversational implicature was formally suggested by Herbert Paul Grice, a philosopher of language, who was intrigued how the hearer progresses from the expressed meaning to the implied meaning. He classified the phenomenon by identifying three types of implicatures: *conversational, scalar* and *conventional implicature*. "Conversational implicature", is generated directly by the speaker in relation to the context. In order for implicature to be interpreted, the cooperative principle and associated maxims of speech must first be applied. Grice postulated a general cooperative principle: "...make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (1975, 26-30). As such, participants are expected to co-operate, making their utterances relevant to each other all with an aim to deliver and interpret a message efficiently. Only in this way can the participants infer what the other one really means in their conversation. The cooperative principle of conversation is elaborated in four sub-principles called maxims which assist to interpret and understand the underlying implication of an utterance. Participants are expected to cooperate in order to reach the objective of their exchange through observing four maxims: quantity, quality, relation and manner, which Grice argues governs all rational interchange.

The four sub-principles, called maxims (of speech), listed below were introduced by Grice to explain how implicatures get conveyed:

a. Maxim of quantity
- make your contributions as informative as is required (for the current purpose of the exchange), and
- do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

This maxim is focused on providing informativeness; requires utterances to contain enough information to fulfil the speaker's communicative goal, but not more information.

b. Maxim of quality: *Try to make your contribution one that is true*
- do not say what you believe to be false, and
- do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

This maxim is focused on providing the right information, on the level of truthfulness.

c. *Maxim of relation*: *Be relevant*

The *maxim of relation* requires the speaker to be relevant to the context and situation in which the maxim occurs. This means that participants revolve around the same topic and avoid asserting something irrelevant.

d. *Maxim of manner*: *Be perspicuous* (syn.: transparent)
- avoid obscurity of expression,
- avoid ambiguity,
- be brief, and
- be orderly.

The *maxim of manner*, whose super-maxim is 'be perspicuous', is focused not on the content of the utterance but rather on its form. The *maxim of manner* is a matter of being clear and orderly when conversing. It refers to the way in which an exchange should be maintained. The brevity sub-maxim of the manner maxim requires a speaker to use short utterances if possible. There are instances where speakers are obscure or ambiguous, and also unclear to the point that the message is indecipherable for the hearer.

For the purpose of the current research, the *maxim of manner* will be used for the analysis of the extended piece of speech retrieved from the candidates of the mock CAE and CPE Speaking Papers, specifically the long-turn (CAE part 2) and the individual long turn (CPE part 3). As such, the *maxim of manner* will be acknowledged from the prism of individual, uninterrupted production of extended pieces of discourse and not from collaboration between the candidates (engaging in a discussion and working towards a negotiated decision).

Maxims can be violated on purpose for some reason or another. When one's desire is to create irony, utilise sarcasm or avoid unpleasant situations, one fails to observe the maxims in order to emphasise a message. In addition, the non-observance of some Gricean maxims is a strategic, persuasive tool particularly in political discourse. Infringing also occurs when the speaker does not know the culture or does not master the language well enough, as when they are incapable of speaking clearly.

In the current research, the infringement is a matter of the candidates not having mastered the language well enough and the *maxim of manner* is broken unintentionally, mainly as a result of the level of language competence. In the current research, the *maxim of manner* is tested

primarily using grammatical and lexical cohesive devices and pragmatic devices - discourse markers, as outlined in the literature and the discourse management section of the CAE and CPE Speaking Paper assessment criteria in the Handbooks.

The categorisation of maxims may at times prove to be problematic. For instance, non-observance of an utterance often does not only break one maxim, but several at the same time. The maxims of relation and manner, for instance, are at times hard to separate when the utterance is both irrelevant and obscure.

The following section will attempt to provide an overview of Discourse analysis (DA), which is the search for what gives discourse coherence and how it is achieved.

2.1. Discourse and discourse markers

Discourse refers to units of language that go beyond the sentence. It can be a short interaction, an entire conversation, a speech, a written paragraph, an interview and so on. Spoken discourse can be subdivided in different kinds of genres (i.e. political speeches, debates, interviews, casual conversations, lectures, language speaking examinations, to name a few) and use different kinds of registers or social language. Speech as such is considered to be dynamic, transient, spontaneous and interactive. The individual, uninterrupted stretches of speech produced by the CAE and CPE candidates during the mock Speaking Paper are the discourse pieces which are the focus of this research.

Discourse analysts have an aim to figure out what gives text and conversations *texture*. This notion of texture comes from *cohesion* and *coherence*. In the literature, *coherence* is defined as the quality of being meaningful and unified. As argued by Yule, "...what language users have most in mind is an assumption of coherence, that what is said or written will make sense in terms of their 'normal experience' of things (in context), will be locally interpreted by each individual and will be tied to the familiar and the expected" (2010, 84). Coherence can be seen as the parts that fit together well which allows for the communication to be clear and comprehensive. As stated by Lenk (1998), coherence is a dynamic process between the participants in conversation which is accomplished through their verbal and non-verbal exchange between the speaker and hearer engaged in an ongoing process of 'negotiation' of coherence. Coherence as a notion is present in the *maxim of manner*, explained in the sub-points by avoiding obscurity and ambiguity, being orderly and brief in the production of stretches of speech. Coherence is also mentioned (in

relation to producing contributions which are coherent), as part of the assessment scale in the discourse management section, in both the CAE and CPE Handbooks. One should be aware of the fact that as Yule states, "...formal links reinforce the unity of discourse, they cannot, on their own, create it" (2010, 23). *Cohesion* as explained in the work by Halliday and Hasan (1976) integrates two broad kinds of linguistic devices, which give texts or speech a sense of connectedness. The first type depends on the grammar used (grammatical cohesion) and the other type is related to the meanings of words (lexical cohesion). This understanding of cohesion will be particularly important for the analysis of the individual, uninterrupted speech of the CAE and CPE candidates in the research section of the current chapter.

Cohesion and coherence are difficult to fully separate in discourse and may be achieved in various ways such as through grammatical and lexical cohesion - cohesive devices, pragmatic markers – discourse markers and related vocabulary as the most prominent discourse features which are also part of the current research analysis.

Grammatical cohesion is referred to as formal and contextual links or cohesive devices. According to Cook (1989), it encompasses a number of devices such as: verb form, referring expressions, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, all a result of grammatical relationships between words. For the purpose of this research, only a selection of grammatical cohesion devices or lexical cohesion devices will be analysed. It should also be mentioned that the category of substitution will be referred through the prism of application of 'ellipsis'.

a. Referring expressions

Reference is the relationship between forms in a text and entities in the world. Reference signals the retrieval of information in a speech or a text and cannot be separated from the context as it refers to it concurrently. In this light, the notions of *anaphora*, i.e. a tie where an element in a text is connected with some previously mentioned element and of *cataphora*, i.e. a tie where an element in a text is connected to an element that follows later in the text, are discussed. The referents can further be sub-divided into *personal pronoun*s and *demonstrative*s.

b. Ellipsis

Ellipsis is used at times when it is unnecessary to provide a substitute for a word or phrase which has already been said. It is the omission of part of a sentence on the assumption that something earlier was said or the context in which it is said will make the meaning of it clear.

c.   Conjunction

Conjunction refers to the use of various 'connecting words' (*and* and *but*) and conjunctive adverbs (*furthermore* and *however*) with an aim to join together clauses and sentences. It is in essence reference to other parts in the text or speech. As argued by Jones, these 'connecting words' "...do not just establish a relationship between the two clauses, but that they tell us what kind of relationship it is" (2012, 40). He further goes into an analysis to group the different 'connecting words' into the following categories: additive – adding information (*and, moreover, furthermore, in addition, as well*); contrastive – set up some kind of contrast with the previous sentence or clause (*but, however*); causative (resultative) – set up some kind of cause and effect relationship between the two sentences or clauses (*because, consequently, therefore*); sequential – indicate the order facts or events come in (*firstly, subsequently, then, finally*). All connecting words cause the reader or speaker to look back to the previous information stated in order to understand the following information presented. The type of connecting words guide the speaker in understanding the relationship between the two clauses (or sentences) uttered. For the purpose of this research, the conjunctions will be treated from the prism of discourse markers as discourse markers are in fact connecting words – joining together words, sentences, clauses, ideas, which have a particular purpose depending on the context.

Lexical cohesion occurs as a result of the semantic relationship between words. This stands for reiteration of lexical elements (i.e., repetition, synonym, etc.) as well as collocations. For the purpose of this research, lexical cohesion will be viewed from the prism of related vocabulary and how relevant the vocabulary is to the task candidates are provided with. Under such division, also fall the words which are ambiguous and are irrelevant to the context as well as words which are used in an incorrect manner or words which are self-created and do not exist as such in the English language. In addition, the aspect of a different lexical item which is systematically related to the first one – synonym will also be briefly referred to in the analysis. It should be noted that the simplest form of lexical cohesion is repetition. It can be argued that excessive repetition may negatively affect the comprehension of speech. From the aspect of how excessive repetition may hinder the cohesion of discourse making the speech fragmented will also be referred to in the analysis of the extended speech produced by the CAE and CPE candidates. It is hypothesised that excessive repetition may to some degree negatively affect the *maxim of manner* as the speech may not maintain a sense of order and in some instances it may become obscure or ambiguous

for the listener. For the purpose of this research, collocations will not be analysed.

Cohesive devices, both grammatical and lexical, play a role in discourse management and learners need to be aware of both categories; how and when to be used correctly and effectively in discourse. It may also be argued that the presence or absence of such cohesive devices may too contribute to style. Their presence does not automatically make a segment cohesive, and their absence does not automatically make it meaningless. Interactive and pragmatic markers also add towards the cohesion and coherence of the speech produced and plainly towards the *maxim of manner* by making the discourse more relevant and more orderly and clear.

Furthermore, it is commonly accepted that **pragmatic markers** are distinct, separate and not part of the propositional content of the sentence. They are the linguistically encoded clues which signal the speaker's potential communicative intention. Fraser (1990) proposes that this non-propositional part of sentence meaning can be analysed into different types of signals (pragmatic markers) which correspond to the different types of potential direct messages a sentence may convey. It is argued that pragmatic markers have the following functions:

- pragmatic markers carry meaning,
- pragmatic markers signal messages that apply only to the direct basic message,
- nearly all pragmatic markers may occur in sentence-initial position even though there are instances when they will occur medially or finally, and
- pragmatic markers are drawn from all segments of grammar (verbs, nouns, adverbs, as well as idioms such as OK).

The purpose of this research does not focus on the whole range of pragmatic markers; the focus is placed only on a sub-set, that of discourse markers – mainly elaborative, inferential and contrastive which are explained in more detail below.

Discourse markers, also known as discourse particles and discourse operators, are in essence connective expressions. Discourse markers are metalingual elements that take effect on the structural level of discourse and they do not contribute towards the propositional content of the utterance in which they appear (cf. Schiffrin 1987; Blakemore 1987, 1992; Fraser 1990, 1996a). As stated by Lenk, "...discourse markers appeal to the hearer to relate things which have been mentioned earlier or at the time

of talk and their sole purpose is to structure discourse" (1998, 204). In essence, they organize and monitor the talk. Discourse markers are referred to as expressions in spoken discourse that are used pragmatically, with a structuring and organizational function. Their function includes opening and closings, returns to interrupted or diverted talk, signalling topic boundaries and so on such as *anyways, you know, well, so right, good, I mean*. It is partly based on Redeker's definition of what she calls 'discourse operators' namely "...a word or phrase – for instance a conjunction, adverbial, comment, clause, interjection – that is uttered with the primary function of bringing to the listener's attention a particular kind of linkage of the upcoming utterance with the immediate discourse context" (1991, 1168). Discourse markers have some functions in these interactions (1) to show that the speaker has understood the previous utterance (and, if necessary, mark the connection to the forthcoming response), and (2) to initiate a new idea. Moreover, it has been stated by McCarthy and Carter that "the absence of discourse markers in the talk of an individual leaves him/her potentially disempowered and at risk of becoming a second-class participant in the conversation" (2003, 6).

Discourse markers signal a relationship to other segments of the discourse. As stated earlier, this may include earlier topics, the topic before a digression, topics intended to follow, or even situations and extra-conversational (world-) knowledge which have not been mentioned before in the particular conversation. As argued by Lenk, "...the segments of discourse that are 'connected' through these markers may not necessarily be adjacent, implying that they function in establishing coherence on a more global level within the discourse" (1998, 247). Under such notion, the sub-points of 'be orderly' or 'avoid ambiguity' which are part of the *maxim of manner* are directly addressed. This is particularly of relevance to the research as CAE and CPE candidates are provided with a specific time-frame in which they are expected to produce coherent and cohesive speech which arguably, needs to have a certain flow, and a sense of global level of coherence which is taken into consideration during the assessment. To add, discourse markers contribute to coherence by tying multiple contextual aspects together which allows for the integration of various components of talk. As stated by Schiffrin, "...coherence is seen as constructed through relations between adjacent discourse units" (1987, 24). The discourse markers will be treated as a form of conjunction as they tie the elements together as in the case of words, clauses, ideas and are context specific. The types of discourse markers (particularly the contrastive, elaborative, and inferential) illustrated below are in essence

the ones which are used in the analysis of the results obtained from the current research.

Discourse markers can also fall under various categories and their function as stated includes opening and closings, returns to interrupted or diverted talk, signalling topic boundaries all with an aim to assist the speaker as well as the listener in understanding the previous utterance and initiating a new idea. When used correctly, discourse markers aid in managing the discourse by strengthening the level of coherence and cohesion of the speech produced which in turn positively reinforces the *maxims of relation and manner* – by making the speech relevant and clear, orderly, as well as perhaps brief. It is prudent to note that such division as presented in the list below (by no means exhaustive) with reference to Fraser (1996b), used for the purpose of the current research.

Topic change markers

Such markers, signal that the utterance following constitutes, in the speaker's opinion, a departure from the current topic. A selection of topic change markers include:

back to my original point, before I forget, by the way, incidentally, just to update you, on a different note, parenthetically, put another way, returning to my point, speaking of X, that reminds me.

Mention should be made to the point that this category of discourse markers was seldom used (if at all) in the speech produced by the CAE and CPE candidates.

Contrastive markers

The second group of discourse markers are the contrastive markers, which according to Fraser, signal that the utterance following is "either a denial or a contrast of some proposition associated with the preceding discourse" (1996, 187). Some examples include:

all the same, anyway, but, contrariwise, conversely, despite (this/that), even so, however, in any case/rate/event, in spite of (this/ that), in comparison (with this/that), in contrast to (this/that), instead (of doing this/that), nevertheless, nonetheless, (this/that point) notwithstanding, on the other hand, on the contrary, rather (than do this/that), regardless (of this/that), still, that said, though, yet.

Elaborative markers

Elaborative markers constitute the third class of discourse markers and as stated by Fraser, signal that the following utterance "constitutes a

refinement of some sort on the preceding discourse" (1996, 188). A selection of elaborative markers is the following:

above all, also, alternatively, analogously, and, besides, better, by the same token, correspondingly, equally, for example/instance, further(more), in addition, in any case/event, in fact, in other words, in particular, indeed, likewise, more accurately, more importantly, more precisely, more specifically, more to the point, moreover, on that basis, on top of it all, or, otherwise, similarly that is, to cap it all off, too, what is more.

Inferential markers

The class of inferential discourse markers and expressions signal according to Fraser that "the force of the utterance is a conclusion which follows from the preceding discourse" (1996, 188). Such examples include:

accordingly, after all, all things considered, as a consequence, as a logical conclusion, as a result, because of this/that, consequently, for this/that reason, hence, in this/that case, it can be concluded that, it stands to reason that, of course, on this/that condition, so, then, therefore, thus.

It is prudent to note that there are a number of different categories of discourse markers and scholars have done various categorisations based on their arguments and classifications. The general scholarly outlook on this matter is that the typical discourse markers referred to in the literature do not amount to a consensus definition as they are seen as a syntactically optional expression that does not affect the truth-conditions associated with an utterance. As such, there are a number of definitions circulating in the literature of what comprises a discourse marker as well as the lexical category under which it falls. The sub-categorisation of discourse markers is no more settled an issue than that of how the superordinate category discourse markers should be described.

In the current section, one part of the theoretical background relevant for this chapter was discussed, that of the conversational maxims established by Grice as well as the grammatical cohesive devices and discourse features and markers which will be used for the assessment of compliance with the maxim of manner by the L2 learners. In the following section, attention is placed on other important theoretical aspects; second language acquisition and teaching of pragmatic knowledge and of testing that knowledge.

3. Second language acquisition and pragmatics

Second language acquisition (SLA) is a research field informed by disciplines such as linguistics, psychology and education - multifaceted which mainly focuses on learners and learning. As stated by Gass and Selinker, SLA is defined as "the study of how learners create a new language system" (2008, 1). The goal of the L2 learner is to build a competence in the second language. Competence and mental representation of language refer only to formal properties of language (morphology, lexicon, syntax) whereas *communicative competence* refers to the knowledge that guides a speaker's choice. The idea behind communicative competence came about in the 1970s as a direct response to the prevailing emphasis on formal features of language within linguistics. Dell Hymes (1972) elaborated on Chomsky's (1965) term - competence used in a sense of the speaker's/hearer's knowledge of the language and added the social and cultural knowledge he considered necessary for the speakers to understand and participate in a conversation. Canale and Swain (1980) further explore communicative competence and offer four main components – grammatical competence (morphology, syntax and phonology), sociolinguistic competence (appropriateness), discourse competence (cohesion and coherence), and strategic competence (mastering communication strategies appropriately). More recently, researchers have added other notions to the umbrella of communicative competence, such as *organisational competence, psychophysiological mechanisms, fluency* (Bachman's 1990, 1996; Hedge 2000), yet, these will not be discussed in the current research.

For a long time it was believed that second language teaching does not occur effectively in classrooms as they could not provide appropriate input for learning how to realise many speech acts. This comes from the idea that with structure-based approaches to teaching and specifically teacher-fronted classrooms there is not much opportunity for such skills to develop. However, one can argue that learners are capable of producing and responding to a wider range of communicative functions (pair and group work); nevertheless, what is of importance is the opportunity for exposure: in other words, the amount of in-class time devoted towards practicing such skills and the type of exposure (local instructor and/or native –speaker).

Research has been conducted (Kasper and Rose 2002) on teaching pragmatics which demonstrates that pragmatic features can be successfully learned in classroom settings and that explicit instruction is most effective. Pragmatics in a second language should most certainly be taught, yet a question to be further posed is how it can be best integrated into classroom

instruction and to what extent in comparison to the other language skills. Pragmatics has been an increasingly important part of SLA not only from the point of cross-cultural communication but also how L2 learners make and interpret meaning. As stated by Aleksova et al. (2011), the internal and implicit processes responsible for language acquisition are similar regardless of L1. She argues that learners need extensive exposure to the input of L2, interaction with other speakers, making links between the form and meaning, development of implicit knowledge, learners should also have opportunity to practice the output and that the different learning styles could also affect the acquisition process. They further go on to discuss the formula for successful language learning which among various characteristics also includes the argument that interaction accelerates the learning; learners should participate in the communicative exercises where they can develop their implicit knowledge.

Pragmatics in the Republic of North Macedonia, as argued by Mitkovska et al., (2013) is found at the margins of instruction. Mitkovska et al., state that "... in the textbooks, the field of pragmatics is dealt with at a nominal level; the traditional way of language acquisition is still applied where grammar learning is at the forefront, followed by vocabulary acquisition, and finally, small consideration is placed on the remaining areas of study, including the field of pragmatics" (Mitkovska et al. 2013, 51). Instruction of communication and speaking is a fundamental part of language teaching and should be a vital part of in-class language teaching. This is particularly important for examination courses where exposure to spoken practice, including native speakers and social situations, is very limited if non-existent, so extra effort and time should be placed in acquiring the skill of speaking and verbal interaction. Hence, "approaches that integrate attention to form within communicative and content-based interaction receive the most support from classroom research" (Lightbown and Spada 2006, 176).

In the following section, attention will be turned towards the third important dimension in the current research and that is the one of the Cambridge English examinations, particularly the setting of the CAE and CPE Cambridge Speaking Paper examinations and the association of compliance towards the *maxim of manner* in the speech produced by the candidates.

4. Cambridge examinations and testing the spoken language

The Cambridge English examinations test different language skills, one of which is speaking and oral interaction. They are offered annually on a global level and eight million Cambridge Assessment Examinations are taken in over 160 countries. The examinations are in the field of *general communication,* for *professional and academic purposes* and also *specialist legal and financial* English qualifications. In the section below, an overview of the CAE and CPE examination will be provided, with special focus placed on elements of the Speaking Part and the relevant features of the assessment scales, as prescribed in the Handbooks for teachers.

Testing spoken language is generally considered difficult as one attempts to compartmentalise segments of it in a specific time-frame under fairly structured, even rigid assessment criteria for something which is naturally dynamic, spontaneous, fluid and present in everyday life.

4.1 Certificate of Advanced English (CAE)

Handbook for teachers for exams from 2015

The Cambridge Advanced English is Level C1, the second highest level of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) – language proficiency bands, published by the Council of Europe. The duration of the CAE examination, which covers the four language domains is 235 minutes. Candidates are provided with a grade, which is based on the overall score achieved by the candidate. The *Speaking paper* takes 15 minutes and comprises 20% of total exam marks. To ensure that all candidates are treated in a consistent manner, the interlocutor keeps to a scripted frame. Apart from grammar and vocabulary, candidates are assessed on pronunciation, as well as ability to organise their thoughts, initiate and maintain a discussion, and reach a decision through negotiation. This is tied to the *maxim of manner* – how a message is channelled. There are four tasks comprising the Speaking part: 1) Interview, 2) Long turn, 3) Collaborative task, 4) Discussion. For the purpose of this research, only part 2 – Long turn, is analysed, particularly the one-minute, uninterrupted, individual piece of discourse, without including the response from the second candidate.

Part 2: Long turn – this part tests the candidates' ability to produce an extended piece of discourse. Each candidate is given a different set of

visual images - pictures (prompts are provided in the form of two direct questions which are written above the pictures) and they are asked to comment on them or react to them in an uninterrupted manner for one minute. Candidates are asked to compare, express opinions and speculate about two pictures from a set of three. During this task, candidates have an opportunity to demonstrate their ability to organise their thoughts and ideas and express themselves coherently in appropriate language.

The Speaking Examiners (SEs) undergo quality assurance, managed by Team Leaders (TLs). The assessment criteria which will be analysed in what follows, is with an aim to see if language instructors are informed of the requirements. The notion arises whether instructors transmit this information to the candidates with an aim to educate them of the specific requirements and what type of information and knowledge they are expected to produce and demonstrate at the examination in hopes of acquiring a higher performance grade. The assessor awards marks by applying performance descriptors from the analytical assessment scales for the following criteria: grammatical resource, lexical resource, pronunciation, interactive communication and discourse management. Below we shall elaborate more on the category 'discourse management'.

According to the Cambridge English Language Assessment – "What is the Cambridge English: Advanced Speaking test?" discourse management refers to the *extent, relevance*, as well as *coherence and cohesion* of a candidate's individual contribution(s). CAE candidates are expected to produce extended and shorter stretches of language, as required by the task, with very little hesitation, using a *range of cohesive devices* and *discourse* markers. Candidate contributions are expected to be *relevant*, with *clearly organised ideas*. All the notions from above make clear reference to the *maxim of manner*, as outlined in the theoretical section of this chapter.

Coherence and cohesion as demonstrated in the assessment scale for the CAE and CPE Speaking Paper examinations can be achieved in a variety of ways, including grammatical cohesive devices, discourse markers, lexical cohesive devices, the use of related vocabulary, all of which are mentioned in the Handbook and which will be used for the analysis of the data gained from the candidates' speeches which will be presented with concrete examples in the results section.

a.   Cohesive devices

In the Handbook, cohesive devices are explained as words and phrases indicating relationships between utterances (i.e. addition – *and, in addition, moreover*); consequence (i.e., *so, therefore, as a result*); order of

information (i.e., *first, second, next, finally*). At higher levels such as CAE and CPE, candidates are expected to not just use basic cohesive devices (i.e. *and, but, or, then, finally*) but to use more sophisticated devices (i.e. *therefore, moreover, as a result, in addition, however, on the other hand*). The same devices are referred to in the literature section above; however, reference is made under slightly different divisions. Some of the devices are in fact added in the 'discourse marker' category such is the case of, *therefore*. Use of cohesive devices contributes towards the grammatical cohesion of a speech which makes the speech orderly and clear (*maxim of manner*).

b.   Discourse markers

Discourse markers are words or phrases primarily used in spoken language to add meaning to the interaction (i.e. *you know, you see, actually, basically, I mean, well, anyway, like*). The speaking assessment - Glossary of terms, provides a very brief and limited number of examples of discourse markers. It does not go into much detail, nor does it provide different categories or sub-divisions among the various discourse markers, as was presented in the theoretical part of this research.

c.   Related vocabulary

This aspect relates to lexical cohesion, particularly the use of synonyms.

d.   Grammatical devices

This subsection encompasses the use of reference pronouns (e.g. *it, this, one*) and articles (i.e., *There are two women in the picture. The one on the right*...). This section falls under the grammatical cohesion, as discussed earlier in the theoretical background.

e.   Extent/extended stretches of language

Another aspect which is assessed is the extent/extended stretches of language, which is the amount of language produced by a candidate, which should be appropriate to the task (*maxim of manner*). One should make note that this may be at times a bit more complex to decipher. Depending on the context and the production of speech, application of extended stretches of language may in some instances infringe upon the *maxim of manner* from the aspect of adding towards the prolixity and the clarity of the speech.

f.   Repetition

Repetition is part of the category of lexical cohesion and the *maxim of manner* – excessive repetition may affect the clarity and order of the speech.

In the information booklet for the candidates, it is also noted that although knowledge of grammar and vocabulary is certainly important, it is essential to realise that candidates are being assessed on a range of skills and on their communicative ability. In addition, emphasis is placed on the importance of candidates *familiarising themselves with the assessment criteria* used in the Speaking Paper examination, including discourse management. It should be emphasised that the complete assessment criteria is explicitly mentioned twice in the short information booklet for the candidates.

From the discussion above, it is assumed that the examiners, instructors and candidates are all informed of the expectations involved in the assessment of performance during the examinations.

In the assessment scale description, reference is clearly made to tokens - aspects based on the *maxim of manner*, particularly in the discourse management section which will be further elaborated in the results and analysis section below. Features which correlate to those notions such as coherence and cohesion – cohesive devices, related vocabulary, grammatical devices, discourse markers as well as relevance are evidently stated specifically in the discourse management section of the Speaking Paper assessment scales.

4.2 Certificate of Proficiency in English (CPE)

Handbook for teachers for exams from 2015

The Cambridge Proficiency in English is targeted at Level C2 - proficient user is the highest level on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), published by the Council of Europe. CPE is at level C2, described as 'excellent command of the spoken language'. Successful candidates are able to use English at near-native levels in a wide range of situations.

The CPE examination, as outlined in the official *Cambridge English Proficiency: Handbook for teachers – for exams from 2015* (Handbook), covers all four language skills. It is prudent to note that the CPE examination is very similar to the CAE in format and types of tasks which the candidates need to perform across all four language parts. The difference may be in the number of tasks, the length of tasks or the level of language production/comprehension/acquisition that is expected for each level, which is congruent to the assessment criteria and scale. In order to avoid repetition from the information already provided regarding the CAE examination, reference will be made only to the parts which differ between

the two examinations, specifically in the Speaking Paper which is the focus of the research.

Unlike the CAE, part 3 in the CPE Speaking Paper is the 'individual long turn' followed by a discussion on topics related to the long turns. The focus is organising a larger unit of discourse, expressing and justifying opinions, developing topics; in this part of the test, each candidate is given the opportunity to speak for 2 minutes without interruption. Each candidate in turn is given a card with a question on it, and there are also some ideas on the card (optional) which the candidates may make use as prompts to facilitate the speech.

Like the CAE examination, the analytical assessment scales in the CPE are similar; only the expectations in the candidates' performance are different among the bands. Focus here will be placed only on the Speaking Paper's assessment scales - discourse management.

The CPE Assessment scale is identical to the CAE as it is divided into six bands from 0 to 5, with 0 being the lowest and 5 the highest. At *Cambridge English: Proficiency* level, band 5 candidates can produce extended stretches of language, with flexibility and ease and very little hesitation. The difference here compared to the CAE is the addition of **flexibility**. Candidates' contributions are expected to be relevant, coherent, varied and detailed. The difference here compared to the CAE is the addition of **detailed**. One may argue that differentiation is made between CPE and CAE level where the *maxim of manner*, particularly avoiding ambiguity, is enforced with speech being detailed. The use of detail avoids vagueness, uncertainty and doubt in the information presented. In addition, candidates should also make full and effective use of a wide range of cohesive devices and discourse markers. The difference here compared to the CAE is the addition of **full** and **effective use**. One could make a note that full and effective use of cohesive devices and discourse markers strengthens the cohesion and coherence of the speech (*maxim of manner*). This is also interrelated to the speech becoming even more relevant. As such, from the prism of the *maxims of manner* the speech produced is not only sufficient enough to be in partial or limited compliance to the maxims but it is expected to be in full and effective compliance.

To conclude, both the CAE and CPE Speaking Papers list that contributions should be relevant, coherent and varied. The difference is the intensity, scope and detail of such contributions as well as the band when they are expected to occur. In addition, the reference to the *maxims of manner* begins even at the lowest stages (band 1), where a candidate does not receive even a passing grade. It is also expected that candidates at CPE

level will be able to produce speech which illustrates higher knowledge of the aspects behind the *maxim of manner*.

5. Research methodology

The study was conducted with the aim to analyse the individual, uninterrupted speech during the mock Cambridge Certificate in Advanced English (CAE – Speaking Paper, task 2) and the Certificate of Proficiency in English (CPE – Speaking Paper, task 3) and to see if there will be compliance toward the *maxim of manner* (H).

The nature of the examination which was conducted was a mock, speaking examination where the interlocutor was the same individual throughout all sampled candidates and in this regard there was consistency. At the mock Speaking Paper examination there was not a separate assessor; the interlocutor acted as both an interlocutor and assessor. The purpose of the mock examination was to provide candidates with an opportunity to practice the Speaking Paper prior to the official examination.

The research was conducted at a private language school in Skopje, Macedonia. The subjects were all high-school students, learners of English language, i.e. enrolled in a preparatory course at the particular language school, with the intent on taking the Cambridge CAE and CPE examinations. It was the first time the candidates took the mock CAE/CPE Speaking Paper. A total of 30 participants (CAE and CPE level) were involved but the number used was 31 since one CAE candidate did the examination twice in order to be paired with another candidate. For the CAE Speaking Paper there were 27 candidates (one candidate is counted twice in the analysis as explained above) and there were four candidates for the CPE Speaking Paper. As such, the number of recordings and transcripts for the CAE was 27 but by number of individuals it was 26. Out of the 26 CAE candidates, 11 were female and 15 were male. They were all under the age of 18 years. There were a total of four CPE candidates – 3 female and 1 male. One of the reasons why the number of CPE candidates was low is due to the general trend in the last number of years where a lower number of candidates are enrolling in the CPE examination in the Republic of North Macedonia.

It is worth noting that no formal placement test was administered to determine the proficiency level of each candidate; rather, candidates who had passed the previous level Cambridge test were automatically accepted on the preparatory course for the next level. However, there were

candidates who enrolled directly to the course without having passed the previous level exam first.

Candidates were informed of their speaking time slot prior to the mock Speaking Paper examination. Efforts were made to avoid candidates from sharing information and their answers immediately after the examination, in the hallways, with their peers. This is a deficiency which should be mentioned particularly with CAE candidates, hence the reason behind the use of a large number of different sets of material for CAE task 2 – the long turn.

In terms of research ethical considerations, this study has utilised the following aspects: informant consent in the recruitment of participants, confidentiality in reporting of the findings, and providing assurances of privacy, confidentiality and anonymity (Miles and Huberman 1984, Creswell 2007). The items were communicated to the interviewees before the interviews.

Candidates were provided with verbal instructions which are part of the official instruction frame used by the interlocutor for the CAE and CPE Speaking Paper. The test was carried out as per the instructions prescribed in the Handbooks. Candidates were also provided with visuals for task #2 (CAE) and task# 3 (CPE) of the Speaking Paper. The candidates' speech was recorded, and the data was transcribed manually based on the received audio recordings.

The data gathered from both levels was analysed based on pre-determined tokens (grammatical and lexical cohesive devices, grammatical devices, pragmatic markers and relevant vocabulary). This was done with the aim to answer the research question – how the candidates apply the *maxim of manner* from the prism of the features/linguistic devices which are used. A brief description is provided below regarding the CAE and CPE tasks.

a.   *CAE mock Speaking Paper task 2 – long turn*

For the purpose of the CAE mock Speaking Paper, eight separate visual sets of speaking tasks (C1, C2, C4, C5, C7, C8, C10, C11) were administered among the 27 candidates. The sets were alternated so that no candidate received the same test (topic and visual materials) after the last pair of candidates. Attention was also paid to the fact that the sets were to be used with a similar frequency. It should be noted that the candidate who took the Speaking Paper twice, was given a different set each time (test package C1 and C5, respectively). The type of questions which were posed along with the visuals presented were official CAE Speaking Paper practice material and the topics were the following: experiencing extreme

sports/activities; communicating in different situations; competing at events; participating in discussion or in creative activities; performing different types of jobs, and taking part in tasks/activities which require concentration and precision. All tasks, except one, required candidates to compare two of the three pictures they were presented with and provide an answer/explanation to a question posed. The speaking task set *C7: People being involved in creative activities. How important is it to be creative in these different situations and how difficult might this be?* is particularly interesting since this is the only task which does not state in the instructions to compare two of the three images. This is used as a test to see if candidates have acquired this knowledge from the in-class instruction time. If so, they should automatically know that they are expected to compare two of the three images and proceed in doing so. Contrary to this, there may be confusion and uncertainty and they may ask the interlocutor for clarification.

b.   *CPE mock Speaking Paper task 3 – individual long turn*

The individual speaking task in the CPE differs from the CAE in format and length. The individual long turn – task 3 in the CPE Speaking Paper, presented each candidate with a cue card. On each card, one topic question was presented along with three prompt suggestions/ideas listed as part of the topic which could be used as information to initiate and facilitate the candidates' speech. There were 4 different questions, one given to each candidate.

In addition to the speaking tasks described above, the candidates were also provided with a questionnaire, with a purpose to gather some additional data which was in essence a retrospection of the candidates' experience during the mock examination, as well as to understand the extent of in-class instruction time dedicated towards the different parts of the examination. However, the questionnaire is not subject of analysis in the current chapter.

1.   Results and discussion

The main focus of the data analysis is placed on the candidates' performance in terms of compliance towards the *maxim of manner* (H), analysed through the use of specific 'tokens', cohesive devices (grammatical and lexical cohesion) and discourse markers (RO), in regards to the CAE and CPE Speaking Paper tasks.

While discussing the results, emphasis will be placed on their integration of the theoretical constructs mentioned in previous sections (grammatical and lexical devices and markers, the conversational maxim

of manner) and less on the assessment framework as stipulated in the CAE and CPE Handbooks.

Grice's explanation of the maxims	Theoretical background on discourse	The examination Handbooks	Additional (researcher's) outlook
Maxim of relation: Be relevant *Maxim of manner*: - Avoid obscurity - Avoid ambiguity - Be brief - Be orderly	*Grammatical cohesion*: (referring expressions/ referents, ellipsis, conjunctions) - *maxim of manner* *Lexical cohesion*: (relevant vocabulary) - *maxim of relation* - *maxim of manner* Discourse markers: elaborative, inferential, contrastive, additional - *maxim of manner* - *maxim of relation*	Use of cohesive devices and discourse markers – *maxim of manner* Contributions are relevant – *maxim of relation* (related vocabulary) Contributions are coherent – *maxim of manner* (be orderly, be brief, avoid ambiguity) Contributions are varied – *maxim of manner* (avoid obscurity, avoid ambiguity) Produces extended stretches of language (*maxim of manner*) (*maxim of relation*) Clear organization of ideas – *maxim of manner* (be orderly, be brief, avoid ambiguity, avoid obscurity) Little hesitation – *maxim of manner* (be brief, be orderly) Very little repetition – *maxim of manner*	Development of ideas (*max. of relation, max. of manner*)

Table 1. Parametric divisions used for analysis of the CAE/CPE candidates' performance in the individual stretch of speech in terms of compliance towards the maxim of manner

The table above (Table 1) offers a brief overview of the parametric divisions which will aid in the analysis of compliance towards the *maxim of manner* in the extended speech of the CAE and CPE candidates. The idea behind presenting this four-fold approach is to analyse which features from the theoretical part (left) and the aspects from the assessment scale listed in the Handbooks (right) are in fact, at the core, manifested in the definitions of Grice's *maxim of manner (and of relation)*.

The compliance towards the *maxim of manner* was tested through the candidates' use of grammatical and lexical cohesion tokens as well as discourse markers. An additional point worth mentioning is that the focus of the analysis of the results is done more so with the intention of providing a qualitative overview of the results in answering the hypothesis/research question, rather than the application of a quantitative approach. Analysis of the transcripts suggested that the candidates succeeded in answering the examiner's questions during the mock exam, nevertheless, with considerable difficulty, as far as the elements of the *maxim of manner* are concerned. Considering this observation, it is difficult to quantify the 'extent' to which compliance was achieved. From the point of view of language learning and teaching, it is assumed that the examples (selection) of non-compliance with the *maxim of manner* are more interesting to present in this section.

The following examples analyse deviations from the *maxim of manner*. The cohesive devices and discourse markers are marked in bold. The relevant vocabulary is underlined.

Examples of candidates' *non-compliance* with the *maxim of manner*

a. *Theoretical background to discourse* (*grammatical cohesion and limited use of discourse markers*)

In the following example, there is use of simple cohesive devices but in certain places their use is superfluous or there is overlap in the use of two different types (i.e. *and, or*). The speech exhibits lack of coherence and cohesion as the message tends to be ambiguous which the candidate attempts to convey. In example #1 there are hesitations (affecting the clarity and order) and the variety is inhibited by repetitions. Overall, one may argue that the following contribution is not in compliance with the *maxim of manner*.

In example # 1, there is use of limited cohesive devices which somewhat assists in the cohesion of the discourse; however, even beside their use, the coherence is hindered. In addition, even though there is

evidence of lexical cohesion – use of relevant vocabulary, the fact that the grammatical cohesion is weak, it also negatively affects the lexical one.

Example # 1:

"*The...sss...second one is a scientist with a ma...beaker and it looks like she is ma... (pause) ammm... (pause) it looks like ma...she is adding more ma... more to it. I can't really (pause) I can't really sssa...y what na...sh...what supposed to be it could either be a me.. cleaning it ma..it can either be the chemical the raw form of a chemical detergent or nnna...(pause) or .... a vaccine for something but nevertheless it does require a great deal of nn...aa precision in order to might get it right.*"

b. Theoretical background to discourse (lexical cohesion - repetitions)

It should be noted that the repetitions listed below are not provided as examples of lexical cohesion. It is argued that the repetitions negatively affect the *maxim of manner* as they hinder the speech being brief and orderly and add a level of ambiguity. In addition, in the examples one could further argue that the speech is not coherent and cohesive. In some instances, the repetitions are the same words which are repeated and at other instances they are sentences. In a few examples, the repetition is done as an idea which is repeated and no new information or development of an idea is offered. Below are a few examples of repetitions produced in the speech of the CAE candidates:

Example # 2:

"*second picture because of from aaa... from... (pause) up there you can you can have aaa... wonderful view and you can aaa... (pause) you can view the sport you're doing aaa... mmm... (pause). Ammm... people are motivated because after (pause) aaa... because of the... nature or because of t... what they aaa...what they feel when they do this sports.*"

Example # 3:

"*up there you can you can have aaa... wonderful view and you can aaa... (pause) you can view the sport you're doing aaa... mmm... (pause)...*"

Example # 4:

"*I see a group in aaa.. (pause) boat which (pause) which seemed to be... aaa.... (pause...........) sorry aaaa..... (pause........) which seemed to be having fun (pause) aaa...*"

c.   Theoretical background to discourse (grammatical and lexical cohesion)

Grice's explanation of the maxims - maxim of manner: ambiguity, clarity

Example # 5 uses simple cohesive devices yet the cohesion and coherence is interrupted. The *maxim of manner* (be perspicuous) is also affected as there tends to be a lack of clarity and the speech seems ambiguous. In regards to the assessment, this speech may be classified as incoherent - does not use a number of cohesive devices and discourse markers and it tends to be short of clear organisation. In addition, there are hesitations (affecting the clarity and order) and the variety is inhibited by repetitions. One may state that the *maxim of manner* is violated.

Example # 5

"Ammm... what makes pe.., what make this sport popular is the... adrenaline that makes people want to... go and aaa... do stuff in their free times so they can aaa... fulfil it with the aaa... and use the most aaa... they could possible do aaa.... aa... that's why most aaa... most people decide to... a go on extreme sports like these, aaa... ss... like this (pause) and... the... (pause) provide with aaa... (pause) as much as fun as possible."

The excerpt from the speech below in Example # 6 does employ some use of cohesive devices and discourse markers as well as relevant vocabulary however, the candidate uses *'I don't know'* and *'whatever'* a few times which interferes with the *maxim of manner*, as it adds a level of ambiguity and doubt to the spoken information. It also gives the feeling that the speaker is unsure of what they are saying or they lack the confidence to express themselves. It seems that the use of such phrases adds to the speech a level of colloquialism which on one hand, one may argue makes it more 'natural sounding', however on the other hand, it is perhaps inappropriate for examination settings. The use of such phrases is discouraged in examination settings as it makes the contribution ambiguous. One may argue that 'I don't know' can be used as a regular expression – even considered a bad language habit which may be excessively used in speech.

The ending is also problematic as it just ends with *'so yeah',* which can be interpreted as disinterest in continuing further with the speech and not providing a proper closure. In addition, the sense of ambiguity further exacerbates the level of clarity and cohesion of the speech as there are

often repetitions at times (i.e. *because*) as well as hesitations. The application of '*I don't know*' is labelled in bold and is underlined.

Example # 6

"Amm... Well... Amm... First of all I think that the men on the second picture are enjoying their job aaa... feeding the monkeys because aaa... this is very aaa... I don't know satisfying job aaa... working with the amps and aaa... (pause), yaa. It's it is really fulfilling and the difficulties they might encounter will probably be of kind that (pause)...well aaa... I don't know, maybe aaa... they have to be aware that these aaa... animals have to be properly protected and aaa... aaa... have the care that is required for them and aaa... on the second picture, well it is not very clearly shown, but I think this is a medical office or whatever; maybe, I don't know, or some kind of service. And they try to deliver their aaa... services to the customers in time and this might be aaa... stressful but it can bring you joy because of the, because of what you are doing, because you are serving people and this is very humanous composure whatever, and the last job is very aaa... (pause) I do not know, you can say it is dangerous but it can increase your aaa... level of adrenaline or whatever because they do some stuff that is not every day, aaa....well it is an everyday thing but it is not that easy, that an easy thing to do. So, yeah."

d.   *Theoretical background to discourse (grammatical and lexical cohesion)*

Grice's explanation of the maxims – maxim of manner: not brief, not orderly

Example # 7 below demonstrates use of only simple cohesive devices and discourse markers. There is good use of relevant vocabulary however it is not sufficient for the speech to be coherent and cohesive as it lacks a level of clarity. The *maxim of manner* is interrupted as there is prolixity - it is not brief and it is not orderly. There is also a level of ambiguity. In regards to the assessment scale presented in the Handbook, one may argue that the sample falls short of being clearly organised.

Example # 7

"Ok, aa... so in the first picture we can see a couple of co-workers probably discussing about something about their job maybe they're aa...discussing aa... about which topics to aaa... choose fo.. aaa... about their work so that they can improve them if they have some flaws in them and aaa... they are probably the one of the person is showing aa...to to a

> *screen maybe under screen there is aaa.. presentation about some topic
> and they are trying to discuss aa... reasons they can improve on that and
> (pause) they aaa... make improvements to their company and in the..."*

In Example # 8 there is use of cohesive devices and discourse markers,
however, they do not seem to be varied. In fact, they are heavily repeated
(i.e. *because*) which affects the cohesion of the discourse. As such, it can
be argued that the *maxim of manner* is also affected in terms of the level of
clarity, particularly not being brief and orderly. In addition, there are
hesitations (affecting again the level of clarity and order) and the variety in
the choice of lexis is inhibited by the repetitions.

Example # 8

> "*I will go first with the **first picture** because it shows aa... I see five people
> sky diving (pause) aaa... and I believe they chose sky diving because
> (pause) they must like adrenalin because (pause) pump up the adrenalin
> because I iii... it is not ss... aaa... sport for everyone (pause) I shall say but
> aa... (pause) also because they are doing it together (pause...) and....
> aaa... it can be quite fun.*"

The overall qualitative research results demonstrate that the candidates
had difficulties complying smoothly with the *maxim of* manner (how it is
said) and less trouble with the *maxim of relation* (what is said). In fact, it is
prudent to note that the *maxims of relation and manner* are congruent in
the constructive interpretation of a stretch of speech and for full
compliance both maxims (in fact perhaps all four of Grice's maxims)
should be obeyed in order for the speech to be deemed coherent and
cohesive. Furthermore, from the examples presented above, one may see
that even though the candidates are taking the CAE - advanced level of
examination, compliance with the *maxim of manner* in particular proves to
cause difficulties for the majority of the candidates. From the data
gathered, perhaps what may be an issue, it seems, is the level of actual
language competence and knowledge. One should think of the possibility
that perchance the candidates are not in fact at an advanced level of the
language but are in reality, a level or so lower.

In regards to the use of **cohesive devices** in the CAE Speaking Paper,
task #2, there is a variation in the use of the devices in terms of the type of
device as well as the level of frequency of use. In Graph 1 below, the four
cohesive devices listed include 'and'- *addition,* 'or', 'but' and 'so' –
consequence. For instance, three candidates used only one type of
cohesive device ('and' – *addition*) whereas, the majority of the candidates

used three different cohesive devices ('and', 'or', 'so') and two candidates used all four cohesive devices.

It is interesting to note that the candidate who used just one type of cohesive device ('and') used it with the highest frequency (10 times - x) compared to the other candidates. This is perhaps due to the fact that the candidate does not employ other cohesive devices but only focuses on the one type; perhaps higher frequency of use is an attempt at compensating for the lack of variety. All candidates used at least one cohesive device during the production of the stretch of individual speech. The frequency in terms of use of cohesive devices, from the graph below, one can notice that candidates used 'and' most frequently followed by 'so', 'or' and 'but'. Each candidate is represented with a different colour (on the x-axis) and the frequency (number of times a cohesive device used, presented on the y-axis) is illustrated on the left-hand side, in Figure 1 below:
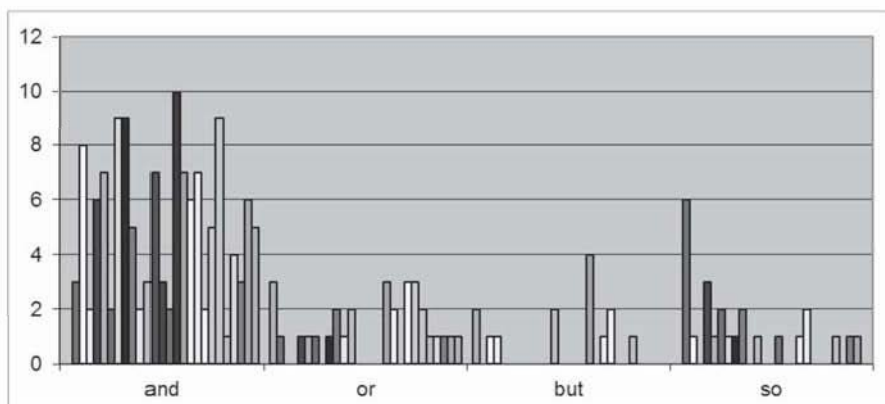
Figure 1. Type of cohesive device used by CAE candidates in the Speaking Paper, task #2.

In regards to the use of additional cohesive devices for *exemplification, contrast, resultative* and *reinforcement,* the level of frequency is lower than that of the previously mentioned cohesive devices. The majority of the CAE candidates (15) did not use any of the additional cohesive devices. The most frequent additional cohesive device is 'as' used for *exemplification (as evidence of).* In addition, the cohesive devices used for *contrast* include 'nevertheless' and 'whereas' which were used by only two candidates, each with a frequency of 2x. The cohesive device 'by' depicting *resultative* manner is used only 1x by one candidate. The same is true for the cohesive device 'as well' which stands for *reinforcement.*

In Figure 2, the distribution of frequencies of cohesive devices is depicted. The x-axis illustrates the number of times a cohesive device is used and the y-axis illustrates the number of candidates who used a particular cohesive device. One can note that 19 candidates never used (0x) the cohesive device 'but' whereas one candidate used the cohesive device 'and' 10x. One may also deduct from the information presented that the cohesive devices 'but' and 'or' are used with the least frequency and the cohesive device 'and' is used most frequently. Mention should be made that there is uneven distribution in the type of cohesive device as well as the frequency of the device used.
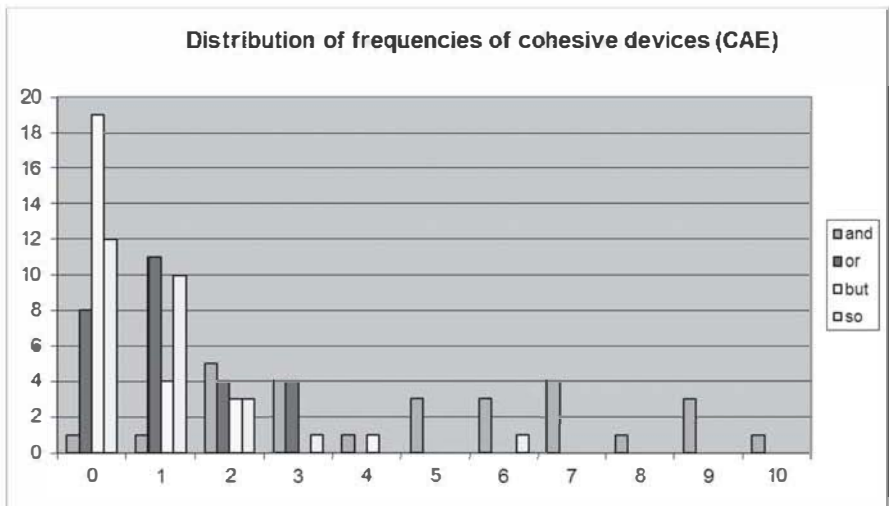
Figure 2. Distribution of frequencies of cohesive devices in the CAE Speaking Paper, task #2.

The difference between the two graphs is that in the first one, the type of device (4 devices) and frequency (number of times used - x) is explained. From the results one can deduct that the cohesive device 'and' is used most frequently; whereas, in the second graph, the focus is placed more on the distribution of frequencies. For instance, a total of 19 candidates never used 'but' while only 12 candidates used 'and' as a cohesive device.

In regards to the use of **discourse markers** in the CAE Speaking Paper, task #2, the discourse markers are divided (according to the literature-theoretical framework as presented above) into *elaborative,*

inferential, contrastive. There are also additional discourse markers listed for *sounding less direct, opening conversation* and *emphasizing*.

There is a variation in the use of the markers in terms of the type of marker as well as the level of frequency of use.

As stated in the literature section, discourse markers (1) show that the speaker has understood the previous utterance (and, if necessary, mark the connection to the forthcoming response), and (2) initiate a new idea. The discourse marker 'OK' serves both of these functions. It is often used as a simple response, indicating that the speaker has understood and accepted the preceding utterance. In addition, it marks a transition to the next step in the discussion, initiating a new sub-topic. In the case of 'okay' obtained from the data of the current research it was used as a conversation opener, at the very onset of the discourse. Candidates started to speak by uttering the discourse marker 'okay' or 'well' which is a rather informal way of beginning a stretch of speech. Even though there is a tendency for the application of 'natural use of the language' as it would be used in everyday situations by native speakers in English speaking countries, the beginning of speech for examination purposes where there is an interlocutor and an assessor present is expected to be a bit more formal. Moving on, a total of eight candidates did not use any discourse markers at the onset of their speech. The discourse marker 'well' was also used in instances to denote the opening of a conversation. In the case of 'well', as stated in the literature, it almost always marks a response to some previous utterance, rather than initiating a new sub-topic. In the case of the results gathered from the current research, candidates also used 'well' as a discourse marker demarcating contrast. In the instance of the discourse marker 'alright', it is less commonly used in comparison to that of 'ok' but it is similar in that it is also used to initiate a new topic. This was the case with one candidate who used 'alright' to open the conversation.

As shown in Figure 3 below, the *inferential* discourse marker - 'because' is used most frequently by 18 candidates, compared to the *elaborative* discourse markers - 'also' and 'for example' which are used least frequently, by 10 candidates. It is expected that elaborative discourse markers are to be used with higher frequency as the speaking task which the candidate is undertaking requires elaboration on the topic. The same is the case with the *contrastive* discourse markers ('well', 'while' and 'like') which can be used in cases where candidates need to contrast the two images/activities which are depicted in the images they are presented with. Each candidate is represented with a different colour and the frequency (number of times a discourse marker is used) is illustrated on the y-axis (left-hand side).
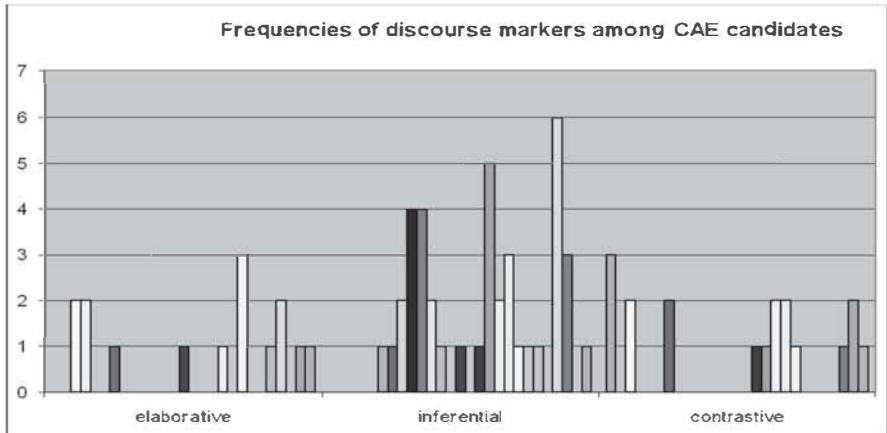
Figure 3. Distribution of type of discourse marker by CAE candidates in the Speaking Paper, task #2.

Graph 4 below depicts the distribution of frequencies of discourse markers by number of candidates and number of times used by a candidate. Each candidate is represented by a different colour. The x-axis illustrates the number of times a discourse marker is used by a candidate and the y-axis illustrates the number of candidates who used the discourse marker. One can note that 17 candidates never used (0x) an *elaborative* discourse marker, 16 candidates never used (0x) a *contrastive* discourse marker and nine candidates never used (0x) an *inferential* marker. In addition, one may notice that only the *inferential* discourse marker 'because' is used multiple times by candidates (2 candidates   4x, 1 candidate - 5x and 1 candidate - 6x). This analysis is in line with the previously analysed data.
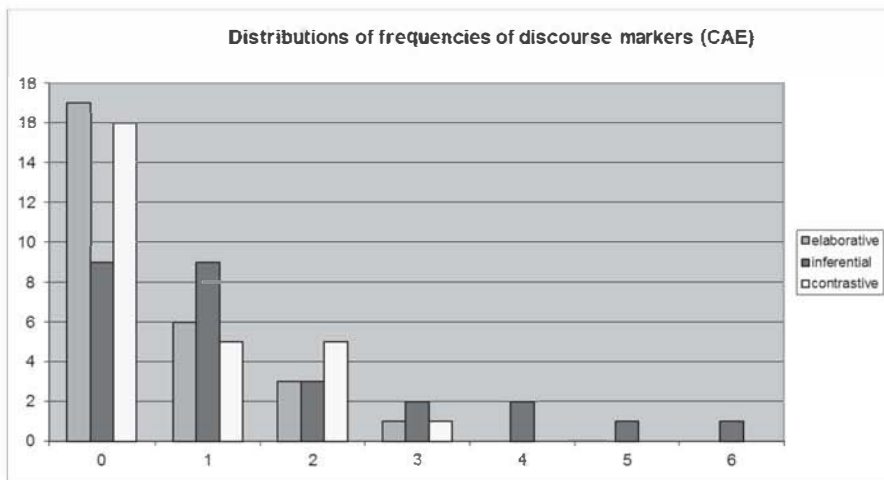
Figure 4. Distribution of discourse markers by number of candidates and frequency (number of times -*x*) used by candidates in the CAE Speaking Paper, task #2.

To conclude, one may even argue that there is overuse of a limited number of *discourse markers,* particularly inferential ('because') and there is almost no variety in the use. At CAE   advanced level, candidates are expected to demonstrate use of variety of discourse markers, in this case, a synonym for 'because' such as 'as' or 'since' depending on the context. In addition, what is more alarming is the number of candidates (4) who did not use any discourse markers or who used just one which did not always prove to be of relevance or appropriacy to the spoken material. Even at times when a candidate produced a stretch of speech which utilised cohesive devices and discourse markers it did not automatically translate into having coherence and cohesion as the speech was often inhibited by numerous interruptions, hesitations, pauses and repetitions. On that note, the level of fluency is in some cases severely interrupted and as a result, the level of performance may be perceived to be below that which is both expected and acceptable for CAE level. In addition, the data shows that CAE candidates have sufficient and adequate *use of vocabulary;* nevertheless, there were few instances where candidates either have difficulty activating words from their schemata (remembering suitable words) or they lack the knowledge in terms of level of actual language acquisition of such lexis and the collocations in which they operate. Candidates did not demonstrate examples with items from the same lexical set as synonyms and they rarely made attempts to use fixed phrases.

In regards to *repetitions*, the majority of candidates used repetitions subconsciously when they reached a 'mind-block' and tried to think of how to proceed with the speech. The repetitions were most often accompanied by hesitations (prior or post repetition).

In regards to *sentence ending,* the majority of candidates - 21 candidates did not provide a proper ending to the task at the end of their speech which one may deem as inappropriate especially in the case of advanced levels of language usage. One may also point out that the maxim of manner is as well interrupted since there is a sense of ambiguity and lack of clarity in the way the task ends.

The analysis of the CAE transcripts was predominantly discussed in the section above, as only four candidates did the CPE Speaking Paper, hence the comparison between the two proficiency candidates is rather uneven. What can be concluded is that the CPE candidates performed very similarly to the CAE candidates in the sense of having some compliance with the maxim of manner. However, they also struggled with achieving cohesion and coherence in their speech and had excessive repetitions. They, furthermore, used a narrower range of discourse markers, yet the ones they used were of a more formal nature. For instance, in comparison to the CAE candidates, the CPE candidates used the *elaborative* discourse markers ('for example', and 'also') as well as the *contrastive* ('well' and 'however') with higher frequency than the *inferential* discourse markers. In fact, one CPE candidate used 'however' which was not the case with the CAE candidates. In the case of the *inferential* discourse marker, one candidate, besides 'because' used 'after all', which was not the case with the CAE candidates.

In the case of the individual, uninterrupted speech of the CPE candidates, there is no example of a cataphora as well as an ellipsis. In addition, there is no example where the wrong form of a referent was applied (with the CAE candidates there are two examples). Moreover, there are two examples where the use of the referent was unclear (in CAE there is one example).

Following the analysis of the research data, one may conclude that the candidates demonstrated compliance with the *maxim of manner* by being able to convey their thoughts on the topics asked. In this broadest sense, the hypothesis is confirmed (H). Generally speaking, both CAE and CPE levels used cohesive devices and discourse markers; at CAE level one can argue that the use of grammatical cohesion – anaphora, cataphora, and ellipsis was a bit more varied than at CPE level whereas, at CPE level, the choice of discourse markers among candidates was perhaps a bit more formal in style (e.g. uses of 'although', 'thus'). However, in terms of the

data analysed of the overall performance of the candidates and taking into consideration the expectations as outlined in the assessment scales in the official material – Handbooks for the specific levels of CAE and CPE, one may deduct that the majority of the CAE candidates still lacked the fluency and spontaneity of the language at C1 level. In examples of the CPE candidates there were only limited examples which illustrated the development of topics by using expressions such as 'I am under the impression that', 'it is my understanding that', 'to add on to', 'to further elaborate on', 'to take this point and expand on it', etc. In the case of the CPE candidates, they demonstrated appropriateness in terms of the task, however they still somewhat lacked the ease and precision expected for C2 level and the use of cohesive devices was rather scarce.

6. Conclusions

The chapter bridges a number of disciplines within applied linguistics: pragmatics, discourse analysis, language acquisition and language testing. At the beginning of the chapter, an overview was offered of Grice's cooperative principle with a special focus on *the maxim of manner*. Then, discourse management was elaborated, with the explanation of grammatical and lexical cohesion, particularly cohesive devices and discourse markers. Next, the place of pragmatics within SLA was discussed, in particular *communicative competence*, as the key relevant notion and its importance in language learning and language teaching was highlighted. The theoretical part finished with analysis of the Handbooks for the relevant Cambridge English language exams, that of CAE and CPE level, and with a particular emphasis on the information available regarding compliance with the maxim of manner, as prescribed in the assessment scales for each level. Analysis of the instruction materials, e.g. the Handbooks, demonstrate that the relevant stakeholders (candidates, instructors, assessors) are provided with the necessary means to be in fact informed of the assessment criteria for the CAE and CPE Speaking Papers.

In the remainder of the chapter, the research part was presented, beginning with explanation of the methodology used and proceeded by the analysis of the data. Generally speaking, the research results demonstrated compliance towards the *maxim of manner* at both CAE and CPE levels. Compliance with the maxim was achieved in the sense that candidates understood the questions and managed to provide relevant and comprehensible answers to a certain degree. Cohesive devices and discourse markers do indeed assist in the coherence and cohesion of a stretch of speech, yet they are not always a magical solution. There were

instances where even use of various cohesive devices and more advanced discourse markers did not always produce speech which was clear or orderly. One should also point to the fact that candidates' performance was at times inconsistent and below the echelon expected for advanced/proficient levels of language acquisition. There are a number of reasons behind that, but one should not discard the reality that the candidates were in an examination setting, under timed regulations and under pressure which may all have translated into higher levels of anxiety. Another assumption which could be made is that instances of non-compliance towards the *maxim of manner* may be due to the fact that candidates had not mastered the language well enough and the maxim was broken unintentionally. One of the factors which may have affected their level of performance is how much time and input was in fact dedicated towards practicing for the Speaking Paper and whether that time was sufficient enough.

Furthermore, it is prudent to state again that compliance toward the *maxim of manner* at the CPE level did not prove to be that much higher than at CAE level. From the analysed data, one may in fact argue that for proficiency C2 level, the use and complexity of forms was rather limited and the variety of such devices was not as sophisticated as it is expected to be for such level. In fact, unfortunately, there was not a consistent full and effective use of a wide range of cohesive devices and discourse markers expected for CPE level. One should consider the idea here that it is perhaps not sufficient enough for a candidate to be only 'at a certain level'; just because a candidate is at CAE/CPE level that does not automatically transpire that they will undoubtedly do well in the examination. It may be even disputable if certain candidates were in fact realistically, in terms of language competence, adequately placed at CAE/CPE level.

Moreover, it is advisable to take the CPE examination once a candidate has had some contact with higher education studies – university and/or working experience as they gain the necessary life skills and knowledge which are required for proficient levels of language comprehension and use. Such life knowledge is indeed beneficial in the formulation of the answers of the speaking tasks, as well as the flow of thoughts and ideas, since ideas tend to stem from previous life and academic experiences encountered. In essence, the pragmatics of discourse requires more stimulation from the outside. The difference is that CPE candidates need to handle communication on *all* topics compared to a *wide range* of topics as it is the case for the CAE examination. One should make note of the fact that at CPE level, candidates should demonstrate more *varied*

knowledge - worldly knowledge which ties to experiences gained through both formal education and life experiences in general. This is especially the case when candidates are asked to speak about more abstract issues or hypothetical situations for instance, consumerism and counterfactual situations.

Expectation is that students who are at higher levels of language proficiency should be able to converse as naturally as possible in a fluent manner. Nevertheless, one should point out that one of the main precursors for such attainment is perhaps continual and extensive exposure to input. Nowadays, grammatical accuracy still appears to be given a special prominence in in-class teaching time even in preparatory courses for language examinations. One does not dispute the fact that the role of grammatical accuracy in spoken language testing is a vital component but equally so is discourse management and interactive communication, which should take centre stage, particularly in the Speaking Paper of a language examination. The data gathered from the particular research (results from the spoken stretches of individual speech, as well as results obtained from the questionnaires, the latter not discussed in the current chapter), demonstrate that students do not receive the same amount of instruction time as well as practice time for developing their speaking skills, precisely for the purpose of the CAE/CPE Speaking Papers. Instruction of speaking is a fundamental part of language learning and it is undoubtedly a vital part of in-class language teaching. It is recommended for candidates to have the opportunity to use the language in more practical, everyday settings, where such exposure will enable them to have more practice and eventually strengthen their level of fluency. In addition, interaction with native-speakers will allow candidates to hear the spoken language used authentically on different topics and in different contexts (cultural component) which is an added value.

Verbal communication is a vast field of research which is not only part of linguistics but is part of other disciplines too, such as psychology, anthropology, cultural studies and sociology. The current chapter hopes to have contributed to providing a better understanding of one aspect of the complex speaking task, as administered in examination settings and as practiced in formal environments of L2A.

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CHAPTER THREE

READING AND WRITING ORTHOGRAPHIES FOR QAZAQ: AN EXPLORATORY EDUCATIONAL INTERVENTION

DAVID LANDIS A SAPARKUL MIRSEITOVA

Outline

This chapter discusses an exploratory educational intervention involving Qazaqstani children and young people focused upon reading three orthographies used for Qazaq language (Latin, Arabic, Cyrillic scripts). It adopts a social practice perspective of teaching and learning reading in order to discuss the students' uses of and views about the three orthographies. Such a perspective views reading and writing as human activities used for negotiating ways to use intellectual, social and material resources in order to understand what is going on, assign meanings, draw from historical precedents, develop working consensus and decide which resources will be useful for expressing their intentions and goals.

Introduction

The term 'Qazaq' refers to a Turkic agglutinative language stressing vowel synchronization, which is closely related to the Nogai and Kyrgyz languages. The plural term 'orthographies' is used to indicate that modern day Qazaq is written in Latin, Arabic and Cyrillic scripts. Qazaq is the official language of the Republic of Qazaqstan and an important minority language in the Xinjiang Autonomous Prefecture of the People's Republic of China and the Bayan-Olgii Province of Mongolia.

A social practice perspective raises several related questions about uses of Qazaq orthographies such as: What are people doing when they read

Qazaq orthographies? Which orthographies are used for which purposes? How are they reading Qazaq orthographies? Who reads Qazaq orthographies? When? Where? For what purposes? With what consequences in immediate situations as well as across time and place? The data for this chapter were generated through observations and interviews with students in school classrooms and respond in a limited way to some of the previous questions including: Which orthographies are used for which purposes? When? Where?

Subsequent discussion in this chapter is organized in the following way. First, a section discusses historical development and use of three orthographies used for reading Qazaq: Arabic, Latin and Cyrillic. Second, a theoretical discussion of orthography and orthographic skills is presented. Third, a brief discussion presents two educational interventions for helping students to adapt to using three scripts for Qazaq. A final section presents a brief reflection about this project and next steps for research.

A Brief History of Orthographies for Qazaq Reading

According to Adams (2011) the term 'Qazaq' came into use during the early years of the 16th Century. At that time, people groups indigenous to the areas north and west of the Tien Shan Mountains were organized into three tribal units or zhuzes (literally hordes): 'Small', 'Middle' and 'Large/Elder'. Each of these larger units was represented by a khan (leader) and further divided into more local kinship groups. Each of the tribal units had established its particular geographic territories by the beginning of the 20th Century. The Elder Group (known as the 'Uli Zhuz' and composed of ten family clans) had occupied the area between the Tien Shan Mountains and Lake Balkhash. This area was known as Zhetisu or Seven Rivers and was characterized by numerous water sources emanating from the mountains and abundant pasturelands. The Middle Group (known as the 'Orta Zhuz' and composed of 6 family clans) had occupied a more arid territory to the north and east of Lake Balkhash stretching to the modem border with Russia. The Small Group (known as the' Kishi Zhuz' and composed of 3 family clans) occupied the less desirable, desiccated region to the west between the Aral and the Caspian water sources and extending to the north to the modern border with Russia.

The tribal units (an association of related families by kinship) would reside together in migrating camps, which followed herds and flocks in the continual search for pastureland. Tribal elders selected local judges to decide disputes according to established traditions. The tribal units

provided needed defense capabilities and social/political stability to protect important geographical resources for livestock. The tribal sultan (who claimed descent from Genghis Khan) plus tribal elders would attend periodic gatherings known as 'kurultai' attended by the leaders and elders representing the other two tribal units to elect a main leader or khan (Schatz, 2004).

"Indeed, nomadic pastoralism was the sustaining force behind such identity relationships and one that left a deep imprint on the identity dynamic…nomadism privileged genealogical knowledge, diffuse authority patterns, and a segmentary social structure. It resulted from the harsh steppe environment that made local-level encampment and associated clan(s) the most salient social division" (Schatz, 2004, p. 32).

However, the latter half of the 19th and first half of the 20th Centuries witnessed Tsarist Russia-Soviet Era empire building across the Eurasian continent. The Tsarist government looked for arable lands to expand to through colonization. The services of ethnographers were enlisted in order to conduct ethnic and linguistic surveys of extant people groups across the Eurasian steppes to build understanding of local populations in order to consolidate additional territories under Russian and later under Soviet control. By 1920, Soviet leaders had created the Qazaq Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic to encompass the territories occupied by the Uli, Orta and Kishi Zhuzes (Hirsch, 2005).

By the early years of the 20th Century, two groups of Qazaq intellectuals were confronted by a new idea—that Qazaqs' traditional nomadic ways of living would be irreversibly affected by political and economic changes coming to the Eurasian steppes. One group of intellectuals represented a traditional Islamic-oriented party which produced the magazine *Aiqap*. The second group represented the progressive political party, Alash, which produced the newspaper *Qazaq* published from 1913-1918. Both groups recognized that European cultural ideas would exert more influence upon the traditional Qazaq nomadic lifestyle. Editors and writers for the two publications discussed possible ways to develop from traditional nomadic living to settled life in towns and cities. "Among other important issues the Qazaq intellectuals discussed the role of Islam in Qazaq nomadic society, the preservation of the Qazaq language and the development of Qazaq culture and literature" (Kendirbaeva, 1999, p. 6).

The editors and writers for these publications also considered children's education according to the existing primary schools (traditional and modem). The *Aiqap* promoted the traditional primary school known as the mektep, which required students to pay fees for attending. In spite of the fees, the mekteps were much more popular among Qazaqs who believed

that their children would lose proficiency with the Qazaq language if they attended the modern primary schools. Teachers at the mektep schools used Arabic script adapted for reading and writing in Qazaq accompanied by traditional teaching methods and subjects of study influenced by Islamic education. Traditional Islamic teaching methods focused upon reading, writing and reciting (rote memorizing of statements and formulas) and rituals associated with religious prayer. The objective was to memorize the Quran. According to Wagner and Lotfi's study of traditional Islamic schooling in Morocco, primary school age students were guided through four phases of study. The first phase aimed for students to memorize the Arabic alphabet through rote chants that name each letter and any special features. The second phase required students to trace Arabic letters while also beginning to memorize some phrases from the Quran and later to copy words from a text. The third phase included writing and reciting chapters from the Quran and the fourth phase involved writing from dictations (Wagner & Lotfi, 1980). These phases of traditional Islamic education could also have been in use in the Qazaq mekteps.

Meanwhile, the Alash leaders preferred to focus their attention and efforts through the modern primary schools in order to support the cultural survival of the Qazaq people through the preservation and further development of Qazaq language, literature and culture rather than focusing upon the preservation of a specific lifestyle (nomadic or sedentary) or conserving Islamic texts. Akhmet Baitursunuli, chief editor of the *Qazaq* newspaper, for example, advocated for the development of Qazaq language textbooks and other teaching materials using Arabic script even though he also supported the modern primary schools. This network of primary schools became known as the Altinsarin schools because they were named after Ibragim Altinsarin who guided the formation of a network of secular schools across the territory that came to be known as Qazaqstan. Altinsarin's schools used the Cyrillic alphabet adapted for Qazaq to teach Qazaq language and literature (Kendirbaeva, 1999). This second kind of primary school was financed by the Russian colonial government and later Soviet government. Its main objective was to train Russian-speaking indigenous administrators who would serve the colonial/soviet governors loyally and capably.

However, some educators became disappointed with the results of the modern, secular primary school education. Based upon his observations of students at the Russian-sponsored primary schools, Baitursunuli (1914) commented:

"Children after two to three years of study at Russian schools became useless for society. On the one hand, they can not read Russian books,

newspapers and magazines, because they do not know the Russian language, but only the Cyrillic alphabet. On the other hand, despite knowing the Qazaq language they are unable to read Qazaq literature, because they do not know the Qazaq alphabet. The state strives to standardize the languages, religions and alphabets of the subject peoples, but each people wishes to preserve its own language, religion and alphabet. Therefore, first of all the Qazaq primary schools should be separated from the missionary activities and politics of the government. Their first task must be the preservation of the Qazaq religion, language and alphabet" (Baitursunuli, 1914).

To solve these problems, the following reforms were proposed:

> "[the] Qazaq primary schools must be supported by the government and be attended by all children of the appropriate age…the knowledge of the Russian language was necessary for a people living in Russia and subject to the Russians. According to this reform project the study at primary school should last five years. In the first three years children were to learn in the Qazaq language using the Arabic alphabet... In the following two years children were to learn in Russian and master the Cyrillic alphabet. The primary schools were to be of two types, namely city schools and steppe schools. The latter were to be divided into auyl and ulus mekteps (village and district schools). Teaching at the village schools was to proceed in Qazaq language, while in the district schools Russian language was to be used. The following subjects were to be included in the programme of the primary school: reading, writing, religion, mother tongue, national history, arithmetic, geography, orthography, biology. These subjects were to be taught in Qazaq. Teaching at the next stage was to proceed in Russian and was meant to correspond to the primary classes of Russian secondary or technical high schools. After finishing this sort of primary school the Qazaqs would be able to continue their studies both at the Muslim or Russian institutions" (Kendirbaeva, 1999, p. 20).

In sum, the two kinds of primary schools promoted different scripts for reading and writing in Qazaq. The mekteps utilized the Arabic script for Qazaq developed by Baitursunuli. The Altinsarin schools utilized the Cyrillic script for Qazaq. From these beginnings, two scripts were used for schooling in Qazaq.

Qazaq Orthographies Today

The Arabic script is still considered as the official alphabet for Qazaqs in the People's Republic of China today. This revised Arabic script was composed of 28 traditional Arabic symbols for 30 consonant sounds and 6 vowel sounds plus 12 additional symbols for consonants and vowels

particular to Qazaq. A primary focus of Arabic writing is building recognition of 3 consonant patterns referring to important semantic domains (e.g., ktb-to write: kitab, kataba, kutub, maktab) (The Linguisticator, 2017). A Latin script for Qazaq was introduced in 1927 and used until 1937 when the Cyrillic script for Qazaq was imposed by Soviet decrees. Years later in 1991, the International Symposium of the Contemporary Turkish Alphabet was held in order to organize principles and guidelines for writing Turkic languages such as Qazaq in Latin script. Key principles are: adopting a set of 34 symbols with each phoneme represented by a single grapheme, and similar sounds across Turkic languages should be represented by the same symbol (Ercilasun, 1999). More recently, the Latin script used by the Qazaqstan International News Agency (KazInform) features 42 symbols including two special symbols <"> and <'> to indicate greater or lesser plosive force of the preceding letter for Russian language words. This Latin script for Qazaq also includes letters with diacritical marks such as 'ñ'or 'ä', however diacritical marks are more difficult to represent with standard Latin alphabet and fonts and may present some difficulties for beginner readers. The most recent proposal for a Latin alphabet for Qazaq was introduced in 2017 for official launch in 2025. This alphabet proposal uses a single style of diacritical mark to indicate letters with special pronunciations (e.g., /a'/, /g'/, /i'/, /n'/, /o'/, /s'/, /c'/, /u'/ and /y'/. In addition to changes in the proposals for a suitable Latin script for Qazaq, the number of Qazaqstani citizens acquainted with Latin letters is increasing in Qazaqstan as more people self-report that they are learning to speak English.

Three Kinds of Information for Reading

Reading has been characterized as information developed or constructed from reader experiences, phonological knowledge and orthographic knowledge. Orthographic knowledge refers to identifying visual symbols based upon spelling/visual sequences or patterns of printed symbols for language sounds. Specifically, orthography refers to printed script and includes knowledge of or memory about letter patterns, grapheme or printed letter sequences and experience in connecting graphemes to produce recognizable words or parts of words (Barker, Torgeson & Wagner, 1992). Previous research has proposed three types of information or knowledge for readers.

One type of reader knowledge can be classified as orthographic. Orthographic knowledge has been theorized as consisting of reader memory of letter patterns, recognition of grapheme sequences and reader

activities that link grapheme sequences with phonemes to produce recognizable utterances. Reader activities with orthographic knowledge include a range of actions such as: matching graphemes to phonemes, identifying letters for word spelling, using visual cues to check spelling, referring to a visual source to copy from, creating spelling analogies with known words, selecting letters according to best guess, applying spelling rules and using common letter sequence patterns (Sharp, Sinatra and Reynolds, 2008).

A second type of reader knowledge can be identified as vocal sound patterns or phonological knowledge. Phonological knowledge is defined as reader memory of sound patterns and sound sequences connected with writing, and reader activities that connect phonemes with graphemes to produce recognizable utterances. Reader activities with phonological knowledge include: eye movements and perceptual spans of graphemes based upon sound patterns, using sound sequences to recognize whole words, and using sound sequences to aid in understanding written texts (Barker, et. al., 1992; Stanovich & West, 1989).

A third type of reader knowledge can be classified as reader life experiences involving orthographic and phonological knowledge. Such experiences are connected with everyday life and are identified by a series of questions: when print was seen and heard, where print was seen or heard, in which events print was seen and heard, how print was linked with particular social or cultural tasks and practices, and what consequences were linked with print (Nation, 2017). Reader activities connected with life experiences of grapheme and phoneme knowledge include: pronouncing words and non-words, identifying word sequences and isolated words, the amount of reading over time, speaking aloud extended print sequences, and reviewing printed texts to find information/answer questions/satisfy curiosity.

Taken together, these three kinds of reader knowledge provide a basis for discussions about how readers could use orthographic cues to build understanding about printed texts utilizing Latin, Arabic or Cyrillic scripts for representing Qazaq. Of particular interest is the question of how these different scripts represent Qazaq phonemes (e.g., Frost, Katz & Shlomo, 1987).

Modern Sources of Orthographic Cues for Qazaq Reading and Writing

Previous theorizing has proposed the orthographic depth hypothesis as a means of comparing visual word recognition across multiple alphabets.

According to this hypothesis, different orthographies can be classified as deeper or shallower.

"According to [the orthographic depth hypothesis], in a shallow orthography lexical word recognition is mediated primarily by phonemic information generated outside the lexicon by grapheme-to-phoneme translation. In contrast, in a deep orthography, lexical access for word recognition relies strongly on orthographic cues, while phonology is derived from the internal lexicon. One implication of this hypothesis is that in a shallow orthography, the normal strategy for naming is to generate the major phonological information needed for word pronunciation pre-lexically by means of grapheme-to-phoneme translation. In contrast, in a deep orthography, such pre-lexical information for naming is either absent or too complex to be used efficiently. Therefore, pronunciation is based on information stored in the lexicon" (Frost et. al., 1987, p. 260).

Deeper orthographies such as Arabic rely on visual cues such as patterns of consonants in order to signal meanings to readers and writers. By contrast, in a shallow orthography such as Turkish, word recognition is supported primarily by phonemic information generated through grapheme-to-phoneme translation. In a shallow orthography, language users generate necessary information for word recognition and pronunciation through one to one translations of graphemes with specific phonemes. Meanwhile, a deep orthography requires language users to use visual memory to recognize and produce appropriate utterances (Frost et. al., 1987). These relative differences different orthographies use in reading and writing Qazaq language texts can be visually represented on a continuum as depicted in Figure 1.

The continuum can also be useful for comparing the relative demands placed upon readers by the Arabic, Cyrillic and Latin scripts for Qazaq readers. The Arabic script for Qazaq, for example, gives priority to orthographic cues because of reliance upon adjacent graphic consonant cues for word production. The Cyrillic script for Qazaq, gives priority to stressed phonemes because phonemic values are assigned based upon adjacent sounds before and after the target phoneme. Reading instruction for Cyrillic-based scripts, for example, may proceed as follows: a) learning single grapheme-phoneme relations, b) learning conditional grapheme-phoneme relations, c) learning word spelling of morphemic-orthographic cues, d) learning word-specific orthographic combinations. The goal of instruction in orthographic-phonemic relations is to develop reader expectation for particular vowel-consonant combinations (Kerek & Niemi, 2009). Meanwhile, the Latin script for Qazaq readers presents a shallower orthography compared with Cyrillic and Arabic-based scripts,

although diacritical marks (as used for letters /ñ/, /ä/ or /a'/) also may present challenges for beginner readers.

Figure 1. Qazaqstani citizens speaking English. The left column shows the percentage of citizens speaking English during the past 25 years. The right column shows the percentage of citizens speaking in three languages (Qazaq, Russian and English).

Given these differences for readers of Arabic, Cyrillic and Latin scripts for Qazaq readers, the current investigation aims to develop insight into how children/young people in K-12 classrooms learn the reading of Latin, Arabic, Cyrillic orthographies for Qazaq language. It adopts a social practice perspective of teaching and learning reading in order to build understanding about how teachers and students use written language to create opportunities for teaching and learning in educational settings, build academic knowledge, and establish and maintain social relations and identities that support academic achievement. During reading and writing as human activities, people negotiate ways to use intellectual, social and material resources to understand what is going on, assign meanings, draw from historical precedents, develop working consensus and decide upon which habitual, patterned formations of resources will be useful for expressing their intentions and goals.

Such a perspective raises several related questions including: What are people doing when they read Qazaq orthographies? Which orthographies are used for which purposes? How are they reading Qazaq orthographies? Who reads Qazaq orthographies? When? Where? For what purposes, and with what consequences in immediate situations and across time and place? These questions inquire into reading with Qazaq orthographies, ways of interacting with, and navigating, texts that are particular to Qazaq

language orthographies, ways of thinking and valuing related to Qazaq language use, definitions of what is meant by knowing Qazaq, ways of using time and space for reading Qazaq and the definitions of readers developed through shared Qazaq orthographies in use.

Project and Participants: Two Pedagogical Interventions

This project included two main interventions. The first intervention was a series of classroom lessons about the three scripts for reading and writing Qazaq. Participating teachers were requested to introduce eight lessons – four with traditional methods of teaching scripts and four using pedagogy of the Critical Thinking (International project Reading and Writing for Critical Thinking). Lesson topics included: a) My point of view on Qazaq alphabets, b) Writing faster in two alphabets, c) Filling in missed letters in Latin and Arabic alphabets, d) About Baitursunuli and his alphabets, e) Why change to using Latin script, f) Reading a set of stories by Altinsarin in three scripts. Unfortunately, lack of fidelity to traditional and RWCT pedagogies meant that this part of the project yielded no useful results. Of course, becoming familiar with Arabic script required more time for students, which resulted in less time for discussions and reflection writings compared with discussion and reflection about the more familiar Cyrillic and Latin scripts. Some students were attracted to Arabic writing because it looked attractive. The second intervention focused upon a set of short stories by Altinsarin, which were published in Cyrillic, Latin and Arabic scripts for Qazaq. His stories focused on moral concerns for the aim of making readers think about what is "good", what is "not good", and what is a good citizenship. Therefore, due to such concerns, students could make connections between the situations portrayed in the stories and their current lives.

Societal Contexts/Discussions about Latin Script

During the period January to April 2017, national discussions about a new alphabet for Qazaq became a key topic among scholars, politicians, and ordinary citizens. Some voices strongly supported the idea of changing to Latin script, some strongly argued for maintaining the Cyrillic script and some thought more time was needed to think about it. Each group had very solid arguments 'for' or 'against'. Therefore, this pedagogical experiment orthographic cues for Qazaq was accepted with great enthusiasm and participating teachers and students were highly motivated. By September 2017, discussions about using Latin script focused upon

how to create Latin letters to express specific Qazaq sounds. A recent version has been approved (see Table Two), which does not add characters not existing in the Latin alphabet or putting letters together to express one sound (2-3). For the recent version, Qazaq linguists decided that the best solution was to add a diacritical mark (') to existing Latin characters to show specific pronunciation. Qazaq scholars have been working hard to come to this seemingly very simple decision.

Participants and School Observations

During the school term of Spring 2017, the project participants consisted of 3 groups of students (one group in each of 3 different regions – West, South, and North-Central Qazaqstan. A total of 36 students participated in the activities of this study. About half were in the ninth grade and half were in the fifth grade. Initial interviews with this set of students demonstrated that 100% of the students could read Cyrillic scripts for Russian and Qazaq, about 27% could read Latin script, and 0% could read the Arabic script. Students indicated that they use Latin script for participating in Internet chats and using word processing software. Answering some questions a number of students confused recognizing letters with proficiency in a language. Most students (95%) said that they speak Qazaq and Russian and these two languages are enough for them for their further education. A few students added that they would like to learn Turkish to travel to Turkey or to learn English for travelling to other countries. When talking about Arabic script, some students mentioned religious books and said that Arabic is for use at religious schools. Students often indicated that they were unfamiliar with Arabic script, although they have seen published items such as old newspapers and historical books containing Arabic script.

During the Fall 2018 school term, project participants consisted of one group of post-secondary students (10 students) studying building construction. This group of students was interested only in focusing upon Latin script use with special attention to comprehension rather than learning to form letters through handwriting or talking about the different scripts or discussing language-script relationships. Although students were interested in focusing upon Latin script, about 60% continued using Cyrillic scripts for Russian and/or Qazaq for their classroom work. Their teacher also used the set of short stories by I. Altinsarin. Students discussed and wrote about the role and the place of young people in society. They concluded that a) society should give more attention to their concerns and that b) they need to work together to fight against negative

addictions among young people. In addition, students also discussed issues related to the cultural traditions of Qazaqs: showing respect to elders, supporting children and showing modesty in deeds and words.

Final Reflection and Next Steps for Research

Three available scripts have influenced reading and writing Qazaq during the past 100 years. Students learning Qazaq today are adapting to particular uses for each of the available scripts: a) Cyrillic script for maintaining connection to Russian language and literature, b) Arabic script for maintaining connection to religious language and literature and c) Latin script for connecting to peers via digital technology and the Internet. Students reported that they were more interested in learning Arabic or Latin scripts depending upon the novelty of the scripts for them and whether they expected to use these scripts in the future. Next steps for research projects or for more formal interventions drawing from a social practice perspective could inquire into uses of reading with Qazaq orthographies, ways of interacting with, and navigating, texts that are particular to Qazaq language orthographies, ways of thinking and valuing related to Qazaq orthographies, definitions of what is meant by knowing Qazaq, ways of using time and space for reading Qazaq and the definitions of readers developed through shared Qazaq orthographies in use.

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CHAPTER FOUR

LANGUAGE PORTFOLIO SERVING AS A TOOL FOR DEVELOPING/ASSESSING MULTILINGUAL SKILLS AND INTER/MULTICULTURAL COMPETENCE

ELENI GRIVA AND IFIGENIA KOFOU

Outline

The modern multicultural and multilingual panorama in education, especially with the migration flows and the efforts made by all the EU Member-States to integrate migrants in their educational system, intensifies the need to foster inter/multicultural awareness. Students' intercultural experiences and competencies, whether acquired in or out of school, gain great importance, and multilingualism and multiculturalism become a practised and acknowledged reality (Helbig- Reuter 2004 in Papadopoulou and Griva 2007). Since understanding is encouraged from the youngest age (Griva & Papadopoulos, in Griva and Zorbas 2017), the language portfolio could offer students the opportunity to realise language diversity and the strong link between language(s) and culture(s), help them share their experiences and be acquainted with a variety of languages and traditions. According to the Common European Framework of Reference for language (C.E.F.R. 2001, 104), intercultural skills are described as those skills that include, among others, the ability to bring the culture of origin and the foreign culture into relation with each other; and the ability to identify and use a variety of strategies to develop contact with those from other cultures (C.E.F.R. 2001, 104). Based on these tools, the E.L.P. and the C.E.F.R., this chapter aspires to provide a guide to designing a language portfolio which develops and assesses not only the learners' linguistic skills but also their intercultural communication skills, and motivates students, both indigenous and immigrant/minority ones, to think

about cultural diversity and reflect on their multicultural experiences. Such an intercultural portfolio could be used as a tool for: a) motivating students to ask themselves about what they would like to learn in a language or culture; b) helping students develop multilingual communication and intercultural awareness; c) motivating students to use strategies to effectively communicate in multilingual and multicultural contexts.

Introduction: The intercultural dimension of the language portfolio

In our era, with globalization, mobility and migration recessing geographical constraints, inducing economic, social and cultural changes, and fostering interaction and communication, language as the primary medium of human social interaction through which social relationships are constructed and maintained (Block and Cameron 2002, 1) is sine qua non. Thus, globalization of this kind changes the conditions in which language learning and language teaching take place, requires a "shared linguistic code" (Pennycook 1994, 155) and new literacies, affects language learning motivation and people's choices as to which languages to learn and which intercultural communicative purposes to fulfill (McKay 2002,11). In this framework, inability to communicate and interact with people of a different first language (L1) (Tollefson 1991, 6) could be considered a disadvantage ranging from the relatively trivial, for instance inability to greet a visitor, to understand an entertainment film, to ask the time of a passer-by, to the disastrous, such as inability to summon help in sudden emergency, to negotiate a serious conflict of interest, to take employment in another country (Trim et al. 1980, 17, Trim 1979). Therefore, "successful language learning is vital for refugees, immigrants, international students, those receiving education or vocational training through the medium of a second language", and so on ..., meaning that language teaching, "not designed with particular groups in mind, will be insufficient, at the very least, and in all probability, grossly inadequate" (Long 2005, 1). In this context, needs analysis offers a framework for the selection of language content according to the goals of particular learners and by extension the possibility of creating tailor-made programmes (Johnson and Johnson 1998, 228), which respond to the learners' individual needs, lacks, preferences and competences.

Such an attempt to specify learners' needs within the European context was made by the Council of Europe in 1971 (Johnson 1982, 34) by defining the main issues affecting the development of language learning systems, which, among others, related to the promotion of integration and

mobility of populations, the increase of motivation for language learning, and the development of learners' study profile appropriate to their individual needs (Trim et al. 1980, 9). Consequently, the activities of the Council for Cultural Co-operation focused on implementing measures to ensure that learners develop skills that will enable them to satisfy their communicative needs, such as: deal with the business of everyday life in another country, exchange information and ideas with people who speak a different language and communicate their thoughts and feelings to them, achieve a wider and deeper understanding of the way of life and forms of thought of other people and of their cultural heritage (see Kofou 2013, 19).

Similarly, Standards for Language Learning and 21st Century Skills for World Languages include communication (the ability to understand and convey ideas orally and in writing), culture (the study of the language and of the people who speak the language), connections (the transfer of knowledge and its application to different situations in the target language), comparisons (the study of similarities and differences between languages and cultures) and communities (the extension from classroom to community offering experience with real-life situations). As a result, numerous curriculum guides around the world stress the need for incorporating cultural studies into the Foreign Language curricula, without necessarily knowing which aspects of culture to include and how to assess student learning (Su 2011).

The portfolio has been seen in literature as a continuous cumulative record of language development, a holistic view of student learning (O'Malley and Pierce 1996) and improvement (Stiggins 1994), an ongoing 'vehicle' for student-teacher communication, and a form of alternative/authentic assessment, which reflects students' progress on a continuous basis. Therefore, apart from assessing learners' language skills and strategies, language portfolios could and should aim at developing and assessing intercultural skills, multicultural awareness and competence.

Designing an inter/cultural-multilingual portfolio

In the above-mentioned context, the inter/cultural portfolio seems an effective method of integrating cultural learning, constructivist and experiential learning, learner motivation and assessment (see Su Ya-Chen 2011). The European Language Portfolio (ELP) can be used as a template for the cultural portfolio and offer learners the opportunity to realise language diversity and the strong link between language(s) and culture(s).

The portfolio's multiple focus and use were recognized by the Language Policy Unit of the Council of Europe, which developed and piloted the European Language Portfolio, with the aim to:

- Develop plurilingualism and intercultural awareness and competence (Little and Simpson 2003);
- Allow users to record their language learning achievements and their experience of learning and using languages;
- Help learners evaluate and situate their language proficiency on the internationally comparable scales of the Council of Europe from A1 to C2;
- Help teachers, schools and training institutions to obtain information and produce evidence of needs and language learning experiences;
- Situate certificates and qualifications on the scale of the C.E.F.R.

Thus, the ELP, serving both the pedagogic and the reporting function in the cognitive and/or the metacognitive domain (Kohonen 1997), can provide a record of the linguistic and intercultural skills students have acquired. The intercultural component of the ELP "reflects the Council of Europe's concern with respect for diversity of cultures and ways of life" and as a result, the ELP should be "a tool to promote plurilingualism and pluriculturalism" (see Little et al. 2007). In the C.E.F.R., "intercultural skills" are described as those skills that include, among others, the ability to bring the culture of origin and the foreign culture into relation with each other; and the ability to identify and use a variety of strategies for contact with those from other cultures (C.E.F.R. 2001, 104).

Nevertheless, there are no ELP models for young learners and adolescents that have a specific focus on reflecting on intercultural experiences and learning nor has there been much discussion of how and what learners learn about the target language culture (Su Ya-Chen 2011). Emphasis should be put on introducing intercultural portfolios for collecting evidence of students' intercultural learning, demonstrating and developing their multi/intercultural awareness, as well as promoting reflection on their intercultural skills and modifying stereotypes towards other cultures (see Griva and Kofou 2017).

The principals and objectives of inter/cultural portfolio

The inter/cultural portfolio is seen as an effective teaching tool for integrating cultural learning with interpersonal/intercultural processes and

assessing what and how students learn about the target language and culture (Byon 2007; Lee 1997 in Su, Ya-Chen 2011). Byram (1997) also advocated portfolio assessments for estimating the dimensions of attitude, skills of interaction/discovery and relating/interpreting, and critical awareness. However, Byram did not provide concrete ideas or examples of portfolio assessment designs (Sinicrope, Norris, and Watanabe 2007).

It is assumed that a competent language user should go beyond the mastery of target language skills and develop awareness of other cultures and respect for diversity. Accordingly, the portfolio should motivate students to think about and be aware of cultural difference and reflect on their multicultural experiences. Byram et al. (2009) argue against the idea of self-assessment based on checklists and are in favour of some flexible means of presenting the 'learner's profile', the *Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters,* which promotes intercultural dialogue and encourages students to reflect on their experience with people from different countries or from diverse cultural capital within the same country.

Accordingly, we could design an intercultural portfolio to assess linguistic competence, intercultural skills and intercultural communication skills. This type of portfolio can provide a useful alternative means for assessing intercultural competence for both indigenous students and immigrant/minority students. It could also be a folder of presenting evidence of mastering intercultural skills, covering all the components of intercultural competence (knowledge, skills, views, qualities, cultural awareness, metacognitive strategies) (Mažeikien and Virgailait-Meckauskait 2007, 81). The students will be provided with the opportunity to: i) report on intercultural experiences, describe and analyze such an experience, for example, meeting someone from another culture, communicating in a second/foreign language, working with students in a multicultural context, and ii) reflect on those intercultural encounters, and their experience working in multicultural groups. As a result, an inter/cultural portfolio could be a tool for (a) emphasizing the role of multilingualism/multiculturalism; (b) motivating students to ask themselves about what they would like to learn in a language or culture; (c) helping students develop multilingual communication awareness and intercultural awareness; (d) motivating students to be aware of the multilingual strategies they use when communicating in written and spoken language.

Moreover, immigrant and minority students could select representations of their intercultural abilities and intercultural communication skills, as

well as they could focus on broad cultural differences between their home countries and the country in which they live.

Based on Byram's (1997) proposed "five-factor model of intercultural competence", Bennett's (1993) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS), Williams's (2005) "model of the Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory" (CCAI), the authors of this paper (Griva & Kofou) designed a self-assessment grid that include intercultural descriptors for students who use the cultural portfolio (Table 1).

Table 1. Reflection on the intercultural understanding and tolerance

Let's reflect on the intercultural understanding and tolerance			
Flexibility and openness to new cultural experiences	I am sure of it	Let me think of it	Let me work on it
I am tolerant to language and cultural differences			
I am willing to interact with people of other cultures			
I am open to unfamiliar cultural situations			
I am open to different cultural interests and preferences			
I like spending time with people from other countries			
I appreciate the language of the target culture			
I appreciate the art of the target culture			
I focus on cultural similarities and not only differences			
I think that people from other cultures are as open-minded as people from my own culture			
I think that people from other cultures do not necessarily have the same values as people from my culture			
I think that people have the right to hold different beliefs about the world			
I think that people are the same despite differences in appearance			

Intercultural understanding competence/awareness	I am sure of it	Let me think of it	Let me work on it
I understand the differences between my culture and the target culture			
I understand that my culture is one of many diverse cultures			
I understand/know beliefs and values of the target culture			
I understand/know beliefs and values of other cultures			
I understand/know practices of the target culture			
I understand/know practices of other cultures			
I always make choices that are related to my cultural background			
I show different behaviours that are based on cultural differences			
I think that non verbal behavior varies across cultures			
I believe that the various cultural forms of non-verbal behavior are worthy of respect			
I compare important aspects of the host language- culture with my own culture			
I reflect on my cultural stereotypes			
I show empathy while communicating with a person from a different cultural background			
I show patience while coming into contact with those that are 'different'			

The six categories of strategies Oxford proposes can be also incorporated in a cultural portfolio and the ones selected can be taught in specially designed tasks. Cognitive strategies enable the learner to manipulate the language material in direct ways, e.g., through reasoning, analysis, note-taking, summarizing, synthesizing, outlining, reorganizing information to develop stronger schemas, practicing in naturalistic settings, and practicing structures and sounds formally. Metacognitive strategies are employed for managing the learning process overall.

Memory-related strategies help students link one L2 item or concept with another but do not necessarily involve deep understanding. Compensatory strategies help the learner make up for missing knowledge. Affective strategies are related to one's feelings and reward oneself for good performance. Social strategies help the learner work with others and understand the target culture as well as the language (Oxford, 2003).

In addition, interaction/communication strategies relate to turn taking, i.e. the ability to take the discourse initiative, cooperating to help a discussion develop, and asking for clarification to check comprehension. Because of their contribution to interaction, intercultural communication strategies should be included in an intercultural portfolio (C.E.F.R., 2018, 54-102; Mariani, 2013) (see Table 2).

Table 2. Reflection on (intercultural) communication skills and strategies

Intercultural communication skills	I am sure of it	Let me think of it	Let me work on it
I am able to interpret events from another culture			
I am able to relate to events from another culture			
I am able to use prior knowledge in cross-cultural communication			
I am able to interpret different ways/norms of understanding the different			
I do not speak openly so as to not offend others			
I change my behavior to communicate effectively with people from other countries/cultures			
I see an event/situation on the basis of my own cultural norms			
I use multilingual and multicultural skills to access information			
I use multilingual and multicultural skills to understand behavior			
I use multicultural background (knowledge from different cultures) to think critically and solve a problem			

(Intercultural) Communication strategies	I am sure of it	Let me think of it	Let me work on it
I am able to take turns in discussion and initiate terminate interaction			
I am able to understand cultural norms and rules through non-verbal communication			
I rephrase or repair my utterances			
I make an effort to make myself understood			
I take the discourse initiative			
I gain time to think by using simple 'fillers' and 'gambits' (*Aha* ... *Mm* ...)			
I check understanding of the discussion/interaction			
I ask questions/ for help			
I ask for clarification to check comprehension			
I ask for comments or corrections			
I rephrase the speaker's talk			
I use paralinguistic and extralinguistic features			
I apologize by explaining and justifying my reactions			
I apologize for doing or saying something inappropriate			
I use comments and exclamations to show emotional involvement			
I suggest a compromise or an alternative			
I check if my interpretation of the specific cultural event/situation is correct			
I ask the interlocutor to explain/clarify her/his cultural point of view			
I repair inter/cultural misunderstandings			

Implementing an inter/cultural portfolio project

In order to achieve its full potential and serve the users' multicultural skills and intercultural competence, a cultural portfolio implementation should follow three stages. Starting with a needs analysis, rich data could be collected about not only the linguistic but also the cultural needs of the portfolio users, as well as their cultural background and experiences. This data could form the basis of the material included in the implementation of the portfolio as regards the skills, strategies and activities in accordance with their needs, wants and preferences. Whether the implementation stage is successful or not can be easily evaluated during the final stage of assessment and reflection.

Investigating the needs of the target group

Needs analysis, the first step to pilot design, is all about gathering information about learners which can be used to guide the learning process, prepare the syllabus, select or develop appropriate training materials, identify new or short-term priorities, reformulate objectives (West 1994, 5), clarify motives, devise functional and motivational equipment and strategies (Trim et al. 1980, 47), and do communication and interaction activities in the classroom (Yalden 1987, 77-78). This is necessary as the learners' probable view of their needs may conflict with the perceptions of other interested parties, such as course designers and teachers (Hutchinson and Waters 1987, 56), because learners sometimes want to learn the language by relating it to more personal concerns or the types of situations in which they would really have a use for the foreign language (Escorcia in Quirk and Widdowson 1985, 230-231), such as cultural visits and intercultural interactions. Therefore, any concerns related to needs analysis, goal setting, syllabus design, methodology and evaluation are to be seen within the existing socio-cultural context (Rodgers 1989).

Having in mind that second language teaching programmes should be approached from the starting point of language needs, wants, attitudes, knowledge of the world, and so on (Yalden 1987, 3, 48), the goals of language programmes planning should be defined by the learners' needs in their professional or social life, which have to be detected and analysed so that the learners will be able to develop the required skills at the end of the programme (Tokatlidou 2002, 228). Therefore, the information which should be collected about the learners for the preparation of a course involves the following (Yalden 1987, 131-132): (a) general background

information as well as information about educational level, previous language learning experience, and current proficiency in the current language; (b) language needs, that is, information on situations of use and a breakdown of topics and language skills most needed; (c) learning styles and preferences. Collecting such information can be done in various ways: through observation, questionnaires, interviews or checklists or grids, such as the one presented above.

Once needs in specific situations have been identified, an inventory of functions can be formed and translated into operational and attainable goals, and likely activities (Nunan 1988, 25). This process could lead to an effective, flexible, open-ended and constantly revised 'syllabus' (Yalden 1987), or portfolio in our case. Hutchinson and Waters (1987) also suggest a framework for analyzing learning needs which consists of several questions, each divided into more detailed questions, such as those listed below:

- Who are the learners? (age, sex, nationality);
- What do they know already about language?
- What subject knowledge do they have?
- What are their interests?
- What is their socio-cultural background?
- What teaching styles are they used to?
- What is their attitude to the target language and culture?

The above questions and many more could be included in a needs analysis questionnaire, so that the information collected could form the basis of the design of a cultural portfolio. Such a questionnaire, based on Hymes' "SPEAKING" taxonomy and on the user's/learner's competences, as described in the C.E.F.R., and tested for its reliability and validity, was designed and distributed to students of an Intercultural School in Greece (see Kofou 2013). It can be used in its original form or adapted in order to explore the learners' profile, competences and needs, the reasons and the situations in which the students use the language, the texts and media they use as the initial stage of designing the cultural portfolio (see Table 3).

Table 3. Questionnaire: Needs detection and analysis of students' language and communication needs

	Questions	Not at all	Little	Fairly	Much	Very much
1	Gender: boy/girl					
2	Age					
3	School					
4	School year					
5	Country of origin					
6	Duration of stay in Greece					
7	Duration of English language learning					
	My personality and language use					
8	I want to learn English to communicate with other people	1	2	3	4	5
9	My personality and way of thinking help me learn English	1	2	3	4	5
10	I find interest in new experiences, other people, ideas and cultures	1	2	3	4	5
11	I want to move away from conventional attitudes towards cultural diversity	1	2	3	4	5
	I use the target language …					
12a	I use English at family gatherings/parties	1	2	3	4	5
12b	I use English on holidays and trips	1	2	3	4	5
12c	I use English at sporting events	1	2	3	4	5
12d	I use English at conferences	1	2	3	4	5
12e	I use English at school	1	2	3	4	5
12f	I use English during visits and exchanges	1	2	3	4	5
13a	I use English with relatives	1	2	3	4	5
13b	I use English with friends	1	2	3	4	5

13c	I use English with employees who deliver services and at agencies	1	2	3	4	5
13d	I use English with my classmates	1	2	3	4	5
13e	I use English with the class teacher	1	2	3	4	5
	I need the target language...					
14a	I need English to know the geographical, environmental, demographic, economic and political characteristics of the country	1	2	3	4	5
14b	I need to know English for everyday life (food and drink, holidays, leisure activities)	1	2	3	4	5
14c	I need English to know the living conditions	1	2	3	4	5
14d	I need to know English for interpersonal relations (class, gender relations, family relations)	1	2	3	4	5
14e	I need English to know the values, principles and behaviours (local cultures, traditions, history, religion, humor)	1	2	3	4	5
14f	I need English to know the social conventions (gifts, clothing, conventions and taboos)	1	2	3	4	5
14g	I need English to know the relationship between the world of origin and the world of community the language expresses (e.g. to handle cultural misunderstanding)	1	2	3	4	5
14h	I need English to know ritual behaviour (religious ceremonies, birth, wedding, death, celebrations)	1	2	3	4	5

	I am able to use the target language					
15	I can use the English language to communicate, learn how to learn and cooperate	1	2	3	4	5
16	I can use the English language to encounter new experiences, find and communicate information, and use new technologies	1	2	3	4	5
17a	I can use grammatical elements in English	1	2	3	4	5
17b	I am aware of word meaning in English	1	2	3	4	5
17c	I can write orthographically correct in English	1	2	3	4	5
17d	I can read aloud a prepared text in English	1	2	3	4	5
18a	I use the English language to listen and understand (native speakers' talks, announcements, recordings)	1	2	3	4	5
18b	I use the English language to read and understand (e.g. information)	1	2	3	4	5
18c	I use the English language to speak (e.g., to play roles or sing)	1	2	3	4	5
18d	I use the English language to write (notes, articles, letters)	1	2	3	4	5
18e	I use the English language to translate/interpret or summarize texts and articles	1	2	3	4	5
19	I am involved in the following activities:					
19a	formal or informal discussion in English	1	2	3	4	5
19b	information exchange	1	2	3	4	5
19c	Interviews	1	2	3	4	5
19d	correspondence (letters, e-mail)					

20	Texts I listen to or read in English					
20a	public announcements, speeches, presentations, debates	1	2	3	4	5
20b	ritual (official ceremonies)	1	2	3	4	5
20c	amusing texts (performances, recitations, songs)	1	2	3	4	5
20d	sports commentaries	1	2	3	4	5
20e	News	1	2	3	4	5
20f	telephone conversations	1	2	3	4	5
20g	job interviews	1	2	3	4	5
20h	literature, teaching material	1	2	3	4	5
20i	magazines/newspapers	1	2	3	4	5
20j	instruction manuals	1	2	3	4	5
20k	comics, graffiti	1	2	3	4	5
20l	promotional material/brochures	1	2	3	4	5
20m	public signs and notices/advertisements	1	2	3	4	5
20n	packaging and product labels / tickets	1	2	3	4	5
20o	recipes, menus	1	2	3	4	5
20p	forms and questionnaires	1	2	3	4	5
20q	Dictionaries	1	2	3	4	5
20r	letters, faxes, memos, messages	1	2	3	4	5
20s	reports and activities	1	2	3	4	5
20t	Songs	1	2	3	4	5
20u	texts on the board	1	2	3	4	5
20v	texts on the computer screen, slides, videos	1	2	3	4	5
20w	databases (news, general information etc)	1	2	3	4	5

Designing and Implementing the Inter/cultural Portfolio

The interpretation of the results of the needs analysis defines the design of the intercultural portfolio. A number of intercultural descriptors should be incorporated into the *self-assessment* grid (see Table 2), which aims to assist students a) to become aware of the role intercultural competence plays in second/foreign language learning, and b) to work towards becoming an intercultural learner, a person that gains insights on particular aspects of culture/s and compares the same aspect with his/her

own culture (Bruen and Sudhershan 2009). The students demonstrate knowledge of other cultures (intercultural skills) and languages (communication skills) in terms of:

Using diverse cultural knowledge to solve problems.
Communicating with people in other language communities by speaking (productive skills), listening (receptive skills), reading (receptive skills) and writing (productive skills).
Setting goals for further developing their intercultural competence.
Showing flexibility and openness to new cultural experiences and respect to diverse cultural values.
Measuring both the sense of identity and the 'global' citizenship identity.
Revealing intercultural experiences that arise from exchanging information with students from different cultural backgrounds.
Using a variety of intercultural communication strategies when in contact with people from other cultures (Griva and Kofou 2017).

The inter/cultural portfolio is composed of the following three main parts, the inter/multicultural and multilingual biography, the Dossier and the intercultural/multilingual Passport.

The Intercultural/ Multilingual Biography

The *Multilingual Biography* offers the students the possibility to describe their multilingual competences and strategies, and reflect on language learning and intercultural experiences, since it acts as a language learning and intercultural familiarization diary. It includes information on students' linguistic and cultural experiences gained in and outside formal educational contexts (Little, et al. 2007), and encourages the students, by using goal-setting and self-assessment checklists, to state and assess what they can do in the receptive and productive skills, in each language, and to reflect on learning styles and strategies, as well as on the cultural dimension of learning and using a target language.

The data collected from the needs analysis stage and filed in the Language Biography can be used by the students to expand on their linguistic and communicative competences and broadly express their cultural and learning experiences gained in and outside formal educational contexts, as well as their objectives with the language and the way they think of achieving these objectives (http://www.coe.int/en/web/portfolio/templates-of-the-3-parts-of-a-pel).

All this information collected in the language biography can be revisited by the teacher in order, as we have already mentioned, to offer lessons and activities similar to the students' experiences and interests, give them the opportunity to communicate their experiences, plan activities to satisfy their needs and adapt the syllabus to help them achieve their goals. On the other hand, the students themselves can use all this information to prepare a public presentation for themselves or participate in role plays, interviews and class conferences (Griva and Kofou 2017).

The students can also reflect on the communicative events they have used the language to mediate between people from different cultures speaking different languages, such as: to help a tourist or other person who cannot make themselves understood; to help a person speaking another language who does not understand something specific about a group to which they belong, their region or their country; to tell someone else about a text or a message which they have read or heard in another language; etc. (see ELP-Presentation of the Learner). Finally, they can present, in a form of a table or diary, their personal objectives in language learning, and how they intend to achieve them in relation to the activities done, offered or suggested in class.

To achieve this, several templates selected by Little and Simpson (2003) from nine validated ELPs are offered on the site of the Council of Europe for primary, lower and upper secondary, adult migrants and university students (available at http://www.coe.int/en/web/portfolio/templates-of-the-3-parts-of-a-pel) based on the competences, cultural awareness, skills, strategies, motivation and the ability to 'learn how to learn' which the learner has to develop according to the C.E.F.R. (2001). The following table by Little and Simpson (2011), for instance, indicates intercultural experience and awareness (Table 4).

Table 4. Language learning and intercultural experiences

Language				
I have been learning this language for *(enter dates)*	1 year ....../...... /20......	2 years ....../....../ 20......	3 years ....../....../ 20......	over 3 years ....../....../20 ......
I have been learning this language	❑ at school ❑ at home ❑ _____			
I have stayed in a country where this language is spoken for *(enter dates)*	up to 1 month	up to 3 months	up to 9 months	over 9 months
I stayed in the country	❑ to attend a language course ❑ for a holiday ❑			
I also have the following intercultural experiences relating to this language _____ _____ _____				
Certificates and diplomas				
Level (A1–B2)	Title of certificate/ examination	Awarded by	Year	

Here I can record information about cultural behaviour that I notice or learn during the course. I can also note cultural attitudes and behaviour that I don't fully understand at this time.

In school			
Cultural attitudes and behaviour I have noticed and can now understand (1)	Date	Other cultural attitudes and behaviour that I do not fully understand (2)	Date

In the world outside			
Cultural attitudes and behaviour I have noticed and can now understand	Date	Other cultural attitudes and behaviour that I do not fully understand	Date

Since the focus is on multicultural literacy and intercultural awareness, the portfolio should be based on the data collected from the needs analysis questionnaire and respond to the students' needs, wants and preferences. That means that the portfolio should use authentic material from different cultures in order to motivate students, aim to develop all language skills and strategies, and promote intercultural communication and awareness through experience sharing. For example, reading tasks could include historical and cultural issues related to traditions and values; listening tasks could consist of conversations in public services or other settings in which migrant students, for instance, could be involved; speaking tasks could be roleplays to mediate between a native and a foreign student in various communicative events; writing tasks could include notes, letters, etc. (also see C.E.F.R 2018). Actually, mediation is considered a key

factor in using a language since several activities are involved and combined which are related to reception, production and interaction, and the focus is on developing the idea through and facilitating understanding and communication (C.E.F.R. 2018). The descriptors offered at the Common European Framework of Reference for language teaching, learning and assessment can be used by the teacher to define the areas of communication, set the aims for skill developing within the portfolio, list the strategies the learners need to develop and place them in the context of cross-linguistic mediation and the building of a multi/intercultural repertoire (Table 5).

Table 5. Mediation skills (based on C.E.F.R. 2018)

Mediation skills	Effectively	With some help	Weakly
I can mediate between members of my own and other cultures, considering any cultural differences			
I can facilitate communication by showing my welcome and interest with verbal and non-verbal behaviour			
I can contribute to communication by inviting people of different cultural backgrounds to explain things			
I can use certain phrases for managing compromise and agreement, when people disagree			
I can support a shared communication culture by introducing people, exchanging information etc.			
I can encourage a shared communication culture by expressing appreciation of different viewpoints			
I can mediate a shared communication culture by demonstrating sensitivity to different viewpoints			

The 'Multicultural- Multilingual' Dossier

Students' work in class related to the objectives set in the part of the multilingual/intercultural biography can be collected in the Multicultural Dossier. Students can keep samples of their work in the language(s) they have learnt or are learning to show language competences and achievements. The Dossier is that part of the portfolio which offers the student the opportunity to select materials to document and illustrate achievements or experiences recorded in the multi-cultural/lingual biography. It incorporates a collection of work from activities to drafts, tests to certificates, constructions to finished products, etc. It can include the best and weakest of student work showing growth and improvement over a certain period of time (Griva and Kofou 2017).

More precisely, students collect pieces of work that reflect the progress they have made during a school year. These can include: a radio programme they have listened to (on a CD or a mp3 file, including, for example, a short description written by them); a newspaper article they have read, including their summary or comments; a recording of a discussion they have taken part in; an oral presentation they have given; an e-mail or an essay they have written; their Europass and intercultural/ multilingual Passport (available at http://www.languageportfolio.ch/page/ content/index.asp?MenuID=2679&ID=4467&Menu=17&Item=11.4.1).

The Intercultural/Multilingual Passport

The Intercultural/Multilingual Passport provides an overview of the student's proficiency in multilingual and multicultural skills, qualifications and competences, and allows for self-assessment as regards his/her experience of using different languages and being in contact and aware of different cultures. As for the 'can do statements' included in the C.E.F.R. (2018), they can be used either as a cultural self-assessment grid or as a source for reporting back/completing the learner's multilingual and multicultural profile. An example of such a grid is presented in Table 6.

Table 6. The 'can do statements' of intercultural communication (based on C.E.F.R., 2018)

Intercultural communication: 'Can do statements'	effectively (C-level)	quite well (B-level)	basically (A-level)
I can understand cultural differences in people's views and collaborate with peers/people who have different cultural backgrounds			
I can clarify misunderstandings during intercultural encounters			
I can support an intercultural exchange to introduce people from different cultural backgrounds			
I can facilitate communication by showing my welcome and interest with verbal and non-verbal behavior			
I can use strategies to initiate, maintain and close a face-to-face conversation			
I can explain how my own values and behaviour influence the views of people with different values/behaviour			
I can use appropriate discourse for managing compromise and agreement			
I can recognise and apply basic cultural conventions related to everyday cultural exchange			
I can recognise similarities and differences between the way concepts are expressed in different languages/cultures			
I can code switch and alternate between languages where necessary			
I can code switch/alternate between languages to facilitate communication in a multilingual/multicultural context			
I can explain and clarify in different languages during collaborative interaction			
I can use a certain multilingual repertoire to conduct everyday communication/ interaction			

Estimating the effectiveness of the inter/cultural portfolio

The evaluation stage should not be omitted, since the evaluating criteria guide the educational decisions we make on the basis of our assessment, may it be global or analytical, based on checklists or rating scales. It is also significant that the criteria by which we judge a performance be meaningful to students, parents, raters, teachers, administrators, policymakers, and the public (Herman, Aschbacher and Winters 1992).

It is quite clear that once various assessment tools have been created for all the skills, they can be very easily adapted to match a learning objective, accompany a class activity and give evidence in the portfolio from the part of the learner. The flexibility they offer is a great advantage for the teacher who could use the same tool for different skills, sub-skills and strategies. Apart from the learner, the information provided in the form of checklists, tables, diaries and learning contracts offer valuable information to the teacher about how the student learns, his/her competences, intercultural experiences and needs (Griva and Kofou 2017). Herman, Aschbacher and Winters (1992) describe the process for developing and evaluating the scoring criteria in order to document the students' performance with regard to the 'process' and 'product' of learning:

Investigate how the assessed discipline defines quality performance.
Gather sample rubrics for assessing writing speech, the arts, and so on as models to adapt for your purposes.
Gather samples of students' and experts' work that demonstrate the range of performance from ineffective to very effective.
Discuss with others the characteristics of these models that distinguish the effective ones from the ineffective ones.
Write descriptors for the important characteristics.
Gather further samples of students' work.
Try out criteria to see if they help you make accurate judgments about students.
Revise your criteria.
Try it again until the rubric score captures the "quality" of the work.

Conclusion

The modern multicultural and multilingual context in education, intensifies the need for fostering cultural learning and intercultural understanding (Griva and Papadopoulos, in Griva and Zorbas 2017). Since

intercultural language learning has become a focal point of language
education, Crozet and Liddicoat (1999, 11) regard intercultural language
teaching as a means of "supporting the development of intercultural
competence through the learning of foreign languages and, by extension,
through the learning of how language and culture connect in one's first and
target language" (Karras 2017).

Therefore, aspects of cultural competence and goals for intercultural
learning are a basic part of modern educational programmes, at all levels
of education, with the purpose to make students comprehend diverse
cultural viewpoints and different patterns of communication and
interaction. (Griva and Papadopoulos, in Griva and Zorbas 2017). It is
quite clear that globalization and mobility calls for specific needs in
students' language learning. The portfolio as a learning and assessment
method offers a lot of possibilities for students' diversified cultural and
language needs.

The model proposed in this paper presents a holistic view of an
inter/cultural portfolio, which responds to students' individual needs, is
built upon tasks related to these needs, and involves students in the
reflection and evaluation process. Students' intercultural experiences and
competences, whether acquired in or out of school, gain importance, and
multilingualism and multiculturalism become a practised and acknowledged
reality (Helbig- Reuter 2004 in Papadopoulou and Griva 2007). Through
the inter/cultural portfolio, students are provided with the opportunities to
share experiences, develop intercultural skills and cultural awareness,
enhance their performance and get involved in the assessment process,
thus becoming more self-regulated and autonomous multi/cultural/lingual
students.

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THE BRIT QUESTIONNAIRE:
A COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TOOL?

SOPHIA BUTT

Outline

May 2015 saw the disclosure of the BRIT Project in the UK, which included the government's 'radicalisation-seeking' questionnaire aimed at primary schoolchildren. Introduced under Prevent as part of CONTEST in the fight against terrorism, the questionnaire is based on a 2010 study conducted by two psychologists with links to the national security industry: Monica Lloyd and Christopher Dean outlined what they considered to be the common risk factors associated with extremist offenders. Their now classified report contains a pre-crime intervention model named 'Extremism Risk Guidance 22+' (ERG22+) created to assess the propensity of prison inmates being radicalised towards extremism: remarkably, it was ERG22+ that informed the 'Vulnerability Assessment Framework' which underpins the design of the BRIT Questionnaire used to identify children who are allegedly displaying signs of susceptibility to radicalisation.

This paper presents the empirical results of a two-dimensional approach to analysing the BRIT Questionnaire with a view to establishing if it is fit for purpose. Specifically, it employs the Bank of English to check key syntax from the BRIT questions to uncover their corpus frequency and text-types to ascertain whether they are suitable for or in any way related to children. It also shares the findings of a pilot study conducted with seven children of primary school age known to the author to determine the efficacy of the BRIT Questionnaire.

Introduction

The UK government first launched CONTEST in 2003 under Tony Blair's premiership. The aim of the strategy was to mitigate the risks of terrorist-related activity in or against the UK (and its overseas interests) and to ensure that effective plans were in place to address such eventualities. The focus of CONTEST was Al-Qaeda and its international affiliates. But this changed following the coordinated bombings of the London transport system on 7 July 2005: these attacks signalled the apparent emergence of a new 'home-grown' threat after it was discovered that the four suicide bombers were Muslims who were raised in Britain. Consequently, CONTEST underwent revisions in 2006, 2009, 2011 and more recently, in June 2018, resulting in modifications to both its direction and discourse: political rhetoric and media focus surrounding the policy shifted from the need to combat radicalisation and extreme 'Islamist' ideology, to safeguarding vulnerabilities.

What was initially established as a policy to fight terrorism, now also incorporates extensive reference to community cohesion and integration, with Muslims cited as a problematic community. These concerns were significantly heightened by what the Sky News network termed, "Britain's year of terror" which saw five acts of terrorism on UK soil in 2017. Some of these were reportedly perpetrated by a Muslim convert: The Henry Jackson Society (Sky News, March 2017) announced that according to a study they had conducted, converts to Islam, particularly those radicalised in prisons, are four times more likely to commit a terrorist act. Thus, it is this ever-evolving situation which underlies 'initiatives' like the BRIT Questionnaire.

The CONTEST Strategy

CONTEST (2018) is divided into four main strands: Pursue and Prevent, which focus on reducing threats, and Protect and Prepare, which seek to minimise vulnerabilities through effective interoperability between emergency response teams. Prevent is the largest component of CONTEST and is executed by devolved administrations in key sectors of the UK: specific duty guidance is issued to public service sector personnel in the National Health Service (NHS), prisons, and the education and social care sectors as the government believe that some staff here are likely to have exposure to vulnerable individuals who could be enticed by radicalisers. Once a referral to Prevent Officers has been triggered, an investigation is launched, typically resulting in an arrest or detention, followed by

interrogation. A decision is then taken to either release the suspect without charge/further action, or, to refer him/her to Channel, the government's multi-agency de-radicalisation programme. ITV News (2016) reported that for the period July 2015 to July 2016, more than 20 cases a day were being referred to the government: these 7,500 referrals represented a staggering 75% increase on the previous year. The BBC (2016) revealed that the youngest child to be referred was only four years old. According to the Home Office, the number of terrorism-related arrests in the UK is substantially higher than in other European countries – including France, despite it also being the subject of repeat attacks. What is unclear, is whether the number of UK arrests reflects a higher risk of imminent and/or thwarted attacks, or whether this is the result of what some may consider overzealous monitoring, including the surveillance of what Hillyard (1993) terms a 'suspect community'.

The BRIT Questionnaire

Initiatives like BRIT are informed by some of the categories listed in the Vulnerability Assessment Framework (VAF) produced by the Home Office, which is in turn premised on ERG22+. VAF has three dimensions: engagement, intent and capability. Intent to harm covers the bullet-point items below, reflected in the BRIT Questionnaire that follows:

- Over-identification with a group or ideology
- 'Them and Us' thinking
- Dehumanisation of the enemy
- Attitudes that justify offending
- Harmful means to an end
- Harmful objectives

The BRIT Questionnaire was first administered to children at Buxton Primary School in the London Borough of Waltham Forest (LBWF), followed by other schools in the Borough. The reason for its launch there is because the government identified the Borough as a priority area: the LBWF website (2017) states that "[a]lmost a quarter of residents (22 per cent) are Muslims (compared to 5 per cent nationally)." On 29 May 2015, the Guardian reported that the Head of Buxton School, Kath Wheeler, claimed that she had agreed to run the BRIT Project on behalf of LBWF, but, had no knowledge or sight of the questionnaire before it was administered in her school. Ms Wheeler contacted the Community Safety Programme Manager at the LBWF local government office in May 2015

to express concerns about links between the questionnaire and the Prevent Strategy, particularly the anti-Muslim sentiments that it fuelled. However, she was categorically told that they were unrelated. In the same month, Councillor Mark Rusling, cabinet Minister for Young Children in LBWF, told John Humphrys on BBC Radio 4's Today Programme on 29 May that BRIT was not about extremism, but about community cohesion (BBC Radio 4, 2015). However, an email dated 10 November 2014, obtained through a Freedom of Information request, revealed that a Prevent Education Officer had informed schools in LBWF that BRIT had the "underlying aim of challenging radicalisation and divisive ideology" (Belaon, 2015). What this story suggests, is that the true aim of BRIT is shrouded in secrecy amidst attempts to hide its real purpose from the public. Educationalists who opposed Prevent intervention in schools reported that the LBWF Education Network website, which contains information about the BRIT Project, was changed in late 2015 following complaints from teachers who expressed concern about its focus on radicalisation. The website now reflects one of the alleged new directions of BRIT, that is: integration, identity and belonging. The underlying assumption of the government remains that certain communities or religious groups are failing to assimilate. Most notably, Muslim children are "being identified as suspicious on the basis of vague criteria, such as 'having an identity conflict', which has no demonstrated link to terrorism" (Belaon, 2015).

The BRIT Questionnaire has undergone many iterations in direct response to concerns raised by the National Union of Teachers and more than 140 academics – including Noam Chomsky (Guardian, 29 Sep 2015). But most bizarrely, in what appears to be an ill-conceived move with little regard for consistency, local governments and schools have been given the freedom to modify some parts of the questionnaire in line with the community cohesion angle: a search on the internet revealed that some schools in LBWF had administered a paper version of BRIT with seven questions (i.e.: that shown in figure 1 above), while another school in the same Borough had expanded its questionnaire to a remarkable thirty-four questions for an online version (see Appendix B in Belaon, 2015).

Unsurprisingly, much of the lexis and syntax of the questions are unsuitable for primary schoolchildren. Not only are there category inaccuracies such as presenting children with the option to tick 'student' rather than 'pupil' to select the word which best describes them, but there also appear to be some arbitrary options for them to choose from, like 'athlete' and 'artist' which eight- to eleven-year-olds are unlikely to be able to properly relate to. This therefore reduces the choices they have

when obliged to tick three options, which in turn traps respondents into answering in a directed way, thereby facilitating a crude form of ethnic profiling.

Methodology

In order to scientifically analyse the appropriacy, or otherwise, of the language of the BRIT Questionnaire, a two-pronged approach was undertaken: I first selected key syntax from each of the seven questions in the Buxton Primary version of the survey. These were then entered into the Bank of English (BoE), accessed through the web-based Corpus Query Processor (CQP), to ascertain the syntax frequency per million words in the eleven sub-corpora. These comprised of over 700 million words with 29,000 written and spoken texts from the UK, USA and Australia. My aim was to establish the number of matches found, and to determine if any included genres for children. Second, I conducted a pilot study wherein the BRIT Questionnaire was administered to seven South Asian primary schoolchildren aged between eight and eleven, from different socio-economic backgrounds. Four participants were Muslims; the parents of three children are accomplished professionals; two have parents who are currently doctoral researchers; and the mothers of two are housewives. The children were reassured that their responses would be kept anonymous [my pilot study version only asked for the age and gender of the respondents, unlike the original BRIT questionnaire in figure 1]. The children were instructed to read the questions slowly and carefully before responding with ticks. Once they had completed the questionnaire, they were asked to check through their answers to amend any, where necessary. Following this, in an opportunity not known to be accorded to pupils who are made to participate in the BRIT Project in schools, through discussion, the children were asked to a) reveal their understanding of key lexis, and each question; and b) explain why they had ticked specific options. At this stage of the study, changes to responses was not permitted.

Results

The questionnaire completion time varied from between three to seven minutes. In two of the questions, there was the option of providing a different answer by ticking 'Other' but none of the children opted for this. Similarly, no one modified their responses upon a second reading. When the children were asked to define several loaded terms from the

questionnaire which related back to the VAF themes of "intent to harm", the findings were as follows:

three could not define **trust**, while all others said it meant "to rely on someone".

none of the children could define **race, religion** was defined by the children through exemplification, the meaning of **suspicious** was either unknown, or defined as being "weary of something"; "not knowing someone"; "being spied on" and "being curious in a bad way", **offend** was "being mean"; "not a happy thing" and "hurting feelings", or otherwise unknown, most of the children said **duty** meant "your job", **defend** was described by one child as "the opposite of attack" and by another as "the right to protect your family"; all others could not define it, none of the children understood or could provide an example of **community**, two children attempted to define **threaten**: one said it was "bribing" while the other said "if someone tries to steal stuff and you kill them", one child said **physical force** was "to physically hurt someone"; all others said they did not know what it meant, **British people** were defined by most as those who "come from Britain and believe in Christianity".

If the above findings are representative of typical answers that would be given by primary schoolchildren, the value and/or validity of responses to the BRIT Questionnaire must be questioned and re-examined. Despite being able to read every word in the survey, all the children in my pilot study were unable to understand many of its key terms. Interestingly, the BoE analysis overwhelmingly corroborated these findings: Table 1 shows the question syntax queries which returned **zero frequency** matches per million words in 717,865,275 words and 29,073 texts:

Q.	Question syntax query	Q.	Question syntax query
2	"…best describe who you are…"	6	"…even if it offends others…"
4	"…how much do you trust people…"	6	"…are to be understood word for word…"
4	"…people in my race or religion…"	6	"…even if it required hurting them…"
4	"…people of another race or religion"	6	"…it is my duty to defend my community…"
5	"…acted as if they are suspicious of me…"	6	"…question what grown-ups tell you…"
5	"…treated badly because of my race or religion…"	6	"…use physical force to solve a problem…"

6	"Please tell us your opinion about the following statements:"	6	"…okay to marry someone from a different…"
6	"…are probably just as good as people from mine…"	6	"…even if it seemed odd to me…"

Table 1. Question syntax query with zero matches in the BoE

Some syntax frequency matches were found in the BoE corpus. Once again, these results were revealing, as can be seen in table 2 below:

No. of words searched: 717,865,275 | No. of texts searched: 29,073			
Q.	Question Syntax Query & Text-Types	No. of matches	No. of text-types
1	**"most people can be trusted"** 2 x magazines; 1 x lecture	3	2
3	**"if you needed advice"** Guardian article	1	1
4	**"race or religion"** included books about: colonisation; Fat Admirers; interfaith marriages; communist isolationism; unemployment & right-wing politics; prayers for victims of racism; xenophobia in France; Fenian & Irish Republic Brotherhood	88	80
5	**"suspicious of me"** unknown books; books related to the Gulf War; conspiracies; Bali bombings	17	16
6	**"God has a purpose for me"** 3 x newspaper articles about wrestler, Kurt Angle	5	3
6	**"most British people"** 4 x books; 28 x newspaper articles; 1 x spoken text	36	33

Table 2. Question syntax query with matches in the BoE

Trust features in question 1 and question 4, whereby the latter has six sub-groups for the children to rate in terms of 'Trust', 'Not sure' or 'Don't trust.' It is assumed that these parts of the questionnaire satisfy the "Over-identification with a group or ideology" and "Them and us thinking" categories of the VAF. The syntax query from question 1, shown in table 2 above, surprisingly only yielded three matches in two text-types for adults. The children in my pilot study gave mixed responses to the sub-groups in terms of their degree of trust.

Race and religion, which also falls under the two VAF categories mentioned above, was referenced (or in some cases alluded to) in several questions; in fact, two children voluntarily told me that they thought this was the focus of the questionnaire. When the phrases "people of my race and religion" and "people of another race and religion", both from question 4, were entered into the BoE, it returned zero frequency. I then reduced the syntax query to **race or religion**: this time, 88 matches were generated. When the text-types were scrutinised, I found that many were books, some of which were unknown. The remaining matches for this query were genres which would rarely be found in a text-type for primary schoolchildren.

The statements in questions 5 and 6 could be seen to straddle several categories of the VAF; for instance, "I have seen someone being hurt" might fall under "dehumanisation of the enemy"; "attitudes that justify offending"; "harmful means to an end"; and "harmful objectives" considering the likely presuppositions made by the designers of BRIT. When the syntax query "suspicious of me" from a statement in question 5 was searched in the BoE, it returned 17 matches across 16 text-types on topics which included adult books related to the Gulf War; conspiracies; and the Bali bombings.

If the original professed aim of the BRIT Questionnaire, i.e.: to identify extremist ideology is borne in mind, then it would be reasonable to assume that a seemingly innocent (yet profound) statement from question 6, like "God has a purpose for me" has a bleaker underlying meaning in this questionnaire, one which could be linked to all six categories of the "intent to harm" section of the VAF through which the government expect to find potential 'jihadis' among their young respondents. Yet, this statement could be reasonably answered in the affirmative [i.e.: 'Agree'] by theists from multiple religions. The notion of violent extremism also underlies the statement, "It is my duty to defend my community from others that may threaten it."

Further examples of loaded statements from question 6 can be seen in Table 3, labelled a) to h) for ease of reference:

6. Please tell us your opinion on the following statements:
😊**Agree** | 😐**Not sure** | 😞 **Disagree**

"People from a different religion are probably just as good as people from mine"

"Religious books are to be understood word for word"

"I believe my religion is the only correct one"

"It is important to question what grown-ups tell you"

"I think most British people respect my race or religion"

"It is okay to marry someone from a different race or religion"

"I would mind if a family of a different race or religion moved next door"

"Women are just as good as men at work"

Table 3: Statements from question 6 of BRIT Questionnaire

Most of the children in my study responded with 'Agree' to statement a) and 'Disagree' to c) by reasoning that followers of every religion believe they are right. 'Disagree' was selected by all for b) as they said understanding every word was impossible. Statement d) generated a consistently different interpretation to its true meaning: all respondents thought it simply meant that if they did not understand something an adult said, they should seek clarification. The responses for e) were mixed, and none of the children chose 'Disagree' for statement f). One child ticked 'Agree' for statement g) and later explained that this was because he feared being subjected to racism. All the children 'agreed' with h). Responses to question 7 were mixed, as several children justified minimising the hurt caused to many, whereas some argued it was wrong to harm even one person, despite any altruistic intention.

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated the political nature of the suggestively named BRIT Questionnaire and why so many people from different professional and social backgrounds have expressed concerns about it at multiple levels, including its design validity; the decision to administer it in schools with a large proportion of Muslim pupils; and, the lack of transparency surrounding its implementation – typically without parental consent. While schools might be able to play a part in steering some children away from extremist ideology, this can only happen in a classroom environment which permits free and honest discussions (Heath-Kelly, 2013; Belaon, 2015; Kenny & Ghale, 2015). The extent to which this is possible, however, is questionable given police visits to schools,

advising teachers to closely monitor pupils who, for instance, support Gaza or oppose the 'War on Terror.' The relationship between UK teachers and pupils is being further tainted as the former are instructed by both the government (Conservative Party Manifesto, 2015) and Ofsted to impose what are unquestionably ethnocentric views upon the latter; for instance, by promoting "Fundamental British Values" about "decency, tolerance, respect for individual liberty", thereby implying that these values are unique to Britain.

Crucially, there is no explanation from the government, plausible or otherwise, as to why a questionnaire that is premised on the risk factors identified in the pre-crime model ERG22+, used to assess the psychological state of convicted (and in some cases violent) adult offenders in correctional facilities, may be considered equally apposite to inform a questionnaire for the elicitation of responses from primary schoolchildren to determine if they are displaying signs of susceptibility to radical ideology. It is incumbent upon the government to recognise that rather than facilitating social integration and trust, BRIT is contributing to scaremongering, stigmatisation and possibly, incitement to Islamophobia.

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Chapter Six

An Analysis of Frequent Adjectival Collocates of Lemmas MOTHER and FATHER and Their Cultural Implications

Tamara Jevrić

Outline

The study of words via collocates is a field of research established by Firth (1957) and further developed by Sinclair (1991) and Stubbs (1996). Sinclair developed the idea about frequency in a language representing what is typical and central in a language, while Stubbs studied how languages in use transmit culture. The aim of this research is to analyse lemmas MOTHER and FATHER by selecting the most frequent one hundred adjectival collocates which precede lexemes *mother*, *mothers*, *father* and *fathers* found in the British National Corpus. By focusing on adjectival collocates as main noun modifiers, as suggested by Stefanowitsch and Gries (2009), we examine what they divulge about the culture, and how language, culture and society interact with regard to collocational usage.

Introduction

To discuss culture in linguistics it may refer to the discussion of language patterns commonly used, hoping to unveil values imbedded in a culture and cultural implications their usage has. One example of such linguistic patterns are collocations. Pearce (2008) analyses collocational patterns of men and women in the British National Corpus, an electronic corpus. He uses Sketch Engine in order to explore how lemmas MAN and

WOMAN pattern with other word forms in different grammatical relations, and what social and cultural information can be drawn from them.

Piits (2013) tests the distributional hypothesis according to which words occurring in similar contexts tend to have a similar meaning. She compares the thirty most frequent collocates of Estonian words for 'human being' as occurring in the Newspaper subcorpus of the Balanced Corpus of Estonian. The comparison includes ten nouns, i.e. nodes, or node words which denote human beings. The results tie syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations of words, as one potentially being a reflection of the other.

Caldas-Coulthard and Moon (2010) studied the adjective lexicon with *curvy*, *hunky* and *kinky*, and adjectival collocates of *man*, *woman*, *boy* and *girl*, found in two types of newspapers in Britain. Their findings confirm that collocational patterns reveal societal and sociolectal attitudes, especially in terms of stereotypes of gender, sexualisation, age and behaviour. The research shows that corpus studies can help decipher hidden meanings and the disproportional ways people are depicted in the press (see Nikolić 2013, 2017).

The study of words via collocations is a field of research established by Firth (1957) and further developed by Sinclair (1991) and Stubbs (1996). Firth (1957: 181) defined collocations as: "The collocation of a word or 'piece' is not to be regarded as mere juxtaposition, it is an order of *mutual expectancy*. The words are mutually expectant and mutually prehended". He divided collocations into *general* or *common* collocation, and collocations of limited usage, i.e. *technical* or *personal* collocations. Firth's study of collocation is in close relation to the meaning of words and the concept of context. Meaning by collocation, for Firth, was an abstraction at the syntagmatic level and not directly concerned with the conceptual or idea approach to the meaning of words (Firth, 1964: 196). Firth also made a distinction between meaning through collocations as being different from contextual meaning.

Sinclair interpreted Firth's ideas about collocations by defining them as: "Collocation is the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text" (Sinclair, 1991: 170). The novelty in Sinclair's approach was attaching the collocations with the idea of linguistic frequency. Sinclair developed the idea about frequency in a language representing what is typical and central in a language (Sinclair, 1991: 17).

Stubbs (2002: 16, 221) concurred with Sinclair about the importance of frequency in linguistic research. He viewed collocations as a fundamental organising principle in a language (2002: 60) defining them as "a lexical relation between two or more words which have a tendency to co-occur

within a few words of each other in running text". Stubbs, however, created a link between collocations, the aspect of frequency and culture, namely, he studied how languages in use transmit culture. Stubbs (1996: 182-183) calls attention to words that could potentially be found in a dictionary of culturally important words. The grouping of words is based on two main themes which are the basis of studying of contemporary society. These are: *the changing life cycle of the individual, personal identity*, and *the professionalisation of modern life*. From private to public life, we have the following elements: *family, home, education, employment*. Or *individual, family and friends, community, town and country, society and culture, country and nation*.

This paper is a continuation of a previously published work (Jevrić 2017) regarding the lemmas WOMAN and MAN and frequent adjectival collocates which precede them. The focus of the paper are the lemmas MOTHER and FATHER, as they include Stubbs' component: family. By focusing on the most frequent adjectival collocates which precede these nouns, we learn about the typical behaviour of nouns regarding their collacability. By focusing on adjectival collocates as main noun modifiers, as suggested by Stefanowitsch and Gries (2009), we examine what they divulge about the culture, and how language, culture and society interact with regard to collocational usage.

Methodology

One important component of this research is the employment of lemmatisation. Sinclair (1991: 173) described lemmatisation as:

> "The process of gathering word-forms and arranging them into lemmas or lemmata. So the word-forms *give*, *gave*, *given*, *giving*, and probably *to give*, will conventionally be lemmatized into the lemma *give*. Any occurrence of any of the six forms will be regarded as an occurrence of the lemma."

Sinclair (1991: 8, 41-42, 173-174) was, however, cautious about lemmatisation, finding it to be conceivably prone to subjective judgment by the researcher and allowing it only when the environment of word-forms shows similarity. Lemmatisation is now considered to be a valid linguistic tool to facilitate collocational analysis, as exemplified by researchers such as Pearce (2008), Piits (2013) and Gesuato (2003).

There is a distinction to be made between different types of collocations. The focus of this paper are *adjacent collocations* and they comprise a lexeme in question and collocates which immediately precede

it. Adjacent collocations are generally contrasted with *window collocations* which extend the number of collocates to up to four collocates before or after the lexeme analysed (Lindquist, 2009: 73-87). In order to analyse the lemmas MOTHER and FATHER we selected the one hundred most frequent adjectival collocates which precede lexemes *mother*, *mothers*, *father* and *fathers*. The lexemes were searched in the British National Corpus via a proxy website. Since the website allows for different ways of sorting collocates, such as *KWIC*, *chart*, etc., frequent adjectival collocates required the use of an option *list*. Thus, the lexemes were searched via the following search patterns: [j*] mother and [j*] mothers for the lemma MOTHER, and [j*] father and [j*] fathers for the lemma FATHER. The listed collocates were arranged into semantic fields based on a research by Jevrić (2017), while allowing scope for their modification, depending on the variation in the results.

Analysis and discussion: Lexemes *mother* and *father*

The generated adjectives from the BNC are grouped into four separate tables. The first two tables refer to nouns in the singular form. Thus, Table 1 groups adjectival collocates of the lexeme *mother*, while Table 2 groups adjectival collocates of the lexeme *father*.

Table 1. Adjectival collocates of *mother* in the BNC

semantic field	**polarity**	**collocates of *mother***
physical appearance	positive	–
	neutral	white
	negative	–
physical attractiveness	positive	beautiful
	negative	–
Age	Young	teenage, young, 38-year-old, little
	middle-aged	middle-aged
	Old	aged, eighty-year-old, elderly, old, older
Character	positive	caring, devoted, doting, good, loving, proud, reasonable
	negative	bad, stem, terrible

emotional state	neutral	surprised
	negative	anxious, bereaved, distracted, distraught, exhausted, frantic, grief-stricken, grieving, horrified, sorrowing, tearful, worried
value system	Positive	beloved, darling, dear, dearest, great, legal, lovely, normal, perfect, poor, proper, real, sweet, wonderful
	Negative	bloody
love relations and marriage	Married	married
	Single	divorced, lone, single, unmarried, widowed
children and parenthood	with child	adoptive, biological, expectant, first-time, full-time, foster, natural, new, nursing, pregnant, primal, prospective
	without child	–
Health	Positive	–
	Negative	ailing, blind, deaf, ill, infected, positive
death and dying	Alive	–
	Dead	dead, late, sick
religion/mythology	blessed, Catholic, cosmic, divine, Great, holy, Jewish, phallic, virgin	
place of origin	American, Asian, British, English, French, Irish, Italian	
Employment	Working	
Other	m--, missing, other, only	

Table 2. Adjectival collocates of *father* in the BNC

semantic field	Polarity	collocates of *father*
physical appearance	Positive	–
	Neutral	white
	Negative	big, faceless, little
Age	Young	young, 38-year-old
	middle-aged	48-year-old
	Old	ageing, elderly, old
Character	positive	adoring, caring, devoted, doting, eccentric, fond, forgiving, good, loving, proud
	negative	authoritarian, conservative, cruel, domineering, evil, poor
Intelligence	positive	wise
	negative	–
emotional state	positive	happy
	negative	angry, bereaved, grief-stricken, grieving, heartbroken, unhappy
value system	positive	beloved, better, dear, earthly, esteemed, excellent, famous, great, illustrious, natural, perfect, powerful, poor, primal, putative, real, revered, co-called, true, wonderful
	negative	bloody, spiritual, supposed
love relations and marriage	married	married
	Single	divorced, single, unmarried, widowed
children and parenthood	with child	adopted, adoptive, biological, foster, new
	without child	absent, distant, estranged

financial situation	positive	wealthy
	negative	–
Health	positive	–
	negative	alcoholic, disabled, deceased, drunken, dying, invalid, sick
death and dying	Alive	–
	Dead	dead, late
Religion	almighty, Catholic, Eternal, great/Great, heavenly, holy, religious	
place of origin	African, American, English, German, Scottish, immigrant	
Violence	abusing	
Other	busy, fat--, founding, lost, missing, only	

Contrastive analysis of frequent adjectival collocates of *mother* and *father* throws an interesting light on the semantic fields. *Physical appearance* for *father* counts more adjectives and most have negative meanings – *big*, *faceless* and *little*. *Physical attractiveness* for *mother* is present with one adjective – *beautiful*. *Age* is another category which enumerates more collocates for *mother* than for *father*, and confirms itself as a category persistently more important for nouns which denote human beings of the female sex (cf. Jevrić, 2017). Women appear to be judged more harshly for aging.

The *character* of *mother* incorporates various adjectives almost all describing what makes a good parent – *caring*, *devoted*, *doting*, etc. The remaining collocates emphasise her proud demeanor and reasonable thinking. The same transpired for *father*. The emphasis is on his kind and gentle nature – *adoring*, *caring*, *devoted*. The criteria which constitute a bad *father* are his strictness (*mother* is also *strict*) – *authoritarian*, *cruel*, *domineering* and *evil*, and his lack of modern, progressive views – *conservative*. In the field of intelligence, *father* is described as *wise*.

The *emotional state* of *mother* is predominantly sad and depressed, far more than it is for *father*. This image may carry a note of depiction of mothers and fathers as old and weary, made miserable by a difficult life. This image can be complemented by collocates from the category *age*, polarity *old*. The portrayal of *father* is reinforced by adjectives of the *value system* about his importance and significance – *famous*, *powerful*, *revered*. Meanwhile, the biological feature of women as its typical, natural characteristic is being glorified – *normal*, *perfect*, *proper*, *real*.

The category of *love relations and marriage* for both lexemes has almost the same number of collocates, the differentiating one being *lone*, which leads us to believe that culture offers a similar type of treatment to *mother* and *father*. However, the number of occurrences differs. The collocation *married mother* occurs three times, *divorced mother* seven, *lone mother* 20, *single mother* 44, *unmarried mother* 21, and *widowed mother* 58 times. Contrastively, *married father* appears only four times, *divorced father* six, *single father* three, *unmarried father* six, and *widowed father* nine times. The differing adjectival collocate, as well as the number of occurrences exhibit a clear cultural inclination towards mothers and their marital status. It is evident that "there are expectations, requirements and demands that women should fulfill" (Ćuk, 2017: 174).

Children and parenthood is focused on the role of a parent, be it *biological*, *adoptive* or *foster*. The polarity *without child* groups together words which describe *father* not being a part of child's life – *absent*, *distant* and *estranged*. The semantic fields found only in *father* are *financial situation* and *violence*. Collocations *wealthy father* and *abusing father* reflect society's dominant concepts and expectations. These findings are in line with another cultural element, that of women's *employment*. A *working mother* is something that should be noticed. We can see which cultural concepts are prerogatives in a society.

The fields of *religion/mythology* for *mother* and *religion* only for *father* depict not only different denominations, but also highlight another meaning of the said nouns. *Cosmic mother*, *divine mother* or *Great Mother* is a sort of goddess, depending on the faith in question. *Phallic mother*, Freud's concept, is a mother endowed with a phallus. We also have *almighty*, *eternal*, *heavenly* or *holy father* denoting God. In these collocations, *father* is largely capitalised, so the meaning is clear.

Place of origin reinforces Pearce's words about women being more defined by this category simply because when these adjectives are used without the following noun, the assumption is that it is a man in question (Pearce, 2008: 12). We can claim the same for *mother* and *father*. The overall number of instances of collocates which denote *place of origin* is 36 for *mother* and 17 for *father*.

Some adjectives belonging to the field of *health* require clarifications. The search patterns do not generate words which precede adjectival collocates when they alter the meaning of the adjective, whether abbreviations or adverbs. That is one of the reasons why it is always important to be acquainted with the entire context by clicking on each individual reference. *Infected* actually means *HIV infected*, while *positive* occurs as *HIV positive*. Other collocates worthy of consideration are

alcoholic and *drunken*, which describe *father* and reveal social attitudes about men and alcohol.

The collocation *changing father* exhibits a near-perfect system of part of speech annotation, because it wrongly classifies it as an adjective + noun collocation: "Before *changing father*'s response" (CGS). Annotation refers to information in the corpus, i.e. it refes to data about the text. There are different types of annotation: parts of speech annotation, parsing, semantic annotation, pragmatic annotation, phonetic annotation, etc. In the BNC program CLAWS (Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System) annotates with parts of speech. Lindquist (2009: 47) says that automatic labelling of texts is successful in 97-98% of cases, which leads to the conclusion that one in 33 words is mislabelled.

More examples include *grand* being classified as an adjective, because the compound grandfather is spelled as grand father: "How much his parents and *grand father* had liked her and thought of her as part of the family" (G3B). The collocate *fat--* is a stutter. The corpus produced *fat-- father* twice: "I think, *fat--, father* had it all marked out so as you changed at a certain place" (GYW) and "●h *fat-- father* kept the my brother my three brothers went after him" (K6U). Similarly, we have: "Well *m-- mother* used to clean for the church (SP:PS5M7) (K6U). These examples are a part of spoken English which takes up around ten percent of the BNC, or counts around ten million words. *Like* in *like mother* is a preposition: "It's the only way we seem to be *like mother*" (G●Y). *Missing* in the category *other* refers to a mother who is missing, but in one instance is it wrongly classified: "But you could say that I have never really stopped *missing Mother*" (BN6). *Surprised* is in one example also wrongly classified: "I must admit I am *surprised Mother* didn't come to meet me" (B3J). The two remaining meanings are neutral: " 'Is she of a good family, like Mercy?' asked his *surprised mother*, who had come in during the conversation" (GW8), and "They also walked up to its *surprised mother* and noted how she behaved" (B7L).

Lexemes *mothers* and *fathers*

The remaining two tables refer to nouns in plural form. Table 3 groups adjectival collocates of the lexeme *mothers* and Table 4 groups adjectival collocates of the lexeme *fathers*.

Table 3. Adjectival collocates of *mothers* in the BNC

semantic field	**Polarity**	**collocates of *mothers***
physical appearance	Positive	fit
	Neutral	black, white
	Negative	–
Age	Young	school-age, teenage, young, younger
	middle-aged	middle-aged
	Old	elderly, old, older
Character	Positive	good, grown-up, highly-motivated, hopeful
	Negative	–
Intelligence	Positive	–
	Negative	dimwitted
emotional state	positive	happy
	negative	concerned, howling, hysterical, tearful, worried
value system	positive	educated, experienced, famous, honorary, human, ideal, natural, normal, poor, real
	negative	feckless, inadequate, incapable
Sexuality	heterosexual	–
	homosexual	lesbian
love relations and marriage	married	married
	single	divorced, lone, separated, single, unmarried, unwed, widowed
children and parenthood	with child	expectant, expected, first-time, foster, full-time, future, new, nursing, potential, pregnant, would-be
	without child	relinquishing
financial situation	positive	–
	negative	hard-pressed, poor

Health	positive	healthier, normoglycaemic
	negative	diabetic, disabled, deaf, depressed, infected, hyperglycaemic, ill, positive, retarded
Religion	Catholic, Jewish, godfearing	
place of origin	Asian, Bangladeshi, British, French, immigrant, Indian, Italian, local, Maori, Pakistani, rural, urban, Welsh	
Politics	feminist	
Violence	harassed, non-abusing	
Employment	dependent, dole-queue, working	
Class	middle-class, working-class	
Other	busy, different, individual, non-breastfeeding, non-smoking, other, virgin	

Table 4. Adjectival collocates of *fathers* in the BNC

semantic field	polarity	collocates of *fathers*
physical appearance	positive	–
	neutral	white
	negative	little
physical attractiveness	positive	nice-looking
	negative	–
Age	young	teenage, young
	old	Victorian
character	positive	benign, doting, flamboyant, good, respectful
	negative	indulgent, irresponsible, vociferous
emotional state	positive	–
	negative	grieving, hapless, irate, weeping

value system	positive	academic, actual, better, distinguished, famous, fantastic, primal, putative
	negative	human, unknown
love relations and marriage	married	–
	single	divorced, lone, single
children and parenthood	with child	biological, expectant, new, prospective
	without child	absent, distant, errant, estranged, itinerant, non-custodial
financial situation	positive	richer, wealthy
	negative	dispossessed
Health	positive	–
	negative	alcoholic, dying, sociopathic
death and dying	alive	–
	dead	late
religion	Catholic, Christian, early, Eastern, faithless, Franciscan, holy, Latin, Marist, reverend, servite, Teatini	
place of origin	Armamese, Dominican, Indian, Welch, Greek	
employment	unemployed	
Class	manual, middle-class, non-manual	
Other	current, different, founding, individual, managerial, only, other, respective, various	

Adjectival collocates of *mothers* and *fathers* in the BNC are dissimilar above all in number. The pattern of adjective + mothers generated in total 1,022 results, compared to 221 collocations of adjective + fathers, failing to meet the mark of one hundred, but, instead, yielding 79 results.

Physical appearance of *mothers* and *fathers* produces similar results between the lexemes, while *physical attraction* produced only one result: "Turning happy faces into tearful Harlequins and *nice-looking fathers* into wicked Satans" (H94). The semantic field of *age*, both by the number of collocates, as well as their variety, demonstrates the emphasis of age on *mothers* in today's culture. The collocate *Victorian* uncommonly refers to an epoch, rather than a person's age: "Never stand over an open fire as *Victorian fathers* used to do" (BNL).

The list of collocates of *fathers* comprising the field *character* gives a fairly comprehensive group of adjectives, with both positive and negative meanings. Both *mothers* and *fathers* are complimented for good parenting skills, *good, doting,* while *fathers* are admonished for either spoiling their children – *indulgent,* or for lack of interest or care from their part – *irresponsible.* Mothers are described as *dimwitted:* "He told *dimwitted mothers* that their sons wouldn't be coming home in nice wooden boxes" (GVL), while fathers' *intelligence* does not generate results.

The *emotional state* of *mothers* contrasted with that of *fathers* produces another list of adjectives more numerous, and thus more detailed. Women are believed to be more emotional than men, and corpus results confirm this belief. Particular emphasis is on strong negative emotions – *howling* and *hysterical.* The category of *values system* portrays the two lexemes in a rather positive light. The negative collocates, however, differ in highlighted features of *mothers* as bad parents – *feckless, inadequate,* and *incapable.*

While the category of *value system* accentuates *mothers* as bad parent, adjectives which deal with *children and parenthood* have the same function, only this time, for *fathers: absent, distant, errant, estranged, itinerant,* and *non-custodial.* The field of *love relations and marriage* yielded the anticipated more numerous adjectives for *mothers,* especially in the polarity *single.* Society here sends a clear message about the importance of marriage for *mothers* who have given birth or who are expected to, and the cultural implications are that the role of women is to abide by certain values which society regards as salient. *Fathers* are exempt from such criticism.

Sexuality yielded five results of *lesbian mothers.* This might simply mean that lesbian mothers are more spoken about, since mothers are the ones who carry children. One collocation tackles the matter of *politics* and human rights – *feminist mothers.* The semantic field of *religion* depicts *mothers* and *fathers* of different denominations and their level of piety, but it predominantly affirms the polysemous nature of the lexeme *fathers,* thus describing them as belonging to different religious congregations – *Catholic, Franciscan, Marist, Teatini,* etc.

Polysemy can also be observed in collocates, not just node words. *Poor* is an adjective we identified in the category of *value system,* and it is used to show sympathy towards mothers: "Oh, the *poor mothers,* you can see how they feel during the long goodbye" (FYV). Most collocations with *poor,* however, refer to *mothers' financial situation. Mothers* are, therefore, either depicted as *poor* or *hard-pressed.* Similarly, *fathers* can be *dispossessed,* but they can also be *rich* and *wealthy.* The issues *single*

mothers deal with in everyday life and the struggle to cope with finances are combined into an image of a woman being the nurturer, and a man being the provider. The cultural implications of the used collocates may help in keeping these images intact, meanwhile showing how language reflects societal and cultural norms.

Identically to *health* collocates of *mother*, *infected* appears as *hiv-infected*, positive as *HIV positive*, while *retarded* is *mentally retarded*. Semantic fields which contribute to only *mothers*, apart from *sexuality*, are *politics* and *violence*. The corpus thus brings forward the issue of women's rights. *Mothers* can also be victims of violence, or they can be peaceful, *non-abusing* parents. *Employment* and *class* contribute to both lexemes.

The collocation *novel fathers* is wrongly classified as an adjective: "In his *novel Fathers* and Children which (as the title suggests) is about the generation gap" (A18). Grandmothers is spelled as two separate words, so *grand* is again tagged as an adjective: "●oh what and get all the (SP:KDMPSUGP) (unclear) (SP:PS●RB) of all the *grand mothers* there" (KDM).

Conclusion

The contrastive analysis of frequent adjectival collocates of the lemmas MOTHER and FATHER reveals what cultural implications collocates have in a society. It lays bare various customs, beliefs and practices which constitute the culture of the society in question. There is an obvious compatibility in the description of female and male human beings. Concerning the semantic fields of *physical appearance* and *physical attractiveness*, both lemmas yielded a scarce number of adjectives leading us to conclude that these adjectives are not particularly employed to describe the lemmas, especially *physical attractiveness* with one adjective for MOTHER and one for FATHER. *Age* establishes itself as a section which groups together collocates to characterise and thus, judges MOTHER more harshly.

Regarding *character* the lemmas have common qualities used for the portrayal of good parenting. FATHER is, however, given a more detailed description in the negative polarity, where his strictness or his exaggerated care are outlined. It appears that culture leaves little room for bad mothers, the implication being that motherhood should be part of their basic, inborn nature. *Intelligence* of MOTHER and FATHER is in complete contrast. While FATHER is *wise*, MOTHER is *dimwitted*. The *emotional state* confirms that MOTHER, and in a wider sense, all female human beings seem to experience certain emotions more strongly, notably those of

sadness and misery. The collocates in the *value system* give the impression that in British culture FATHER is valued if he is important. MOTHER, on the other hand, is valued for being a good parent, but, at the same time, criticised for being a bad one. It appears, after all, that society ultimately judges the parenting skills of FATHER somewhat more, which is observed in *children and parenthood*.

Love relations and marriage affirm a culture in which it is important that MOTHER is married. The same cannot be argued for FATHER. The findings match the findings discussed in the study of the lemmas WOMAN and MAN regarding the same category (cf. Jevrić, 2017).

Differentiating semantic fields are *sexuality* and *politics*, both in favour of MOTHER. It seems that questions of human rights are restricted to females. Additionally, the polysemous nature of some collocates created the category *religion* coupled with *mythology* for MOTHER. *Employment* is another area that has more collocations with MOTHER, while there is only one collocate with FATHER. Anticipated cultural models are found in *financial status*, which contains more collocates in favour of FATHER. *Violence* describes FATHER as a perpetrator of violence, and MOTHER as a victim to which that violence is directed.

Just like "there is a link between the life of a society and the lexicon of the language spoken by it" (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2014: 8), we can argue that there is a link between culture and frequent adjectival collocates. A study into frequent adjectival collocates conveys ideas that exist in particular cultural groups, desired expectations about mothers and fathers, and different ideological aspects that permeate them. These revelations are embodied in collocations. Culture-specific collocates incorporate values, gender roles, stereotypes, conventional shared knowledge between members of a cultural group, and strengthen the tie between language and its culture.

The next research will move from biological roles of WOMAN and MAN to their social roles. The focus will be on the contrastive analysis of frequent adjectival collocates which precede the lemmas WIFE and HUSBAND. The findings will close the chapter of analysis of social categories of WOMAN and MAN, and open a new one for the analysis of the remaining social categories, BOY and GIRL. In order to complete the picture of contemporary society, according to Stubbs (1996), studying it opens a prospect for new ideas, such as studying of words via collocates of other family members, AUNT, UNCLE, DAUGHTER, SON, SISTER, BROTHER, etc.

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BREAKING DIGITAL BOUNDARIES: TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVE OF ICT IMPLEMENTATION, USABILITY AND NEED FOR TRAINING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PRIŠTINA

ANITA JANKOVIĆ AND PETER DIEDRICHS

Outline

Since teacher confidence and competence have been found to be critical factors of successful technology integration, the aim of this paper is to, primarily, map teachers' perspective of ICT implementation, usability, and need for training at the University of Priština by means of a quantitative research method based on a questionnaire. Secondly, it will present efforts of the Linnaeus University in onboarding and training their teachers for the learning management system, the video conference system, and other digital tools necessary, with a view of applying their model to cater to our needs.

Introduction

The strategy for the development of higher education in Serbia by 2020 stipulates the systematization of innovative teaching methods and implementation of information and communication technologies (ICT) in teaching and learning (action VO-ZD23). The introduction of ICT presents new challenges for teachers, who are the grass root power to bring about the much needed change. Therefore, teachers' attitudes and preconceptions about the role of ICT as a teaching tool, its value for student learning outcomes and their own personal confidence and competency play an important role in influencing the effectiveness of e-learning.

In addition to catering to the new strategy for higher education in Serbia, this study is a continuation of the analysis of the factors that influenced the sustainability of the Tempus BLATT project (530266-TEMPUS-1-2012-1-XK-TEMPUS-JPCR available at http://www.tempusb latt.pr.ac.rs/) and the implementation of blended learning at the University of Priština with the temporary head office in Kosovska Mitrovica (Janković, 2015). Namely, the initial study found that the best approach to systematization of the blended learning is to build upon the existing practices and experiences and that "the buildup should mainly be focused on designing an extensive and expert-led training program for the teaching staff" (327). In order to achieve this, we need to firstly understand the teachers' perspective of the ICT. Therefore, the aim of this papers is to survey the teachers' beliefs on and use of ICT, as well as to present the Swedish model of teacher training. The benefits of ICT in education will not be explicitly discussed here. The authors will only focus on teacher-related factors of successful implementation.

Why teachers matter

There are two approaches to achieving a meaningful use of ICT in higher education: a) top-down - institutional support and feedback can single-handedly ensure the sustainability of the ICT implementation; b) bottom-up - grass-root resources such as students and teachers can be the driving force in the process (Abel, 2005, 22). Al-Zaidiyeen et al. (2010) report numerous studies confirming that the use of ICT in education in the most part depends on the teachers' attitudes, which in turn determines the level of their digital skills, degree of acceptance and adaptability, and the quality of their innovative practice.

The importance of teachers is also reflected in them being potential barriers to the process. Peggy Ertmer (2005) classifies them as "the 'second-order' barrier to the integration of ICT in teaching and learning" while the first order barriers are unrelated to personal level, such as technical conditions, resources, access, etc. (27). These teacher level barriers can further be categorized into: lack of teacher confidence, lack of teacher competence, and resistance to change and negative attitudes (Bingimlas 2009, 237). Confidence and competence often go hand in hand. Bingimlas, in his literature review, cites studies that have shown that teachers' digital competences—more precisely, their lack of—causes the feelings of inadequacy and anxiety about using ICT in their teaching, especially with students who are more digitally literate than themselves (238). Those studies also demonstrated that there is a significant difference

in the level of the barrier in different parts of the world. Namely, developing countries have been struggling with the teachers' digital competences, hence their low confidence too, which leads to difficult and slow ICT integration.

As previously mentioned, teachers' attitudes and perceptions of ICT usability are instrumental for the successful and meaningful integration of ICT. This aspect is twofold; primarily, it is concerned with teachers' pedagogical beliefs formed over a course of many years both behind and in front of the teacher's desk. These pedagogical beliefs "affect the teaching behaviors in the classroom" (Prestridge, 2012, 449). Secondly, teachers' perspective influences their adaptability to change—determines the teachers' degree of resistance to change. The 2004 comprehensive study of the British Educational Communications and Technology Agency on the barriers to ICT integration reports that "one key area of teachers' attitudes towards ICT is their understanding of how it will benefit their work and their students' learning" (BECTA, 2004, 17). Cox et al. (1999) record the findings that teachers will resist changing their teaching practice if there is no clear benefit, hence they won't use new technologies if they see no need to change their practice (5). Furthermore, Holden and Rada (2011) note that "teachers' [positive] attitudes toward computers and educational software can significantly influence their students' attitudes toward the technology if adequate support and time for teachers to learn the technology is provided" (348).

The survey

The survey presented here is an empirical and non-experimental study aimed at examining the attitudes of lecturers at the University of Priština on ICT integration into their teaching practice. The specific aims are: 1) to map their perceived digital competences; 2) to examine their attitudes on perceived usability of ICT; and 3) to note their need for training.

Instrumentation: for the purposes of this study a quantitative research method based on a questionnaire was employed. The questionnaire, adapted from Arsić and Milovanović (2016), consists of four sections covering the respondents' demographic data (3 items) and the three specific aims mentioned above—digital competences (20 items), perceived usability (10 items), and need for training (15 items). The demographic part consisted of multiple choice questions, while the other three parts asked respondents to mark their agreement on a scale of 1 to 5. The questionnaire was written in Serbian and distributed online via Google

Forms software. In total 75 questionnaires were sent, while 54 returned completed, which makes the return rate 72%.

Respondents: The selection of the respondents was random from the University's academic listing, the respondents were contacted via their academic email addresses from September to November 2017. Table 1 shows the summary of the respondents' demographic data. The ratio of male (64%) to female (36%) was not a surprise as the general gender ratio at the Universiy favors males, at 66%. More than half of the respondents (57%) belong to the age group of 40-49, while the other three age groups have an almost equal share under 20 percent—age 20-29 =14%, age 30-39 =11%, and 50-59 =18%. Finally, most respondents (61%) have 10-20 years of teaching experience, while only 14% have less than 10 and 25% have more 20 years.

Item		Percentage
Gender	Male	64%
	Female	36%
Age	20-29	14 %
	30-39	11 %
	40-49	57%
	50-59	18%
Teaching experience	0-10	14%
	10-20	61%
	< 20	25%

Table 1. Respondents' demographic data

Results

For the purpose of this study, we will present the survey results by means of a descriptive method. Furthermore, for the economy of space, we will present clustered values on the two ends of the continuum except where there is merit from the separate values. The results will be categorized in three groups: personal, usability, and need for training.

Personal: The aim of the first part of the questionnaire, which consists of 20 items, was to feel the pulse of the respondents in how they use digital technology, how they feel about it, and how confident they are when completing a task using a computer or Internet application. There was a unanimous agreement among the respondents when asked whether they feel comfortable using digital technology, furthermore, up to 60% would describe themselves as a gadget person. While all of them use

digital technology in their daily lives, mostly for entertainment purposes, some of them (38%) expressed reluctance to perform financial transactions or other sensitive matters online. We were also interested to learn how the respondents felt when using a computer (Figure 1). To no surprise, most of them felt productive (78%) and creative (90%) which aligns with the findings of Galanouli et al. (2004). Feelings of spontaneity, innovation, and imagination scored lower, between 50- 67%.
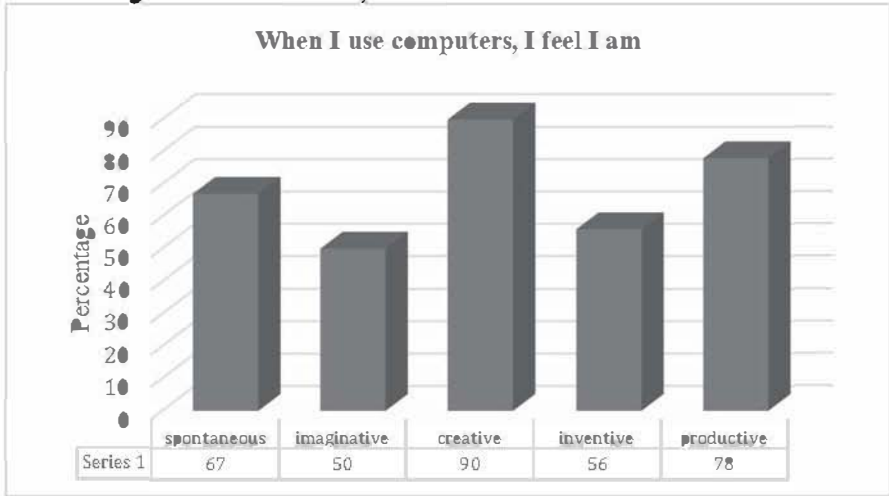

Figure 1. Affects

On the other hand, it is a more diverse matter when it comes to completing a task using digital technology (Figure 2), respondents generally scored their perceived digital competences lower. The diminished confidence in self-evaluation seems to be a repetitive occurrence (Galanouli et al., 2004; BECTA, 2004; Avidov-Ungar & Eshet-Alkalai, 2011). Only 39% of respondents say they could complete a task without any help and even less when using a technology for the first time (28%). Seeing someone else use it (52%), having someone to demonstrate the process (84%) or having someone to call for help (100%) increases the chances for success. However, most respondents feel confident that they would complete the task given enough time (92%). Finally, only 33% found using manuals helpful, but the majority of the respondents (77%) expressed confidence when working with built-in help guides, which caters to our proposed model of teacher training laid out in the next section of the paper.

Alhabri (2013) reports, in his analysis of teachers' interviews, that the most common ways of problem solving is asking a colleague or a friend to help or demonstrate the usage. Similar findings are presented in the study by Wozney et al. (2006) who report that teachers more often describe themselves as beginners rather than experts and heavily rely on others for help (183). In addition, the BECTA report (2004) also quotes that time is an essential factor influencing task completion (20). Early adopters and innovators are rare within our institution (less than 30% in our sample), but they are the driving force and very often they are the ones called for help.
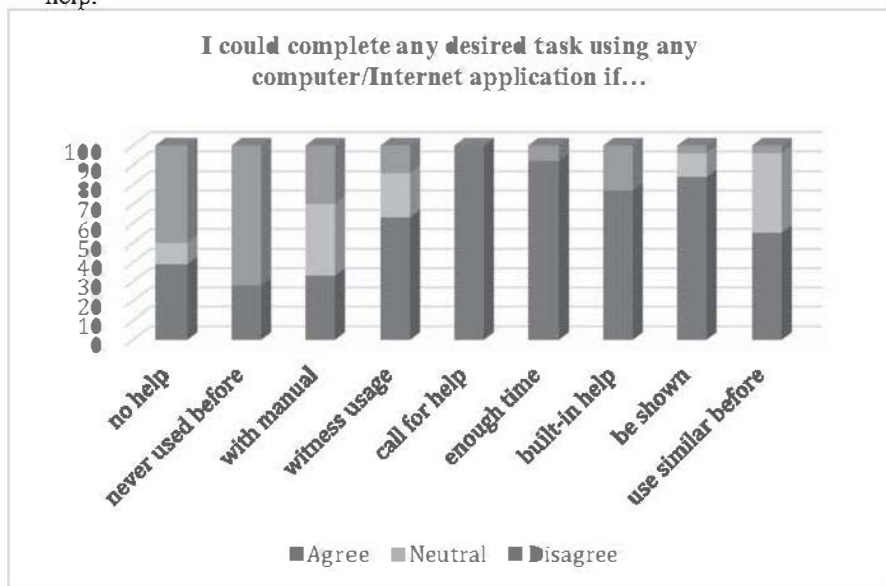
Figure 2. Completing a task using digital technology

Usability: The section on teachers' perceived usability of ICT is further divided into two parts   perceived benefits for the teachers themselves and their practice (Figure 3) and benefits for students (Figure 4). We asked the lecturers to indicate their agreement or disagreement with a series of positive statement. There were no significant spikes on either ends of the scale (completely disagree / completely agree). However, as presented in Figure 3, there were high scores on the middle value (neutral). The respondents least believed that using digital technology in class would increase their effectiveness (33%), help them achieve curricular goals (34%) or improve their performance (52%). What is more, the respondents

did not think that technology alone can improve their teaching practice, we noted high scores of disagreement on issues of achieving curricular goals (41%) and increasing effectiveness (46%). Marzilli et al. (2014) relay a similar message from their study on faculty attitudes toward innovation, their survey on the future of technology in the classroom reports that "technology doesn't improve teaching, good teaching does" (14).

On the other hand, the results indicate that the respondents are more confident about the benefits technology provides for increased productivity (83%), professional development (87%), and an increased selection of teaching materials (90%). This aligns with Prestridge (2012) and her survey results on what teachers use technology for in their work life—for professional development through webinars and MOOCs, open educational resources, class records and management, etc. (454). Furthermore, professional benefits have been recorded as the most recognized values of ICT integration in many other studies (Kusano et al., 2013; Ertmer, 2005; Abel, 2005).
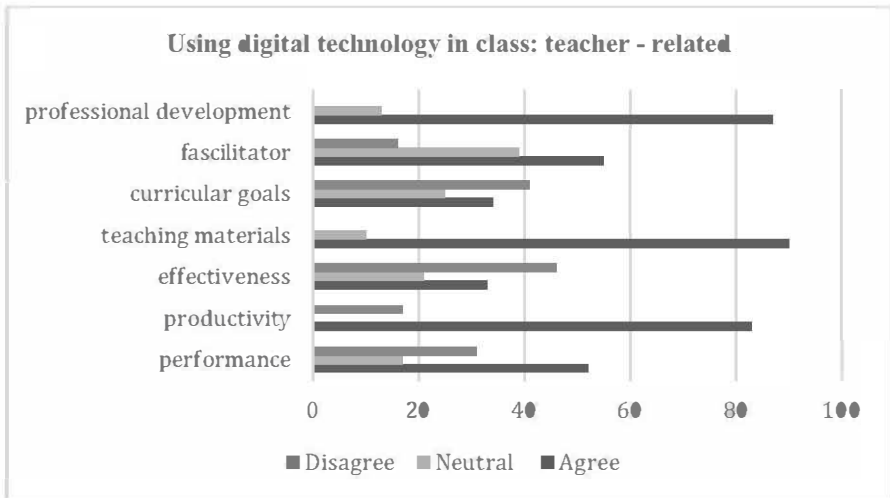
Figure 3. Teacher-related benefits

When it comes to students' benefits, the respondents present a more unified front. Although there is still some degree of neutrality, especially concerning the issue of learning styles (38%), the respondents are more convinced of the betterment the technology brings for students. The highest agreement rate was recorded in areas catering for students with

different abilities (33%), improving students' communication skills (97%), increasing student engagement (87%), and promoting collaboration (60%). The highest scores of disagreement appears to be on issues of increasing independent learning (24%), academic achievement (21%), and cognition and learning (20%).
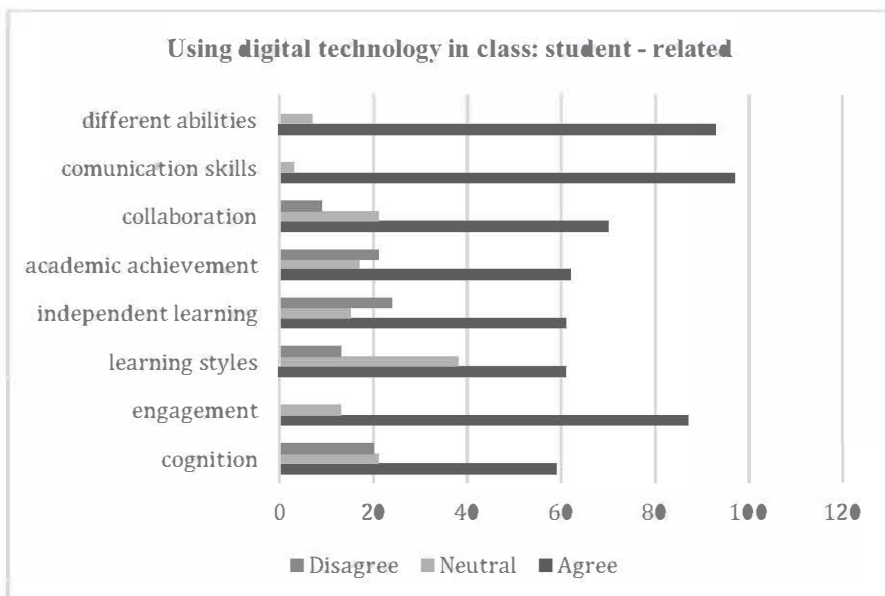

Figure 4. Student-related benefits

Need for training: Finally, the third section of the questionnaire aimed at assessing respondents' previous training and their preferences, as well as investigating what aspects of ICT training they believe they need the most. We primarily wanted to know about their formal ICT education during their bachelor or masters studies, the results show that less than 20 percent never had ICT courses. On the other hand, only a quarter reported that their institutions provided ICT training. A hopeful thought is that more than 70% of the respondents prefer to have training sessions online. Though, that might not be surprising if we take into account that the University of Priština is a dispersed institution, that is, more than three quarters of the faculty live elsewhere, so having online training sessions makes more sense. When asked whether they prefer to work individually or in a group, the highest score of responses is neutral on this (79%).

When presented with various digital tools and software most frequently used in teaching (Chart 5), the respondents indicated that they need the most training for video conferencing software (96%), interactive whiteboards (93%), learning management systems (89%), and open educational resources (87%). Lower scores are recorded in the categories of photo editing software (59%), evaluating digital tools (58%), and creating interactive learning materials (55%). It is no revelation that presentation software scored the lowest (18%) as this is the most common digital tool in our classrooms.

Figure 5. Aspects of training

With only a quarter of the institutions at the University offering any kind of ICT training, the teachers are often left to fend for themselves or to simply go back to their traditional practice. The University management has been looking into possible all encompassing models that could cater to our needs for training and onboarding the teaching staff. After the fruitful collaboration on the Tempus BLATT project, the University is looking into the model promoted by Linnaeus University, presented in the continuation.

Teacher Training With Web Guide System
at Linnaeus University

At Linnaeus University (LNU) there are 1200 teachers and 32 000 students. The staff circulation, due to expansion, retirement, and change of workplace is about 100 teachers during a school year. Meaning, during the year 100 teachers need to be speedily onboarded and trained in using the LMS, the video system, conference system, and all the other ICT systems necessary to teach at LNU. All this while they are actually teaching, getting into the workplace culture, and doing everything else that comes with working at a university, such as taking the obligatory pedagogy courses for university teachers.

There is also a discrepancy between the University's pedagogical goals and how the tools are being used to support learning. The systems are too often used merely as administrative support in courses, when they should be used to engage students and support the learning processes in line with pedagogical research and pedagogical goals. As stated in the University's strategy, their aim is to "further develop [the] learning environment and meeting environments, both physical and digital, in order to promote creativity and good pedagogy." (Linnaeus University, 2014)

The discrepancy between goals and skills goes for seasoned LNU teachers as well as for recently hired teachers; many teachers never have time to learn or further train their use of the ICT tools - instead they get thrown into situations, like an urgent e-meeting, substituting a seminar, or having to take over an ongoing online course. Because of this, the University's learning technicians have to help teachers with a lot of minor and "unqualified" immediate tasks, instead of working with them to use the available techniques to reach further.

That puts the spotlight on significance of timing. A user is often not inclined to learn about a tool until a real objective exists. Teachers want instruction and advice when they are about to actually accomplish something, not at a time when they don't know what they will need to do later on. The promise of a future payoff is well known in pedagogy as a lesser good learning motivator. The university have tried hard with lunch seminars and different kinds of organized training sessions for teachers, but they are seldom well attended.

The result is sub-optimized pedagogy in how ICT tools are being used (or not used). But even worse, occasionally the wrong use of tools and their settings are causing actual problems, for example with examinations. The tools are designed to be intuitive, but still the complexity of their many options can be challenging. The situation as described is recognized

in many Swedish schools and universities, and in their 2016 report "Future learning environments" SUHF, The Association of Swedish Higher Education, raises this as an urgent area to be resolved (Framtidens lärandemiljöer, 2016). In a survey at the Lund University, the researchers found that only a fifth of the teachers asked were interested in a developed use of digital tools for learning. A third weren't interested in those kinds of tools at all, giving lack of time and technical support as two of the reasons to why (32).

This is an issue in all areas of teaching and learning at the University, not just online courses. The LMS and other ICT tools for learning that are operational are meant to be used where they can help enhance the learning in all courses; online courses as well as campus or blended courses. And blended learning, where "traditional teaching" is mixed with online learning, is by many considered to be the best overall pedagogical structure for student engagement and learning. Motivation, subjective learning gains, and satisfaction achieved significantly higher ratings by the students taking blended courses compared with the students learning by traditional means (Woltering et al., 2009, 725).

As manager for Learning Environment at the University, the author identified the ICT competency challenges into a number of objectives.

1.   Onboarding
Getting the spectra of the university's tools, their possibilities and how they interconnect
    a.   for new staff
    b.   new tools or functionalities
    c.   new ICT pedagogical (or administrative) concepts
2.   Training for teaching strategy
Learning when and why to use different tools/functionalities, from a pedagogical view in order to enhance teaching and learning but also for more effective administration
    a.   Initial training, the basics
    b.   Continued training, professional development
3.   Training to execute
Learning how to setup the ICT tools in a correct and best way for the purpose
4.   Immediate support
The support required when needing assistance while completing tasks. This is traditionally handled via manuals, calling a learning technician or the general IT support, the two later options naturally being quite time critical.

Manuals: The University has created hundreds, or rather thousands, of manuals as pdf files, web pages and videos. They are often considered difficult to find by the users, and they are quite time consuming to keep updated. Also, there's the risk of duplicates and often there are outdated manuals hiding around. Another problem is how manuals often appear. They are all too often more of a complete, minutious description of something instead of answering the user's question, and the users simply find them overwhelming.

Learning technicians: At LNU a learning technician is located at each of the five different faculties and the support given is unevenly distributed, even within the faculties. This has created different sub-cultures, and there is mostly little or no collaboration between the faculties in the ICT area. There are many methods as well as manuals and tutorials for similar tasks.

Web guide system: In latter years, web guide systems (WGS) have been more and more common, yet mainly on commercial web sites. A WGS (there is yet no distinctive name for those systems, and some call them a "user tour system") leads the user around a web site, and more developed WGS will do so while the user performs a task, like filling in a form the correct way. Or, setting up a more advanced functionality like an assessment in an LMS. The user has a request and the WGS takes him step-by-step through the different, sometimes very complex choices and skips those that the initial request doesn't require. When the tour is over, the functionality is in place and correctly set up.

Those listed are the main features directly related to the objectives above, and they have been marked with the objective's number.

- Tours, to introduce a system or a new functionality (1, 2)
- Step-by-step guides (3, 4)
- Pop-ups with messages (1)
  - Welcome for first time users
  - Alerts, for instance about system service downtime
  - Information (new features, changes)
- Segmenting of users and user groups, in order to reach only those concerned (1, 2, 3, 4)
  - New users/user groups (only teachers, only new teachers, only students, and so on)
  - New functionality for returning user groups
- User tracking (1, 4)
  - Hide pop-ups already seen by specific user
  - Follow up on formal training, perhaps on demand from employer

- Standard manuals and tutorials (videos, text, images) directly available in context (2, 3)

The pilot project: The pilot project with WGS at the Linnaeus University started in June 2017 and is will continue for one year, where it will primarily focus on the LMS (Moodle) and the LMS integrated video system (Kaltura). The WGS system selected among several other systems was Inline Manual. The choice was made from demos and tests, where functionality was in focus. The pricing had significant importance, too. The investigated systems had varying pricing models and the project had a limit of €10,000. The sustainability aspect is part of the pricing model: depending on the outcome LNU might want to use the WGS for other systems, if the pilot test turns out to be successful. Finally, an intention not mentioned here is to onboard and support students, administrators and other people using our systems. Some WGS systems would have cost tenfold our funding limit with so many users.

Conclusion

This paper was prompted by and linked to the Strategy for the development of higher education in Serbia and lessons learned from the previous studies conducted within the framework of the Tempus BLATT project, whose aim was the systematization of the blended learning approach at the University of Priština in Kosovska Mitrovica. Therefore, the focus of the paper was on teachers in the process of ICT integration in higher education, while the aim was to map their attitudes on the use and usability of the digital technology, as well as to note their need for training. In addition, the paper presented a model of onboarding and training teachers in ICT integration at Linnaeus University in Sweden.

The survey of teachers' attitudes included 54 random lecturers at the University of Priština. The scope of their overall use of ICT in their daily lives is at an expected level, and they associate feelings of productivity and creativity to the use of a computer. They are fairly confident they can complete a task using a computer or Internet application if they are given enough time, they have someone to call for help, or use built-in help facilities. There was some disagreement on whether technology can increase teaching performance, effectiveness, or achieve curricular goals, but the respondents firmly believe that ICT can increase their productivity, offer more opportunities for professional development and expand the selection of teaching materials. There was further unanimity on the benefits ICT brings to students, such as increased student engagment and

collaboration, and improved communication skills. Finally, the respondents expressed preference for online training sessions mostly on the following aspect of ICT: interactive whiteboard, learning management systems, and open educational resources.

The next section of the paper presented the Web Guides System, a project the Linnaeus University started in 2017. Namely, with 1200 teachers and 32 000 students, and a yearly circulation of 100 teachers who need onboarding and training on the ICT systems, the University needed a better solution for their training program. The Web Guides System proved to be cost-effective, to cater to their specific needs, and to align with their ICT objectives. The University of Priština was hoping to learn about the process and look into ways to apply the same model to their ICT integration program.

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Chapter Eight

A Comparison of the Effects of Two Reading Comprehension Approaches: Metacognition and Graphic Organizers – A Case Study of a Reader with Dyslexia

Ljubica Kardaleska

Outline

The theory of thinking about thinking was first described in the sphere of the developmental psychology by John H. Flavell in the 1970s as metacognition. It refers to knowledge about one's cognitive processes, as well as control of these processes by the person who learns. The research on metacognition has pointed out that it is a significant predictor of academic performance (Dunning et al. 2003, Thiede et al. 2003).

Introduction

Learning to read is a developmental process with variations among individuals. Without practice and experience of seeing and using words in print, a reader cannot internalise them for automatic recognition. Low scores on reading rate tests can often be used to predict comprehension difficulties. Those who read very slowly often have difficulty comprehending text because of poor sight vocabulary or working memory difficulties. Word recognition must be rapid, automatic and accurate to free up mental space for processing meaning and for understanding.

Not all strategies work well for all students. However, it is important that the student has a variety of tools and a list of strategies that can be used in a wide range of learning situations. They can add multisensory and connective techniques to a learning situation. The main goals include:

making the information more concrete, increase retention and facilitate understanding and ability to use and apply the information.

Dyslexics frequently have a very good ability to remember and analyze contextual information. However, many aspects of academic learning, especially rote sequential memory and associative memory, cause them substantial difficulty. These are the tasks that require students to remember a sequence or to relate two or more pieces of information. When students struggle, it is important for them to realize why the task is difficult (ex. sequencing, details etc.) and then develop an alternative strategy to deal with the difficulty.

Entwistle (1997) underlines the two learning approaches: superficial and deep. The superficial style focuses on the desire to remember the material, while the deep style by the desire to use metacognitive strategies in reading comprehension, to monitor the effectiveness of understanding.

Metacognitive reading comprehension strategies refer to deeper and higher knowledge.

Metacognition as a concept is closely related with the concept of self-regulated learning. Lennon (2010) summarizes common characteristics of various definitions of self-regulated learning.

Students are aware of the self-regulation process and its potential use in improving their performance.

The process of self - regulation is a conscious one.

Students generate their own feedback on their learning.

Students monitor the effectiveness of their methods of learning strategies.

Mind maps are among a wide range of the most frequent techniques (imagery, nmemonics, metaphor, music, rhythm). As visual organizers they provide ways of organizing information. They are open-ended and increase rapid connection of the thought patterns and provide immediate feedback. They are very important in the stage of pre-organizing ideas for written expression. When it comes to learning, they are used as a study skill technique that increases active reading and provides a valuable aid to recall.

Students can use a variety of formats to organize and reorganize their notes into a mind map or other visual organizer. They can use a variety of images, symbols, connect lines, use color for different categories, use arrows, codes to show associations and connections, draw rings around concepts that create separate units etc.

Procedure

This study looks at how well a dyslexic student can benefit from metacognitive strategies and monitor their comprehension focusing on the content of the text. The aim was to explore whether and to what extent the metacognitive approach and the use of mind maps can enhance reading comprehension.

Chall (1983) devised a table on characteristics of the six stages in reading development. Years 14-17 belong to the stage 5 (out of 6) within which students are expected to read a variety of texts of varying genres and for different purposes. It is expected that they can read a broad range of complex materials including narrative and expository texts, with varying levels of comprehension, including finding answers for literal/factual, inferential/interpretive and evaluative questions.

The student was exposed to the two major types of texts: fiction (a title selected by the student) and factual texts (textbook excerpts).

The two major types of texts, including fiction (usually narrative) and factual (usually expository), have to be considered when doing comprehension activities. Each has important individual features:

The reader of fictional material may need help to consider:
title
setting - including names, feelings and emotions
the main events in the plot
the resolution and conclusion
The reader of factual material may need help to consider:
the title, overview, summary and conclusion
multi-sensory methods such as pictures and diagrams
background knowledge
terminology.

The principle that books should not be too difficult for the student's literacy levels was followed.

To assess the efficiency of these methods with fictional material, the respondent was given two books selected by them:

Harry Potter and the Sorcerer' Stone and Marvel Adventures Spider-Man Comics.

Another text, a short story, The Troubled Teen - from the Chicken soup for the Soul: Just for Teenagers was also given to compare the results.

Factual, Inferential and Evaluative questions were designed, in a form of yes/no questions, multiple choice questions and self-formulated answers.

The results of the answers provided were compared: of the pre-test and post - test completed. The results indicate that prior to applying the Metacognitive approach which involved a detailed discussion of the MARSI questionnaire, the respondent had successfully answered the factual questions, while inferential and evaluative questions showed different results. The factor preferred reading was not insignificant. Namely, although the short story was regarding the physical factor - the length of the text was shorter, still there were more correct answers for the preferred, although longer text (the book). The Metacognitive approach was checked twice, and with a distance of two weeks between the tests, it proved a successful method. Especially in terms of establishing a connection among the events, their causal relations and specific roles of the main characters.

As a strong visualiser, the reader felt quite comfortable with the comics. In addition, it was among his favourite books. The findings demonstrate that he had no difficulty with factual and evaluative questions, while it took longer to infer the answers to inferential questions. The major reason identified was his inclination towards distractors in the comic book in a form of visual sensation, or a more informal term where he struggled to use contextual cues and guess the meaning.

It was concluded that questioning is crucial for understanding, and that there was a need to develop the art of purposeful questioning for purposeful reading. The list of questions we applied in the discussion in addition to the MARSI test include the following:

What is the purpose? What is the goal? What is the main problem? What is the crucial issue? What is the key information? What conclusions can I reach? How can I interpret the information? What is the author's point of view? What is my point of view? What information is missing? What additional questions could I ask?

These two lists proved quite successful for the retention of information.

In addition, the student was able to benefit and become aware of the benefits of this approach to learning known as a type of a self-regulated learning.

Mind maps were suggested and he was given an opportunity to design his best way of organising his ideas. The reader was not always willing to apply graphic representations, since they are used to being provided with these tables by their mother as an assistant. When asked to design their

own scheme, they resorted eventually to drawing comics and expressing the main ideas and communication, emotions and thoughts using blurbs. It was observed through their reactions that they were reluctant to use mind maps with fictional material because they couldn't design an exhaustive scheme able to include all the elaborate data, important facts and relations in the book. On the other hand, they had a lush and expressive visual style so the inability to visually represent all the elements in fact blocked their willingness to continue.

Mokhtari, K., & Reichard, C. (2002). Metacognitive Awareness of Reading Strategies Inventory (MARSI) Version 1.0

I have a purpose in mind when I read.

I take notes while reading to help me understand what I read.

I think about what I know to help me understand what I read.

I preview the text to see what it's about before reading it

When text becomes difficult, I read aloud to help me understand what I read.

I summarize what I read to reflect on important information in the text.

I think about whether the content of the text fits my reading purpose.

I read slowly but carefully to be sure I understand what I'm reading.

I discuss what I read with others to check my understanding.

I skim the text first by noting characteristics like length and organization.

I try to get back on track when I lose concentration.

I underline or circle information in the text to help me remember it.

I adjust my reading speed according to what I'm reading.

I decide what to read closely and what to ignore.

I use reference materials such as dictionaries to help me understand what I read.

When text becomes difficult, I pay closer attention to what I'm reading.

I use tables, figures, and pictures in text to increase my understanding.

I stop from time to time and think about what I'm reading.

I use context clues to help me better understand what I'm reading.

I paraphrase (restate ideas in my own words) to better understand what I read.

I try to picture or visualize information to help remember what I read.

I use typographical aids like bold face and italics to identify key information.

I critically analyze and evaluate the information presented in the text.

I go back and forth in the text to find relationships among ideas in it.

I check my understanding when I come across conflicting information.
I try to guess what the material is about when I read.
When text becomes difficult, I re-read to increase my understanding.
I ask myself questions I like to have answered in the text.
I check to see if my guesses about the text are right or wrong.
I try to guess the meaning of unknown words or phrases

For the factual material the case was reverse. In fact, he was willing to use mind maps designed by himself, to rely on his individual learning style, and this approach proved successful as initially expected. At times, he accepted ready - made tables to fill in with the correct facts from the text. However, since extremely creative and inclined towards individual visual expression of the connections, he was not always prepared to accept the design of the mind maps provided. The conclusion is that the student should be offered varied possibilities, but still they are most effective if based on their preferred style.

The respondent was provided with two texts from textbooks - geography and biology. He was asked to think about a title of each paragraph, the aim being a summary of the paragraph condensed in a sentence. This method was more energy and time consuming, but was effective. He easily accepted summarising the paragraphs via a painting. He was even prepared to draw a comic, with an imaginary character as a main narrator retelling the lecture through blurbs and even expressive sentences.

He could easily remember data if accompanied by pictures, and was prepared to easily complete the mind maps.

To check the extent of information retention, the respondent was given a text from a book of instructions implying experimenting and application of instructions by strict application of each individual step. The text was titled From caterpillar to butterfly. The hands on experience, his involvement, monitoring the effects of the instructions additionally enhanced the retention of the material.

The problem with factual material and a significant distractor for dyslexics is terminology. Trying to explain the Latin and Ancient Greek roots of some of the words proved a stronger distractor.

For the fictional material, explaining the roots of the names in Harry Potter sparkled his imagination and even motivated him to invent new names for other characters using similar patterns.

Pedagogical implications

Closing the gaps in reading attainments is a difficult issue. A wide scope of strategies should be used to emphasize fluent, accurate and critical reading.

It is recommended that the readability of the text should be checked prior to focusing on it. The five finger readability test usually indicates whether the text is appropriate for the current decoding skills. Hatcher (1994) recommends that a child should be asked to read 100-200 words of the running text, and if it is read with 90-94 per cent of accuracy it is suitable and is at what is "commonly called the instructional level of reading". On the other hand, some severely dyslexic readers may make more than five errors on a page and still be able to read and enjoy the text. It is explained that they don't find the vocabulary challenging but they mispronounce words.

It is crucial that learning strategies and style are analysed with special consideration, stressing the individualised, personalised approach. Assessment of the reading level should also be considered, as well as the readability of the text in question.

For dyslexics, daily reading, a little and often is ideal, including oral and silent reading.

Vocabulary needs to be graded, complex multisyllabic words can cause problems. On the other hand, some dyslexic readers struggle more with function words including high frequency words. Proper names can be difficult for some readers, particularly those with phonological difficulties.

That is why a individualised approach is especially significant for dyslexics.

Children's comprehension skills can be improved if targeted directly (by questioning and by written activities).

Working on children's self-esteem and reading in parallel has a significant potential.

Re-reading a favourite text helps develop accuracy, fluency and confidence and enhances sight vocabulary, comprehension and understanding.

Some readers report that they can read in their heads (silently) more easily. This may be because they do not have to worry about listening to what they are saying. Thus, few sub-skills are being used, creating more mental space for meaning and understanding:

The adult should preview the plot and explain the setting as well as discuss the names and summarise the roles of the main characters.

For poor readers it helps if they read an abridged version before studying the full version of the prescribed text for a literature course.

To develop the culture of reading, personal tastes and interests should be taken into consideration. Watching a video helps those who are strong visualisers. Audio books are also an option. There are also physical factors for consideration. The size of font and typeface are very important. Good line spacing is vital. The length of the sentence is also relevant. Because of the working memory difficulties they can lose sense of what they are reading. Chapter headings rather than numbers are important for understanding and meaning. The number of pages is also a major factor.

Illustrations can help by providing contextual cues, particularly for these with strong visual skills. Speech bubbles cutting down on the reading content are also a useful support. Home/school reading diaries are important for recording and monitoring reading progress.

It is important whether the book is appropriate for the child's reading age and interest age levels.

Explain technical terms and difficult vocabulary and check that they have been retained via their use in varied contexts.

Urge students, especially reluctant readers and dyslexics to ask questions and pay attention to their explanations since very often they are a reflection of their inclination towards so-called divergent thinking.

Conclusion

An analysis of the impact of two different approaches aimed at the improvement of reading comprehensions was conducted. The results imply that both methods, the Metacognitive approach and Graphic organisers offer a more holistic approach to the understanding of the problems with reading comprehensions. There is no doubt that in the case of dealing with dyslexic students, any method used should be tailored following the specific learning style and preferences of the individual. As divergent thinkers, dyslexics should be allowed to express their ideas and information from the text in their own authentic way. Their reading preferences as well as reading age should be considered. Especially because they are reluctant readers. However, for compulsory literature they need to master (both fictional and expository), the metacognitive approach yields substantial benefits, in particular with fictional material. Graphic organisers used for both fictional and expository material proved beneficial but in a variety of forms and visual representations. Namely, dyslexics, especially strong visualisers can be even more enthusiastic to create their own organisers, rather than be provided with a ready made table. The teacher and/or parent assistant should anticipate potential distractors and minimise them, since dyslexics as divergent thinkers can

either very easily create their own way of expression and thought organisation or wander in different worlds if drawn by the distractor. Special attention should be paid to terminology and names, since they tend to create their own interpretation if there is auditory similarity of the terms and names with something they already know. They should be equipped with tools to be able to make the distinction. Both the metacognitive approach and graphic organisers represent a useful support for a reader in particular a dyslexic reader enabling them to navigate through the text and exercise their potential for higher levels of thinking, essential for a sound comprehension and the retention of information.

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CHAPTER NINE

FROM THE LOCAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL MARKET:
A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF ITALIAN AGRI-FOOD PRODUCTS PROMOTIONAL DISCOURSE IN THE USA

SARA CORRIZZATO

Outline

Although Italian agri-food products are massively sold in the American market, the very essence of the item, inevitably associated with the cultural background and the traditional production system, seems to be fully appreciated only by the experts within the field. Popular Italian products tend not to be recognised by the common American costumer. In this regard, an interest in marketing international strategies adopted by national/local Italian companies has been growing.

The present paper aims to investigate linguistic and socio-cultural features operating in the promotional discourse of Italian agri-food products in the USA. The analysis of persuasive linguistic choices will guide to critically reflect upon lingua-cultural processes influencing two apparently different contexts: the (Italian) local environment and the international (American) scenery. For this purpose, the English versions of 118 Italian olive oil and vinegar websites have been taken into consideration.

Introduction

The ever-increasing globalization practices permeating both the western and eastern areas have brought several changes to different fields, as shown by well-known topics at the centre of controversial debates

concerning political policies, international safety or environmental challenges. These themes include the economic dimension, which has also undergone a large number of transformations given the undisputed and increasing global interactions that the growth of international trade and the coexistence of various ideas and cultures have generated. With the aim of adapting to the more recent free movement of goods, capital, services and technological devices, national economies have promoted new forms of business and cultural interchange.

Since the beginning of the new millennium, the Italian government has also massively supported the international movement of goods and services, stimulating firms with new laws and launching several programmes of incentives (Parlamento Italiano, n.d; Ministero dello Sviluppo Economico, n.d.), some of which specifically addressed the agri-food industry (Adornato 2007; ICE 2017). Therefore, many sectors of Italian production have been able to gain considerably more international market share, especially in the American context, taking export practices to unprecedented record levels. As of June 12, 2018, Istat's press release has been reporting that Italian exports to the rest of the world tend to maintain the same record levels as the previous number of years, signalling Calabria, Valle d'Aosta, Sicily and Campania as the regions most involved in export processes. Many Italian products are intended for foreign markets: consumer goods, such as clothing and footwear, home furnishings and agri-food products, as well as ad hoc machinery or devices for the mechanical, textile, medical and chemical industries (Bertoli and Resciniti, 2013b). In this regard, Italy has proved to be one of the main protagonists in the internationalization of the economy as the seventh largest exporter in the world (The Observatory of Economic Complexity, n.d.), principally distributing to German, French and American consumers (Ministero dello Sviluppo Economico, n.d.).

A closer look at the agri-food sector indicates that Italy is one of the most influential exporters in the international panorama, so much so that, according to recent research by InfoData (Il Sole 24 Ore, 2015), the Italian peninsula held the world record with exports surpassing twenty million euro in 2015. Most notably, "Italian food in the world has set another all-time record, with exports exceeding 2.5 billion euro for the first time in January 2018 due to a 12.8% increase compared to the same period of 2017" (Italian Food, 2018), mainly exporting olive oil, vinegar, wine and beer, roasted and instant coffee, cheese, fruit and vegetables, processed meat and seeds for planting.

Embracing the up-to-date versions of economic policies, regional and local companies have generally tried to fulfil new trends in business-

related issues, intensifying the movement of goods, machinery and services across national borders. In terms of adaptability, corporations have been forced to partially (or even completely) modify some of their departments. Logistics, together with strategy units, have undergone several changes to suit international markets, but new mixed and multi-tiered approaches have also been adopted by research, sales and public relations departments. Among the aforementioned areas, the evolution of the marketing dimension has contributed to fostering unforeseeable selling methods aimed at seducing prospective clients and convincing them to choose the given product. Considering companies are more flexible than ever to customer needs and tastes within target countries, these new approaches aim at promoting goods and services with an increasingly interdependent and integrated global economy. Potential customers are effectively marketed only if experts efficiently combine and manage the so-called four Ps of marking mix (product, price, place and promotion) and "transmit messages about a product's value" (Baack, Harris and Baack 2013, 10), giving prominence to all those promotional strategies that manage to provide cultural understanding and identify habits. Equally important are communication strategies across every type of media they decide to exploit.

Theoretical background

Starting from the assumption clearly stated by de Mooij (2010) that "language influences culture and language is an expression of culture" (59), "the art of advertising is to develop symbols or advertising properties that must be understood by a target audience" (64). In this respect, Bertoli and Resciniti (2013a) contribute to the development of this wide debate by asserting that one of the aforementioned four Ps, i.e. place, is intrinsically present in every promotional act. This concept can in fact "activate[s] strong mental associative networks that we often call 'stereotypes' [..] that guide much of our marketplace behaviour" (X). Such a phenomenon, which has led to a series of complex diachronic and diastratic psychological, anthropological and cognitive studies, is often defined as "country-of-origin, or a place's made-in image" (Bertoli and Resciniti 2013a, X). Yet in 1970, Nagashima aptly described it by pointing out that "the 'Made In' image is the picture, the reputation, the stereotype that businessmen and consumers attach to products of a specific country" (68). According to his research, "this image is created by such variables as representative products, national characteristics, economic and political background, history and traditions [and] it has a strong influence on

consumer behaviour in the international market" (68). By taking into account other scholars' theories (for example Erickson, Johansson and Chao 1984; Han 1989; Steenkamp 1990; Ulgado and Lee 1998), Hong and Wyer (1989) clarify that not only does the country-of-origin effect depend upon the qualitative attributes of the given products, it also "may provide a heuristic basis for inferring the quality of the product without considering other attribute information" (175). In other words, the stereotypical representation that customers share about the region in which specific goods are produced can be enough to evaluate them and to influence the purchase decision process. It is also possible, as Jaffe and Nebenzahl (2001) point out, that the country-of-origin image plays a crucial role in the prospective clients' evaluation, crucial enough to associate goods with a specific location, assuming – but not being sure - that a given product is actually produced in that area. Once such a country-production association has been defined, there is no need for further empirical research: customers will unquestioningly trust the producers' marketing campaigns. In this regard, recent research demonstrates that Germany is generally associated with engineering and reliability, Spaniards excel in the field of creativity and originality, while French and Italian producers supposedly compete for supremacy in various areas, such as those connected with style, refinement and design (Kelly-Holmes, 2016).

Specifically, Italy symbolizes authenticity, tradition and excellence, relying on its local production and the enormous expertise of its craftsmen in handcrafted production (Bertoli and Resciniti 2013b; Bucci, Codeluppi and Ferraresi 2011). The Italian lifestyle is also considered a positive parameter to be taken into consideration since atavistic references to a bucolic life in the peaceful countryside contribute to promoting agri-food products all over the world. Made-in-Italy is perceived worldwide as an added value: it therefore mirrors Italian producers' skills and top-quality products (Fortis 1998, Becattini 2007).

Such positive characteristics, which are almost taken for granted by people living in the Italian peninsula, tend not to be recognized in the American context, in which the very essence of Italian agri-food products, inevitably associated with cultural background and the traditional production system, only seems to be fully appreciated by experts within the field. Although recent research by Coldiretti (National Farmers' Confederation, 2018) demonstrates that Italian agri-food products are massively sold in the USA, private customer behaviour still appears to show great difficulty in understanding the intrinsic value of Made in Italy and in distinguishing an original product from a counterfeit one. On the contrary, restaurant suppliers, skillful agents and expert chefs generally

consider Italian products to have distinctive qualities that represent the Mediterranean territory and gastronomic tradition. [1] Drawing on the aforementioned reflections, the present contribution aims at investigating the linguistic choices operating in the promotional discourse of agri-food product websites - specifically those promoting olive oil and vinegar – seeking to explore whether, and to what extent, the concept of Made in Italy is included and promoted with the purpose of introducing prospective clients to the distinctive attributes of the product and convince them to buy it.

Methodology

As Burr (1995) maintains, discourse is "a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of event" (48). As an inevitable consequence, "surrounding any one object, event, person etc., there may be a variety of different discourses, each with a different story to tell about the world, a different way of representing it to the world" (ibid). In this respect, according to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), discourse is taken as both constitutive and socially shaped (Fairclough and Wodak 1997) so much so that CDA "asserts that discourse has a pivotal function in re/defining, re/creating attitudes, beliefs and "knowings" as well as disseminating them" (KhosraviNik 2010, 3). However, "discourses are not valid descriptions of people's 'beliefs' or 'opinions' […] instead, they are connected to practices and structures that are lived out in society from day to day" (Baker and McEnery 2005, 198). Therefore, analysing co-occurrences of lexical items and collocation patterns can be relevant to socio-linguistic investigation. On the one hand, the way(s) specific topics are built in discourses can be fully analysed and, on the other, the presence of implicit messages can be detected and examined.

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[1] Since this study is part of a larger project whose purpose is to fathom out how linguistic choices operate in the promotional discourse of Italian agri-food products sold on the international market, the data herein presented were obtained through direct personal interviews with a group of Italian producers working in the agri-food sector. Although they gave similar descriptions of the customers' positive perception of Made In Italy, most of the participants drew attention to private American customers' (sometimes) generalized unfamiliarity with the "authentic" qualities of Italian products, given the different types of counterfeit goods "sounding" Italian and the various challenges of exporting to the USA. As a matter of fact, several interviewers highlighted the need to invest in training programmes so that prospective customers could become fully aware of what they are buying.

Given the importance of lexical choice in contextualizing Italian products within the Mediterranean panorama and its traditional productive processes, this study investigates discourses surrounding the idea of Made in Italy, concentrating on the terms *Italy, Italian* and related words pertaining to the three macro-areas that supposedly make the concept world famous: originality/authenticity, quality and tradition (Corrizzato 2018). Focussing on collocational patterns, the analysis then focused on semantic preference, which indicates "the relation, not between individual words, but between a lemma or word-form and a set of semantically related words" (Stubbs 2001, 65).

For this purpose, the English versions of 118 Italian olive oil and vinegar websites were taken into consideration to create the corpus. For each website, specific introductory sections that could be related to the country-of-origin effect and the concept of Made in Italy were chosen, i.e. the corpus included descriptive passages entitled "history", "family", "(our) company" and similar explanatory passages. Although it is well known that specific geographical areas are involved in the oil-making process, and even more limited zones make Italian (balsamic) vinegar unique, the olive oil and vinegar producers selected cover the whole peninsula, contributing to giving this study a national analytical perspective.

Table 1. Size of corpus and frequency of target words

Size of Corpus	Tokens: 53,576	Olive oil Websites 61 Websites	Vinegar Websites 57 Websites
Italy / Italian		94	53
Family		77	115
History		29	16
Tradition		52	94
Quality		109	75
Authenticity/ authentic		2/4	3/5
Originality/ original		0/3	1/4[2]

Within the corpus, concordances of the aforementioned terms were read and examined to comprehend how Made in Italy is re/presented and contextualized for the target audience. After concordances were sorted

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[2] Given their statistical irrelevance, the terms "authenticity/authentic" and "originality/original" were excluded from the qualitative analysis.

alphabetically, phrases and clauses were categorized into different macro-groups according to their content.

Italy and *Italian*: what do they represent?

A preliminary analysis demonstrates that the term *Italy* appears to better specify where the product is from: as the set of examples in the following table shows, reference to the region/area where traditional olive oil/vinegar processing is carried out is not considered as sufficient for the target audience. A specific knowledge of Italian geography probably cannot be relied on to automatically match a place with the given nation. Consequently, the country is always included. According to this observation, *Italy* does not uniquely have a clear denotative meaning, although in this context, it is also used to make the country-of-origin effect connection stronger.

Table 2. "Italy" as landmark

by Vito Rubino in Bari, **Puglia region**,	"Italy"	and until today, Rubino is still
the mountains of **Sannio** in	"Italy"	and the Mountains of
of **Emilia-Romagna**, located in north-eastern	"Italy"	's fertile Po River Valley
a place north of **Umbria**, the green heart of	"Italy"	I was born here, in Badia of

Moreover, reference to *Italy* is often an implicit excuse to re-evoke the image of one of the most popular country-of-origin stereotypes in the readers' mind. An image which depicts "Italy as a pastoral land representing a longing for escape from chaotic city life" (Corrizzato 2018, 149). Such strategies, massively used in other sections related to the description of the territory in which olive trees, grapevines or apple trees grow, aims at convincing prospective clients that the Mediterranean peninsula is a bucolic paradise in which uncontaminated nature fosters relaxing and spiritual regeneration experiences, as the following examples demonstrate:

(1) "The C.R. farm is located in a sunny land, in the center of Italy (Sonnino). The 'C.R.' brand represents the typical flavours of the flourishing, Italian territory of the Volscian Mountains (Colline pontine).

Here, where the sun meets the Sonnino hills, a wonderful cultivation of olives grows" (●CLTH[3]).

(2) "This is the heritage of Mediterranean culture and of Italy, in particular. Our history began near Vico Equense in Arola, a village lying high up over the Coast of Sorrento. The area is well known for its fresh and healthy air, its springs of pure water and for its excellent farm products: wine, cheese and, of course, olive oil". (●MSTH)

Parallel to this strategy, references to Italy are sometimes used to take the readers to a more specific past in which the producers' particular family stories are developed along with Italian history. References can therefore be found to the globally famous poet Dante Alighieri (●DNTH), to the Estense Dukedom (VBTMH), to Giuseppe Verdi, Luciano Pavarotti, Lamborghini and Ferrari brands (VDNGH), to Bonifacio di Canossa (VMNTH) and Matilde Canossa (VDMNH).

As shown previously in example 2, a quite common discourse constructs Italy as being connected to the Mediterranean diet. Regarded as one the healthiest in the world, its success is due to two main factors: the large use of fresh whole foods such as vegetables, fruits, nuts, seeds and legumes, and its eco-friendly approach, which reduces the environmental impact of food production, transportation, storage and consumption.

(3) "Faithful to their philosophy of supporting projects to preserve, safeguard and promote Italian culture and cuisine abroad, in May 2011, the C. family inaugurated the "Colavita Center for Italian Food and Wine", an Italian cooking school located within the Culinary Institute of America at Hyde Park" (●CLVH)

(4) "The Basilicata Region is one of the healthiest and least contaminated areas in Italy. And its excellent food products include three of the prime necessities in our daily Mediterranean diet: wheat, wine (our famous red Aglianico del Vulture) and extra-virgin olive oil. (●MSTH)

Italian tends to collocate with words related to the Mediterranean diet (*cuisine, food, wine* and *eating habits*) with the purpose of demonstrating how "genuine Italian regional cuisine, wine and culture in the USA"

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[3] The 118 companies selected were coded specifying the products sold (● for olive oil and V for vinegar) and the first three consonants of the name. H stands for History, the umbrella term chosen to refer to the introductory sessions taken into consideration. Since this corpus is part of a larger project, such an elaborated classification is useful for categorizing every company website and every section included.

(●CLVH) is promoted, "the delights of Italian cuisine and of wine vinegar with it" (VVRVH) can be discovered, excellent Italian products can preserve "Mediterranean dietary habits" (●CLVH) and "the great Italian wine tradition" (VML●H) can be ensured by traditional wine-making processes.

A final quite common use of the terms *Italy* and *Italian* is adopted to describe international appreciation for products promoted by olive oil and vinegar producers:

> (5) "Acetaia M. is internationally recognized as a 'Made in Italy' brand taking its products on the main markets all over the world". (VMLPH)

> (6) "There is no other way to ensure that G. extra-virgin olive oil continues to meet the standards of excellence confirmed by awards won both in Italy and internationally". (●GCCH)

> (7) "Acetaia M. merges a profound knowledge and experience in the production techniques with a deep respect for traditions: these characteristics enabled the Balsamic Vinegar of Modena to become a traditional Italian food, its importance recognized all over the world". (VMRCH)

In a number of ways, as examples 1-7 show, not only do *Italy* and *Italian* not appear in the corpus to indicate place of provenance - as recent EU regulations impose - they are also included to boost customers' perception of a country in which agri-food products are part of the local cultural heritage, whose roots lie in long-standing customs. As the following paragraphs clarify, quality, authenticity and tradition are the very basis of the concept of country-of-origin image.

Made in Italy symbolizes *tradition* and *family*

Tradition occurs 146 times in the corpus, contributing to shaping the image of Italians as people who have healthy eating habits and enjoy cooking. This aspect, not so common in other cultures, also testifies their desire to be acquainted with ingredients and flavours that they may come across. To transmit their passion, online explanatory passages highlight how predecessors' know-how is meticulously handed down from generation to generation:

> (8) "For 160 years, tradition and production secrets have been passed down through Pietro, Augusto, Maria (89 years old) and Ermes. Today

Massimo, who represents the 5th generation of the family, is the current president of Acetaia M.". (VMLPH)

(9) "The tradition of the Acetaia in our family was and still is a lifestyle, like a gene which is transmitted from generation to generation, it keeps in its barrels all the charm and seduction of ancient rites. This is a tradition which is some centuries old, made of must cookings, precious barrels and transvasements". (VDGRH)

In line with previous reflections, *tradition* strongly collocates with adjectives such as *old* and *ancient*. The terms *long* and *centuries-old* are also constants and aim to seduce prospective clients by inviting them to delve into an uncontaminated past where ancestors grappled with innovative techniques to solve problems related to boiling grapes or olive selection and pressing processes.

(10) "The local tradition of giving our children a battery of balsamic vinegar barrels as a wedding gift takes us right back to 1835 with the birth of M.F. As a jack of all trades   he was carpenter, wood seller, cobbler he lived the ancient tradition of keeping a battery of vinegar barrels in his loft". (VCVDH)

(11) "In the C.R. farm the old traditions are very important: when the ripening is complete, the olive fruits are manually harvested to protect all trees against damages and to preserve the olive fruits integrity". (OCLTH).

Undisputed dedication to traditional olive oil and vinegar production practices, transmitted from generation to generation, stands out in the texts analyzed thanks to several recurring adjectives, such as *time-honoured*, *unbroken*, *unaltered* or *well-established*, which specifically portray the concept:

(12) "a direct expression of the time-honoured tradition of the B. family". (VPLRH)

(13) "we have been bringing to your table all the quality and safety of our branded products thanks to an unbroken tradition, made of genuine flavours" OCROH)

The constant allusion to the rustic component of Italian regions, so appreciated by overseas readers, is often highlighted by the repeated use of terms related to a rural lifestyle, far away from the chaotic rhythms of industrialized cities. Therefore, "ancient agricultural tradition" is worth

mentioning and "artisanal" and "local" habits also seem to play a relevant role in shaping the country image.

What the corpus does clarify is the fact that most of the firms that produce olive oil and vinegar are family-owned: such a characteristic, so normal for the source culture, is extremely appreciated by the target audience which sees it as an added value that ensures the quality of the product. Aware of customer approval, producers celebrate their family-run business by giving details of family members and describing them as a close-knit team that works harmoniously together.

> (14) I was born in the olive oil business, I worked in the family business since I was a kid, trying to carry out all tasks: worker, driver, accountant. (●BBSH)

> (15) A family history that dates back to the late nineteenth century, a story of passion, productive rigor, strong personality in an untouched area, of rare, authentic beauty. (●LVLH)

> (16) Acetaia T. del T. is a very ancient company rooted in Northern Italy since 1892, which has been owned by the same family since the beginning. (ATRRH)

In line with this strategy, two of the stronger collocations are the possessive adjectives *my* and *our*, which are used to make family descriptions appear more intimate. Choosing the informal register helps company owners bridge the gap between their local dimension and potential customers. Occurring 192 times in the corpus, the terms family/ies play an essential role in formulating a representation of the Italian environment in which olive oil and vinegar producers operate, once again testifying how Italian passion and lifestyle contribute in making agri-food products so special. Since loyalty and closeness are two of the most relevant components of traditional Italian families, the unit of relatives generally remains close providing emotional and economic support to the single individual. Older generations tend to have a good deal of authority over younger family members and are expected to help and guide their heirs throughout their lives. This deeply-rooted aspect of Italian culture often pops up in the descriptive passages analysed where the role of ancestors is meticulously illustrated. Several examples aim at showing how the lifestyle of olive oil and vinegar producers is still orientated towards the way in which their grandfathers lived, i.e. dedicating themselves to their love for their family-farm.

Although *history* is not as frequent in the corpus as the previous term, it definitely helps to guide the promotional discourse through a story consisting of cultural traditions, skilled and dedicated protagonists and uncontaminated countryside. History is brought into play to recall an undefined but pleasant past, inviting future clients to dream of ancient and honest people devoted to their land and handcrafted activities.

(17) "Traditional balsamic vinegar has therefore come out from secret attics to address the world as a representative of culture, history and gastronomic tradition of ancient Este region, the actual provinces of Modena and Reggio Emilia". (VRMNH)

(18) "Our history as oil producers begins with this green giant that stands tall over our olive groves some 40 hectares in the uplands of Murgia". (OMRGH)

(19) "Though one of the first in Verona, its history goes back even further. It is deeply rooted in the territory and its ancient farming traditions. Traditions that even today the firm has not abandoned". (OTRUH)

Quality: a guarantee for success

Another relevant discourse that contributes to giving the country-of-origin effect is to construct it as "qualitative": the quality of the products is the very core of the whole marketing strategy. Occurring 184 times in the corpus, the term quality is included to highlight different, yet intertwined, aspects. First of all, product quality is associated with Italian producers' expertise and competence and aims to confirm their undisputed bravura in olive oil and vinegar manufacturing – selecting and handpicking olives or grapes, guiding the extracting process and bottling the products can be successfully carried out by an expert team.

(20) A vinegar fruit of passion, quality and expertise. All this has been handed down over time thus featuring C.D.M. as reliable interpreter of the tastes of Modena. (VDLMH)

(21) Quality is then enhanced thanks to our production, selection and processing standards, performed onsite at the production locations. (OLVRH)

(22) The quality of the bottega's products and the great expertise of G., wife of T., gave life to a recipe-book of inestimable value. (VFNIH)

In line with the promotional strategies already illustrated in the previous sections, the term *quality* is often connected with two typical concepts that generally embody Made in Italy: tradition and passion. It would seem that product quality is not possible without an interconnection with a handcrafted manufacturing process and the experts' devotion to their work. The descriptive passages are imbued with a series of connotative words that invite readers to see olive oil and vinegar producers as out-of-time farmers who spend their entire life cultivating fields and taking care of plants. According to these reflections, many references bring inexpert prospective clients to (un)consciously associate quality with their specific producers.

(23) The secret of the exceptional quality of our Traditional Balsamic Vinegar from Modena is simple: selected local raw materials, ancient traditional recipes, precious woods and - above all - great patience, care and love. (VMNTH)

(24) The values that guide the company are the same as ancient times: quality, genuineness and love in every small gesture, from the cultivation of the olives, to hand picking until the transformation in extra-virgin oil or delicious products like paté or specialties in oil. (ORDRH)

(25) For the production of its vinegar, the C. family finds its inspiration in a practical philosophy based exclusively on quality, a quality that is characterised on the one hand by careful selection and control of ingredients, and on the other by a strict respect for ancient production methods, such as boiling the must, careful blending and fermentation, decanting and topping up. (VCVDH)

The territory also plays a leading role in shaping the promotional image and is an active participant in representing the environment in which Italian products are made. The properties of the land are essential in the production of olive oil and vinegar: for this reason, positive characteristics of the agricultural area are included, highlighting, for example, that from "the presence of Etna lava soil, [olive oil] draws its benefits of taste and quality" (OCSTH), the quality of the olive oil "benefited from the presence of beautiful natural landscapes, in combination with snow, smoke and sea that only the Etna area has to offer" (OCSTH), and "the fruity and delicate taste [of the olive oil] expresses the characteristic fragrance of the native land" (ONGLH). In this respect, the final product tends not to be described through its technical properties but is generally presented as a sort of naturally-based

and hand-made potion, which contributes to giving its drinkers a sense of pleasure.

> (26) The golden-green oil that is obtained is a sort of olive juice that gives, when tasted, the true scent of the fruit that created it. (OVDBH)

> (27) Those who have learned to appreciate it have many good reasons for choosing it over other oils - whether it is because doctors say it is good for their health, or simply because, once they discover its taste, there is no going back. (OSCCH)

> (28) The G. Brothers are children of this land and interpret their tradition with particular care, with technological innovation and total dedication, so that every bottle of their oils can be a unique experience, a journey of taste in Sicily. (OLVLH)

The so-defined identity of the products is reinforced by a persistent presence of special sections devoted to traditional recipes that, in addition to providing novice cooks with valuable hints, emphasizing the idea of "Italianicity", according to which cooking and eating together is a mainstay of Italian cultural habits. Therefore, recipes can include "the typical preserves of Ligurian fishermen, such as tuna in extra virgin olive oil or salt-packed anchovies; home grown vegetables from inland towns such as artichokes as taught by the inhabitants" (OBNCH), "turn your everyday meal into a tasty and original experience thanks to the freshness of Oliver porcini mushrooms" (OLVR), or suggest tasting a real Italian ice cream with "aceto balsamico tradizionale di Modena" (VMPL).

As expected, the strongest collocation of *quality* is the adjective *high(-est)*, which is obviously used to enhance the excellent properties of what is being sold. Thus, "high quality" products, standards and productions are described with a number of recurring verbs such as "adopt", "offer", "ensure", "guarantee", "meet" and "maintain". Although less frequent, other adjectives also contribute to the promotional discourse, for example "best", "absolute", "excellent" or "innovative".

To conclude this analytical section, another reflection related to the term *quality* is worth mentioning: in the international context, it appears several times to testify the appreciation of Italian products. Restricted parts of introductory passages are indeed dedicated to a description of prestigious awards and achievements that the company has won, as the following extracts show:

(29) In June 2003 V.M.G.C. wins the international oil tasting prize awarded to the best extra virgin olive oils in the world, organised by the Grand Jury Européen in the Château Branire. (●FRCH)

(30) Today, C. is one of the few international brands in the oil sector, present in almost 70 countries worldwide and recognised in many of these (USA, Canada, Australia and South America) as market leader in the 100% Italian oil segment. (●CLVH)

Conclusions

As Najafian and Ketabi (2011, p.16) point out, "discourse is not in any sense neutral" and therefore can deeply influence people's perception of reality. This idea is even more relevant when taking promotional discourse into consideration as "advertising is a crucial factor in the dissemination of ideological values in any social discourses" (ibid.). Although selected English sections extracted from 118 Italian olive oil and vinegar websites were conceived and created by different authors, all of them undoubtedly shared the ultimate function of the descriptive passages. The promotional strategies adopted aim at seducing prospective foreign clients, who are often unaware of the distinctive characteristics of Italian agri-food products, by inviting them to enter a world in which the condensed essence of the meaning of Italy is moulded and reinforced. The data analysed illustrates the producers' desire – perhaps necessity – to highlight qualities associated with well-known Made In Italy, whose characteristics appear to be less known by the target audience. As a consequence, product quality and authenticity always tend to be described within the descriptive passages. Parallel to this strategy, the corpus focuses on the relevant role traditions and habits play for those involved in the manufacturing processes. Said traditions and habits are voluntarily portrayed as ancient practices whose secrets are safeguarded by ancestors. Many of the linguistic strategies used to refer to Italian olive oil and vinegar – such as their being top-quality unique "magic" potions rather than simple condiments, making any dish tastier, or describing them as the result of the synergy between the passion and competence of experts – aim at giving the products an identity that customers should no longer be unaware of. Catching their eye once on the shelves, prospective buyers should recognize them as symbols of an *Italianicity* that mirrors the Country-Of-Origin effect. As the data suggest, the concept of Made In Italy revolves around the concepts of: family, seen as an irreplaceable added value; passion, an essential element for achieving high qualitative standards;

tradition, which encourages associating Italian cuisine to rural traditions that rely on organic and locally-produced food.

Acknowledgements

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CHAPTER TEN

THE THREE LANGUAGES IN BUSINESS DISCOURSE OF KAZAKHSTAN: ACHIEVEMENTS, CHALLENGES AND WHAT IS NEXT?

ALYIA AIMOLDINA

Outline

In recent years, the economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, as one of the former Soviet countries, has undergone considerable changes and development. Given the conditions inherent to globalization and a free-market economy, language skills in at least three languages is considered as a guarantee of economic competitiveness. Nowadays in connection with the current language policy and a political directive on trilingualism, three major languages, i.e., Kazakh, Russian and English, are mostly used in the context of Kazakhstani business communication. In accordance with official statistics the use of the state language (Kazakh) in the office-work of the state bodies has increased from 32.7 % (2006) to 95 % (2017), Russian is still very popular in private business institutions, whereas foreign companies use English and Russian in their communication. However, there is still a lack of information on the actual language use in the workplace of other organizations in Kazakhstan other than state institutions. In this paper, a survey questionnaire and a set of semi-structured interviews with Kazakhstani professionals from different types of business organizations (i.e., in the state, private sectors, national and international, etc.) were conducted to identify the real usage of Kazakh, Russian, and English in a variety of business settings, cross-cultural pragmatic failures, challenges and prospects associated with their usage. The tension between the necessity to find the most progressive and optimal solutions to succeeding in a contemporary global business

community and the desire to maintain and develop the state language in a Kazakhstani business context is of central importance in understanding the current educational language policy in Kazakhstan.

Introduction

Located in the very heart of Eurasia, the Republic of Kazakhstan has historically been a multinational state with a large majority of the population speaking Kazakh and Russian languages. With the economic shift of Kazakhstan in 1991 from a centrally planned economy to a democratically independent republic, there has been a major drive to introduce English in many spheres of social life, particularly, in international business communication. It was "coupled with the government's ambitions of making Kazakhstan a competitive player in the regional and world economy also forced the government to adopt a multilingual ideology" (Smagulova 2008). Therefore, with the continuing globalisation of markets and internationalisation of trade one decade into the 21st century, language skills in Kazakhstan in at least three languages, i.e. Kazakh, Russian and English, are considered as a guarantee of economic competitiveness (State Programme for the Functioning and Development of Languages for 2011-2020; Roadmap for the Development of Trilingual Education for 2015-2020; State Program for the Development of Education and Science for 2016-2019; "Rukhani Zhangyru" Program for Modernization of Kazakhstan's Identity, 2017, etc.).

The current language policy and a political directive on trilingualism has led to the situation where three major languages, i.e., Kazakh, Russian and English, are mainly used in modern business communication in Kazakhstan, which at the same time form the Kazakhstani business discourse. Considering business discourse as the "social action in business context" Bargieva-Chiappini (2013: 3) states, "Business discourse is all about how people communicate using talk or writing in commercial organizations in order to get their work done". In this paper, modern Kazakhstan business discourse is defined as a complex communicative phenomenon, which develops on the basis of unique experience of business communication and discourse practices, conditioned by the tasks of language planning, individual language competencies, state order, combining the established traditions and modern requirements of sustainable development of the economy and business. Features of the Kazakhstani business discourse, which were conditioned by globalization and integration processes, historical, cultural, geopolitical, economic and other factors, consist in the practice of oral and written business

communication in at least three languages, i.e., Kazakh, Russian and English.

In accordance with official statistics the use of the state language (Kazakh) in the office-work of the state bodies has increased from 32.7 % (2006) to 95 % (2017), Russian is still very popular in private business institutions, whereas foreign companies use English and Russian in their communication. Nevertheless, in spite of the achieved results, there is still a lack of information on the actual language use in the workplace of other organizations in Kazakhstan rather than state institutions. In addition, the emerging socio-economic conditions dictate the need to explore the language of business communication in general and the texts of business correspondence in a new, integrated way and using interdisciplinary paradigms in general.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the features of the functioning of business discourse in modern Kazakhstan under the influence of globalization of world economic relations and the internationalization of social contacts. In this case the survey questionnaire and a set of semi-structured interviews with Kazakhstani professionals from different types of business organizations (i.e., in the state, private sectors, national and international, etc.) were conducted to identify the real usage of Kazakh, Russian, and English in a variety of business settings, cross-cultural pragmatic failures, challenges and prospects associated with their usage. The tension between the necessity to find the most progressive and optimal solutions to succeeding in a contemporary global business community and the desire to maintain and develop the state language in the Kazakhstani business context is of central importance in understanding current educational language policy in Kazakhstan.

The article is structured as follows: Firstly, the main trends in the development of business discourse in modern linguistics is investigated based on previous research. Then, the Kazakh-language, Russian-language and English-language business discourse are explored separately, followed by an explanation of the research methodology of this study and a presentation of the results and some relevant discussion. The article concludes with a critical examination of the limitations of the study and some pointers for future studies.

The main trends in the development of business discourse in modern linguistics

Despite the variety of linguistic developments in the field of business discourse, the term "business discourse" is still not unambiguously defined

in modem linguistic science. On the basis of the recent survey, scholars point out several terms describing the different types of interaction and use of language in the field of business communication, such as "workplace discourse" (Koester 2010; Holmes 2008), "institutional discourse" (Drew & Heritage 1992; Agar 1985), as well as "professional discourse" (Bhatia 2014; Gunnarsson et al 2014) and "business discourse" (Bargiela-Chiappini et al 2013; Bargiela-Chiappini 2009).

According to several researchers (Koester 2010; Connor et al 2008; Charles 1996, etc.), firstly, the definition of the concept of "business discourse" requires a clarification of the term "business" both in a broad and narrow sense. A broad understanding implies communication within the organization as part of a business discourse, since, according to foreign scholars, interaction between colleagues in private sector organizations has much in common with interactions between office workers in the public sector (Koester 2010: 6). A narrow understanding of business discourse includes communication between its participants in order to carry out joint business via various ways of business communication, for example, business correspondence (Connor et al 2008), or via business negotiations (Charles 1996).

It should be noted that initially the researchers' interest in the study of business discourse appeared in line with applied linguistics, language for special purposes (LSP), English for special purposes (ESP). In the American linguistics of business communication Rogers and Steinfatt (1999) also made a significant contribution to the practice of innovative teaching of business communication. As Bargiela-Chiappini (2007: 65) points out, business communication is a firmly established component in American educational programs, which leads to a clash of theory, on the one hand, and practice, on the other. Although the American linguistic tradition is not inclined to a detailed analysis of texts, which is the hallmark of many European researchers, a great influence on it was provided by such macrotheories as the "media richness theory" (Daft & Lengel 1984: 199), as well as the concept of organizational genres proposed by Yates & Orlikowski (2002: 13-17), actively working in the new tradition of rhetorical science.

In addition, in modem studies business discourse is often considered from the point of view of intercultural communication, in particular, intercultural negotiations, business meetings and corporate communication (for example, e-mails, annual reports, letters to shareholders, etc.). Various research has been devoted mainly to the study of business discourse on the basis of various European languages, for example, French (Van der Wijst 1996; Christian 1998), Dutch (Van der Wijst & Ulijn 1995), German

(Zilles 2004; Barske 2009), Spanish (Villemoes 2003; Candia 2010), Danish (Grindsted 1997), Norwegian (Neumann 1997), Portuguese (Pereira das Graзas Dias 2004), etc.

Interestingly, the Russian linguistic science considers business discourse from a different point of view. Most scholars have a broad understanding of this phenomenon, in which business discourse is viewed as a type of institutional discourse. In the opinion of Russian researchers' (Danyushina 2011; Karasik 2000; Shiryaeva 2008, etc.), belonging to the corporation as a union of people engaged in one thing, and the working environment make a person bear not only personal qualities, but also a representative of a specific professional institution. In this regard, according to the Russian linguistic school, business discourse, as a kind of institutional discourse, is a "specialized cliche-based version of communication between people who may not know about each other, but must communicate in accordance with the norms of the given society" (Karasik 2000: 28). According to Danyushina (2011: 57), business discourse is defined as "an open set of texts integrated with business themes, combined with extralinguistic factors (in a narrower sense), and as a verbalization of the mentality and ideology of business (in a broad, philosophical sense)".

In connection with the growth of business activity and the expansion of foreign economic relations in the market economy of Kazakhstan in recent years, there is also an increased interest of Kazkahstani linguists in the issues of professional communication in the modern business community. Kazakhstan studies are devoted to various aspects of the study of business discourse, i.e., lexical and stylistic features (Yergazieva & Yesetova 2004), the use of terms and terminology (Ashirova 2004), the language of official business documentation (Duisembekova 2008), the influence of Kazakh culture on the process of studying the Kazakh business language (Birali 2004), the role and functions of business communication (Bakirova 2004); linguistic analysis of the genres of business discourse, such as the business letter (Salkhanova 2006), the semantics and pragmatics of English business lexemes in the Kazakh language (Doszhan 2012), etc.

One of the large-scale works on the study of business discourse in Kazakhstani linguistics is Burkitbayeva's research (2005). According to the Kazakh linguist, business discourse should be understood as a subset of professional discourse used in business taking into account a fairly wide scope of professional relations. In her opinion, the concept of "business" covers the communicative sphere in which business discourse functions (Burkitbayeva 2005: 13). According to this understanding, Burkitbayeva (2005: 59) gives the following definition of business discourse: "... a concrete embodiment of the invariant discourse model in a specific

communicative business situation created by a certain group of people who have this or that attitude to business. The concrete realization of these people's activities in the business situation will be texts expressed in the form of various genres of business discourse". And an essential characteristic that determines the specificity of business discourse is the limitation of the range of subjects and goals of such communication aimed at achieving mutually beneficial agreements on the business issues under discussion (Burkitbayeva 2005: 7).

Thus, the review of world and local studies devoted to the issues of business discourse has revealed the existence of a sustainable research interest in this problem and showed that the speech behaviour of a business person is due to their belonging to a particular sociolinguistic and cultural background. As Bargieva-Chiappini asserts (2009: 15), "the formation of Kazakhstan's new trilingual identity touches on the issue of the difficult balance to be achieved in the new forms of business communication between the revival of the rhetorical tradition of Kazakh, the persistence of Russian as a dominant language and the increased influence of English. Research in business discourse in Kazakhstan offers the analyst the unique opportunity of charting the evolution of discursive practices as they emerge from the flux of language planning objectives and individual linguistic competences, corporate demands and resistance from persisting local practices and preferences".

Business discourse in Kazakhstan

The Kazakh-language business discourse and the linguistic features of its formation

Consideration of the specifics of the Kazakh-language business discourse should begin with the characteristic features of its development in the context of its close relationship with the ongoing language policy and language planning in Kazakhstan. This fact is also emphasized by Kazakhstani researchers (Suleimenova & Burkitbayeva 2009; Altynbekova 2006, Burkitbayeva 2005, Smagulova 2008, etc.), and other scholars. At present, within the framework of the implementation of the State Program for the Development and Functioning of Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2011-2020 and other strategic program documents in Kazakhstan, there is a state orientation towards the development of the trilingual policy. In the context of this direction, the strategic importance of mastering the state language, which is "the main factor cementing the Kazakh nation" (Nazarbayev 2013), Russian as the language of interethnic communication and English as a mean of business international

communication necessary for successful entry into the global economy (State Programme 2011).

According to modern experts, today Kazakhstan is a country with a positive economic situation for business development (The World Bank 2018). In general, the development of entrepreneurship, small and medium businesses and the improvement of the business environment in the country are determined by the priority direction of the Kazakhstan 2050 Strategy and the Concept of Kazakhstan's entry into the list of the top 30 developed countries of the world. According to the global rating, the Republic of Kazakhstan is among the countries with the most favourable conditions for doing business. For example, Kazakhstan is ranked the 57th country in the Global Competitiveness Index and rose to 36th place among 190 countries for "Ease of doing business" (The World Bank's Doing Business 2018 Report). During the years of independence about US$300 billion of foreign investments were attracted to Kazakhstan. For the first quarter of 2018, gross inflow of foreign direct investment amounted to US$6.7 billion and increased by 24.4 percent compared to the same period year on year (Mukhametkaliyev 2018). The above figures indicate how active and significant are the business relations between Kazakhstan and other countries. In this regard, given the dynamic development of international and domestic business, as well as the unique language situation in our country, it can be argued that modern business discourse in Kazakhstan is formed under the influence of three languages - Kazakh, Russian and English (Suleimenova & Burkitbayeva 2009: 440-442).

It is worth noting that in the recent past the Kazakh language was virtually excluded from business communication and formal business negotiations. Regardless of the content of business communication, the role and status of participants in business communication, the nature and place of social relations, the business community in Kazakhstan was not focused on using the Kazakh language, which, under the influence of the legacy of Soviet business communication, levelled the use of all sorts of culturally-labelled components in business discourse (Yergazieva & Yesetova 2004). With the proclamation of the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan, there was an urgent need to address the problems of state and ethnic identity in the country (Suleimenova & Smagulova 2005). Thus, on August 14, 1998, the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan adopted a resolution "On expanding the use of the state language in state bodies". In 2005, some significant amendments were made at the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On the State Program for the Functioning and Development of Languages for 2001-2010" dated February 7, 2001, regulating the sphere

of the Kazakh-language business discourse in the country. Thus, thanks to the systematic support of the state, a legislative base was created that gives an opportunity to expand the scope of application and development of the Kazakh language. In the following years, the gradual adoption of state programs on the application and development of the languages of the Republic of Kazakhstan was introduced into practice.

In accordance with paragraph 2 of Art. 7 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, a planned sequential transfer of records management, accounting and statistical, financial and technical documentation to the Kazakh language began, which was originally planned to be completed by 2010. In accordance with the State Strategic Plan for 2009-2011, the comparative volume of office work in the state language in 2008 was 50%, in 2009 - 60%, in 2010 - 80%, in 2011 - 82%, in 2012 - 84%, in 2013 - 86%, in 2014 - 88% (Report of the Committee on Languages of the Ministry of Culture and Sport of the Republic of Kazakhstan 2014). According to the results of the annual survey of the population's mastery of the state language the percentage of the population who mastered the state language was 83.1 percent in 2017. The share of the adult population who mastered the three languages was 22.3 percent. The share of document circulation in the state language in Kazakhstan is 92 percent, and the share of media content in the Kazakh language is 72 percent. There are 89 regional centres for teaching the state language in the republic, the courses are organized for the purpose of mastering the state language by citizens. In 2017, 58,300 students took courses in the centres of instruction in the state language (Mukhamediuly 2018).

However, there are no precise statistical data on the degree of conducting business correspondence in the state language in national, international and foreign companies. In general, the document circulation in the state language in these organizations is rather limited, the main organizational and operational issues are carried out mostly in Russian (Suleimenova & Burkitbayeva 2009). Nevertheless, there is a tangible effort by some organizations within the framework of the "State Program for the Development and Functioning of Languages for 2011-2020" to teach the state language to the company's employees, which also demonstrates an awareness of the prospect of knowledge of the state language in the future. The above-mentioned events are held in such organizations as CJSC NCTN KazTransoil, JSC International Airport Astana, JSC of the National Company Kazakhstan Temir Zholy, JSC Kazakhstan Electricity Grid Operating Company (KEGOG) (Report of the Committee on Languages of the Ministry of Culture and Sport of the

Republic of Kazakhstan 2017). Nevertheless, at present Kazakh business discourse, having sufficient language resources for its normal functioning, is experiencing certain difficulties due to a lack of proper communicative competence among many people working in government, business, etc.

As already noted, in some official bodies there is still a practice of transferring business papers from Russian into Kazakh. In this respect, the work of Aldasheva et al (1999) is of interest. Also no less significant is the study of Duisembekova (2008), in which the author on the material of business documents of the XVIII-XX centuries analyses samples of texts of that time, some language features, examines samples of business papers of the modem period. Kazakhstan scholars have especially carefully examined the pragmatic function of a number of components of official and business documentation and the linguistic units used in them, and revealed the linguistic nature of the components of the text (Duisembekova 2008). In general, Kazakh linguists agree that the Kazakh-language business discourse is characterized by the precise use of words in terms of their meaning in the dictionary, a small amount of figurative and evaluative language, an impersonal nature of the exposition, a special cliché system, terms and stable expressions, conventional symbols and abbreviations, a clear composition structure etc.

Moreover, the recent signing of the decree on the transition of the Kazakh alphabet from Cyrillic to Latin script (2017) as one of the factors of globalization and the integration of Kazakhstan into the world space stated new challenges for linguists, public figures and experts. At the same time, it becomes clear that such drastic changes, on the one hand, lead to increased competitiveness at a world economy level, and on the other, can cause serious dissonance in the formation of state and ethno-linguistic identity, a decline in the prestige of a particular language, a change in its status, which can cause stratification of society (Higginsjan 2018).

Thus, the previous analysis of the history of the formation of Kazakh business discourse shows that, first, there is a rich and long tradition of using the Kazakh language in business communication with its own genres and language resources; secondly, this tradition suspended development and, to some extent, predetermined the emergence of difficulties in the functioning of Kazakh business discourse; and, thirdly, the Kazakh-language business discourse, being constantly and actively supported by a sovereign state, is currently expanding very rapidly and shaping its own discourse community.

Features of Russian-language business discourse in Kazakhstan

During the seventy years of the existence of the Soviet Union, business communication in the territory of Kazakhstan was carried out, mainly, in Russian. According to many researchers (Loginova 1968, Duisembekov 2008, Yergazieva & Yesetova 2004, etc.) it was this period that had a huge impact on the development and formation of modern business discourse in Kazakhstan. The main style features of the Soviet business discourse can be attributed to accuracy, concreteness, brevity, objectivity - in the future, all modifications took place taking into account precisely these requirements (Loginova 1968). As a result of the policy of "Russification", the Kazakh language was practically not used in the field of official and everyday business communication, the rules of compiling documents and the use of materials in the Kazakh language have changed, the Kazakh templates and constructions that were widely used by many generations have developed out of use in business oral and written speech. The Russian language, which has a rich arsenal of linguistic means, and supported by the political power of the former Soviet state, was the main language of business. In addition, business papers in Kazakh were not actually primary because they were the result of translating business documents from Moscow, while they were significantly inferior to the Russian-language original in terms of content quality (Granovskaya 1971).

Having an official status under art. 7, paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan of 1995, the Russian language along with the state Kazakh language is the language of negotiations, office work, journalism, fiction. Russian-language business discourse is widely used to maintain business contacts in the territory of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Asia-Pacific region, the Middle East and Latin America (Salkhanov 2012). Currently, there is an expansion of business ties between countries, especially within the framework of the international integration economic association of the EAEC, of which the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tajikistan are members. In addition, in the Common Economic Space of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, existing since the beginning of 2012, business communication is carried out in Russian.

One cannot fail to note the influence of the Russian language on the formation of the official and business style of the Kazakh language, which was reflected in some studies of Kazakhstani researchers (Amirova 1983; Kenesbaev 1965; Smagulova 2008; Bakirova 2004, etc). According to

scholars, the morphological, lexical and syntactic features of the scientific style of the Kazakh language reflect his relationship with the Russian language in the sphere of scientific communication (Amirova 1983). The Russian language introduced its structure and typology into the Kazakh-language business discourse, as well as the use of different units, genres and communicative strategies (Kenesbaev 1965). The result was the appearance in the Kazakh language of Russian-language borrowings and lexico-syntactic borrowed words formed during the translation. Often translators actually played the role of the subject of discourse. Speech and communicative competence of participants in business discourse, regardless of their nationality, were formed within the framework of Russian-language business discourse, as a result of which these frames were unwittingly transferred to the Kazakh-language business discourse. This led to the fact that practically all participants in the business discourse of Kazakhstan acquired a stable habit of conducting business communications exclusively in Russian (Smagulova 2008).

Therefore, the common historical past, geopolitical, economic and cultural backgrounds, as well as the analysis of linguistic works of recent years, showed significant similarities in the development and features of the functioning of modern Russian-language business discourse in Kazakhstan with the business discourse of Russia. Russian-language business discourse in both countries is currently undergoing a period of genre renovation (resume, fax, e-mail, video and teleconferencing, Internet communications, etc.) and is experiencing the emergence of new speech models and strategies. These issues are actively studied by modern researchers in Kazakhstan in terms of the role and functions of business communication (Bakirova 2004), the linguistic analysis of such types of business discourse as the business letter (Salkhanova 2012), the main types, features and functions of business correspondence in the modern Kazakhstani business community (Assanova & Rysaldy 2014).

Somewhat from a different point of view, the problem of Kazakh language influence on the Russian language in Kazakhstan was considered by the Kazakh linguist, Zhuravlyeva (2012), who studied the lexical, functional and figurative specifics of the Russian language in Kazakhstan. Accordingly, this specificity reflects on the business discourse of the Russian language in Kazakhstan, leading to the emergence of regionalisms in the body of sociopolitical vocabulary of the Russian language in Kazakhstan (for example, such words as akim, akimat, adilet, maslikhat, barymta, mazhilis, mazhilismen , tenge, oralman, tiyn, kurultai, zhuz, etc.), in the names of the programs being implemented (Atamura, Shabyt, Bobek, Bolashak, Atameken, etc.), parties (Otan, Asar, Alash, Ak zhol,

Nur ●tan,) and organizations (Nauryz-Bank, TuranAlem Bank,
Kazkommertsbank, Baldauren, KazMuna etc.), in mentioning historical
figures (Ablai Khan, Zhambyl Zhabaev, Kenesary Khan, etc.), state
awards (Kurmet, Parasat, Altyn belgi, etc.) (Zhuravlyeva 2●12: 52).

Thus, at the moment Russian plays an important role in the
development of modern Kazakh business discourse, continuing to maintain
a fairly strong position in various areas of professional communication in
Kazakhstan. At the same time, in the conditions of constantly expanding
international business contacts in Kazakhstan, as in the whole world, in the
sphere of business communication, the English language is increasingly
important, and the next subsection is devoted to it.

English in the modern Kazakhstani business community

There is no doubt that the English language has become one of the
leading languages in the sphere of international business communication
of the 21st century. This is confirmed in many studies on the distribution
of English and its role in the global modern business community
(Bargiela-Chiappini 2●●9; Castells 2●●2, etc.). In connection with the
expansion of international business contacts, more and more companies of
the world began to choose English as their official corporate language.
And in most cases, participants in this business communication are those
for whom English is not native language (Louhiala-Salminen et al 2●●5).

The process of globalization that has engulfed all spheres of life
throughout the world today has not left Kazakhstan aside. ●ver the past
twenty years, there have been dramatic changes in the public, political and
economic life of the republic, which have significantly influenced the
development of various fields of activity, including business, as well as the
role and place of a foreign language in intercultural business
communication in the country. At the moment, knowledge of the English
language in Kazakhstan is not only included on the list of compulsory
educational conditions abroad, but it is also a determining element of the
competitiveness of a young specialist in the labour market both in the
country and abroad. Knowledge of English, along with Kazakh and
Russian, has now become a task of national importance. Since recently,
English has been designated as a condition for successful entry into the
global economy and has been viewed as one of the main priorities of state
policy. This is evidenced by the program documents mentioned above,
which deal with the need for universal solutions to the issues of teaching
English and other foreign languages as a means of international business
communication. Thus, in the annual address to the people of Kazakhstan

on January 28, 2011, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev (2011) noted that "... for a modern Kazakhstani, mastering of three languages is an indispensable condition for one's own well-being". In this regard, the task was set that by 2020 the proportion of the population who speaks English should be at least 20% (Nazarbayev 2011). In the speech by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan at the 19th Session of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan (April 27, 2012), emphasis was also placed on the further development of the "trinity of languages" as an important aspect of the country's economic and social modernization, the importance and role of English on the way of Kazakhstanis to the world of innovations and technologies and business (Nazarbayev 2012).

According to the latest data of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, at the moment, the activity of more than 60 embassies and 20 international organizations, 26,415 foreign enterprises and 3,411 branches of foreign companies is also conditioned by business communication in English (Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Statistics 2017). Today in Kazakhstan there are about 16 thousand companies with foreign capital and 3,411 branches of foreign enterprises, including such companies as Chevron, Siemens, Microsoft, General Electric, Coca-Cola Company, Danone, "Henkel", etc. Recently Astana International Financial Centre has been officially opened in Kazakhstan and embodied the best practice of the world financial structures. The centre works with both non-residents and residents, who have access to the capital not only of Kazakhstan and the region, but the whole world. In addition, the legal status of the centre is fixed by the Constitutional Law, the official corporate language in this centre is English. Participants of the IFC are granted tax privileges for up to 50 years, they are subject to simplified currency, visa and labour regimes (Mager & Tuleshova 2018).

Undoubtedly, the scale of international cooperation in Kazakhstan determined the high demand for specialists who speak English. This is confirmed by changes in the labour market. Despite the fact that there are positive dynamics in increasing the level of knowledge of English by Kazakhstani citizens, in the annual study by the English Proficiency Index, which determines the level of English proficiency in various countries of the world, Kazakhstan with an index of 45.95 took 67th place out of 80. The index of ownership is estimated as "very low" in comparison with other countries (https://www.ef.kz/epi/regions/asia/kazakhstan/). Since the early 2000's there was an increased need for English-speaking business professionals. As the analysis of one of the popular Kazakhstan job websites (i.e. https://hh.kz, https://www.enbek.kz, etc.) shows, a good

knowledge of English is mentioned in the list of requirements in more than 90% of the vacancy applicants.

Thus, the need for English in the context of business communication in Kazakhstan is due, first of all, to the objective circumstances of the development of the country's economy and consistent state support. At present, the younger generation of Kazakhs perceive the English language primarily as an instrument that can be useful to them in their future professional activity, as Kazakhstan is recognized by the world community as attractive enough for an effective investment of capital by a country with a capacious and dynamically developing market.

Business discourse in Kazakh, Russian and English languages have different genres and functions in the most diverse spheres of use, and these languages are characterized by complex mutual influence relationships. Their interaction in modern Kazakhstan and the changes expected in their distribution (or redistribution) within the intersection of areas of business communication require further analysis of their linguistic features and interactive potential.

Material and Methods

Within the framework of the present study, a specially designed questionnaire and a semi-structured interview with Kazakhstani business experts sphere were conducted in order to obtain a complete picture of the modern Kazakh business discourse, its genre diversity represented by various types of business correspondence, and to identify the features of the functioning of languages in the modern business community of the Republic of Kazakhstan. At this stage of the analysis, business professionals working in the representations of foreign companies, international organizations and national companies with widely developed international relations and cooperation have been included in this study as the main experts of Kazakhstan business.

Overall, 525 Kazakhstani business specialists participated in the study, of which 25 people from six different companies (two financial, one production, and three service companies) were previously selected for interviews. Regarding the social characteristics of respondents, it should be noted that 285 women and 240 men aged 23 to 45 participated in the survey, the average length of service in these organizations was more than 5 years. The spheres of business activity of the companies were represented by thirteen organizations, namely four financial, four production and five service companies, 8 of which are located in Astana, 2 in Almaty, 2 in Atyrau, 1 in Aktau.

For the semi-structured interview, questions were developed consisting of three blocks: a) personal data; b) sphere and cases of using Kazakh, Russian and English languages at work; c) the main motives for studying Kazakh, Russian and English languages in professional communication. Subsequently, based on the results of the interview, a detailed questionnaire was prepared to solve the further tasks of the study. All received data were processed using the statistical program SPSS 19. The developed questionnaire was compiled in Kazakh and Russian and distributed both in paper form and in electronic form (http://kwiksurveys.com/app/render survey.asp?Sid=rºgnjvlºbb6245º38879&refer=), intended for those respondents who were outside the city of Astana.

This questionnaire included the following main sections: a) biographical data; b) the place of Kazakh, Russian and English languages in the sociolinguistic space of Kazakhstan; c) spheres of use of Kazakh, Russian and English languages in professional activity; d) the main motives and objectives of learning English; e) specific situations of using Kazakh, Russian and English languages in business organizations (Appendix A). It should be noted that questions about the names of companies, positions, the name of the department, the type and scope of companies, the total length of service in the company and language skills were also placed in the first section of questions about the personal data of respondents. In the second block, the survey participants were asked questions about the place and role of Kazakh, Russian and English languages in the context of the linguistic situation in Kazakhstan, in particular, they were asked questions, for example, what language they use in the listed situations; what language is more a language of everyday, business communication, language of culture, media, etc.; as well as the degree of the need for Kazakh, Russian and English languages in Kazakhstan (not necessary, necessary, but not everywhere, necessary, very necessary). In the third category of questions, respondents had to express their opinion on the motives for owning Kazakh, Russian and English languages within the framework of the policy of the trinity of languages, implying the compulsory knowledge of at least three languages for each Kazakh. The fourth block of questions revealed the main cases of using Kazakh, Russian and English language directly in their work in order to determine the frequency of their use.

As is known, one of the widely used methods of sociolinguistic analysis is a survey based on the application of the Likert scale with several variants of answers. The respondent assesses the degree of his / her disagreement on each approval on a scale from "completely agree" to "completely disagree". For example, in this study, respondents needed to express their attitude to the policy of the "tri-unity of languages", which

presupposes the compulsory knowledge of at least three languages - Kazakh, Russian and English - for each Kazakh. The degree of reliability of almost all groups of questions turned out to be quite high - the Cronbach alpha level exceeded 0.7. As is known, the alpha Cronbach shows how high the correlation between the variables making up the scale, i.e. the coefficient of internal constancy, or internal homogeneity, is measured. The maximum value of alpha is 1, the indicator of internal homogeneity of questions is considered good if it is greater than 0.7.

Results and Discussion

The data of the conducted questioning testify to the importance of the Kazakh, Russian and English languages in the social life of the people of Kazakhstan. The results of the questioning among respondents are as follows: the use of the state language in the public service is 93%, in the sphere of science and education 90%, along with 86% in the service sector. However, it should be noted that according to the respondents' estimates, the level of demand for the Kazakh language in private business is slightly lower than in the areas listed above. At the moment, the Russian language is in demand in the sphere of science and education - 88%, in the banking and financial sphere - 87%, and in private business - 86%. For the greater part, respondents in various spheres of social life the Russian language still remains the language of communication, and English is gaining popularity among foreign languages. The use of Kazakh, Russian and English languages in other social spheres is presented in more detail in Table 1.

As the results of the study showed, the English language in Kazakhstan is not so widely represented and at present it is not actively used in the everyday life of the people of Kazakhstan. However, it is quite in demand only in certain domains, for example, at work (68.9%), using the Internet (67.8%), reading books (46.1%), watching television (41.8%) and others. Detailed results are shown in Figure 1.

The degree of the need for English in Kazakhstan relative to the two other functioning languages (Kazakh as the state language and Russian as the language of interethnic communication) was defined as "high", 37.4% of respondents answered that "English is necessary, but not everywhere" 24.3% answered "it is necessary", and only two people (1.7%) stated that there was no need for English.
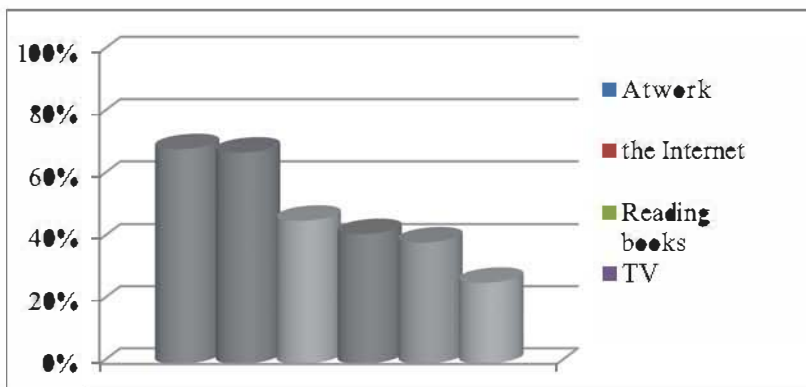
Figure 1. Spheres of using English

In accordance with the principles of the Likert scale, respondents were offered several statements regarding their attitude to Kazakh, Russian and English languages, to which they should have expressed their consent / disagreement (1 — "totally agree", 2 — "agree", 3 — "rather agree", 4 — "rather do not agree", 5 — "do not agree", 6 — "completely disagree"). Internal homogeneity tests showed that these questions have a high Cronbach alpha result of 0.7 and are an indicator of the reliability and validity of the questions.

As can be seen from the obtained results, the majority of business specialists note the importance the Kazakh language primarily in the overall development of Kazakhstani society. This is evidenced by the corresponding assessment of the statement "Knowledge of the Kazakh language is prestigious" (1,0) and "Knowledge of the Kazakh language gives an opportunity to get a good job" (1,15) according to the Likert evaluation scale. In addition, according to the majority of respondents, the Russian language is necessary for Kazakhstanis to integrate and maintain ties in the post-Soviet space, whereas English is important for accessing the world economic space. More than half of the respondents fully support the policy of the tri-unity of languages, not at the expense of other languages functioning in the country (2.25), and react very negatively to the assertion that the knowledge of languages for them does not matter (5.26). Respondents associate English with their future in terms of a high degree of awareness, a greater opportunity to move up the career ladder (1.67), with the acquisition of a more prestigious and highly paid work.

The analysis of the questionnaire survey showed the following results regarding the use of languages in professional communication of the

Republic of Kazakhstan: according to respondents' answers, the Kazakh language is mainly the language of state legislative acts (98.6%), the work of state bodies, organizations, law enforcement agencies (95%), legislative acts (85%) and official events (83%), etc., the Russian language acts as one of the languages of accounting and statistical, financial and technical documentation (87.5%), cases of business communication (85.6%), non-media (79.1%) (Figure 2).

In addition, the question of which languages in Kazakhstan today are more the languages of everyday and business communication, languages of scientific work, television / radio information, culture and art, the English language along with other languages was also marked by the majority as the language of business communication in Kazakhstan (71.3%). Some respondents specified in which areas of business communication the English language is most needed:

> "Knowledge of English, in my opinion, is most in demand in the commercial sphere ... in the oil and gas sector, because it is here that the most active work is with foreigners. It is those employees who work directly with foreign clients, manage personnel, develop programs, especially those who need good knowledge of English" (Almas, manager of KazMunaiGas JSC NC, 28 years).

In connection with the lack of official statistics, a particular interest for this study is also the determination of the degree of use of Kazakh, Russian and English languages in business documents in national, foreign and joint companies in Kazakhstan. As the findings show, if state institutions and organizations conduct office work in both Kazakh and Russian (11%), most private companies and firms continue to use mostly Russian (19%). At the same time, foreign companies and companies in which foreigners act as business partners use English and Russian in their communication (14.3%). As the results of the interview show, for example, with residents of other countries, contracts are generally drawn up in Russian and English, and business negotiations are held in English. In large joint companies, along with the Kazakh and Russian languages, English is spoken as the language of business communication.

It should also be noted that the activities of all embassies and their official representations, foreign enterprises, and official representations of international companies require business communication in English. The English language plays the role of "lingua franca" in intercultural communication between local and foreign specialists. The increasing number of English-speaking specialists and translators in Kazakhstan is related to the scale of international cooperation.
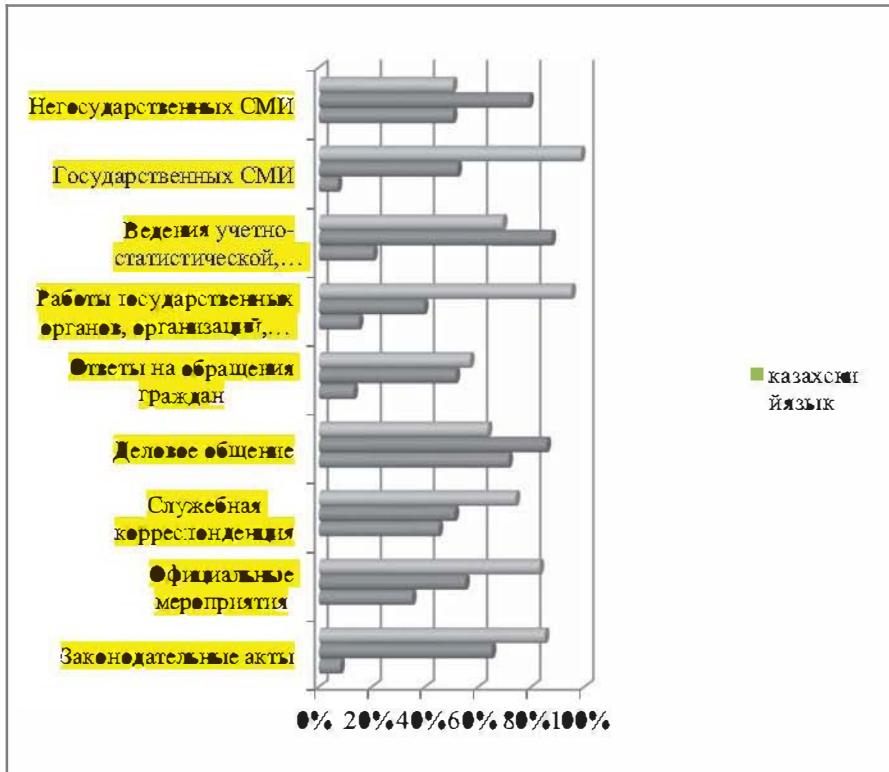
Figure 2. Status of Kazakh, Russian and English languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan

A number of questions were devoted to identifying the main motives for studying the English language and the main reasons for the need to know it at the present stage of Kazakhstan's development. Almost all respondents noted that knowledge of English is very important for them as a specialist in the relevant field (94.8%). Let's note some basic, in their opinion, reasons for learning English, i.e, (1) it gives new information and promotes the development of the horizon (68.7%); (2) the opportunity for career growth (64.3%); (3) it allows you to find a prestigious job (58.3%); and (4) it increases the prestige of the individual and creates a sense of self-confidence (53.0%).

In addition, some of the respondents noted that knowledge of the English language facilitates their integration into the global community;

opens doors to international companies; allows you to communicate with people from other countries; and allows you to share your achievements, share experiences:

"This is mostly a language as an instrument of integration in the long term. In the long term, we want to integrate into the world society, economy, culture. Knowledge of the English language will help us in this - including by making our country more accessible to foreigners, and making other countries more accessible to the average Kazakh" (Madina, Kazakhmys PLC, 29 years old).

"The vast majority of scientific articles in the world are published in English - this means that to improve the average level of education we need access to the global Internet space. The average level of education strongly correlates with GDP per capita and with the share of the middle class, so we have a bonus here ... There are many pluses, listed by me are only the tip of the iceberg" (Olzhas, JSC National Managing Holding" KazAgro", 30 years old).

Others, on the whole, positively assessing the trends in the development of multilingualism in the country, are still concerned about the situation of the Kazakh state language in the republic, noting:

"The Kazakh language is above all! Өзге тілдің бәрін біл, өз тіліңді құрметте! The role and position of the Kazakh language - the state language of the Republic of Kazakhstan will grow every year!" (Nurzhan, 32 years old).

"Some attempts to develop the Kazakh language are being implemented, but this is not enough. We have a long time dominated by the Kazakh language over Kazakh (and now too), and now generally with the introduction of triages in the country, the Kazakh in his own country is not on the second after Russian, but on the third after Russian and English" (Ulzhalgas, 24 years).

In the course of this study, we also tried to find out under what circumstances the languages in question are being used (Table 1).

Table 1. Use of languages for employment

The use	In Kazakh, %	In Russian, %	In English, %
CV	64,3	95,4	56,8
Cover letters	53,9	75,5	29,7
Job Interview	58,3	89,7	63,9

Thus, in most cases, specialists of business companies draw up a resume in Russian (95.4%), slightly less often in English (64.3%) and Kazakh (56.8%). However, cover letters are usually written in Kazakh (53.9%) or Russian (75.5%) languages. As it was noted by business specialists, despite the fact that in general the interview with the candidate is in Russian (89.7%), at the same time it is at this stage that business professionals have the opportunity to demonstrate their language skills in practice: in the Kazakh language (58.3%) and in English (63.9%). Some of the respondents noted that they also provided an international certificate of English (IELTS, TOEFL).

Respondents were also offered 23 different business situations that needed to be selected according to the frequency of use, which according to the Likert scale principle is represented in such variants of answers as "never" - 0, "rarely" - 1, "sometimes" - 2, "often" - 3, "every day" - 4. In all situations, the internal uniformity of the scales was quite high - above 0.7.

According to this scale, all business situations, the results of which turned out to be at least 2, are among the most common, such as electronic messages and business letters. The high frequency of use of these genres of business correspondence is now quite common in almost every business company in the world. For example, more than ten years ago, according to the research of Louhiala-Salminen et al (2005), in the business communication of Finnish business experts the most common means of business communication were mail and telefax (Louhiala-Salminen et al 2005). As can be seen from the obtained results, unlike the presented studies, in the business communication of Kazakhstan the most common means of business communication with foreign business partners turned out to be e-mail and business letter. At the same time, Kazakhstan experts noted that e-mail is used by them primarily to maintain business communication (66.1%), to communicate with trading partners and customers (64.3%), to communicate with colleagues (40.9%). Among the most common business letters in the related genre were a commercial offers (67.5%), a written request (52.2%), letters of request (49.6%), a commercial invitation (48.7%), etc.

As noted by respondents, in most cases, communication in English occurs both with speakers and with non-English speakers (78.3%). In these situations, business English acts as a "lingua franca", on which both oral and written communication takes place. In their responses, business specialists specified that at work they had to use English, primarily with clients (59.6%) and colleagues (46.5%), then with suppliers (32.6%) and administration (20.4%). It should be noted that a high percentage, in

particular, of communication in English with colleagues and administration highlighted the representation of foreign companies in Kazakhstan.

To the question "What is your attitude to the fact that in some large Kazakhstani companies the English language can become the corporate language of the organization?", the majority of respondents (41.2%) answered positively, explaining this with production necessity and the possibility of providing a positive effect on the company's activities, at the same time, 30.9% of respondents expressed a negative opinion about the introduction of the English language as a corporate language, noting its inexpediency due to the possibility of infringing the rights of other employees, wishing to speak their native language or do not know enough of the foreign language.

According to the results of the survey, it was also found out that all the interviewed Kazakh business specialists in their job duties have to use English: most of them, almost every day (86.9%) or at least once a week (19.3%). At the same time, 79.1% of respondents believe that the current level of English language is not enough for them and there is a high need to improve their knowledge.

In addition, the respondents noted a number of difficulties that they had to face in their professional activities. Thus, 64.3% of respondents experienced difficulties in communicating with foreign partners in English because of ignorance of one word or phraseology, 42.6% because of the specificity of the interlocutor's pronunciation (accent) and 39.3% for national-cultural differences, which are also reflected in the general style of conducting international business communications, as well as when writing and processing business documents and letters in English.

According to respondents, understanding the specifics of Kazakh culture is also essential for those who wish to build their business in Kazakhstan. The diverse ethnic composition of Kazakhstan creates a common unique culture, the basis of which creates a peculiar cultural and linguistic plexus.

"Kazakhstan's business culture is a combination of both Western-style business and Asian business. For example, short-term planning, an aggressive manner of high investment risks, development of international market orientation, orientation to a quick result. For us, it is also very important to respect the elders, the highest in rank along with the democratic hierarchy of governance" (Marat, JSC National Welfare Fund" Samruk-Kazyna ", 30 years).

It is interesting to note that, in the opinion of the surveyed Kazakh business experts, Kazakhstan's business culture is becoming increasingly "Eurasian", incorporating both Western and Asian values:

"Indeed, Kazakhstan is developing rapidly, but its economy is tied to the exploitation of natural resources. Kazakhstan needs a flexible economic policy with foreign investors: it is clever to solve diplomatic problems in our country from nomadic ancestors who have preserved vast territories in the past." (Aydin, NC KazMunaiGas, 35).

The results of our study showed that at least three languages (Kazakh, Russian and English) are used in the modern business community, in particular, in national, foreign and joint ventures. However, the degree of their application in different business situations varies. According to the respondents' estimates, the Russian language and the level of demand for the Kazakh language, in particular in private business organizations, are used to solve the basic professional and organizational issues. English language is gaining popularity in Kazakhstan, mastering various spheres of the public life of citizens. It should be noted that the greatest prevalence of the English language and its need is clearly manifested only in specific areas of activity, for example, in the international business activities of economic entities. Kazakhstanis are aware of the importance of knowing English to join the world community and further advance on the career ladder. The majority of respondents are positive about the spread of the English language in the Kazakh sociolinguistic space: it expresses the desire to further study the English language, including its specialized development, which is necessary, first of all, for professional growth. However, some of the respondents, mostly poorly proficient in English, are not unambiguous about its spread. In their opinion, the use of English in Kazakhstan at the official level may adversely affect the development of other functioning languages, primarily the state - Kazakh language, as well as the languages of national minorities. These findings are of great interest for our further work on the research topic.

Conclusion

The process of globalization that has engulfed all spheres of life throughout the world today has not left Kazakhstan aside. Moreover, the functioning of at least three languages (Kazakh, Russian and English languages) in the Republic of Kazakhstan and, accordingly, of various national cultures in the sphere of business communication allows us to talk about the formation of Kazakhstan's business discourse in the modern sociolinguistic space of the country.

Due to the purposeful state regulation, the use of the Kazakh language in the spheres of official and unofficial business communication has significantly increased. In many respects, Russian-language business

discourse continues to maintain its positions both in terms of the variety of genres and the scale of communicative functions. English-language business discourse takes a leading position among other foreign languages and is an active component of business communication in Kazakhstan.

The functioning of the Kazakh, Russian and English languages in the Kazakh business discourse undoubtedly requires more detailed consideration. Knowledge of the traditions and common use of these languages is very important for understanding the characteristics of Kazakh, Russian and English languages and the features of their functioning in business communication.

Intercultural business communication and communicative behaviour of its participants deserve close scientific attention of linguists, which is largely due to the globalization of the world economy, the strengthening of interethnic relations, the erasure of political, economic and cultural differences. In situations of international business communication for participants of business societies, it is very important to possess appropriate discursive competencies, which consist not only of skillfully operating the language skills in a compilation of business correspondence texts, but also of mastering professional and intercultural knowledge in the process of generating and perceiving business discourse. While business discourse is a complex communicative phenomenon that includes, on the one hand, the totality of all speech acts representing the purposeful mental-verbal activity of business communicants, and on the other - the entire amount of knowledge about the surrounding reality necessary for understanding these speech acts taking into account the socio-cultural context of business communication.

The choice of Kazakh, Russian and English languages as a basis for the analysed business discourse in Kazakhstan was predetermined by their special importance in the modern Kazakhstani business community. The functioning of at least three languages and, correspondingly, of various national cultures in the business communication of the Republic of Kazakhstan makes it possible to talk about the existence of intercultural business discourse in the Kazakh sociolinguistic space. Knowledge of the traditions and common use of Kazakh, Russian and English languages in modern business communication is very important for understanding the features of the functioning of Kazakhstani business discourse.

So, based on the results of the research, a set of professional recommendations is developed, the practical implementation of which is designed to improve the skills and abilities of business communicants in doing business in the context of globalization and increasing the competitiveness of Kazakhstan's economy in the international arena.

For the professional business environment, we consider it expedient to conduct the following activities:

- monitoring of the language situation in international, national and foreign companies of the Republic of Kazakhstan, revealing the degree of use of Kazakh, Russian and English languages by region, business area and other parameters;
- promotion of the state language in the sphere of oral and written business communication, in particular, private Kazakhstani business companies;
- development of business Kazakh, Russian and English language courses on the basis of a Needs Assessment Analysis of business companies, within the framework of paying special attention to the specifics of the design of business correspondence, taking into account the linguistic and intercultural features of the Kazakh business discourse that affect the efficiency and the success of a business message.

The conducted research of the content of business discourse in Kazakhstan revealed the complexity and variety of forms of manifestation and representation in the language of business communication as a phenomenon of specific culture. Currently, under the influence of various political, legal, economic, social, cultural, technological factors, business discourse in Kazakhstan is still in the process of its development. However, this study did not cover the entire range of issues raised by us. We limited ourselves to a few very important and topical issues, the solution of which allowed us to reliably determine the degree of functioning of business Kazakh, Russian and English languages in the sociolinguistic space of Kazakhstan.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

MULTIMODAL AUTHENTICITY IN ENGLISH FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES

HASAN SHIKOH

Outline

This paper will discuss multimodality, together with what might be considered authentic texts or materials, and what are, or should be included among the goals of teaching English for Academic Purposes (EAP) or English for Specific Academic Purposes (ESAP). It will provide examples of the incorporation of spoken and written texts into E(S)AP curricula, for example, a documentary film, *Stealing Africa – How much profit is fair?* in the form of a video-based case study which was introduced onto the Business Management English (BME) Presessional Programme at the University of Birmingham (UoB) in 2012. Staff assessments of this case study, and student evaluations pertaining to the same wherein they were encouraged to partake in reflective practice will also be presented, followed by concluding comments.

Introduction

Multimodality may seem like a recent innovation to the world of teaching but, in fact, it is not. As a *concept*, it has been practised by teachers ever since teaching began. As a *label* for what they do in the classroom, and perhaps beyond, it may be considered a fairly recent phenomenon. The term, or coinage, is attributed to Kress (2003; 2010) who regards it as a theory which considers how communication and interaction occurs among people through writing, speaking, gesture, gaze and other visual forms.

Multimodality

Multimodality "is a socially and culturally shaped resource for making meaning. Image, writing, layout, speech and moving images are examples of different modes. Within these, semiotic modes are shaped by both the intrinsic characteristics and potentialities of the medium and by the requirements, histories and values of societies and their cultures. Each of these modes has distinct potentials and limitations for meaning. This is because the mode and its meaning are shaped by and carries the ontological and historical and social orientations of a society and its cultures embedded with it into every sign." (Kress, 2010)

In light of this, in and beyond the classroom, it should be regarded as necessary to provide students – both "home" and international – with opportunities to exploit the increasingly broad repertoire of spoken, written and multimodal texts available today across a growing range of settings in order to "understand, interpret, reflect on and create" (Anstey & Bull, 2010: 5) such that the experiences lead to meaning-making for the students, and also make their *lives* meaningful outside of their formal learning environments and institutions.

Authenticity

The Oxford English Dictionary defines authenticity as something that is "of undisputed origin and not a copy; genuine...done in the traditional or original way...based on facts; accurate or reliable...relating to or denoting an emotionally appropriate, significant, purposive, and responsible mode of human life...". Therefore, whether it is the curriculum that we devise, the materials we provide or the examples we give or elicit, it can be strongly advocated that authenticity is not only desirable, but essential in the E(S)AP classroom too. In addition, perhaps reconsideration needs to be accorded to what may be regarded as a rather myopic approach towards the exclusion of so-called no-go areas or topics such as politics and religion in any curricula.

Simulations, pretend exercises and imitations seem to offer weak forms of language practice in EAP. Role plays, for instance, have their merits but they often require students to delve into enactments which may be removed from their experiences, ambitions or the personal contexts which they could draw from; thus, many students are not able to exploit "intrinsic characteristics and potentialities of the medium" (Kress, 2010). Others typically express feelings of awkwardness, embarrassment and/or unease, which then inevitably limits meaning-making for them. For example, some

role plays may not make authentic learning sense to a senior level civil service officer from, say, the Middle East or Japan when they may be asked by their teacher to act like a waiter in a restaurant to practice their spoken English skills.

English for Academic Purposes – EAP

Twist (2014) defines EAP as "…anything that helps academic study […]. However a lot of general English also helps EAP." Ding (2014) stresses that "what we discuss less…is the *why* of EAP…what our roles ought to be in an increasingly commodified, neo-liberal and market-orientated education environment – where knowledge appears to be a commodity and students are customers – is something we ought to give time to reflect on."

This exchange which occurred online in a British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes (BALEAP) email thread aptly raises the following moot points:

Why is it that despite years of studying the English language, followed by EAP input, so many of our students struggle to form an error-free sentence?

What might be stilting their progress?

Curriculum Design

In order to enable full immersion in the target language and meet the study goals of students in a discipline-specific programme, Dudley-Evans & St Johns (1998) aptly argued that the materials should integrate authentic carrier content to facilitate language learning. For example, in its curriculum, a Business English presessional programme could benefit from the incorporation of authentic case studies, business journal articles, company annual reports, radio programmes and debates on current business issues, live guest lectures – from academics from business schools and industry – business-related documentary films and reports, and student experiences from the real business world.

However, a Business English presessional programme that is designed in such a way that it is general EAP for the most part, and then allows a business-focus module in its final two to three weeks is unlikely to adequately address Business English students' needs, wants and lacks in the context of their target degree programme, or their ambitions within the various business streams.

On the other hand, in a multi-disciplinary EAP programme with a large number of students, course design that caters to the needs of each departmental-group of students is practically impossible. The solution to this could be that students are encouraged to be autonomous and to select multimodal texts related to their departmental studies in some of their modules. This would not only scaffold students towards topic selection and thus, ownership of their materials and learning processes, but also tend to generate a more profound interest in the acquisition of EAP or ESAP skills in the target language. This point is further elucidated, as follows:

In a class of 12 mostly mature, lackadaisical Masters-level students of an unexciting General EAP programme at the A2-B1 levels, with each student belonging to a different department, I directed them to a documentary film website called topdocumentaryfilms.com, which hosts thousands of films in 25 categories ranging from 9/11, to Media, History, Science and Technology. Students were asked to select a documentary film pertaining to their interest in their future departmental studies, and to deliver a formal 10-minute presentation with an additional five minutes for a Q&A per presenter on an aspect or area within the film of their choice. The level of enthusiasm rose dramatically for the majority of the students, with one former student of Religious Studies from Turkey reporting that it was the first time in his life that he had researched, selected and then read 50+ pages of articles written in English in preparation for his academic presentation related to his future degree programme. This student had enrolled at the international students English language preparatory Unit of the UoB with an A2 level, barely able to articulate a complete sentence but by the third term, graduated with a C1.

How much authenticity is acceptable?

In light of the aforementioned example, it could be claimed that encouraging students to reflect on and produce authentic examples is more likely to aid non-native speakers to demonstrate fruitful engagement with class and extra-class materials and activities designed towards the acquisition of English language in general, including the recollection of phrases and lexis acquired in context, as well as critical thinking abilities. In their feedback (*see section 5. Teacher & Student Feedback in this article*), some students also expressed this when asked about their experience with a video-based case study text, or mode (Kress, 2002).

For authenticity to be effective, it is not only imperative that the choice of materials is given consideration, but also the explanations that are then extended from the same in the particular context of students. In other

words, the more wholesome the authenticity is, the more beneficial it is likely to be for the students. In order for this to be made possible, EAP teachers would need to not only broaden their knowledge-base, but also genuinely appreciate and respect the intricacies of human beings and cultures from all around the world, and eliminate, or at least curtail, their prejudices if these exist.

Two examples can be provided here to illustrate how some knowledge of other cultures is necessary to teach not only academic English, but also academic skills: In 2013, a class of 12 students from a number of countries was being taught citation and referencing skills at the UoB. Among them, a student from Saudi Arabia was also in attendance. He was aiming to pursue a PhD degree with a focus on how a British spy was nurtured in his country in the early 1900s. Prior to being enrolled in an English pathway programme at the UoB, he had already attended a 9-month English foundation programme at a renowned university in northwest England. Despite having been introduced to academic English and academic skills over almost a year at two UK universities, he asked the question: *"Why do we so need to give references about things we already know ourselves?"*

From this and a wide range of other comments from this student, it seemed that he was not overly-keen to be a diligent learner or to engage in research and reading. However, this to me was a symptom; not the problem. The issue seemed to be that he was unconvinced about having to find and cite references for every claim or information, and thus, he wanted to avoid the tedium of conducting library-based research.

This man was a Muslim from a middle-class family in Saudi Arabia. His context was a land where aspects of Islam are claimed to be practised. In every other conversation in the Muslim world, Allah is cited as the Absolute Creator; reference is made to some verses from the Holy Qur'an; the Prophet Muhammad's actions, or *sunnah*, and his sayings, or *ahadis,* are also frequently mentioned. Thus, in light of this context, I asked him if the edicts that are passed in his country are allegedly formulated on the basis of, or in reference to, the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad's sunnah and ahadis; his response was *"Yes."* I then asked him if the Prophet Muhammad had advised that if anyone quotes his hadis and it is found to be contradictory to the Holy Qur'an, then that "hadis" should be rejected; the Saudi student replied in the affirmative. I asked why the Holy Qur'an was the criterion in this case. He replied that because it is regarded by Muslims as a perfect message from Allah, and thus, was the benchmark used to authenticate the hadis as well as to give credence or support to the comprehension of religious matters and formulation of edicts.

Having consciously led the student to this point, I explained to him that this is also the case with academic writing genres such as essay writing: one is required to undertake wide reading in order to demonstrate scholarship, and to use expert or "scientifically" accepted arguments and evidence to support or reject the discussion one presents, such as a claims and counter-claims. The student's facial expression instantly changed as the explanation I gave seemed to register with him and appeal to his logic. He stated that this was the first time he had ever been convinced about the need to make reference to an "expert" in his subject matter, even concerning matters that he had already independently established.

In a similar class, the topic of 'Line of Argument & Supporting Facts' was comprehensively discussed in another class. By the end of the one-and-a-half hour session, a mature South Korean student quietly approached me and confessed that he was still unable to grasp the concept. I am aware that able-bodied South Korean males are required to undertake mandatory military service in their country for some years; this student was a retired Captain. In light of his background, I asked him to consider the Korean Peninsula: I said that until the Korean War (1950-53), the North and South were one country, one people; and that while the Demilitarised Zone, or DMZ, between the two countries is known as the world's most-watched border, it is essentially a line pencilled on a piece of paper between brothers and sisters after the Korean War. I asked the student if he agreed with this. He smiled and corrected me: He said that the line was drawn at the end of World War II, and not after the Korean War of 1950. I asked if he agreed with my argument that North and South Koreans are the same race, the same people. He said he did. I explained to him that what he had just corrected me on were the facts that I had used in my line of argument. He beamed as he finally understood.

In the aforementioned examples, it can be observed that what are commonly declared as forbidden topic areas in the classroom, that is, religion and politics, had helped these EAP students to finally comprehend what had evaded them despite previous explanations having been given, together with classroom engagement which was based on prescribed and proscribed materials. Surely, neither of these forms of exemplification could be, or should be, regarded as an intentionally contentious discussion of politics and religion in the classroom – as they are, in fact, authentic aspects of daily life that directly or indirectly affect humanity. Thus, I argue that citation or reference to a religious or political figure or event in a "secular" classroom, or any other discussion for that matter, does not automatically or unequivocally make that a forum for dissension – unless facilitated by an unskilled or inexperienced practitioner in an academic

setting, or otherwise a deliberately provocative writer or interlocutor in other situations. Similarly, the mention of non-religious or political people or issues does not render a religious discussion secular or political. Just as it is typically accepted that both academic and emotional intelligence are necessary for development, the omission of political or religious intelligence from a "secular" classroom could be regarded as being a disservice to the EAP student who is required to develop critical thinking and language skills.

A Multimodal Video Case Study

Case Studies constitute the core part of the BME Presessional Programme at the UoB. They are what differentiate this presessional from an interdisciplinary EAP programme. In 2012, during a curriculum review, as part of the management team, I suggested the inclusion of a documentary film, namely *Stealing Africa: Why Poverty – How Much Profit is Fair?* as a multimodal case study, in addition to the usual paper-based ones.

The documentary film, one of a series of eight produced by The Why, explores the moral question of why in excess of one billion people still live in abject conditions, as stated below:

Over the last 30 years over 1 billion people have come out of poverty. While tremendous strides have been made towards reaching the Global Goal of ending poverty entirely by 2030; 736 million men, women and children are still classified as living in extreme poverty-surviving on less than $1.90 a day (www.thewhy.dk).

The film focuses on global inequality, raising critical questions and awareness as to why poverty persists despite abundance, excess and waste in the world, when this is an era of knowledge, advanced economics, computer-technology, genius minds and comprehensive degree programmes offered in various subject areas in universities around the world.

This is a reality facing EAP and ESAP students alike: countries where the vast majority of the poor live are often more resource-rich than the wealthiest countries of the world put together, which then begs the question: why, in the 21st century, when the world continues to witness an increase in the number of degree holders who specialise in a broad range of subjects, do such problems persist? If the classroom continues to be sanitised, it should come as no surprise that the moral dilemmas or moral bankruptcy of humankind will also be perpetuated. Likewise, prohibiting students and teachers from the consideration or discussion of certain subject matter in the classroom may well produce graduates, though few will be educated in the true sense of the word. Hence, the rationale behind

the inclusion of this documentary film in the BME curriculum were as follows - the film would offer students:

- exposure to international accents & dialectal variations of English listening practice
- reading practice, i.e.: where subtitles are given for non-English
- stimulation of different lobes of the brain ability to compare & contrast (in this case, cultures)
- opportunities for critical thinking & analysis
- materials for the extrapolation of real meaning through inferences
- examples of different body language
- audio-visual text for summarising skills (for a written summary &/or seminar discussion)
- holistic learning through multimodal texts variety, by offering a change from the usual paper-based case studies

Teacher & Student Feedback

A survey was conducted among 32 members of staff on the BME Presessional Programme about the introduction of a video-based case study in the curriculum. While most wrote that the inclusion of the documentary film was "*great*" and "*a nice change*" that "*made for an interesting class*", the student feedback was far more concrete, and therefore helpful. A selection of the key positive and negative comments follow:

Positive
The visual impact helps me realize more about the issue and get into much deeper thinking.

The difference between a video-based and a reading-based case study is using different part[s] of [the] senses. Personally, I prefer having a video for case study because watching video is more interesting and it is easier for me to understand the content.

From the images, we can learn more than just reading the text.

Trying to understand the accent of the speaker[s] was another challenge.

We could understand the situation more intuitively because of the pictures.

The benefit is I could improve my listening through the video.

Obviously, video can provide active and vivid images to us. We can get some information from the pictures, the speaker's body language and voice, too.

"It's not about poverty: it's about inequality."

Negative

*While watching the video, I had no time to digest and then I felt stressful;
and sometimes my brain went blank because listening is my major
weakness.*

*For now I prefer reading-based case study, because it is much easier for
me to understand. However, I will try to improve my listening ability,
catch up and finally adapt to the listening-based one.*

*It is more difficult for me, because sometimes cannot follow peoples' ideas,
especially [if] he or she speaks fast.*

*The concepts, theories and techniques required here are quite complex and
may need extensive readings, repeated discussion and some
explanation in class.*

It can be observed from this self-explanatory feedback that even what
were presented as negative experiences by the students, are actually
realisations or opportunities for them to focus their efforts to improve on.

Concluding comments

In light of the discussion herein, it can be summarised that authentic
multimodal texts expose students to broader ranges and modes of
materials, and that they cater to different learning styles in the classroom
which then generate greater interest and rewards for staff and students
alike. Teacher responses and learning opportunities based on students'
contexts offer a wholesome canvas for language-learning and for the
development of academic skills, and provide a socially, culturally and
linguistically rich set of resources for use within EAP [or ESAP], and
beyond.

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PART II

LITERATURE

Chapter Twelve

A Divided Duty:
Gendered Readings of Shakespeare's
Great Tragedies

Vladislava Gordić-Petković

Outline

The paper will address the acting and transformations of women characters and role models in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Othello* and *King Lear* as seen by contemporary critics who value gender and hierarchy. As first introduced as dutiful daughters of patriarchy, Desdemona, Ophelia and Cordelia inadvertently violate the laws imposed by men and become ostracized for the very attempt at independent thinking, their honesty and enthusiasm being met with social rejection and doomed to dissolve into humiliation, madness and passivity. The notion of divided duty as the basic conflict within Shakespearean female characters turns into the persistent dilemma of gender(ed) views of Shakespeare: are they meant to read women *in* the text, or *into* the text? Prominent critical figures such as Marjorie Garber, Janet Adelman and Elaine Showalter demonstrate the risks and privileges of crossing the borders of gender readings. The understanding of gender in Shakespeare's tragedies has to be focused on language as an important system that reveals dichotomies, inconsistencies and gaps in societal values and political positions. Language turns out to be the best way to understand the share of appearances in the social judgment. All Shakespeare's tragic heroes simply have to endure a world in which language is, at least to some degree, professed as the enemy who invites the chaos of non-being into a seemingly unshakable system of power and authority. Female characters suffer in the sense that they are not acknowledged as equal and independent, they are neither included into the world nor read into the text, they are dispossessed of their rights and the power of word and act.

Of Slips and Gaps

It is easy and convenient to say that Shakespeare has "the curiosity of a scientist, the judgment of a philosopher, and the soul of a poet." (McGinn 2006, 24) The number of such flamboyant descriptions that easily turn into tropes have significantly grown in the past decades. According to McGinn, "[Shakespeare] gives one the sense that he is ruthlessly peeling back the layers of self-delusion and wishful thinking that cloud our view of human affairs, exposing the bloody beating heart (and intestines) of man" (24). The body, the soul and the mind are covered in the descriptions of Shakespeare's genius, but the comparisons do not stop there. Strangely enough, or simply following in the footsteps of Macbeth's rhetoric (which has largely become the rhetoric of criticism), McGinn likens Shakespeare's characters regarding their personality and the social roles they are playing to clothing: "a function of prevailing expectations and free choices, not something like the color of your eyes or your height"(20); however, the most difficult explanation might be linked to the inexplicable roles and robes of women in Shakespeare's plays.

Gendered views of Shakespeare's tragedies have to be focused on language, as an important system that reveals dichotomies, inconsistencies and gaps in societal values and political positions. Language is sometimes the best way to prove how much of our lives are given to appearances. Ross McDonald argues that the genre of tragedy most of all implies "an authorial obsession with the capacity of language to damage, deform and mislead" (McEachen 2003, 45). According to his views, each tragedy represents the dangerous "malleability" of words and their turning into the instruments of evil. Language is "the apparatus of evil," it is doomed to be "treacherous and unreliable, even in the hands of the good"(Garber 2005, 586). All Shakespeare's tragic heroes simply have to endure a world in which language is, at least to some degree, professed as the enemy who invites the chaos of non-being into a seemingly unshakable system of power and authority. Female characters suffer in the sense that they are not acknowledged as equal and independent, they are neither included into the world nor read into the text, they are dispossessed of their rights and the power of word and act.

Marjorie Garber reminds us that literary tragedy in Jacobean time, being exemplary and educative, is also "a scapegoat, substitute, or safety valve": its cultural value "is not only aesthetic but also ameliorative and apotropaic, warding off danger" (523) and we should be aware of the almost fatal effect of its structures and propositions on women characters. Garber describes Desdemona's destiny in the following way: "a woman

asserts herself, making her own choice in marriage against her father's will, speaking out in public on civic matters, then daring to contradict her husband's view and offering him advice" (568) Although it can be deemed from a more encouraging perspective, as we shall see later, this view deliberately ignores the fact that it was Desdemona herself who professed to exchange one "lord" (her father Brabantio) for another (her husband Othello). Although she publicly announces her changed priorities, she cannot be seen as a rebel, since she simply transfers her loyalty to her husband as the next representative of authority and force. Desdemona decides to redefine the divided duty in order to dedicate her whole life and devotion to Othello, thus acting within the established norms of patriarchy. Her symbolical and actual transference of duty is unfortunately ignored and twisted in the process of verbal abuse she is exposed to later in the play.

By representing Desdemona's fast downfall into the abyss of her husband's malevolently guided disdain and contempt, *Othello* fully demonstrates the power of words which are exploited maliciously in order to disturb and confuse the hierarchies of duty, whereas *King Lear* deals with the dangerous signs of power, property and love which are emptied of meaning on the one hand, and with the abominable and destructive boundaries between flattery and lies on the other. With not very careful but nonetheless effective elaboration of the "mouth-friends" motif, the underrated and depreciated *Timon of Athens* admonishes the powerful members of the oligarchy for their poor judgment and their utter neglect of the dangerous proximity to sycophants and flatterers. The profile of *Coriolanus* is quite distinct from other Shakespeare tragedies for its hero's unreserved mistrust of language; the title hero is a crude and blunt man of action, grossly negligent of either linguistic signs or the diplomacy of language, an unrecognized opposite to Hamlet, the man of thought who revels in the shaking instability of language, regardless of the words' abysmal failure to regulate the world order. In a world suddenly turned into a set of false virtues, Othello cannot resist the urge and obligation to kill Desdemona for all the falsified reasons, whereas Macbeth lets his once sound and honest ambition turn into a dishonourable and immoral plot of usurping the throne. The regicide and usurpation Macbeth and Claudius carry through can be undone only by similar gestures coming from the rightful avengers such as Macduff and Hamlet. While Timon readily opts for an ascetic, and stubbornly misanthropic life of embittered contemplation, his antagonist Alcibiades makes plans to conquer Athens the very moment he is exiled. The reader readily sides with the heroes who are not inclined

to act, accepting for granted that the results of actions aimed to preserve peace and discipline are so often disastrous.

Terry Eagleton argues that Shakespeare's plays "value social order and stability" with an "extraordinary eloquence" only to develop the proposition that "these two aspects of Shakespeare are in potential conflict with one another." The stability of signs, insisting on the correspondence between the signifier and its signified, preconditions a well-ordered political state, but William Shakespeare's "belief in social stability is jeopardized by the very language in which it is articulated" (Eagleton 1986, xi). Action and contemplation are often contrasted in Shakespeare's plays as if one imminently annuls the other. The filial duty of two sons thus represents a stark contrast: young Fortinbras goes to battle for a piece of land which is not spacious enough to bury the soldiers who are killed in the battle that will be fought for it while Hamlet intensively contemplates both the possibility of suicide and the catalogue of all calamities of life throughout the play, loathing his own hesitation to avenge his father and basking in it at the same time. The word and the world cannot ideally overlap since language cannot fulfill its promise to materialize things: the power of the language is embodied in a series of futile attempts to convey the meaning of dispersed and chaotic thoughts. Lacking a purely physical adequacy, language divides its impossible duty between the equally unhappy outcomes such as understatement and linguistic inflation. Both strategies of expression endanger social stability to a great extent, as *The Tragedy of King Lear* shows. The play seems to lack a moral overview, a position from which the events of the play can be seen to postulate a moral direction in the world. The old king's greatest sin lies in his stubborn belief that the utilitarian exactitude can be used to measure filial duty. Insisting on the quantification of feelings, Lear arranges "a self-gratifying charade," (Kermode 2000, 185) which only serves the purpose of a rash and frantic giving away of his kingdom in the very opening scene of the play. Regal generosity is being bought with flattery which is expected to sound credible, and wasted on banishing the truthful and uncompromising individuals. In an attempt to establish the adequacy between the word and the world, Lear's daughters are tempted to choose between a disastrous scarcity of words and the mostly profitable profusion thereof.

Impossible to Avoid: Dangerous Instability

There were an abundance of issues in Elizabethan England that caused a cultural anxiety about women's role in society: a succession crisis brought about by King Henry VIII was probably the most important factor

to encourage the narrativization and dramatization of female obedience. The recurring motif in Shakespeare's work became a father's insistence on governing his daughter as well as a husband's control of his wife; however, this inclination towards expanding and resolving gender issues turns out to be rather social than psychological. According to Stephen Greenblatt, "Shakespeare understood his art to be dependent upon a social agreement, but he did not simply submit to the norms of his age, […] [he] subverted them, finding an unexpected, paradoxical beauty in the smudges, marks, stains, scars, and wrinkles that had figured only as signs of ugliness and difference" (Greenblatt 2010, 30) The expressions and imperfections of the human face probably provide the best metaphor of the impossibility to register all the irregularities of the world. As for the inner state of mind, Garber repeats the widely accepted, formulaic proposition that *King Lear* is "a sublime account of the human condition" (Garber 2005, 575).

Women characters are ethically judged according to the way they accept the challenges of the society. *King Lear* is perhaps the best tragedy to show how words turn into a virtual weapon of manipulation and castration. The idiom of Goneril and Reagan's eulogies is too formal and visibly insincere, whereas the youngest daughter Cordelia is defeated by the very inexpressible genuineness of her love. Seeing that overstatements are the best tactics in the world of appearances, Lear's eldest daughter Goneril says that she loves her father "more than word can *wield* the matter." Astutely avoiding the expected discourse of affection, she places emphasis on the unfathomable relationship between the world (the "matter") and its symbolic verbal reflection ("words"). Goneril uses language with the intention to undermine its values and expose its inadequacy, whereas her love for her father is brought up only when the ineffectiveness of verbal expression is discussed. Goneril's verbal strategy is divided between the logic of illusion and the illusion of logic: her love for her father is impossible to articulate not because it overcomes the power of verbal idiom, but because it is simply non-existent. Goneril's love assumes the shape of a signifier which can conceal the absence of the signified as skillfully as it can demonstrate its presence. Such an inconsistency of signs promotes common verbal trickery into a new reality which undermines the authenticity of Cordelia's love.

Cordelia's choices bring disastrous results although the scarcity of her mostly logical and rational statements might predict otherwise; the tumult her declaration of love causes is disproportionate to the clarity of the attitudes she expresses. As A. C. Bradley indicates, "Cordelia appears in only four of the twenty-six scenes of *King Lear*; she speaks – it is hard to believe it – scarcely more than a hundred lines; and yet no character in

Shakespeare is more absolutely individual or more ineffaceably stamped on the memory of his readers" (Bradley1957, 316). Not only because of the opening scene which summarizes the dangers and illusions of patriarchal hierarchy, *King Lear* is a largely bleak play which deals with power and property unequally distributed between classes and genders. Like much of Shakespeare's later work, it is not easily reduced to one theme, one ideology or one final interpretation, and it will keep on provoking varied critical responses, due to Shakespeare's flexibility which allows a variety of readings, encouraging the reader to accept the viewpoint of each character as independently justifiable. In the world of insanity and injustice, Cordelia's true love is imminently reduced to "nothing," which becomes another metaphor of the dangerous instability of rhetorical signs, ominously operating in both *King Lear* and *Othello*. "Nothing" is not simply a conspiracy or a true dimension of love, but also a dangerous weapon of male authority and struggle for dominance: although Cordelia explains the meaning invested in her "nothing", she is misunderstood and banished. Male verbal manipulations are designed to exert influence or power, but most of all to fulfill the ambition of establishing another world, a new "matter", a new dimension which will both marginalize and punish the voice of the woman. The male world mocks both material facts and spiritual values, twisting them mercilessly. Iago and Edmond use the word "nothing" with an intention to establish the truth effect as an opposite to the truth: by feigning proof of Desdemona's infidelity, Iago makes her devotion to *Othello* look like a lie and simulation, whereas the imaginary adultery appropriates the status of the unshakeable truth. "Nothing" is an infallible rhetorical illusion since it is ironically exact: it is sufficient to warn that nothing actually denotes filial lack of infidelity in the case of Edgar or Cordelia. However, "nothing" is by no means a simple absence or a lacuna: it is also "a void which cannot help being powerfully suggestive" (Eagleton 1991, 65) a yawning abyss waiting to be filled with meaning. Shakespeare's villains perfectly understand the challenge of that void and act accordingly; lacking confidence and self-respect, their innocent victims are easily subdued. For Cordelia and Hamlet, "nothing" signifies a truth beyond expression and they both use "nothing" to deny the absence of love. Cordelia literally cannot find words to explain her filial devotion, at least there are no words that have not been previously corrupted by her sisters' rhetorical operations. "Unhappy that I am, I cannot heave/My heart into my mouth,"[1]

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[1] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear*, Jay L. Halio, ed. The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), Act I,

she says, pointing out at a bodily organ as a symbolical vessel containing truth. *Hamlet* demonstrates the paradox of a language conveying "its own failures and inadequacy in a form that is more than adequate, even triumphant."[2] Hamlet uses words only to show their utter inadequacy, and although his exploitation of language is not unethical as Goneril and Reagan's, he finds almost morbid delight in the wordplay, even if it means tormenting himself and hurting others. His obsessive gloat in the opacity of signs is closely connected with a quest for truth which puts the accuracy far behind the pun. "I love your majesty/ According to my bond; nor more nor less,"[3] says Cordelia, in a vain attempt to achieve exactitude with comparisons pertaining to an extremely instable social hierarchy. She still has to weigh and consider what Hamlet has already accepted: she has to understand that the word is not only unable to express a meaningful thought or attitude, it readily turns against them. To say that the final outcome of Hamlet's inability to fight the inadequacy of words is violent death of many will not be an exaggeration.

Subversion of meanings and structures can be seen in *Othello*, where "a woman asserts herself, making her own choice in marriage against her father's will, speaking out in public on civic matters, then daring to contradict her husband's view and offering him advice" (Garber 2005, 523). Suffice it to say, "these [were] all signs of transgression", and yet we are oddly sympathetic to her plight, even though, deep down, we know that what she has done is rather inappropriate. As Greenblatt illustrates, "it is Shakespeare's lovers who encounter again and again the boundaries that society or nature sets to the most exalted and seemingly unconfined passions" (Greenblatt 2010, 18).

Dying is not the only horrifying ritual in the world of misplaced words: Shakespeare wryly warns of that. Thus the love contest in the first scene of *King Lear*, which abounds in rhetorical deceptions, is not only a formal ceremony in which an aged king hands his lands to his daughters. Being a seemingly strategic division of kingdom, authority and power, it is also a division of duties imposed by love. In an unsatisfactory explanation of her filial love, Cordelia also insists upon the division of love, care and duty between her father and her future husband:

> Why have my sisters husbands, if they say
> They love you all? Happily, when I shall wed,

Scene 1, Lines 86-87.

[2] Claire McEachern, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespearean Tragedy*, 47.

[3] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear*, Act I, Scene 1, Lines 87-88

> That lord whose hand must take my plight shall carry
> Half my love with him, half my care and duty:
> Sure, I shall never marry like my sisters[4]

Cordelia here seems to adopt her father's quantifying attitude by dividing her love, care and duty into halves, or simulates exactitude in order to shock him, but Lear's words "I loved her most, and thought to set my rest/ On her kind nursery"[5] clearly equal love with a full and undivided duty performed with willingness, affection and kindness. The father and the daughter obviously share the identical code of love, but rhetorical deceptions come between them. Insisting that the rhetoric should reflect the truth, Lear cannot understand that verbal signs may suggest love, even display the emotion, but need not contain it. Unable to register Cordelia's logic, he interprets her statement as an icy cold refusal to participate in the love contest. Lear understands Cordelia's earnest speech about the division of duty as a proclamation of sheer cruelty which calls for banishment as the only appropriate response. Indeed, Cordelia refuses to offer the maternal care he requires; that is why she needs to specify the nature of her obligation to him.

The Division of Love

King Lear focuses at once on patriarchy and paternity, on the interaction between the role of the king and the role of the father. For Shakespeare's time the idea of fatherhood was central to notions of governance, and the Bible taught, in the imagery of Saint Paul, that the structure of the family household should take the same form as the political structure. Thus, the relationship of parents and children, fathers and daughters, and fathers and sons dominate the action (Garber 2005, 577).

Lear generally makes no distinction between the speech and the act: because of his willful misinterpretation of signs and values Cordelia is expelled from the social and emotional hierarchy, disinherited and disowned, and her love degraded into a simple nothing. What expels her from the system is also her prudence and good judgment. The warning that a father must share his daughter's love, care and duty with her husband comes from a mature and responsible young woman whose proper understanding of social and emotional duties in patriarchy prevents her from making unrealistic promises. Unlike the Player Queen in the

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[4] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear,* Act I, Scene 1, Lines 94-98.
[5] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear,* Act I, Scene 1, Lines 117-118.

mousetrap scene of *Hamlet*, Cordelia would never "protest too much."[6] Even the blissfully ignorant Gertrude considers the vows spoken on the stage exaggerated. The division of love is not Cordelia's choice, but a fact generally acknowledged and agreed upon in patriarchy. Thus questioning her choice is an inappropriate test of the patriarchal society's claim of women's obedience to fathers and husbands. By banishing Cordelia, Lear launches an altogether unreasonable attack on the patriarchal structure which provided his many rights and privileges.

Cordelia's return to England with the French army is an act of deep loyalty, but also the regression to the role of an obedient daughter: she gives all of her love, care and duty to her father again, reestablishing the priority of filial bond. Thus she willfully breaks the patriarchal rule which requires her to balance two equally important duties and bonds. While Cordelia finds a way to fulfill her obligations, Hamlet is much less successful in this respect. His emotional history reveals a filial affection never expressed while his father was alive, and a romantic love exploding in words at his beloved's grave. It is the tragic death of Ophelia that miraculously turns Hamlet into a devoted and dejected lover, it is the death of the old king that gives rise to his son's admiration and respect, whereas the warm childhood affection is disclosed only while Hamlet holds Yorick's skull. It would be wrong to blame his melancholy for this belated self-expression: verbally expressed devotion to an absent and unattainable object may disguise Hamlet's innate inability to love.

Childishly unreal in his expectations of the world, Lear dissolves into a mad rage and immediately a chaotic tempest, overtaking the entire world of the play, follows:

> You unnatural hags,
> I will have such revenges on you both
> That all the world shall   I will do such things
> What they are yet I know not, but they shall be
> The terrors of the earth! You think I'll weep:
> No, I'll not weep.
> I have full cause of weeping, but this heart
> [*Storm and tempest*]
> Shall break into a hundred thousand flaws
> Or ere I'll weep. O Fool, I shall go mad![7]

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[6] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark,* Act III, Scene 2, Line 211.
[7] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear*, Act II, Scene 4, Lines 278-286.

Having descended to a chaotic state, the condition for which only females are, in his opinion, to blame, the king faces prime matter in the form of the stormy and scary wilderness he finds himself exiled in, and wishes to pull his entire kingdom down with him, right to the destruction of all values and norms, inviting both destruction and self-annihilation:

> Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks! rage, blow!
> You cataracts and hurricanoes, spout
> Till you have drench'd our steeples, [drown'd] the cocks!
> You sulph'rous and thought-executing fires,
> Vaunt-couriers of oak-cleaving thunderbolts,
> Singe my white head! And thou, all-shaking thunder,
> Strike flat the thick rotundity o' th' world!
> Crack nature's moulds, all germains spill at once
> That makes ungrateful man![8]

Lear abandons all idolatry of manhood, as well as the idea that man might resemble gods in any respect. The self-banished king paradoxically believes both in the monism of *creatio ex nihilo* and the materialism of Aristotle's *ex nihilo nihil fit* which Hobbes dryly explicates: "because nothing, however it be multiplied, will for ever be nothing" (Bloom 2008, 254). But Lear's quantification of love springs from the idea that something might be created out of nothing when he addresses Goneril to praise her love as greater than Regan's, who only allows him to keep twenty-five retainers:

> Your fifty yet doth double five and twenty,
> And thou art twice her love.[9]

This naive quantification breaks easily, as the "loves" of both daughters will be reduced to zero very soon: neither daughter will ultimately allow him a single servant. An ●, or ◐, without a figure, cannot be multiplied, and it remains nothing. Cordelia has "nothing" to offer first to her father and then to her future husband (who is wise enough to recognise her worth), Edgar becomes poor Tom, a "poor, bare, fork'd animal," "the thing itself," realizing that "Edgar I nothing am,"[10] Kent is put in the stocks for being a faithful servant to the King, and Gloucester is tormented and blinded. Lear is reduced to an ●/◐ without a figure long before he has learned his lesson: everything can be made out of nothing, as

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[8] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear*, Act III, Scene 1, Lines 1-9.
[9] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear*, Act II, Scene 4, Lines 268-269.
[10] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear*, Act II, Scene 3, Lines 21.

the universe itself is born of the alleged nothingness, thus showing that the much-despised zero actually is the womb of all.

Unlike Lear, Hamlet is successful in turning treacherous words into rhetorical deceptions. The closet scene makes a good example of his demonic creation of truth effects worth of Edmond or Iago. Gertrude does not see anything wrong in her choices, not until Hamlet accuses her of inconstancy, lack of any sense of value and immoderate sexual desire. He decides to make her repent not her sin, but the illusion of her sin. His words "I will speak daggers to her, but use none"[11] demonstrate the decision to substitute the act with words. On hearing Hamlet's version of her moral fall, Gertrude, curiously enough, reacts with: "These words like daggers enter in mine ears."[12] The words are a poison poured into our ear only to distort our perception of reality, and death delivers us from their devastating effects. While the Queen is forced to atone for the fulfilment of her femininity, Ophelia is manipulated into believing that her womanhood is worthless. Janet Adelman's reading of Hamlet speaks powerfully of the importance of sexuality in the characterization of Gertrude and Ophelia. She sees the play as a paradigm of the anxieties about women's sexuality that resonate throughout the Shakespearean canon (Adelman 1992):

> As they enter into sexuality, the virgins   Cressida, Desdemona, Imogen will be transformed into whores, their whoredom acted out in the imaginations of their nearest and dearest; and the primary antidote to their power will be the excision of their sexual bodies, the terrible revirginations that Othello performs on Desdemona, and Shakespeare on Cordelia. (36)

We might suspect, though, that Ophelia, unaware of her sexual power and the anxiety it produces, naively confused Hamlet's true love with a conventional romantic attitude: at least she seems to invest her hope and faith into Hamlet's phrases rather than his feelings. Their misunderstanding is evident at the beginning of the second act, when his breaking into her closet provokes her fear and perturbation:

> He took me by the wrist, and held me hard;
> Then goes he to the length of all his arm,
> And with his other hand thus o'er his brow
> He falls to such perusal of my face
> As a would draw it. Long stayed he so;

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[11] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, Act III, Scene 2, Line 357.
[12] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, Act III, Scene 4, Line 95.

> At last, a little shaking of mine arm,
> And thrice his head thus waving up and down,
> He raised a sigh so piteous and profound
> As it did seem to shatter all his bulk,
> And end his being. That done, he lets me go,
> And with his head over his shoulder turned
> He seemed to find his way without his eyes,
> For out-a-doors he went without their helps
> And to the last bended their light on me.[13]

She never asks for an explanation of his behaviour, because *nothing* has happened. Trained to respond only to a verbal impulse, Ophelia cannot understand Hamlet's silent anguish, nor offer support and solace. Thus, her next encounter with Hamlet becomes the ideal opportunity to return his gifts, which are nothing to her when stripped off those "words of so sweet breath composed."[14] She commits an unpardonable sin of preferring words to matter. Furthermore, she expects the signs of love from the one who trusts no signs anymore. Ophelia is desperately looking for a verbal proof of love, which, ironically enough, is the only thing she cannot get from Hamlet. Love is the matter that words cannot wield, partly because it can be bestowed on others and still miraculously remain whole. Love's constancy cannot be subjected to the mutability of rhetorical signs which assume many different roles, feigning shortage, abundance, sheer lack or omnipresence without changing the heart of the matter. Cordelia's love for her father remains unchanged and unconditional, its essence untouched by the words which are largely dependent on the intention of the speaker and anxieties of the listener.

Rhetorical Deception

King Lear's refusal to pay respect to non-verbal strategies hidden behind the verbally supported laws of hierarchy unfortunately imposes upon him the idea that the substance of love can be transformed into a mere ritual, a meaningless ceremony. He would not notice the fickleness of both the words and the rituals as long as his range of power is intact and his position in the hierarchy secured. That is why his widely used rhetorical mode is reduced to the imperative, at least until he starts to question his own position in the world and the concept of ungrateful humanity. Lear's stubborn expectation that the verbal content should

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[13] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, Act II, Scene 1, Line 75-98.
[14] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, Act III, Scene 1, Line 98.

mirror the outer world is essentially naive, utopian and noble: it does disturb the world, taking the kingdom into chaos and war, it does deprive the words of their value by promoting "the glib and oily art"[15] of declarative speech, but the love contest actually betrays an ambition to construct a set of fully reliable signs whose meaning would be as unconditional as love is. In short, Lear would like to turn the rhetorical deception into the rhetoric of truth: thus he ascribes to the hierarchy the innate contradiction of the being, in a delusional attempt to hand in the responsibilities of a ruler and to keep the privileges of power at the same time. By trying to rule after abdication and to stay in power after the division of the kingdom Lear unintentionally degrades himself into "nothing." The contradictory and inconsistent position he tries to achieve for himself is not anticipated in the social system. The only ruler who can share his authority with an earthly king and still remain in absolute power is God, whose position Lear cannot assume even in the system of truths he created for himself. Thus, the world in which the word would be the exact measurement of love is not an option. Lear still believes he may create such a world, at least by deciding that "nothing" stands for the non-existence of love. On hearing Cordelia uttering the word, he has to respond with an act which must prove that "nothing will come of nothing."[16] The non-existence of love must be severely punished by turning the offender into a sheer nothing: thus the unloving daughter who was supposed to get "a third more opulent"[17] loses her position in the hierarchy. Nevertheless, the loss of position is not the loss of value. King of France, a person outside Lear's hierarchy, finds absolute value in Cordelia after she has been belittled to nothing. He endows her with a privileged position in another system of power, in the system of his own making. Cordelia's "price" falls and rises in the respective realms of patriarchal power, so a daughter deemed to be worth nothing can become a worthy wife and a queen who deserves everything, a wife even worth the questionable risk of dissipating the military power of the state in order to let her wage her private war.

Rhetorical deceptions are of limited influence, duration and effect since the outsiders and aliens easily unveil them. Unfortunately, Cordelia's banishment from the system opens an empty place for a newcomer. Gloucester's illegitimate son Edmond is "nothing," but as soon as the system wonders into discord he seizes the opportunity to become a very

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[15] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear*, Act I, Scene 1, Line 219.

[16] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear*, Act I, Scene 1, Line 85.

[17] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear*, Act I, Scene 1, Line 81.

sinister factor of change. He inherits the title of his blinded and humiliated but still living father, seduces the king's daughters and proposes to both, although one is married and the other recently widowed. These unnatural acts which rocket Edmond to the very top of the social ladder turn him into a villain greater than Iago. For all his malignity, Iago shows a peculiar respect for the social and hierarchical relations, never wishing for himself a higher post than the one of Othello's lieutenant. Edmond takes the position of nothing as an infinite liberty of being everything.

Rhetorical deceptions destroy the system of values the same way the word can destroy the world it unduly represents. Any attempt at making the word and the world order equivalent can end in catastrophe. Although Lear's verbal measuring of love has ruined his kingdom and his kingly beliefs, respect must be shown for his impossible mission to harmonize the two realms. Shakespeare's incessant wordplay with the world proves that nothing can truly exist before being conceived in the tricky dimension of language. However, a true artist is bound to surpass the traps of signs if he creates a reliable idiom of his own. As opposed to language itself, Shakespeare's tragic idiom possesses the prestige and the power which surpasses the shortcomings of verbal communication.

Concluding Remarks

Masculinity and femininity are both discursive constructs and socially determined categories important for literary analysis. As critical tools in reading Shakespeare, they need to be contextualized, but must also serve as a compensation for the meanings that might have been irretrievably lost. Some aspects of Shakespeare's work became incomprehensible to his audience due to the disappearance of the tradition of Renaissance Neoplatonism from cultural awareness immediately after the peak of Shakespeare's career, and the metaphysical system behind his drama became hidden and invisible, as Ted Hughes points out (Hughes 2007, 171). Owing to the Bard's surprisingly powerful language, this system still operates, requiring a method that should join rhetoric with ideology. Whenever we apply the term "ideology," we should have in mind "the general process of the production of meanings and ideas" (Williams 1977, 55); according to Jonathan Dollimore, ideology is "not a set of false beliefs capable of correction by perceiving properly, but the very terms in which we perceive the world" (Dollimore 2004, 9). An ideology can thus be defined as any system of beliefs that facilitates perceiving patterns and categorizing phenomena around us, including gender and language. Ideologies can range from ambitious religious, philosophical, or political

systems of thought to those idiosyncratic mixtures of views, but all of
them are built with basic metaphysical building blocks – the inherited
responses to those fundamental questions unanswerable by empirical
evidence. We must value Shakespeare's extraordinary eloquence which is
ideology in itself, surpassing all the secrets and surprises we might expect.

Marjorie Garber reminds us that "the hallmark of a complex work of
art is that it cannot only endure but also benefit from any number of re-
readings" (Garber 2005, 15), calling Shakespeare "the playwright of now"
(Garber 2005, 37) and making us aware of the fact that our duty to the
Bard is a divided one: we are both bound to see him as the generator and
the sole proprietor of the vast empire called language.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

COSMOPOLITAN ENCOUNTERS IN SHAUN TAN'S *THE ARRIVAL*

ARIJANA LUBURIĆ-CVIJANOVIĆ

Outline

Shaun Tan's wordless graphic novel *The Arrival* (2006) offers a purely visual narrative of migration whose dreamlike quality suspends it between realism and fantasy. Allowing for a multiplicity of interpretations, Tan's generically indeterminable work challenges our understanding of what constitutes a literary text and presents migration in its most universal terms. Stripped of specificities of context, migration is represented as a transitional experience universally marked by loss, nostalgia, strangeness, cultural translation and cross-pollination. By establishing a community of non-elite migrants whose shared sense of strangeness induces empathy and renders otherness, in Tan's words, interesting rather than problematic, *The Arrival* provides a space for cosmopolitan encounters. With its concept of community as shared existence, and its fragmented narrative structure that is kept together by the common features of diverse migrant stories, Tan's novel can be seen as representative of the new literary cosmopolitanism. The aim of this paper is to read *The Arrival* through the lens of recent cosmopolitan theory, and to show that Tan's work confirms that the new literary cosmopolitanism is not, as Berthold Schoene believes, a peculiarly British phenomenon.

Shaun Tan and the graphic novel

The last few decades have seen a proliferation of graphic novels, comic books, and other types of graphic narratives that can be defined somewhere along the line between art and literature. This hybrid form transgresses the boundaries of media and convention, and transforms the

idea of what constitutes a literary text. Namely, the graphic novel is now understood as a transmedial form of storytelling or literary genre, and remains elusive in the face of all efforts to clearly define it. The ambiguity surrounding the term that was popularized by Will Eisner arises from the different ways in which it is perceived and from the variety of narratives it covers, some of which seriously challenge all definitions of the novel. While critics like Christina Meyer see graphic novels primarily as "*forms* of storytelling*,*" (2013, 272) those like Monika Schmitz-Emans interpret graphic narratives, graphic novels included, as a genre of literature (2013, 385, 389). While the peculiar form of the graphic novel, which covers a wide range of formats and usually combines text and image, is undoubtedly one of its distinctive features, its qualification as a genre is more contentious. It is taken to mean any kind of long comic narrative or extended comic book by and for adults, written in a number of different subgenres ranging from (auto)biography and history to science fiction and Gothic. The very word comic that most definitions use may be misleading if it is understood as referring to content rather than format since the contemporary graphic novel is frequently devoid of humour. The contemporary graphic novel often presupposes serious content and artistic quality, which is why the term is sometimes regarded with suspicion as a potential critical or commercial affectation to add gravitas and delegitimize comics as a medium (Meyer 2013, 274).

Other culturally or historically specific terms aside, comics, the graphic novel, and the graphic narrative are intricately related and sometimes used synonymously although they are not fully interchangeable. Those in favour of demarcation suggest that the graphic novel emerged from the comic strip (Romero-Jódar 2017, 8), and point out that its introduction in the 1960s and 1970s helped free comics from their demonized status (Meyer 2013, 276) as light entertainment for immature audiences that potentially inspires delinquent behaviour. The 1980s' and 1990s' upsurge of serious, and especially politically charged, graphic novels gave impetus to the tendency to insist on delineating between these related yet distinct categories that can but do not invariably overlap. Both use the comic-strip format, both are sometimes serially published and then in book form, both appeal to different audiences and vary in genre, themes, and artistic quality, but the graphic novel is first and foremost defined as a type of novel. How much it can creatively depart from novelistic conventions is best illustrated by works like Shaun Tan's *The Arrival* (2006), which functions as a novel without words–indeed, it is categorized as "a wordless graphic novel" on the front matter page–but would perhaps benefit from the wider and more neutral term graphic narrative. Graphic narrative is

itself variously defined as "narrative work in the medium of comics" (Stein and Thon 2013, 4), by Hillary Chute and Marianne DeKoven in the American context, or as "a story told using nonmoving images" (Petersen 2011, xiv). The more inclusive definitions favored, among others, by Jared Gardner, David Herman, Robert S. Petersen, Daniel Stein and Jan-Noël Thon, incorporate graphic novels, comic books, nonfictional and, most importantly here, wordless narratives, emphasizing the narrative potential of both text and image. Such definitions allow for distinctions between graphic narratives and comics which stress the former's inevitable artistic quality and the latter's indispensable need for at least some of the conventions of storytelling in comics, like sequentiality, framed panels, gutters, or speech bubbles. Historically and culturally, the graphic narrative is seen as older, wider, and more neutral due to its early origins in preliterate Paleolithic art, cave paintings and tapestries, while comics are specifically related to the Anglo-American context where they developed from the 1890s' and 1900's work of newspaper cartoonists like Richard Felton Outcault. Comics also evolved from Rodolphe Töpffer's 1830s' *histoiries en estamps* and are related in origins to the Italian *fumetti* or the French *bande dessinée* but an analysis of different national traditions, which requires a book-length study to be properly nuanced, would unnecessarily expand the focus of this discussion (see Petersen 2011; Stein and Thon, 2013). In any case, the history and development of comics and other graphic narratives cannot accurately be established because "[i]mage-based sequential narratives have been around for thousands of years", early forms of comics "exist in almost every culture on the planet" and "each national tradition will undoubtedly claim that they were the first" when, in truth, "[t]he comics form grew universally" (Knowles et al. 2016, 381).

Whether we trace them back to ancient art that depicted culture-specific realities, newspaper comic strips that were the vehicle of biting political satire, or more popular comic strips of mid-twentieth century, the highly sophisticated twentieth and twenty-first century graphic narratives are not entirely free from association with low art. Yet, the rise of academic interest in them since the 1970s and then the 1990s, when scholarly research became less defensive, testifies to an increased, and increasingly serious, engagement with forms and genres that were previously thought of as belonging exclusively to popular entertainment. This confirms the now indisputable fact that graphic narratives can and should be regarded as serious art, which has been the predominant view since Art Spiegelman's *Maus* (1991) was awarded the Pulitzer in 1992. The merging of comics studies with "more serious" fields and theories has

produced specific fields of research like graphic narrative theory and the emerging comics narratology, both of which focus on comics and other types of graphic narratives, but has also given rise to the suspicion that some of the "more serious" approaches are medially unspecific and narratologically questionable (Stein and Thon 2013, 2, 4). The popularity of contemporary graphic narratives, whose development owes much to modern technologies and film, in academia, among general readers and publishers has contributed to the changing perception of graphic narratives, a large portion of which is today regarded as high-quality art.

The work of Shaun Tan (b. 1974), an Australian artist who has been identified as an author, illustrator, a graphic novelist, and a comics artist, certainly represents serious, high-quality art. His numerous collaborative works, like *The Rabbits* (1998) written by John Marsden, as well as those of single authorship, such as *The Lost Thing* (2000), *The Red Tree* (2001), or *The Arrival*, all testify to Tan's engagement with universally significant themes like belonging, dislocation, or colonization in unspecified or specific social and historical contexts, and show his preference for straddling categories. While he is usually categorized as a comic artist, his experience with illustrations, painting, film, animation, and short-story writing reveals an interest in "any sequence of images that can tell a story, with or without words" (Tan 2016, 389). Arguably, the best way to succinctly describe Tan's narrative sequences of images is to emphasize their boundary-crossing character. Boundary crossing, which Tan feels is "fundamental to storytelling", is also "a universal condition of being alive" (2016, 385) and a predominant feature of his entire oeuvre. His work crosses boundaries in many different ways: those between text and image, realism and fantasy, the old and the new, tradition and modernity, children's literature and adult fiction. By having been translated into many languages and read by a variety of different people, Tan's graphic narratives also cross the boundaries of cultures, nations, ages, genders, and reading preferences (Tan 2016, 386). Border crossing, migration, and transformation are also recurrent and partly autobiographical themes in Tan's narratives as he is an Australian of Chinese, Malaysian, Irish, and English descent whose family history, like his narratives, is characterized by ambiguities, accidents, absences, and gaps. Namely, his mother never visited her English and Irish homeland, his great-grandfather was sent to Australia as an orphan with no recorded background, and his father never intended to stay in Australia, but then did (Tan 2016, 387). If such a family situation made him predisposed to considerations of belonging and cultural difference, his life in Australia, whose contemporary culture is built on colonization, migration and difference, made him even more

inclined to think that being "culturally and genetically 'across boundaries', 'transitional' or 'multicultural' is a default position" (Tan 2016, 387).

Tan's artistic exploration of migration and boundary crossing in *The Arrival* is one of the reasons why this graphic narrative, so far interpreted as a science fiction and postcolonial graphic novel, can be read as a representative of the new literary cosmopolitanism. Like so much twenty-first-century literature, *The Arrival* is a response to "a new kind of being in the world" (Boxall 2013, 8). Although it does not explicitly concern itself with the contemporary globalized world, with its emphasis on migration as an ontological condition and a shared experience, on the cellularity and connectivity as dominant features of human existence, and on cross-cultural dialogue, *The Arrival* can be read as a reaction to the global reality of increasing mobility, unequal power relations, cultural hybridization, and a certain sense of flux. This sense of flux is pervasive in moments when the old world dies and a new one is born, when time renders the old forms inadequate for structuring and expressing experience and new forms need to be found. In the postmillennial interregnum, the structurally fragmented but cohesive new cosmopolitan novel is perhaps the closest to finding suitable forms to reflect the interplay between the global and the local, the incessant circulations of people and capital, the endlessly shifting political, economic, and cultural realities, and the interconnectedness of compartmentalized lives. *The Arrival*'s structural fragmentation, otherwise a formal convention of all graphic narratives, uses a number of cohesive devices and acts out fragmentation as a characteristic of migrant lives, and the transformative experience of migration as a transnational and pan-historical phenomenon.

Cosmopolitanism in *The Arrival*

Since its earliest definitions in antiquity, cosmopolitanism has been a "trans" or "pan" form of experience and sentiment. This has characterized all of its variants in its transformation from world citizenship to modernist cosmopolitan detachment, naïve notions of openness and multiculturalism inspired by the end of the Cold War, and finally to the more realistic politically and ethically engaged post-9/11 cosmopolitanism. According to Berthold Schoene, contemporary cosmopolitanism thus reflects the "world-political mood swing from celebratory euphoria at the close of the Cold War to traumatic shock, gross political disillusionment and cultural despondency in the aftermath of 2001" (2010, 8). Vinay Dharwadker believes that what inspired cosmopolitanism's transformation toward the end of the 20th century was also the consolidation of new types of

nationalism […] the empowerment of new immigrant communities in the national public spheres of the North and the West […] the accelerated globalization of capital and material production and consumption after the fall of the Berlin Wall (2001, 1).

While Schoene and Dharwadker agree that this new cosmopolitanism is preoccupied with politics rather than aesthetics, Schoene sees it as a peculiarly British phenomenon and Dharwadker examines it outside "the cartographic circles of Europe" as "portable across frames of reference" (2001, 3, 2) but not inevitably disassociated from its place in history. As *The Arrival* demonstrates, the new literary cosmopolitanism is a transnational phenomenon and has produced the so-called cosmopolitan novel in nations and cultures in and outside Britain, contrary to Schoene's claim that the cosmopolitan novel is an offspring of "a new British cosmopolitanism" (2010, 11) alone. The new cosmopolitan novel is not tied to specific localities, it imagines the world instead of the nation, and is characterized by composite, episodic but cohesive narrative assemblages that borrow from cinematic techniques (Schoene 2010, 12, 14). These assemblages formally enact the contemporary sense of living in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, when "the task is to venture beyond our nationally demarcated horizons", those same horizons that delimit Schoene's vision, "into the world at large and understand the domestic and the global as weaving one mutually pervasive pattern of contemporary human circumstance and experience, containing both dark and light" (2010, 15–6).

One of the points where the domestic and the global meet to create this pattern of human experience that contains both dark and light is migration. Mobility, travel, and migration are a staple of the new cosmopolitan novel, which accounts for both privileged and underprivileged forms of mobility. While it is true that much of the literature about travel and migration thematizes elite mobility, the new cosmopolitan novel does not refrain from portraying the experiences of the most vulnerable migrants, such as underpaid and illegal workers, or refugees. Therefore, equally representative of the new literary cosmopolitanism are novels like Salman Rushdie's *The Ground Beneath Her Feet* or *Fury*, which trace the lives of privileged migrants who contribute to the creation of a globa(ized) culture, and Hari Kunzru's *Transmission* or Caryl Phillips's *A Distant Shore*, which offer powerful insights into the underside of the global migratory processes and experiences (see Luburić-Cvijanović and Muždeka 2016; Luburić-Cvijanović 2018). The cosmopolitan novel's concern with all migration allows for a more nuanced representation and creation of the world with a focus on migration as a mode of existence. Shaun Tan's *The Arrival*

records in minute detail the nature and experience of non-elite migration, the hardships of life as a culturally illiterate migrant, and the feelings of loss, nostalgia, and *Unheimlichkeit*.

Originally imagined as a short picture book about a travelling man, *The Arrival* later evolved into a longer migrant narrative about the search for a better and more secure life, "for self-confidence, acceptance and legitimation in an environment of alienation and conflict" that leads to "new visions and experiences of the familiar and unfamiliar" (King et al. 1995, xv). The story was inspired by old photos of migrants and real-life migrant stories, evoked through the sepia tones and worn-out appearance of many photo-like images, whose essence Tan was trying to "distil" without harming their many idiosyncrasies by being simplistic or reductive. In other words, Tan was searching for common elements like nostalgia, family, loneliness, food, language, or work while minding the unique and diverse character of migrant histories. In an attempt to tell a universal migrant story and make room for open readings and multiple interpretations, Tan decided to leave out precise details of time, place, and identity, and suspend his narrative between dream and reality (Tan 2016, 390).

The theme of migration is suggested even before the narrative proper begins, by the title and the image of a man with a suitcase on the front cover. The inside front and back covers then show photograph-like images of people, presumably migrants, of different, and frequently indiscernible, genders, ages, and ethnicities. Unlike the front cover image that deliberately obscures the face of the archetypal migrant, these pictures show faces and resemble "the passport photo with its attendant suggestions of immigration, travel and border crossing" (Banerjee 2016, 402). Like the splash page that serves to introduce key symbols, scenes or characters (Horstkotte 2013, 28), these pictures enable Tan to set the tone and introduce the themes of racial, cultural, and ethnic difference pertinent to migration, and to point out that migration is a shared experience which severs historical, cultural, or familial links, but establishes new, cross-cultural ones. According to Silke Horstkotte, "one of the most repeated dogmas of comics studies is the understanding of comics" and, by extension, graphic novels, "as a linear form" (2013, 33). The images on the inside covers of *The Arrival*, however, do not need to be "read" in any particular order, and the same applies to a number of other images in the novel. This indicates the kaleidoscopic nature of migration, mirrored also by the graphic novel's structure whose panels and frames can be regarded separately, as a sequence, or several at once. That the idea of a strictly linear reading needs to be abandoned is confirmed by the occasional

embedding and overlaying of panels, the existence of multiple panels on a page and their combination with single-panel pages, the use of metaphor, metonymy, analepsis, prolepsis, and the same or similar images that all enable panels and entire chapters to communicate across pages (Horstkotte 2013, 38, 40–1). Most importantly, non-linear readings, which are more common in wordless narratives, deepen one's understanding of the non-linearity of migrant experience.

Structural fragmentation that invites non-linear readings in *The Arrival* is at the same time a reflection of migrant dislocation, a convention of the graphic novel, and a feature of its cosmopolitanism. Frames and panels are some of the basic elements of narration in comics and graphic novels, with grids and gutters opening up a space between panels for readerly imagination and engagement (Horstkotte 2013, 33). Panels fracture space and time and do not need to be seen as objective parameters, but can instead be interpreted as dependent on "the immediate physical resonances of drawn bodies, the texture of the emotional and social interaction of characters, and the gestalts of their composition on the page" (Kukkonen 2013, 49). Temporal and spatial disruption is also a distinctive feature of migrant narratives, where it is a manifestation of dislocation in lives cut off from specific places and times. As Tan's narrative confirms, places of departure, transit, and arrival, as well as the past, present, and future coexist in migrant lives as overlapping layers of reality. Furthermore, *The Arrival* literalizes the idea of time as a subjective parameter through its slow-paced temporal representation enabled by the lack of words and intended to show the slow process of real migrants' adaptation to a new environment. A further link between structural fragmentation, migration, and slow time is provided by the near-infinite compartmentalization of images stressed by the techniques of zooming in and out. Tan frequently zooms in to focus on symbolic details like objects that signify familiarity or strangeness, such as familiar household items in the old place or strange home appliances and creatures in the new one. He uses the same strategy to reveal telling details about the family situation, so he zooms in on origami as a demonstration of affection and an indicator of a change in environment, on cracked china as indicative of the family's financial situation, or on the child's drawings as reflective of her view of the old and new place. Facial expressions and gestures are also brought to the fore to signal emotional states, like anxiety, fear, unease, or happiness, and speak of the unkind treatment of the immigrant at the hands of immigration authorities or of the kindness extended to him by fellow immigrants. Tan's technique of zooming out presents migration through the lens of cosmopolitanism as it is usually used to call attention to a sense

of togetherness in isolation when, for instance, the main protagonist is shown to be sitting by the porthole on a ship and the zooming out allows us to see dozens of such portholes with lonely figures in them. The same idea of this shared sense of isolation, of the connectivity of isolated lives, is conveyed when the man is travelling in a flying box among dozens of such boxes that bring new arrivals to an unfamiliar place. This idea of a cellular yet interrelated being-in-common is typical of the cosmopolitan novel that experiments with "more cellular modes of representation" without "erasing the essential incongruousness or singularity of these individual segments" (Schoene 2010, 27). Cohesive devices are provided by leitmotifs like symbolic, or otherwise significant, objects (suitcase, map, family photo, ship, animals, food) and panels "repeated with a difference" (Horstkotte 2013, 42), (origami showing animals in the old and new world; the family dinner exhibiting differences in environments, the family's financial status and emotional state; or immigrants helping new arrivals). Like the many self-referential details of intricately related chapters in David Mitchell's *Cloud Atlas*, whose segments are linked by a recurring birthmark, names of places and people, book titles, characters, or shared themes, the numerous links in *The Arrival* point to the connections between places, moments in time, and different stories of migration.

At an intersection of real and imagined migrant narratives, *The Arrival* explores migration as a shared, universal experience, and a cosmopolitan mode of being. Hence Tan's decision to leave out details of time and place, which established a link between his narrative and its earliest predecessors, rock art, whose "unspecific time cues" make it "susceptible to shifting interpretations" and allow "the past to be made relevant to the present" (Petersen 2011, 7). Echoes of the past in the present and future, which broaden the main theme's universality and the range of reading possibilities, are found in a dreamlike combination of the old and the new. Namely, Tan's panels resemble early twentieth-century photographs, and Banerjee suggests that the entire narrative can be read as an old photo album (2016, 402), but the images are replete with futuristic devices, appliances, means of transport, and creatures. This blending of the past and the future that signals their coexistence in the life of a migrant is especially pronounced in pictures of street vendors and buskers whose clothes, goods, and instruments impart that they could be from any century, past, present, or future. Evoking earlier migration through sepia tones and images of ships, and fusing them with futuristic motifs, Tan highlights "the timelessness of process of migration" (2016, 403). The idea of migration as a timeless phenomenon also determined Tan's choice of an ethnically indeterminable, generic man as his main protagonist.

Since the human figure in graphic narratives is "a vehicle for emotional empathy" (Petersen 2011, xvii), the absence of specific racial or ethnic features creates more room for identification. As "juxtaposed pictures are always narrativized in the process of reception" (Stein and Thon 2013, 6), the novel's wordlessness further expands the horizons of interpretation and empathy because everything depends on our perceptions of facial expressions and body language that we read and read into. The absence of words that would culturally contextualize Tan's narrative, monopolize the reader's attention, and quicken the story's pace, means that the author has to rely on a purely "iconical language" (Romero-Jódar 2017, 3) or "globally understood images" (Schmitz-Emans 2013, 387),[1] and our general ability to interpret narrative sequences. Narrating in pictures also enables Tan to sidestep the notorious difficulty of verbally articulating trauma, explored in a number of artistic and literary works, such as Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* and *Foe*. Traumatic experiences are commonly narrativized in the postcolonial and other politically charged graphic novels, especially in the climate of twentieth and twenty-first century traumaculture which stimulated the development of the subgenre of the trauma graphic novel since the 1970s (Romero-Jódar 2017, 2). Tan's novel is undoubtedly thematically close to it, but the traumatized psyche does not occupy the centre of attention here nor does Tan use the subgenre's usual stream-of-consciousness technique. Although traumatic experiences, related through migrants' memories and at times symbolically represented by dragons or masked giants, serve as triggers of migration in *The Arrival*, the narrative seems to be more interested in the transformative nature of migration.

The ideas of a journey as an experience of transformation and migration as a cultural translation lie at the heart of all migrant and cosmopolitan literature and art. *The Arrival* alludes to the inevitability and significance of transformation at the very beginning of the migrant's journey, when several single-panel and multiple-panel pages show morphing clouds that suggest not only the passage of time but also the future changes in the migrant and his host culture. In the new country, Tan

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[1] Clearly, we cannot use the phrase "globally understood" without being wary of the cultural differences that may prevent global understanding due to the varying interpretations and potential impenetrability of facial expressions and body language. While it is true that "the pictorial codes of comics are usually not prohibitive to readers from different cultural or linguistic spaces", as Schmitz-Emans states (2013, 387), culturally rooted comics and graphic novels with or without words, like Jaroslav Rudiš's *Alois Nebel*, may require some knowledge of the culture in question.

puts emphasis on places of exchange like the port or market where ethnic, cultural, racial, gender, and species differences meet, connect, and alter one another. In these and other transformative spaces of the new world, immigrants experience challenges to "earlier self-perceptions and self-images" and subject their identities to "constant renegotiation in the face of the conflicts and compromises of everyday life" (King et al. 1995, 2–3). The dehumanizing immigration procedures upon arrival testify to an animalistic treatment of underprivileged immigrants, and are the first among many compromises that the migrants are forced to accept. Haunted by homesickness, repetitively alluded to in images of origami and the family photo, by linguistic and cultural illiteracy, and difficulty in getting around, using basic household items, or finding work, the immigrants in Tan's graphic novel live lives of conflict and slow adaptation. In the process, they are encountered by strangeness on a daily basis and compelled to alter their perceptions of the normal and the strange. Tan plays with "the conceptual boundary between what is familiar or 'normal', and what is exotic, or 'weird'" (Tan 2016, 386) to prove his hypothesis that what we experience as "normal" is an illusion. In his view, migration is the kind of transitional experience that shows you how easily the familiar turns into strange. This means that concepts like culture, language, work, or family are "flexible realities" because "the commonplace is exotic and the exotic is commonplace", depending on the point of view (Tan 2016, 388).

The strange yet familiar new world is a place that disrupts the fixities of the immigrant's old life and he now faces the challenge of handling the host culture's complexities from the position of a cultural illiterate. Like a child, he learns about strange objects and food, communicates by drawing pictures until he learns the initially strange invented language of the new place, and gradually overcomes the problem of cultural illiteracy. For this reason, *The Arrival*, like Tan's other works, can be understood as a story about "conceptual innocence" (Tan 2016, 397). These words aptly describe the condition of the newly arrived immigrant whose life is marked by a sense of dislocation caused by his lack of knowledge of the new place. His response to strangeness, which is heightened through Tan's employment of fantasy (Banerjee 2016, 401), is a mixture of anxiety, unease, fear, and disbelief, but we witness a change as he gets more accustomed to his new surroundings. To help the reader understand the migrant's sense of bewilderment and to inspire an identification with it, Tan deliberately does not explain anything. The many gaps, ambiguities, dilemmas that remain unresolved, and questions that remain unanswered may offer an idea of "what it is like to live through traumatic historical

events" when bewilderment forces you to "use your imagination, rather than lean upon received wisdom", waking you up "from the complacency of ordinary recognition" (Tan 2016, 391).

The contemporary graphic novel often deals with individual and collective suffering, and "has adopted an intimate, sometimes testimonial, voice" in works by authors like Marjane Satrapi and Joe Sacco to "portray the psychic effect of distressing experiences both on the individual subject and groups" (Romero-Jódar 2017, 1). Apart from social and political trauma, the graphic novel such as Craig Thompson's *Blankets* or David Almond and Dave McKean's young adult novel *The Savage* tackles the issues of personal emotional and childhood trauma. In *The Arrival*, migration is triggered by traumatic social and historical events as the migrants' flee oppressive regimes and war-torn countries. Their memories of the past are haunted by images of oppression, exploitation, and persecution, symbolically and metonymically represented by dragon tails, giant boots and masked faces, hands that take away one's freedom, or mutilated bodies. To get to the migration-induced realisation that all fixities in life are only provisional and nothing can ever be taken for granted, Tan's unnamed immigrants live the ambivalence and duality of migrant experience. They are now both insiders and outsiders in a strange but welcoming host culture, and have to negotiate between the old and the new, the strange and the familiar. In the process, they have the options to "re-create elements of former lives, [...] to integrate or assimilate completely", or to create "a new identity which is characterised by a feeling of independence" (King et al. 1995, 3), and the main protagonist seems to come up with a compromise. He re-creates some of his old life when he brings his family to the new place, as the second image of a family dinner, "repeated with a difference", illustrates, when he places familiar items to make his accommodation more homely, or when he indulges in his ritualistic origami. The man also integrates fairly well after he finds help and friendship among fellow immigrants, and accepts the kind companionship of an animal-like creature endemic to the new place. In the end, he also embraces a new, hybrid identity as a product of cultural hybridization in a country whose cosmopolitanism is the result of cross-cultural encounters enabled by migration.

The community in the new country is a product of migratory processes, which simultaneously evokes the creation of the culturally heterogeneous American nation through allusions to Ellis Island, and reflects on "the forms of displacement and dislocation that are often associated with the emergence of global culture: the porosity of national borders, the decline of the state as a political system, the movement of populations, workers

and goods" (Leonard 2014, 3). The new country's polyphonic migrant perspective uses larger historical events as the backdrop of individual drama and recasts traditional communities as a culturally, racially, and ethnically heterogeneous and endlessly shifting being-in-common. The cover image supplies a crucial clue about another key feature of the new community's heterogeneity. Suggestively presented with his face away from the reader, in a bent position, and with his hand raised to his mouth, the main protagonist is shown looking at an unusual creature who is to be his companion in the new place with a mixture of confusion and curiosity. In her posthumanist reading of Tan's work, Bidisha Banerjee draws attention to the novel's exploration of human–animal relationships in the context of posthumanism's widened corpus of subjectivities that includes the non-human and replaces anthropocentrism with an egalitarianism of species (2016, 400). Indeed, while *The Arrival* paints a deeply moving picture of the community's care for fellow immigrants, the country's cosmopolitan ethics of respect and kindness extends beyond the human. During his troubling adaptation, the main protagonist is helped by other migrants and by the creature from the cover image. In the new country, every man and family has an animal companion, and the novel is marked by a conspicuous "absence of animal-eating or livestock" (Banerjee 2016, 412). The immigrant and animal are also metaphorically linked in othering when man is dehumanized by the immigration control system. Using Donna Haraway's concept of companion species, which provides a model of harmonious coexistence with incommensurable difference, Banerjee explores how Tan's work dismantles the human/non-human binary in a diasporic framework (2016, 400–2). As Tan's cover image suggests, the novel is characterized by interspecies relationships of mutual respect that define the new country's ethics. The novel asserts this yet again in panels showing two welcoming statues that the immigrants see upon arrival to the new place. They are an alternative version of the Statue of Liberty, and the animal companions that replace the torch as a symbol of freedom from oppression and tyranny point to "an ethics of empathy based on trans-species alliances" (Banerjee 2016, 410). In this, *The Arrival* moves well beyond the idea of a borderless world as the prevailing mythos of a connected humanity (Leonard 2014, 4) to present us with a more inclusive sense of cosmopolitanism that involves trans-species connectivity. Tan's cosmopolitan vision attests to Dharwadker's claim that inclusiveness is found in the very foundations of cosmopolitanism since in antiquity cosmopolitanism already meant "a validation of inclusive, egalitarian heterogeneity, of the tolerance of difference and otherness […] of

community in diversity, of the unqualified practice of fairness, kindness, and generosity" (2001, 7).

"How does it make me feel?
What does it make me think about?"

The new country's triad of fairness, kindness, and generosity in *The Arrival* would seem to be beckoning towards utopian cosmopolitan visions were it not for the fact that Tan's narrative presents it as a hard-won reality. The ethics of the new world's community does not erase differences between races, ethnicities, genders, ages, sexualities, or species, but it refuses to brand them with value judgements. In *The Arrival*, difference inspires curiosity, and curiosity can be understood as "a kind of empathy, a will to find 'otherness' interesting rather than problematic" (Tan 2016, 396). The community in Tan's narrative thus seems to embody Haraway's concept of coexistence with incommensurable difference by learning to respect difference. Through its insistence on the ideas of respect and dialogue, *The Arrival* confirms that "[t]he cosmopolitan agenda focuses on conversations among places [...] cities, regions, classes, genders, races, sexualities" (Appiah 2001, 225). Tan's cosmopolitan agenda also maintains communication between different moments in time, different species and modes of representation. Stripped of words, Tan's narrative establishes communication on all levels solely through images, pointing to their increased significance "in a social-media-and-Buzzfeed-obsessed era in which images are as much a part of news reports and opinions pieces as words" (Knowles et al. 2016, 379).

Wordless novels are by no means new and by narrating through pictures alone Tan pays respect to the ancient ability of images to convey meaning and tell a story, which depends on "a shared understanding of signs and their significance" or "a special kind of visual literacy that has developed over thousands of years" (Petersen 2011, xxi). This feature of graphic narratives is more responsible than any other for creating the perception that they are a transnational form. As such, the fragmented, kaleidoscopic graphic narrative, characterized by border crossings between text and image, art and literature, the high and low, are particularly suitable for depicting migrant experiences and global processes. Monika Schmitz-Emans claims that these processes are primarily explored by realistic graphic storytelling, while fantastic graphic storytelling is more distant from global realities and centres round superheroes as models of conflict or projections of fears and obsessions (2013, 396). Even if this is a general tendency, Tan's combination of realism and fantasy demonstrates

that it is possible to employ fantasy *and* engage with the global, and local, realities. Exploring these realities through a split or double discourse that denies words their authority and instead puts trust in the power of images, Tan underscores the duality and ambivalence of the migrant experience as an overriding concern of contemporary cosmopolitanism.

Migration, cultural displacement, and transformation are some of Tan's "recurring objects of fascination" (Tan 2016, 385) which place *The Arrival* somewhere in between migrant, diasporic, postcolonial, and cosmopolitan art. *The Arrival*, the work that inspired Tan, whose Australian background boasts of no distinctive style or tradition in comics or graphic novels, to read this "trans" form of art and literature, deals with transitional experiences which "offer a constant reminder to not take wisdom, experience or comfort for granted" (Tan 2016, 394). The transitional experiences in this graphic novel affirm change as the only constant and lead to the creation of a heterogeneous rather than uniform global culture "that begins in, and retains an enduring attachment to, the multiple" (Leonard 2014, 19), and is shaped by an endless dialogue between the global and local, the past, present, and future. Tan's unclassifiable and universal migrant story remains open as no single interpretation can ever fully exhaust it. It therefore invites inclusive interpretations in an era when the very act of reading is becoming increasingly international. *The Arrival*'s celebration of and respect for difference inspire readings in the same spirit albeit reminding us that "the ease with which we find ourselves taking pleasure in that difference–the cosmopolite's *jouissance*–reflects the fact that it has been produced in forms we have learned *chez nous*" (Appiah 2001, 207). Tan's narrative revels in the cosmopolitan spirit and yields itself to the power of imagination to respond to the world and create it, but also to continuously push our boundaries. By leaving questions unanswered and images uncaptioned, *The Arrival* excites the imagination and foregrounds of two simple yet crucial questions concerning all art and literature: "How does it make me feel? What does it make me think about?" (Tan 2016, 393)

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

COMIC LIMINALITY OF DREAMING AND DYING
IN *THE BELOVED DEPARTED* BY CRAIG BOYKO[1]

VESNA LOPIČIĆ

Outline

Contemporary Canadian short fiction seems to be characterised by playfulness even when it deals with the most serious issues such as dying, grieving, and afterlife. While this might be a detour to avoid the predominant Cartesian, materialistic and pragmatic view of life, it is at the same time a strategy to introduce the supernatural (for lack of a better term) into the mundane. In his short story *The Beloved Departed* (originally published in *Grain Magazine* in 2005), Craig Boyko offers his readers a character who is not quite sure whether he is dead, alive or just dreaming. Thus, resorting to humor, Boyko stresses the liminality of dying and dreaming as spaces culturally and intellectually challenging today more than ever. Boyko parodies the judicial and educational systems, clinical practice, marriage loyalty, NGO activists, funeral customs, human condition etc., but takes love and death seriously. This paper aims to explore the liminal spaces of death and dreams relying on Turner (1967, 1974), Rivière (2013), Hansen (2001), and others, and keeping an eye on Boyko's criticism of the shortcomings of current social practices.

Key Words: liminality, dreaming, death, humour, "The Beloved Departed," Craig Boyko

> "When you're around the dying, you're at the heart of mystery and a kind of grace."
> Eve Joseph

Introduction: "I just want to see her again"

A random survey of Canadian short fiction published in the last two decades shows what seems to be a new trend in CanLit. After a line of literary no-nonsense giants (Munro, Gallant, Atwood...) there seems to have emerged a group of new young authors whose sensibility is playful, cynical, intriguing, shocking, funny, all but not restrained by convention and literary expectations. Craig Boyko is one of those young (born in 1980) inventive writers who readily experiment with different styles, themes, and characters dealing with serious topics in playful versatility. For his story *The Beloved Departed* Boyko chooses to explore the pain of loss, lasting grief, guilty conscience, and love capable of transcending barriers between life and death, which are all also legitimate themes of 'serious' literature practiced by earlier generations, "but it's in the telling that they differ" (Fisher Guy 2006). He constructs his story as a somewhat confusing (reported) dialogue which constitutes the only form of textual sequence. Johansson quotes Jean-Michel Adam (1992) and his five types of textual sequence (dialogical, narrative, descriptive, explicative, and argumentative) of which some are dominant and some embedded. It is not common to find the whole story based exclusively on dialogue because textual cohesive ties in the form of connecting narrative in the first or third person are usually interpolated to create coherence and clarity and to strengthen the storyline. In the case of *The Beloved Departed* the author announces each speaker only by the name. However, even without any explications Boyko manages solely through dialogue to provide an insight into either a character, personality type or a whole class of certain professionals, and to achieve successful characterization. The plot is not easy to comprehend but it can be pieced together from the information given in the dialogic exchanges. The most difficult problem is probably the time-line or the sequence of events which is learned in retrospect: Claude lost his girlfriend Margaret and pines to see her one more time, at whatever cost. The text is not realistic though, which Boyko accomplishes by introducing a penguin into the on-going conversation, most likely with the purpose to subvert all expectations a reader may have from the story which opens in a very realistic manner:

Claude said: "It's not nostalgia. I'm not stuck in the past. In fact I hardly even think about the times we had together. I don't want to rewind. I want the future to hold her. I just want to see her again. Everything has become tainted with her absence. Everything—a ringing telephone, a lampshade, the economy, lima beans, plumbing, lions, capitalism, Brahms, hydrogen, clairvoyance, grammar, James Joyce, circular logic, shoelaces,

Yugoslavia, public transit, algebra, ballet, sodomy, Episcopalianism, architecture, evolution, oakum, loose change, dentistry, taupe, the immune system, hot jazz, cotton, spelling bees—everything is permeated with nothemess. I just want to see her again" (177)[2].

This opening scene, or shall we say the first dialogue turn (Mann 2003), is exceptionally realistic and convincing. Boyko introduces his protagonist Claude who is struck with grief but at the same time very reasonable and analytical. He is obviously a man who does not need to dwell in the past, cherishing his memories and daydreaming about the time he spent with his beloved, but still he needs to see her again because he wanted to spend his future life with her. The way Boyko describes the feeling of missing a person is very similar to Al Purdy's poem "Night Song for a Woman"[3] in which everything is an inch off centre because the beloved person is gone. Boyko and Purdy recognise love as a defining trait of humanity and the only necessary quality of what makes us human. However, what Purdy attains with one word only, "buildings," Boyko deliberately develops into a long list of nouns which are not related in any other way except in being changed or "tainted" with the absence of Claude's darling. This narrative technique undermines the seriousness and depth of feeling of his character, alerts the reader to Boyko's literary idiosyncrasy, and breaks the conventional expectations. The story is about love and loss, but it will not feed our sentimental hearts. Rather, it will pinch our critical spirit and make us grin from ear to ear with an occasional loud laugh. Besides this, what makes *The Beloved Departed* the winner of the Journey Prize in 2006 is probably its focus on the liminal space of dreams and death whose exploration is the goal of this paper.

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[2] Page numbers in the brackets in the rest of the text will refer to the excerpts from the story *The Beloved Departed*.

[3] This beautiful poem (1958) deserves to be quoted in full with a note that Linda Roger's interpretation (2002: 80) is found sadly inadequate:

> A few times only, then away,   the mind is sensuous
> leaving absence akin to presence   as the body
> in the changed look of   I am a sound
> buildings   out of hearing past
> an inch off centre   Arcturus
> All things enter   still moving outward
> into me so softly I am   if anyone were to listen
> aware of them   they'd know
> not myself   about humans.

Liminal Space: "Boundary dissolution"

Psychologists and anthropologists may compete over the question who actually created the term liminality but there is no argument over the significance this concept has today. Building on the anthropological three-partite foundations of separation, the liminal period and re-assimilation set by Arnold van Gennep (1906), Victor Turner and other researchers expended, modified and stretched the concept to include a wide variety of experiences which do have at least one aspect in common: a period of transition from one stage to another, marked by uncertainty, open possibilities, danger, and impermanence. Liminality is today employed in explorations of identity formation, burdened with ambiguity and ambivalence. There is no field of postmodern aesthetics and poetics that does not deal with liminal spaces, either physical or metaphorical, using frontiers, thresholds, and borders as their key terms, ranging in theory or creative fiction from sexuality to nationality, from birth to death. Transition seems to be the current human condition judging by vast literature on the topic.

Nevertheless, Turner's popular definition in its simplicity is still most often quoted: "...liminality represents the midpoint of transition in a status-sequence between two positions" (1974: 237) while the persons in this state are "neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremony" (1969: 95). Being engaged in their rite of passage, these liminal individuals learn by their corporal and spiritual experiences during the process of transition and emerge changed in some significant way. With secularization of modern Western society, traditional religious rituals are basically diminished or changed and diversified to the point of no recognition, often being reduced to mundane daily rituals and solving everyday dilemmas. A liminal character has also changed. In his article *What is Liminality?* Charles La Shure remarks: "When we apply the idea of liminality to other realms – such as the realm of art and literature – though, liminal characters possess a freedom of movement that non-liminal characters do not" (2005: 7). Instead of being fixed in their position, modern protagonists often assume trickster qualities and fluidly move between and betwixt. This will not spare them the opprobrium and condemnation coming from self-righteous non-initiates who consider liminal figures as threatening to law, custom, convention, and ceremony, to rational and rigid foundations of modern society.

Craig Boyko seems to be well-acquainted with all aspects of liminality through his training in psychology so in *The Beloved Departed* he exploits

them in a deceptively humorous way. His Claude first reaches a liminal stage during a car accident which is revealed at the end of the story when Margaret addresses the Jury:

He had a concussion and a sprained wrist. He was conscious but his mind wasn't working. He was confused. It was raining lightly. The rain fell on his face through the shattered windshield. He felt free, light, unencumbered. He was thinking, for the first time in many months, nothing more than how good it felt to be alive (198).

This was the moment when Claude went through a near-death experience and this brief liminal period already leaves him transformed. With no awareness of his surroundings and possible consequences, he enjoys what is given to him: a moment of insight that life is precious, that he is light and free, that to feel the rain on your face equals bliss. The whole philosophy of living in the here and now is compressed in these simple sentences, making Claude an instant convert into mindfulness. Jay Dixit (2008) explains the six steps to living in the moment which all boils down to the wisdom of 'Become aware of being alive.' This was Claude's experience. His 'monkey mind' is silenced temporarily due to concussion, thoughts cannot swirl in his head and distract him, all that is left is the sensation of rain droplets on his face, of freedom, and of well-being. Dixit summarizes the ideas of Jon Kabat-Zinn (1994), the biomedical scientist who introduced meditation into mainstream medicine, and of other scholars and Buddhist teachers:

We need to live more in the moment. Living in the moment—also called mindfulness—is a state of active, open, intentional attention on the present. When you become mindful, you realize that you are not your thoughts; you become an observer of your thoughts from moment to moment without judging them (Dixit 2008).

Since mindfulness blurs the line between self and other, as psychologist Michael Kemis (2006) explains, it is also a liminal state which allows Claude to feel at one with the world outside, reaching him through a broken windshield. Instead of thinking, he feels. The parody of this state of heightened consciousness is achieved through Boyko making Claude's dead girlfriend blame him not for unintentionally killing her but for ignoring her presence. She has already crossed the boundary between life and death and therefore cannot understand Claude's state of mind. The destiny of liminal individuals is that they are most often not understood by those who are firmly on one side, and for whom boundary dissolution is a crime.

Claude's first encounter with death grants him other similar experiences which he attains through dreaming and dying.

Lucid Dreams as Liminal Space: So this is a dream? I'm dreaming right now?

Oneirology recognizes the significance of the process of dreaming and ascribes different meanings to it. In his article *Clinical Applications of Lucid Dreaming Therapy,* Isaac Taitz (2014) explains that dreaming is interpreted either as "a functionless series of random neural firings that survived only due to its lack of maladaptive consequences" or as "functional dreaming that integrates life experiences to improve psychological health" (167). Following a second view he concludes that "from their explorations and the research that has arisen, therapists may be able to utilize lucid dreaming therapy as a clinical tool to better improve overall quality of life" (179). His views are entirely in line with Ernest Hartmann "who contends that dreaming allows for emotional concerns to be associated with new material in a safe space, thereby integrating traumas and promoting psychological well-being" (167). Hartmann expounded this idea in his research in 1996 relating psychotherapy after trauma and dreaming:

In therapy the safe place is much more than the physical setting; it involves the safe "boundaries" of the therapeutic situation and the gradual trusting alliance formed between patient and therapist. In dreaming—especially in REM sleep—the safe place is provided by the well-established muscular inhibition which prevents activity and the acting out of dreams (Hartmann 1996: 164).

Craig Boyko heavily relies on this connection and places his Claude in a combination of psychotherapy and dreaming. Claude has experienced a serious trauma with the loss of his beloved for which he seeks help from specialists but it is left unclear whether this happens exclusively in his dream or whether he dreams of his actual visit to the therapist. In both cases, it is an episode of lucid dreaming when the dreamer is aware that he is dreaming, which may have substantial therapeutic benefits. What is, in his waking life absolutely beyond his power of correction becomes possible in a state of lucid dreaming. He becomes capable of exerting some control over his (dream) reality so that he gets to see Margaret one more time and fulfill her last wish by saying her name out loud.

Sue Scavo, a dream activist, endorses this view: "Our dreams work with us to open and heal our wounds, like a specialist working with the exact technique and medicine we need" (Scavo 2017). She believes that dreams are liminal zones where our conscious and the unconscious, the human and the archetypal, meet and overlap. For her, dreaming is a feeling journey which helps us acknowledge certain feelings and get emotionally

unstuck. Claude is definitely stuck in his feeling of guilt and he needs to be forgiven by Margaret which is impossible, things being what they are. Therefore, in a state of lucid dreaming he steps into the liminal zone of the supernatural, or what Cristina Pérez Valverde in her article *Dreams and Liminality in the Mary Poppins Books* calls suprasensual:

> …dreaming functions as the liminal sphere in which the barriers between the everyday reality and the suprasensual become diffuse. That is, sleeping periods become the passageway between the ordinary world and the extraordinary experiences undergone by the child protagonists (Valvedere 2007: 67).

For Hartmann, dreaming is a thin boundary state in which the dreamer "allows thoughts and feelings to merge; often has vivid fantasies, not always distinguished from reality" (1996: 164). This is the lucid dreaming state Claude is experiencing. It indeed becomes a passageway into the extraordinary world where he can meet Margaret and receive forgiveness, regardless of the dilemma whether this happens only in his dream or in the conventional reality. The restorative/adaptive function of lucid dreaming has been accomplished and Claude has been healed.

Boyko again subverts the pathos of this situation by making Claude repeat Margaret's name not once, as she wished, but six times, turning this heart-breaking scene into comedy. Further, he makes the plot even more complex by introducing the idea of Claude perhaps having committed suicide rather than having dreamed. This line of the story begins with the penguin.

Dying as Liminal Space: In "The City of the Dead"

While he is talking with Dr. Grohmuller, Claude realizes he is experiencing a lucid dream, which does not seem to be what he wanted: "Then why am I dreaming this? Why aren't I dreaming of Margaret? If this is my dream, why can't I just make her appear?" (179). The penguin tells him that being dead Margaret is in the City of the Dead and Claude could see her only if he obtained a pass. Dr. Grohmuller advises him to get it from his physician or his coroner, and from then on the reader can enjoy Boyko's wit, playfulness, and clever cynicism. At that, he occasionally reminds us that he moves within the liminal space of dreaming. When Claude says: "This is all just a dream of mine anyway. Can't you break the rules?" Dr. Aloy said:

> Now let me give you a piece of advice, free of charge. Don't go around saying that this is all just a dream of yours, okay? People don't like being told they're a figment of somebody else's imagination. Now if you're

serious about this pass, you go out there and get yourself killed, come on back and I'll get you straightened away. Of course that's not my *professional* advice (181).

Through the words of Dr. Aloy, Boyko makes his readers aware of the dominant attitude towards liminality, the phenomenon often considered dangerous: "Liminal persons, phenomena, and events tend to blur boundaries, upset classification schemes, and foster ambivalence and ambiguity" (Hansen 2005:3). For that reason, they are better relegated to the sphere of fiction, film and paranormal phenomena than to the sphere of serious scientific research. Not wanting to compromise his professional status, Dr. Aloy unofficially advises Claude to keep silent about the possibility that in a state of lucid dreaming one can affect the course of events, but he still brings up the theme of suicide as a way for Claude to meet Margaret in the City of the Dead.

Suicide

Almost no stone of contemporary social life, conventions or institutions is left unturned by Boyko. He criticises the judicial and educational systems, clinical practice, marriage loyalty, NGO activists, funeral customs, human condition etc., but takes love and death seriously.

He begins with suicide. Though considered a taboo by all cultures, in Claude's liminal state suicide is simply a means to an end, and he methodically examines his options. Jumping is too public, shooting is too bloody, poisoning too painful, freezing in the blizzard impossible in summer, therefore hanging presents itself as the best solution. However, it's only after he hangs himself that Claude is made aware by the ambulance driver that he has committed a crime[4] for which he has to go on trial. The City of the Dead is a replica of our social reality therefore the court procedures are identical involving the bailiff, the People (pitiless), the inexpensive lawyer (ignorant and unreliable), the expensive lawyer (manipulative and seductive), the prosecutor (extra vigilant), the private investigator (bragging but inefficient), the judge, and the jury which reaches this decision:

For the crimes of dying, of self-murder, of belated burial, of reckless resurrection, of polluting the minds of the youth, of egregious failure to

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[4] "The ambulance driver said: 'It's always been a crime. It's the one thing the living can't abide. You kill someone else, that shows a healthy respect for life. Shows you think it's the most valuable possession you can take away from them. But you off yourself? Oh boy. That's like being invited to a sumptuous banquet and shitting in the pâté de foie gras. You leave a note?'" (182).

pay his legal bills, of grief paralysis, of putrescence, of ingratitude, of boundary dissolution, of failure to achieve abreaction, of sluggish pupil dilation, of weakness of character, of —" (198).

The verdict becomes increasingly ridiculous with the accumulation of alleged crimes but despite its humorous effect, it raises serious questions which modern science, including philosophy, still cannot answer:

Not only is suicide worthy of philosophical investigation in its own right, it is a source of insight for various philosophical sub-disciplines: moral psychology, ethical theory, social and political philosophy, the metaphysics of personhood, and action theory. Suicide is also an area where philosophical interests intersect with those of the empirical sciences. The collective efforts of philosophers and others continue to illuminate one of the most enigmatic of human behaviors (Cholbi 2017).

In Claude's case there is no enigma because clearly he is willing to die for the sake of his love. This complies with the present attitude towards suicide which links it with insanity, meaning that he lost his mind due to bereavement. Yet, it is a fact that his psychiatrist actually talks him into committing suicide.

Clinical Practice

Having lost his beloved Margaret, Claude cannot get over his grief. This is a cue to Boyko to lampoon the representatives of the medical profession and to criticize the conventional regulation of grief period. Health-care professionals who are given voice in the story are Dr. Mayer-Edelmann (psychiatrist), Dr. Grohmuller (oneirologist), Dr. Aloy (physician), and the ambulance driver, who all have hilarious roles. Using the worst incomprehensible professional lingo they all tell Claude how dissatisfied they are with his condition and demeanor. Their pompous and ridiculous names indicate the extent of their lack of sympathy despite the length of their comments. The psychiatrist laments over Claude's trajectory of mourning-arc, the velocity of his grief index falling, and the erraticness of the scores of his Stanford Standardized Heartache Questionnaire. Boyko parodies typical medical procedures which even in the field of psychiatry rely more on 'objective' tests than on 'subjective' judgment. Further, it is a common practice that one specialist refers the patient to another who can receive them no sooner than in a few months' time thus starting a vicious circle in which the patient's suffering only increases; especially so because the second specialist may be even more engrossed in theory and use of professional vocabulary which only further confuses the grief-stricken person. The oneirologist explains his mental

state to Claude two times in such jargon that Claude is completely muddled. Boyko plays with invented terms such as narrative or seriatim consciousness, iconic or parallel consciousness, Vitamin G2, G2 Blockers, grief paralysis, and lucid dreaming states (of which only the last one is an accepted scientific concept), imitating scientific terminology and contriving chemical activities in the brain.

The behavior of the representatives of health-care institutions in the story is hyperbolized with the aim to criticize the inefficiency of the system. Obsessed with their own status and promotion through pompous self-citation, the specialists disregard the state of their patient and actually drive him to suicide. Claude grasps the word 'dreaming' and comes to the conclusion that he may be dreaming the conversation that he just had with his oneirologist. The penguin which appears out of nowhere confirms this realization, yet the fact that all this may be happening in a state of lucid dreaming does not soften Boyko's criticism of medical practice and patient treatment. Even his dead body is abused by the coroner who gives Claude's kidneys to a colleague of his who is writing "a dissertation on the effects of defenestration on the exsanguinated human kidney" (183), and his liver to his brother who is a chef. Terrible cases of corpse abuse[5] have been reported, and Boyko seems aware of this serious shortcoming of the system, though he gives it a comic turn.

Family and Friends

Family relationships and deportment of friends are given an equally comic treatment in *The Beloved Departed*. Boyko criticizes the dissolution of traditional values among which love and loyalty between family members and friends get special attention because they seem to be utterly compromised. Starting with Claude's father, his wife and children, nobody appears to be stricken with grief over his death. He was abandoned by his father, betrayed by his wife, and hated by his son Garry who says: "He was a nice dud. I mean dead. I mean dad. But he never let us stay up late or watch rated-R movies. I hated him" (185). When his daughter Lila finds him hanging in a tree, it doesn't disturb his family in the least so they finish their dinner and then call the ambulance. In fact, Claude is the one who takes care not to distress his family by the way he commits suicide. Without any natural support there, it becomes clear why Claude misses his

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[5] Here is only one example reported in the newspaper:
http://time.com/3135722/ohio-morgue-sex-kenneth-douglas/

girlfriend so much. Their love is a substitute for all he lacked in his relationships with his family members.

The connection with his co-workers and friends seems to be warmer, but only on the surface. Beneath, it is always selfish or silly, because he is missed for all the wrong reasons. Nobody really cared for his person or indeed knew him well so that he will be soon forgotten. Boyko illustrates the superficiality of most human relations by putting these words into Wendy's mouth:

Or I'll tell someone else about him, and then he'll live on a little bit in their memory, but not very much, I guess, because I probably won't be able to explain what it was about Claude that made him special or unique or whatever. But at least I will remember him, and so he'll live on, at least until I die. And then Claude will die too. But if you look at it another way, he's already dead, so what's the difference (184).

Whereas John Masefield, for example, depicts the pathos of human transience in his sonnet "There, on the darkened deathbed"[6] leading his reader to the tragic final outcome "then all is dark," Boyko's character in a postmodern fashion laconically concludes "so what's the difference." The irony of the human condition to which Boyko himself may subscribe is explained by Claude himself:

I'm talking about what being mortal does to what you do and who you are. The fact that you're born to die makes patience impossible, desire unquenchable, joy fleeting, creeping boredom the only status quo. Because you must die, you must hurry, must fight tooth and nail, must forever ask yourself, 'What now? What next?' (195).

This is how Boyko puts the phenomenon of mortality at the centre of human existence. It taints the happiest experiences and precludes living in the here and now. Garry's kindergarten teacher sums it up in these words: "He realized that life is nothing but a protracted death, a plodding procession of little cessations. Maggie had died, and now his grief was dying too. Nothing, not even misery, was immortal" (197-198). Claude laments his own failure to appreciate the moment and live in it instead of through it, fully aware that he was always looking forward to the next happiness like most people who share a predominantly Cartesian, materialistic and pragmatic view of life. He realises that we need to go faster and faster to not feel like we're standing still. Claude's sojourn in the City of the Dead teaches him that what is lost cannot be found through reason and will-power but rather through empathy and love. It is then that

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[6] Available at:

http://www.ronnowpoetry.com/contents/masefield/ThereDarkened.html

Margaret appears to him, full of understanding and forgiveness. She knows that only after the accident was Claude able to experience how good it felt to be simply alive, which is such an engrossing experience that he forgot Margaret was with him in the car.

The Landlady, the Television, Mothers against Death

As a metaphor of our world, the City of the Dead gives an opportunity to Boyko to criticize in passing some of its institutions and practices that make up our common human experience. Renting an apartment, watching television, or joining an activist group shows all the waywardness of human ways and moral slipperiness of our civil customs. Having become a citizen of the City of the Dead, though only a temporary one, Claude wants to rent an apartment which becomes a farcical scene. The landlady is a parody of all the worst landlords that one ever had to deal with, a dishonest and manipulative person who charges Claude an arm and a leg: "I'll require an eighteen-month lease and six months' rent up front plus of course the damage deposit and the security deposit and a lease-processing fee and a lease-processing-fee fee which is nonrefundable" (191). The room is bug-infested, unsanitary and with another person already in it who could not be evicted because of his enormous weight. Knowing that being dead Claude has no choice she is blunt and merciless, a typical representative of all unsympathetic people profiteering on human misery. The fact that of all social ills Boyko chooses to point at the housing crisis in Canada probably shows the extent of the problem in modern cities.[7]

Boyko then focuses on the impact of mass media by implicitly criticising the quality of programmes broadcast on television. In his story, this globally most present telecommunication medium becomes a character of its own, The Television, which is given two turns in the dialogic exchange that makes up the story. The first time Claude's

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[7] The housing crisis is still not being resolved in Canada, as some 2018 articles illustrate:
New year, same old expensive rent in Toronto. Weren't we fixing this?: "average monthly rent for a one-bedroom condo in Toronto in December 2017 hitting $2,020". Available at: https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/rent-expensive-toronto-2018-1.4491949
Canadians struggle to find home rentals as prices climb, availability declines. "The golden rule of spending 30 per cent of your money on rent, I feel like is out the window because rent is going up but no one's salary is going up," said Zeppa. Available at: https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-canadians-struggle-to-find-home-rentals-as-prices-climb-availability/

roommate Saul watches some kind of spinning casino game where Debbie, Maurice and Bob are manipulated into investing an ever greater sum of money. The seductive voice on television lures them into gaming though nobody wins anything. From 2000$ the stake rises to 200.000$ but Saul gets bored and changes the channel. The Television then tries to sell him a decorative plate by feeding him a ludicrous story of its origin. The plate is unique because each one is made by an artist brought up from birth in a state-of-the-art isolation facility to make only one plate in their life after which the designer is shot in the back of the head, execution-style, so as to ensure the perpetual uniqueness of the purchased item. Not even Saul can swallow this story but he only switches the channel, as most people addicted to television do. Quizzes, games, streaming TV shows, and especially reality TV have become the main consumers of family free time promoting false values that do not help one to grow: "Each week, viewers tune in to watch a group of girls battle to win the heart of the handsome millionaire, or take part in grueling challenges to win immunity and the shot at 1 million dollars" (Job Monkey).

Even when a person takes up social activism it may not lead to any improvements in society but quite the contrary muddle the minds of the target group. Boyko invents a movement Mothers Against Death (MAD) who get mad at Claude for having survived his suicide attempt and come back from the City of the Dead. They want him "to visit the Moribund Ward at St. Anthony's this afternoon and say a few words to the children, a little something to restore their natural and healthy fear of that damnable scourge of precious human life, death" (195). This bizarre request shows that Mothers Against Death are not campaigning on a relevant issue nor are they trying to introduce a healthy reform into the system. They become a parody of activism which often abuses social media in order to reach an ever wider audience for doubtful goals. Scandals implying abuse of charities for money-laundering and tax evasion (OECD), and disclosures of fund-raising scams reveal how activist groups may manipulate the good will and the good faith of people into making a fortune for themselves. Maybe even worse than that is what MAD is doing, instilling fear of death in children instead of taking collective action to teach children about dying, as it was customary in the past when the distinction between life and death was not as simple as it is today.

Conclusion: From Cognitive Liminality
to Cognitive Dissidence

In his article "Cognitive Liminality: On the Epistemology of the Short Story" (2015), Michael Basseler argues that the experience of reading any work of fiction may emerge in new knowledge or cognitive import:

Serving as thought experiments, literary texts can create a liminal space, a threshold in which our preconceptions of the world are questioned, augmented, and often changed with lasting effects (Basseler 2015: 78).

Craig Boyko implicitly subscribes to this view by fictionalizing the acts of dreaming and dying as liminal spaces with significant cognitive import. Having a lucid dream that he is dead, his character Claude enters the space of the uncannily liminal in the Freudian sense, and at the same time gives an opportunity to the reader to conduct a thought experiment not unlike those performed by hard-core scientists (ex. Schrödinger's cat experiment). Is it possible to accomplish the love business left undone after the beloved died? As Hansen among many other claims, "spirits, ghosts, and near-death experiences (NDEs) challenge the all-too-simple distinction between life and death" (Hansen 2005: 3). In a paradigm where these two existential banks can be bridged because, as Rivière explains, not only the body but the mind and the soul are porous entities susceptible to internal psychological and external supernatural agents (Rivière 2009: 213), this is possible. Claude gets a chance to prove to his beloved that he loved her, and thus eventually to reach peace of mind.

Boyko's cognitive dissidence requires some courage to oppose the widely held belief that the boundaries between the natural and the supernatural cannot be merged simply because it would destabilize social order. He therefore opts for a comic approach to the insufficiently explored fields of lucid dreaming and dying, and offers a cognitive insight which deserves unprejudiced consideration despite its humour. The postmodern open-endedness of his story *The Beloved Departed* leaves no clue as to whether Claude reached reintegration after his liminal experience or stayed for ever on the other side. However, Boyko is consistent in his criticism of conventional medical science bringing the plot full circle to Dr. Mayer-Edelmann who has another (to us unknown but definitely impotent) idea how to help Claude. He will probably send him to another specialist not being able himself to deal with the liminality of dying and dreaming as spaces culturally and intellectually challenging today more than ever.

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Chapter Fifteen

"Who's Mad?":
Contemporary Representations
of Mental Illness in the TV Series
The Alienist

Giada Goracci

Outline

"Illness is the night-side of life, a more onerous citizenship. Everyone who is born holds dual citizenship, in the kingdom of the well and in the kingdom of the sick"[1], with these words, Susan Sontag offers her description of the concept of "illness". As a matter of fact, psychiatric illnesses and symptomatology have always been investigated through medical, scientific and/or literary approaches, thus showing their relevance at a social level. This paper ventures that the contemporary TV series *The Alienist* has fostered multifaceted and ambiguous re-interpretations of the concept of "mental disease" by re-defining the role of those people who, over the XIXth century, cured patients suffering from mental illnesses.

Introduction

Mental illness is the protagonist of the TV series *The Alienist*, an adaptation of Caleb Carr's homonymous crime novel, in which a many-layered macabre and psychological thriller unfolds its scenes crammed with obsessive representations of mental and psychological details.

The stories of the first series, "The Boy Prostitute", "A Fruitful Partnership", "Silver Smile", "These Bloody Thoughts", "Hildebrandt's

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[1] Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and its Metaphors*, Picador, New York, 1977, p. 3.

Starling", "Ascension", "Many Sainted Men", "Psychopathia Sexualis", "Requiem", and "Castle in the Sky" are set in New York, in 1896, and revolve around a series of gruesome and horrific murders of boy prostitutes that terrify New York. On that occasion, newly appointed police commissioner Theodore Roosevelt calls upon criminal psychologist Doctor Laszlo Kreizler and newspaper illustrator John Moore to carry out the investigation. As the story proceeds, they are joined by Sara Howard, a determined woman who wishes to become the first female police detective in the city. Thanks to the emerging psychology and early forensic investigation techniques, the group sets out to find and arrest the serial killer who is threatening New York.

Within this context, Kreisler aims at discovering the link between the brutal murder of a young male prostitute, found in women's clothes and butchered on Williamsburg Bridge in Manhattan's Lower East Side, and that of the Zweig twins, Benjamin and Sofia, some years earlier. The boy, Benjamin, was Kreizler's patient and had an evident predilection for dressing in his sister's clothes. The twins were found dead on a rooftop, the sister untouched and the brother cut from the sternum to the pubis and his inner parts placed "on display". The evident parallel between the two cases somehow obsesses Kreizler and spurs the alienist to find the killer. Eventually, he embarks on the investigation to demonstrate that the two "works of theatre" were the result of the same evil mind.

Unravelling Mental Illness: The True Mystery

The TV series *The Alienist* can be considered as a mirror of the contemporary representation of mental illness since it does not focus merely on its physical aspects but also on the uses of disease as a figure or metaphor of all the parts of the human psyche which were, and still are, thought to be freakish and mysterious. As such, in the past, mental illness was associated with demonic possession and evil spirits, thus with a form of "contamination", whose explanation drew conceptual roots from apparently "universal" motivations to avert physical and symbolic threats.

Apparently, in our era in which medicine's fundamental premise is that all diseases can be cured, the above consideration seems to become obsolete. As Susan Sontag posits, historically

> [a]ny disease [...] treated as a mystery and acutely enough feared will be felt to be morally, if not literally, contagious. [...] Contact with someone afflicted with a disease regarded as a mysterious malevolency inevitably feels like a trespass; worse, like the violation of a taboo. The very names of such diseases are felt to have a magic power. (6)

Indeed, in the Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, mental illness has been described as a form of cancer which corrupted people, a sort of psychological and physiological decadence but which, surprisingly, affirmed the individual's diversity in a threatening and ambiguous way, since, in a society in which values are tainted by hypocrisy "health becomes banal, even vulgar". (*Ibid.*, 26) Hence, over time, mental illness, from different perspectives, has been perceived and represented as a manner of appearing, an "alternative" escape from an "alien" society.

In our "contemporary" society, the filmic representation of mental illness is one of the most widespread examples of the activity that promotes itself as an image within a *milieu* of "blinding" and "fake" images. As in the past, mental disease makes people "aliens" and much more interesting than "normal" people, in that its invalidating power and spells an evident sign of higher sensitivity as far as insanity "seems" to elevate the patient's inner vision of reality. Sontag posits that it is the "alien's" interior perception of reality then, which underpins the difference between normality and insanity and fosters the possibility to "challenge" it by means of the will:

> Disease can be challenged by the will. 'The will exhibits itself as organized body,' wrote Schopenhauer, but he denied that the will itself could be sick. Recovery from a disease depends on the will assuming 'dictatorial power in order to subsume the rebellious forces' of the body. [...] disease is what speaks through the body, a language for dramatizing the mental: a form of self-expression. Groddek described illness as 'a symbol, a representation of something going on within, a drama staged by the It [...]. (43-44)

In this light, the effort to give mental illness an explanation implies several considerations on the ambiguous meaning of the term "madness". Thousands of articles and volumes have been written over the centuries about the true nature and definition of madness but, according to Sontag, it is fundamental to reflect on the fact that

> [n]othing is more punitive than to give a disease a meaning   that meaning being invariably a moralistic one. Any important disease whose casualty is murky, and for which treatment is ineffectual, tends to be awash in significance. First, the subjects of deepest dread (corruption, decay, pollution, anomie, weakness) are identified with the disease. The disease itself becomes a metaphor. Then, in the name of the disease, (that is, using it as a metaphor), that horror is imposed on other things. The disease becomes adjectival. Something is said to be disease-like, meaning that it is disgusting or ugly. (58)

Thus, mental illness is both a definition and a metaphor, conceived to represent or refer to something, either abstract or concrete, related to human behaviour or a person's perception of the same behaviour. As a linguistic sign, mental illness becomes a semiotic tool which does not entail any fixed meaning or direct connection to material reality. If no obvious explanation of the term can be given, then the only possible answer to the need for knowing the puzzling and frightening "content" of mental illness is to consider it as a metaphoric black hole that sucks in all the human behaviours that society cannot decipher or normalise but still feels compelled to explain in order to control it. Yet, the term mental illness serves to instruct and advise "normal" people about the limits which distinguish the "aliens" from the rest of us. So far,

> [i]llnesses have always been used as metaphors to enliven charges that a society was corrupt or unjust. [...] the modern metaphors suggest a profound disequilibrium between individual and society, with society conceived as the individual's adversary. Disease metaphors are used to judge society not as out of balance but as repressive. (*Ibid.*, 72-73)

Moreover, the connection between an evasive definition of mental disease and the "disequilibrium" between individual and society becomes clearer if we consider mental illness as a form of imbalance:

> Order is the oldest concern of political philosophy, and if it is plausible to compare the polis to an organism, then it is plausible to compare civil disorder to an illness. The classical formulations which analogize a political disorder to an illness from Plato to, say, Hobbes presuppose the classical medical (and political) idea of balance. Illness comes from imbalance. Treatment is aimed at restoring the right balance   in political terms, the right hierarchy. The prognosis is always, in principle, optimistic. Society, by definition, never catches a fatal disease. (*Ibid.*, 76)

On this premise, Sontag highlights the fact that mental illness becomes "the metaphor" of all that cannot be defined and comprehended, so of all those behaviours which are seen as "alien":

> The metaphor implements the way particularly dreaded diseases are envisaged as an alien "other," as enemies are in modern war; and the move from the demonization of the illness to the attribution of fault to the patient is an inevitable one, no matter if patients are thought of as victims. Victims suggest innocence. And innocence, by the inexorable logic that governs all relational terms, suggests guilt. (99)

As the above lines suggest then, at stake here is the victim-guilt relationship, which enshrines the core metaphor of mental illness. Therefore, this scenery becomes the framework in which the "alien other" carries out his crimes as shown in the TV series *The Alienist*.

The Alienist: Bleeding out other Realities

As we have seen in the previous paragraph, the concept of mental illness is deeply tied to the psyche as well as to the body of human beings. Not surprisingly, the body occupies a relevant position within the TV series *The Alienist*, both for its multifaceted symbols and metaphors and for the meaning of its (trans)substantial physical presence. For instance, right from the start, in the episode "The Boy Prostitute", it is the body of the victim, unmercifully slaughtered and bleeding out its inner content, which plays the main role in the opening scene. Significantly, it is a "sexed" body, whose story is based first and foremost on the agency with which its "gendered" attributes and parts are portrayed. Moreover, the victim's murder epitomizes the idea of a body which is brutally violated by the "foreign" hand of the "mentally ill alien".

Generally speaking, in contemporary TV series, male and female bodies are "rendered" from several perspectives to convey the interrelated dialectic between individual and society and contamination and/or healing of the psyche through the minds of the others. In *The Alienist*, for instance, death, corpses, bodily fluids and the violent exposure of the inner parts of the bodies are unveiled in all their gruesome reality, thus showing the serial killer's "abjection". According to Julia Kristeva (1994:192-193) and Barbara Creed (1993:8), on a deeper level, the mentally ill character performs the symbolic function of the "abject", which is to say the trespassing of the social boundaries, the reversal of order up to the total blurring of the distinction between right and wrong, inside and outside[2]. As Kristeva ventures in her work titled *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, the abject embodies a subtle, yet pervasive limit, "a border that has encroached upon everything" (3) and it is not simply a "lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection but what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite" (4) then make the difference.

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[2] See Julia Kristeva, in Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies. Toward a Corporeal Feminism*, Indiana U.P., Bloomington- Indianapolis, 1994, pp. 192-193 and Barbara Creed, *Monstrous-Feminine: Film, Feminism, Psychoanalysis*, Routledge, London, 1993.

Moreover, Elana Gomel (1999:24-71) states that the act of trespassing every form of social border evokes a cyclic representation of violence in that

> [...] the serial "form of violence" is conditioned not so much by the monolithic coherence of representation as by its breakdown. The violent behavior of a serial killer is not a direct outcome of any social construction but a random, causeless choice which is retrospectively incorporated into a generic narrative of identity. The repeated ritualistic violence, then, becomes a means of reinforcing this identity but achieves precisely the opposite, its complete disintegration. Rather than being generated by representation, corporeal violence offers a resistance to it.

As such, the "repeated ritualistic violence" enshrined in the act of killing implies a double interpretation of murder:

> Murder has two aspects: it is both uncanny and rational, a metaphysical mystery and a logical puzzle. On the one hand, murder has the power to destabilize identity [...]. But on the other hand, murder stimulates ratiocination, generating both scientific disciplines, such as criminology and forensic psychology, and highly structured genres of the detective story and the police procedural whose purpose is to establish the identity of the criminal, to reduce the uncanniness of bodily harm to the soothing neutrality of rational explanation. (*Ibid.*)

Then, as suggested by Gomel, the relation which ties the alienist and the killer relies on a double approach: Kreizler's effort to explain the serial killer's mind envisages the process of knowing one's mind through his:

> Explaining identity means producing identity. This production endows the murderer with a framework for understanding him/herself, granting him or her a socially recognizable subjecthood. And yet this subjecthood is always threatened by the corrosive power of violence which "sets the perpetrator outside of society, not just morally but beyond our rational comprehension as well. Violence has become the domain of the other" (McGowen, 140). If so, then the self of the violent murderer is the impossible and oxymoronic self of the Other whose intelligibility, even to him- or herself, is always fractured, incomplete, structured around some missing piece of the puzzle, some black hole of unreason that can never be articulated but only mutely pointed to.

Another recurrent characteristic of serial killers is their conviction of being "unique" and "special". Indeed, if as Mark Seltzer (1993:34) states, the serial killer "typifies typically, the becoming abstract and general of

the individuality of the individual", then murderers consider their own individuality as inevitably bound to the acts of violence that make them outsiders and dangerous but also "unique". In these terms, Gomel posits that

> [o]n the one hand, the serial murderer as a cultural icon is a product not so much of what Seltzer calls the general "wound culture" of postmodernity as of specific narratives of deviance […] on the other hand, these narratives of representational molds of the criminal self, always fail to explain and thus to contain the very violence whose unruly opacity constitutes their *raison d'être*. In fracturing scientific, rational discourse, violence exceeds its determinants, creating a self whose freedom lies neither in some impossible essence beyond the reach of cultural conditions, nor in the uniform "resistance" to monolithic representation but rather in the inconsistences, gaps and fissures within representation itself.

For all these reasons, the narration of the criminal's self has become the postmodern topic *par excellence*. So far, whatever their genre, works on serial killers openly highlight their crucial role in contemporary literature, so that the murderer becomes what the protagonist of Caleb Carr's novel *The Alienist* calls an image of "all that is dark in our very *social* world" (1994:592). The emphasis on the killer-social *milieu* connection reveals its relevance also in the geographical-spatial representation of the scenes. As a matter of fact, at first sight, the setting of the TV series seems unremarkable. Then, as the stories proceed, the de-localization from New York to Budapest clarifies several crucial details. Yet, New York is portrayed as a fictionalized city, a place which is suspended among diverse perspectives. Indeed, late-19th-century New York is seen as the gateway to freedom and opportunity. Undoubtedly, the city was experiencing an unprecedented explosion of immigrants and Carr's protagonists are faced with a rapidly changing society. New York, portrayed as a medieval and dark place, is overwhelmed by disease and corrupted health officials and policemen. An evil and suffocating atmosphere fills the air giving the audience a sense of social chaos; in the same way, the cinematic representation of the city fosters breathtaking shots of the scenes as in the first episode where, for instance, a night carriage ride running entire lengths of streets without cuts, thus enhancing the menacing side of the places. New York never loses its gruesome, tainted, gothic and creepy features; in fact, either during the day or at night, it is pervaded by teeming, filthy and vicious hues which, notwithstanding the fact that the TV series was shot in Budapest, give an extraordinary sense of verisimilitude. Indeed, as Gomel suggests,

> [r]ichly imagined, cinematically evocative of its setting in a New York City where baronial wealth is juxtaposed with squalor and poverty, and driven by a story about an increasingly desperate hunt for a killer who gruesomely murders boy prostitutes, [...] it was filmed on an elaborate set in Budapest.

In this light, the *milieu*, wherever the killer carries out his/her murder, does not directly contribute to the shaping of the killer's mind but influences the perception of the audience in a way they "imagine" the killer and the alienist in their own minds.

Taken as a whole, the filmic representation of both the alienist and his "patient" is driven by unresolvable contradictions and innuendoes. In fact, the stories of the series are not merely interrelated in terms of plot, but they also portray the killer as either a monster or a victim, a "normal" man or a hideous "alien", a psychopathic or a "evil genius". According to this assumption, Gomel highlights that

> [t]he problem is not so much of a shopping-list of identities which every postmodern subject supposedly carries around. The difference between the serial killer and other such subjects is that his narrative of the self is structured around an act of radical physical violence that cannot be fully accommodated by any explanatory model.

Taken for granted the fact that no explanatory model can "justify" or, at least, explain the serial killer's mind, the alienist's efforts to decipher the possible processes and paradigms which rule the murderer's "alien" behaviour are useless. Nor can the killer's physical and/or physiologic conditions contribute to his/her understanding. As Oscar Wilde brilliantly stated in his masterpiece *The Picture of Dorian Gray,* true mysteries lie on the surface and not in the depth so, in the same way, the roles of both the killer and the alienist remain inevitably and openly interwoven. Moreover, the ambiguous "normality" of the criminal's character throughout the nineteenth century is stressed in Wilde's work *The Man's Soul under Socialism:*

> Personality is a very mysterious thing. A man cannot always be estimated by what he does. He may keep the law, and yet be worthless. He may break the law, and yet be fine. He may be bad, without ever doing anything bad. He may commit a sin against society, and yet realize through that sin his true perfection[3].

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[3] See Oscar Wilde, *The Soul of Man under Socialism,* (1891), http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1017/1017-h/1017-h.htm, last accessed 10/07/2018.

And again, referring to criminals, Wilde argues that

> [...] what are called criminals nowadays are not criminals at all.
> Starvation, and not sin, is the parent of modern crime. That indeed is the
> reason why our criminals are, as a class, so absolutely uninteresting from
> any psychological point of view. They are not marvellous Macbeths and
> terrible Vautrins. They are merely what ordinary, respectable,
> commonplace people would be if they had not got enough to eat. (*Ibid.*)

As far as suggested by Gomel, Caleb Carr's *The Alienist*, who belongs
to Wilde's own period, is a hybrid figure himself, in that he

> [...] hunts down a serial killer of boy prostitutes in *fin-de-siècle* New York,
> precisely employing the techniques of contemporary criminal profiling.
> However, when the killer is captured and interviewed, both Kreizler and
> his assistant experience increasing frustration, for the criminal refuses to
> yield the final mystery: not the *how, where* and *when* but the *why*. Not that
> he is evasive; he simply does not know himself. [...] The psychological
> scalpel yields nothing and neither does the surgical one: the killer's
> dissected brain shows "no evidence of either congenital abnormality or
> physical trauma".

The epistemological fear which influences Kreizler is taken to its
climax in the very moment he realizes that deciphering the killer's
motivation means defining himself in opposition to what remains
"unknown", a shapeless "object". In all its ambiguity, the criminal's
unexplainable mystery shows its irrational logic. Hence,

> [a]ll the patiently assembled knowledge of the killer's identity and modus
> operandi is worthless compared to the one thing the alienist craves: the
> secret of his subjectivity. But this is the secret that is hidden from the
> subject himself, and so the narrator's description of Dr. Kreizler as the
> "man who knew [the killer] as well as he knew himself" (570) becomes
> profoundly ironic. (*Ibid.*)

This fatal "fascination" cast on Kreizler derives from the inevitable
desire to decipher the killer's subjectivity. Inevitably, Kreizler, defeated
and unsatisfied, will never know the "Other", the alien, even though they
speak the same "common" language:

> [a] serial killer is a subject who speaks not an alien tongue but a
> horrifyingly mangled version of the "common language", the version that
> rings unsettlingly familiar but never quite coalesces into meaning. Thus,
> the necessity and urgency of translating the killer's motivation into

discourses of "art and science" stem not from absolute difference but from uncanny similarity. And it is precisely because of this similarity that his resistance to meaning becomes an epistemological scandal of epic proportions. (*Ibid.*)

In a sense, the act of killing human beings can be seen as the ultimate act of selfish protection, especially in all those cases on the borderlines of insanity. The alienist, as a contemporary "overreacher", is bound to search for the meaning of those outlaw acts -murders- through the analysis of the physical, moral and spiritual hints imprinted upon the serial killer's psyche. Yet, for both British and American alienists, all the mental processes lying behind the killers' behaviours fostered a method of comprehending the rituals, by means of other modern approaches, which previously seemed inexplicable.

Another crucial element to ponder over is the presence of mutilation in the TV series. As Sarah Chaney (2011:281) argues, it is interesting to note that

[f]rom the 1860s, alienists began to adopt and define the new term, "self-mutilation", paying it particular attention in the period 1880-1900. Self-mutilation in these descriptions could range from disabling to quite minor injuries [...]. While published case studies often concentrated on the extremities of castration, enucleation (removal of the eye) and amputation, it was the more common minor injuries, which required regular intervention by asylum medical staff and frequently formed matters of concern in asylum casebooks and Annual Reports.

Thus, mutilation and self-mutilation indicate the high value alienists placed on such serial killers' cases in that it was felt that the analysis of individual stories might have provided a deeper understanding of human mind and its obscure processes. Indeed,

[t]his emphasis is clear in one of the major contributions on self-mutilation, alienist James Adam's five-page entry for Daniel Hack Tuke's comprehensive *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine* (Adam 1982). Among the case histories used to support Adam's definition were examples from fictional literature, not an uncommon practice in psychiatric accounts of the period. Cases of illness in the classics served to illustrate the apparently universal nature of disorder, a weighty background, which seemed to legitimise the alienist and his ideas. (281)

Together with this assumption, according to which serial killers' lives were somehow romanticized on the common conviction that they could

offer "evidence" to discover mental anomalies, a relevant role is also played by Darwin's theories:

> For alienists like Adam, building on one of the central purposes of Romantic literature as exploration of the rational self literary characters were presented as case studies, concrete and genuine examples of particular traits within normal or abnormal psychology, which could be exploited to generate a more detailed understanding of individual motivation [...]. Such assumptions were underpinned by a widespread belief that psychology could uncover universal truths concerning human nature: traits transcending national, historical, cultural and individual (or authorial) boundaries. These assumptions were supported by contemporary scientific thought in other areas, in particular the natural sciences and the new "science of man", anthropology, utilizing the language of Darwinism. (*Ibid.*)

Hence, within this evolutionary background, geographical boundaries lost their influence, since human beings were no longer grouped according to their nationality but rather by their level of civilization. Thus, the fascination alienists underwent was the result of the anthropological investigation on serial killers' stories to prove the universal nature of human behaviour beyond the boundaries. In this light, as George Stocking[4] stated, biological evolution of the species was considered by anthropologists as a metaphor through which both the evolution of civilization and the education of the individual could be explained.

Going back to the use of mutilation, in the act of killing it can be interpreted as a symbolic landmark in the stories to dramatically outline the breakdown of the murderer, which is based on the fact that the audience is familiar with the idea of an evident connection between mind (psyche) and body. What is at stake here is the fact that mutilation could be interpreted as an ultimate act to raise social attention. For instance, in the first episode of the TV series, *The Boy Prostitute*, the killer, not receiving the public punishment which he thinks necessary to ease his sufferings, decides to leave a clue to make the alienist approach his identity. The killer's behaviour is undoubtedly cast as "selfish" and "individual", an evident threat to social establishment. The desecration of the boy prostitute's body is the final challenge to society, which in turn is linked to the victim's "antisocial crime", which is to say adultery.

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[4] See George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, Free Press, Collier Macmillan, New York, London, 1987.

Within this context, Gomel posits that both, the work of the criminologist and the actions of the serial killer enshrine a treacherous connection because

> the work of the criminologist consists in opening up the killer's psyche, it bears an unsettling resemblance to the killer's own craving for opening up the victim's body. The criminal and the criminologist are locked together in a Jekyll-and-Hyde relationship, attested to by the persistent rumor that Jack the Ripper was a physician, and incarnated in Dr. Hannibal Lecter, a brilliant savant of the criminal mind, including his own.

This dangerous role swapping which leads the alienist to ponder over the possibility of "being like" his patient is magnified in the final part of the novel *The Alienist*:

> I suppose that I, too, should have been deeply gratified at the results of this initial interview; yet as I watched Beecham answer Laszlo's questions his voice growing ever more compliant and even childish, with none of the threatening, arrogant tone he'd used when we were his prisoners [...] [t]his man had no right to exhibit any pitiable human qualities in the light of all he'd done. Who was this enormous grotesque, I thought, to sit there confessing and snivelling like one of the children he'd slaughtered? (570)

In this scene, as a mirror, the mind of the criminologist reflects his essence on the serial killer's one and *viceversa* as the "snivelling killer" might become any snivelling child, thus including the image of the alienist, who eventually is seen as a potential child-killer. Hence, when Moore decides to shoot the killer, he makes his decision in the hope of establishing a definite boundary between the role of the detective and that of the criminal, distinguishing the victim from the victimizer. Eventually, Moore realizes that it is impossible to cut off the two parts and, notwithstanding his effort, the mind of the "alien" remains an impenetrable mystery whose solution goes beyond the human understanding. As such, then, the real nature of the alien's mind can only be "interpreted" by acknowledging the many fractures and depths it presents, which is to say, in Lacanian terms, that reality can only be glimpsed in the several cracks of the Symbolic realm.

Conclusion

The nineteenth-century portrayal of criminals and serial killers has fostered a "variety" of characters whose multi-layered personalities have re-shaped the contemporary detective fiction as a genre. From Lombroso's

criminal anthropology, according to which criminals were creatures of different species biologically marked by signs of degenerations, the contemporary representation of serial killers is characterized by their apparent "normality". The physical taxonomy used in the past to categorise criminals in terms of body anomalies, such as the shape of the skull, the form of the ears and the symmetry of the face, is no longer relevant in the contemporary context. Thus, Gomel concludes that from the previous anthropologist approach, according to which,

> [t]he end result of criminal anthropology is the *incorporation* of crime: removed from the sphere of moral or even legal judgement, it becomes the matter not of doing but of being. Paradoxically, criminal activity itself ceases to be of any particular importance in defining the criminal […] for if the criminal is born, his actions are mere symptoms, superficial expressions of his immutable nature which precedes and determines any particular instance of lawbreaking. A criminal, in fact, can be detected *before* he commits a crime […].

now the focus of the paradigm is set on the criminal and alienist ambivalent figures, which is to say their being both men and aliens, both representing a caleidoscopic embodiment of evil gifted genius with an uncanny psychological penetration and deadly "overreachers" who always carry out their "performances" on the borderline. Inevitably, alienists and serial killers act out a form of fantasy whose actualization implies, and includes, everlasting substitutions which are short-circuited into repetition. The alienist and serial killer figures scratch the forth wall of imagination and storm into the audience's reality by putting on display the paradox of life, which is the freak show of human nature. And it is precisely from this multi-faceted freak show that the visual rendition of mental illness and its (supposed) cure reverberates its endless echoing: "who's mad?".

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