The World of Languages and Literatures

A Contemporary Outlook

Edited by

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

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To know each other we must reach beyond the sphere of our sense perceptions.

—Nikola Tesla (1856-1943)
Serbian-American Inventor

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this book is to bring forward current topics in language and literature. The book synthesizes current practical topics written by active researchers and practitioners in their respective areas. It is comprehensive in dealing with issues that are changing perceptions of relevant topics in language and literature. Using contemporary research methods 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 and beyond.

This book comprises a collection of 17 peer-reviewed papers written by scholars from around the globe who came together in their shared interest to offer new and innovative approaches to current topics in language and literature. The book offers new perspectives on topics such as different registers for instruction, media language, the effectiveness of a multi-literacies program for introducing EFL, promoting religious tolerance through literature and music, teaching drama, intercultural communication, gender studies and literature studies. Offering a diverse range of topics, the book will be a valuable contribution to all educators, researches and students who want to view current topics from a completely different perspective.

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 17 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

THE REAL WORLD OF LANGUAGE

CHAPTER ONE

TWO REGISTERS OF INSTRUCTION

DAVID LANDIS

Outline

This study investigates how knowledgeable experts instructed novices in a school classroom and a marketplace located in a large city in contemporary Kazakhstan. A review of literature shows that experts design their instruction using questions and feedback in social contexts of unequal knowledge, roles, rights and responsibilities as they interact with novices. Analysis of social interactions reported in this paper and interpreted through transcripts and descriptions of the relevant social contexts, shows the classroom teacher and herbal products salesperson as experts orienting instruction to novices through testing questions, interpreting and analyzing novices' understandings, and deciding how to direct the flow and use of information during instruction among other teaching tasks. Results suggest that the experts' instructional practices in both settings relied upon the selection of appropriate content knowledge for use with novice learners.

1. Overview

Talk serves as an important asset for teaching and learning (Mercer 1995, Mercer & Middleton 2013). Teachers and knowledgeable experts use talk to share ideas that define, construct and validate what counts as relevant knowledge. This exploratory study builds a comparative, analogical perspective about a spelling lesson and a shopping encounter in order to understand how a primary grade teacher and an herbal products seller used talk to design instruction during their interactions with the students and the shopper. The data were originally generated for use in separate projects. However, this paper brings together these data from seemingly disparate contexts in order to build its comparative argument about how the seller's presentation of ideas seems similar to the teacher's instruction during the spelling lesson.

2. Theoretical/Conceptual Framework

According to Macbeth (2011:440), knowing how to take a turn-in-talk in "on-going conversation is itself an analytic task and achievement *of* understanding" (italics in original). "Teachers and students use talk to *account* for the opinions they hold and the information they provide" (Mercer 1995: 67). Through turns-in-talk, teachers and students bring facts, information and awareness into existence. Through turns-at-talk, instruction is locally defined by teachers and students influenced by their particular purposes, roles, rights and responsibilities for deciding "what counts as knowledge" and how beliefs will be justified and enforced (Heap 1985: 248). The terms 'roles', 'rights' and 'responsibilities' can be defined as follows: a) roles (who has opportunities to participate and what status is accorded to speakers, addressees, by-standers), b) rights (who can develop topics and who has access to particular perspectives about topics) and c) responsibilities (who is obligated to use or gain access to particular knowledge). Students, for example, tend to view teachers as experts by virtue of their role as 'teacher'; and teachers, on the other hand, tend to view students as novices deficient in the domain(s) of knowledge that are the focus of instruction. Teachers' obligations, responsibilities, and rights made visible through talk include "setting the agenda, introducing subtopics, posing problems to solve, and exposing the student's knowledge deficits" (Graesser 1993: 8-9). The asking of questions for example, "[establishes] the expert-novice frame and [indexes] the roles of the participants as either expert or novice" (Munger 1996:3-4).

2.1 Questions, Feedback and Tasks for Guiding Instruction

One particular aspect of instructional talk, which teachers/experts rely upon to establish the expert-novice frame in educational settings, is that of *testing questions*. Such questions: a) elicit responses that will reveal in what ways the student's or novice's knowledge needs support; b) bring the student's knowledge and lack of knowledge to the surface of the interaction; and c) make the teacher-student distinction relevant to the interaction (Drew 1991). Such questions represent teacher initiations of a familiar three-part pedagogical cycle known as the Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) pedagogic cycle (Mehan 1979). Teacher IRF feedback turns represent an important instructional opportunity for analyzing and interpreting their students' understandings and needs, determining student knowledge and identities, evaluating student work, responding to student

difficulties and guiding the interaction toward particular goals and outcomes (Lee 2007).

Through talk, teachers take up a series of instructional tasks in order to interact with their students. Among these tasks are: a) anticipating novice challenges, misconceptions, strengths, interests, capabilities, background knowledge; b) developing questions, tasks, activities, and problems to elicit student thinking; c) evaluating student ideas in student work, talk, actions; d) creating and adapting resources for instruction, such as examples, models, explanations, processes; e) evaluating and selecting resources for instruction; f) explaining concepts, procedures, representations, examples, models, definitions; and g) helping students to do the work required to accomplish the planned curriculum (Gitomer and Zisk 2015). The instructional tasks listed above are focused upon achieving a particular goal—teaching students what they don't know through demonstrations of how to practically apply lessons and curricular ideas (Macbeth 2011).

Teachers in school settings initiate interactions marked by particular classroom register(s)—identifiable situation-specific language uses and structural features such as the three-part pedagogical cycle (e.g., Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Zwicky & Zwicky 1982) with students. Aided by the use of an instructional register, teachers take up particular tasks as primary knowers (persons who indicate that they know what is relevant and they authoritatively define what knowledge is significant). They ask follow-up questions and qualify contributions from students as secondary knowers (persons who indicate that they could receive the knowledge) (Nassaji & Wells 2000; Berry 1981). Teachers engage in negotiating with students the rights and access to knowledge (Muntigl 2009). Teachers act during feedback/follow-up turns as part of IRF sequences to rework and reclassify student responses/vernacular knowledge into disciplinary content knowledge by reinterpreting and analyzing student responses (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Lee 2007).

Meanwhile, in market-place settings, sellers make use of a consultative register or a set of particular uses and structural features (e.g, Zwicky & Zwicky 1982). As consultants for addressing customer needs and interests, sellers take the role of primary knowers about the products and services for sale with shoppers often situated as secondary knowers. Salespeople raise questions for their customers in order to find out customer interests, needs and knowledge in relation to particular products and services for sale. Sales representatives raise questions about what their customers know in order to respond with information that could be useful to the customer such as what other customers are doing and what trends are developing in products and pricing (Dixon & Adamson 2011). Such

questions help customers know that the sales representative wants to understand customer needs and interests in relation to services and products.

2.2 Instructional Design during Expert-Novice Interactions

Through questions, the teacher or expert searches for effective ways to communicate concepts and related actions so that misconceptions and barriers to the student's/novice's understanding about, or compliance with, instruction can be overcome. Experts orient their statements towards novices dynamically by adjusting, adopting and adapting their organization and presentation of ideas in order to connect with novices' developing understandings (Wintermantel 1990). In order to overcome barriers to understanding, experts create complex speech acts involving reasoning from disciplinary, tutorial and personal linguistic knowledge.

Teachers/experts and students/novices draw from three domains of knowledge during their interactions. First, tutorial knowledge refers to participant structures' that indicate the set of norms, rights, and responsibilities that shape social relations, influence perceptions of events, and influence the creation and take up of formal skills) (Philips 1972). Second, personal linguistic knowledge refers to communicative repertoires that are considered appropriate for the particular local context) (e.g., Rymes 2010). Personal repertoires include "linguistic features (language varieties), cultural features (genres, styles) and social features (norms for the production and understanding of language)" (Blommaert & Backus 2011: 3). Third, academic content or disciplinary knowledge, indicating "the organization, selection and display of knowledge consistent with the practices of a disciplinary community" (Bloome et al. 2005:53) and which is conceived as existing outside of any particular lesson or activity as a set of accepted curricular truths. However, what ultimately counts as academic knowledge for the students is what information, facts, propositions, and beliefs are produced or established through interactions with teachers (Heap 1985) and why particular propositions are significant and relevant (Shulman 1986).

Recent discussions have defined academic content or disciplinary knowledge as a set of linguistic features that are considered as 'academic' and viewed as endemic to subject area curriculum including: a) understanding how to (de)compose morphologically complex words such as nominalizations, b) understanding complex syntax such as embedded clauses, identifying logical connecting words and discourse markers, c) identifying conceptual anaphoric determiners that summarize

meanings in prior discourse, d) becoming familiar with the organization of analytic, expository discourse structures including thesis and arguments, and e) identifying academic register. Taken together, these linguistic features define "core academic-language skills...that are prevalent in academic discourse across school content areas and infrequent in colloquial conversations" (Uccelli, Galloway, Barr, Meneses, & Dobbs 2015: 338).

2.3 Methodological Framework

This study adopts a comparative, analogical perspective towards data generation and analysis. An analogy is a comparison between phenomena or sets of phenomena that draws attention to their possible similarities. An analogical argument is supported when the phenomena being compared are connected to a common cause or generally accepted natural principle. However, no formal universal logical argument governs all comparisons between phenomena. Each attempt to draw comparisons must consider particular local phenomena and warrants for comparison. Phenomena that share some traits or relations may not necessarily share further traits or relations. Four criteria for evaluating analogical comparisons have been proposed: a) the number of similarities affects the strength of the analogical perspective, b) 'similarity' is defined as like or matching relations or properties, c) comparisons between phenomena are strengthened by connection to a common causal source and d) familiarity with a common cause is not necessary to propose an believable analogical comparison (Bartha 2013).

In this study, an underlying assumption or common cause for expert-novice interactions is that teachers/experts as primary knowers share information with students/novices as secondary knowers in ways that help the novices to learn. More specifically, the teacher and the seller appear to engage in an interpretive, analytical review of the secondary knowers' understandings in order to decide how to proceed further with interactions. Two particular interpretive, analytical tasks that appear similar are: a) the teacher as primary knower interacts with students as secondary knowers while the seller as primary knower interacts with the shopper as secondary knower, and b) the teacher estimates what the students know and don't know, while the seller figures out what information the customer knows and wants to know about the product(s) or service(s) for sale. Based on these similar propositions, an investigation to ascertain other possible similarities about how knowledge is used by the teacher and the seller seems intriguing and significant.

The purpose of this investigation is to examine expert-novice interactions in two settings in order to understand to what extent the seller's dialogue with the shopper can be considered as instructional. The main research question is, "How does the seller's interaction with the shopper during the shopping transaction seem similar to, or different from, the teacher's interactions with the students during the spelling lesson?" Responding to this question provides direction for the choice of methods for data generation and analysis reported in the following sections of this paper. In the following sections, a discussion on the contexts and methods of data generation and an analysis of the data is presented. A concluding section discusses the significance and limitations of this study.

3. Background

This section provides information about the two locations (a bazaar and a school classroom) discussed in this paper. The first location is a regional bazaar known for selling a wide range of goods including: vegetables, fruit, meats, grains and nuts as well as household items such as cookware, dishes and construction items including tools and materials. In general, a bazaar can be defined as a "permanent merchandising area or a marketplace where goods and services are sold. The word derives from the Persian word 'bâzâr' meaning 'the place of prices'." (Mitra, Kaminski and Kholmatov 2009:6). The marketplace described here serves local residents and also functions as a wholesale resupply for traders working in small shops and sidewalk kiosks. Bazaars are key economic institutions in Kazakhstan (and Central Asia) because they support domestic and international trade, generate hundreds of thousands of vital jobs for women and men related to production and distribution of local and regional goods and services such as "foods, feeds, construction materials, agricultural products, chemicals, miscellaneous manufactures, and clothing" (Mitra, Kaminski and Kholmatov 2009:5), help thousands of families to live above the poverty level and develop important business management skills such as "logistic and marketing skills easily transferable to activities in modern networks of production and distribution" (5). Bazaars also serve as key societal and political institutions because they bring together small business owners in sufficient numbers to stabilize relations with state authorities and reduce opportunities for state exploitation. In addition, bazaars function as key points of contact between migratory workers from rural areas or other Central Asian states and urban residents. Bazaars in Kazakhstan, in particular, represent important destinations for seasonal migratory workers from Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. Also, bazaars are

important cultural institutions because they support the production of traditional arts and crafts and various household products such as furniture. In sum, the bazaar represents a key organizational resource in Central Asian societies that provides important intellectual, social/cultural and material assets for hundreds of thousands of people.

The second location is an urban area Kazakh-medium primary school consisting of grades 1-4. The school is located in a long-established residential area in Almaty (estimated population in 2015 of 1.6 million people)—the principal commercial/ educational/cultural center of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The lesson occurred in a grade four classroom. According to Sadvakasova & Rakisheva (2011), more residents in Kazakhstan speak, write and read Russian compared with Kazakh. Their data indicate a continuing preference among the general population across Kazakhstan for Russian language use. Even ethnic Kazakhs are as likely to speak, read and write using Russian as they are to use Kazakh. From this perspective, parents face a complicated situation regarding instruction in Kazakh and/or Russian language for their children. Some Kazakh parents want their children to attend schools where only Kazakh is used in order to confront years of Soviet domination and Russification of ethnic Kazakhs during the 20th century. By contrast, other parents, especially in urban areas, want Russian-medium instruction for their children because job opportunities in cities require Russian language proficiency. This group of parents may also believe that the quality of Russian-medium education is higher and that the variety of subjects is more extensive compared with Kazakh-medium education (Fierman 2006).

4. Data Representation and Analysis

Transcript One (see Table 2) and Transcript Two (see Table 4) describe interactions during a business transaction and during a spelling lesson in a school classroom respectively. The purpose of displaying the transcripts is to examine expert- novice interactions in two settings in order to understand in what ways the seller's interactions might be similar to the instructional actions of the teacher in the classroom. Transcript One focuses attention upon the interactions between the seller and a graduate student shopper. Transcript Two focuses attention upon the interactions between a fourth grade teacher and her students. Composing these transcripts contributes towards understanding how people in these settings are signaling and acknowledging what knowledge is being authorized, validated, and (re)interpreted across the situations. A key challenge in understanding actions and reactions of people to one another is to consider

what cues interlocutors use to understand what is going on, what meanings are being developed and how to signal to one another developing social relationships (Bloome et al. 2005). A significant aspect of the information used by people in their interactions with one another is the use of contextualization cues or communicative signals including verbal utterances, gestures and handling of objects as well as prosodic patterns of stress and intonation that carry implicit meanings among people. Contextualization cues "are part of the acts that people make toward one another [and] those actions and reactions provide a material basis for generating a description of what is going on and what it means in situ and to the people involved" (Bloome et al. 2005:9).

In generating a description of what is going on, a challenge is to identify 'who' or 'what' the people involved are attending to; consulting the contextualization cues used by the interlocutors and being alert to their sense of how the event is developing as they cope with understanding what has happened and what could happen next. As people interact, they figure out when to adjust to shifts or changes in meaning, topic, action, and purpose. These changes can be considered as interactional boundaries— socially created, established and sometimes opposed. Shifts are indicated in the transcripts as bounded message units and interactional units. *Message Units* signal what reactions listeners make during a situation. During their interactions, people link messages together in order to accomplish joint social activities that require other people to respond in some manner (Bloome et al. 2005). In these analyses, Transcripts One and Two show message units and an English gloss for local language use.

5. Selling at a Regional Bazaar

Two graduate students, enrolled in an applied linguistics course "Grammar in Social Contexts", worked together to visit a local bazaar on a shopping/research exploration in order to complete a class research project. The students' goal was to interact with several sellers and make recordings for grammatical analysis. Due to the public location and the incessant noise of hundreds of people in the shopping area, the students were able to clearly record only a few brief dialogues with merchants. A dialogue between a seller and a shopper at this bazaar was selected for analysis because it showed how the seller shared knowledge about medicinal herbs and their health benefits as a means of urging the shopper to make a purchase and to return for future purchases. This data extract was part of a larger study comparing shopping interactions in Kazakh and Russian languages at two bazaars. The excerpt represents approximately 5

minutes of dialogue between one of the students (a native Russian speaker) and a saleswoman who was selling green products--various herbs for medicinal use. During the dialogue, the seller introduces and explains benefits for some of the herbs at her table while the graduate student considers the information and requests price information. A list of the conventions used to inform the transcript is provided in Table 1.

Table 1. Transcript 1 Conventions Used

Time length:	Transcript conventions used:	
	Seller A	Seller at the bazaar
	Seller B	Seller at the bazaar
4 minutes,	Shopper	Graduate student
55 seconds	[direction]	descriptions, stage directions
	(It's)	referent
	(6)	pause (seconds)
	(,)	brief pause
	XXXX	unintelligible utterance

5.1 Shopping Dialogue.

This section briefly analyzes the dialogue retold in Transcript 1 (see Table 2). The dialogue is presented in Table 2 in conventional Russian spelling along with an English gloss). The results and discussion are organized together focusing primarily upon the English gloss.

Table 2. Transcript 1: Selling at the Bazaar

Line	Speaker	Message Unit	English Gloss
01	Seller	Для пищеварения очень хорошо	Very good for digestion
02	Shopper	Сколько стоит	How much does it cost?
03	Seller	Килограмм 1300 вообще	1300 tenge for a general amount of one and a half kilos
04	Seller	вот это баночка идет на две	equal to two jars
05	Seller	полтора килограмма	A one kilo and a half size jar

06	Seller	Здесь вот идет на 500 тенге	only costs 500 tenge
07	Seller	Такая есть 800 тенге баночка	(Here is) an 800 tenge sized jar
08	Seller	Такая есть 1100 баночка	(Here is) an 1100 tenge sized jar
09	Seller	Вообщем как Вам понравится	In general, buy as much as you like
10	Seller	Насколько Вы на 300 тенге XXX	Even if you want to pay (as little as) 300 tenge
11	Seller	На какую сумму хотите?	What sum of money would you like to pay?
12	Shopper	А из чего он сделан?	What is it made of?
13	Seller	А?	What?
14	Shopper	А из чего он сделан?	What is it made of?
15	Seller	Это XXX это многолетняя лекарственная травка	It's XXX it's a treatment herb (a perennial plant)
16	Seller	Она идет для поддержки сердечной мышцы	It works for supporting the heart muscle
17	Seller	и для нервной системы	And the nervous system
18	Seller	Она как успокоительная	(It's) soothing
19	Shopper	А вот это?	And here is?
20	?	(,)	(,)
21	Seller	XXX	XXX
22	Seller	Это считается низкокалорийный мед	This is considered a low-calorie honey
23	Seller	Он даже для диабетиков очень рекомендуется	It is often recommended for diabetics
24	Seller	Он идет как желчегонный	It works like a cholagogue
25	Seller	И как для пищеварения XXX для желудка	And as for the stomach XXX for digestion
26	?	XXX	XXX

27	Seller	Потом есть горное разнотравье	Then there is a mix of herbs that grow in the mountains
28	Seller	Очень вкусный медик	Very pleasant tasting medicine (the honey)
29	Seller	Есть гречиха	This is buckwheat
30	Seller	Гречиха знаете да?	Buckwheat, you know?
31	Seller	Она для печени	It's (buckwheat) for the liver
32	Seller	для крови	(It's) for blood
33	Seller	гемоглобин у кого низкий	For those who have low hemoglobin
34	Seller	XXX вот это горное разнотравье	This is the mountain herb mix
35	Seller	Прям такой хороший XXX	It's so very good
36	Seller	Там шалфей	There is salvia
37	Seller	душица	(There is) marjoram
38	Seller	зверобой	(There is) tutsan
39	Seller	Все горные травки	All mountain herbs
40	Shopper	(,)	
41	Shopper	Можно да еще?	Can I have more?
42	Seller	Можно гречиху попробовать	You can try the buckwheat
43	Seller	Очень хорошо	Very good
44	Seller	Это иммунитет поднять	It's to improve your immune system
45	Seller	У кого слабость знаете	(For those) whom have physical weakness
46	Seller	это анемия: XXXX там железо много очень	It's for anemia XXXX because there is lots of iron
47	Shopper	Можно XXXX в маленькие баночки гречиху (,)	Can I have XXXX a little tin of buckwheat?
48	Seller	XXXX	XXXX

49	Seller	Если вы их часто берете	If you take them often
50	Seller	Я Вам могу визиточку оставить (.)	I can leave you my card
51	Seller	XXXX своя XXXX это мое рабочее место	XXXX this is mine XXXX my working place [indicating her contact information on the card]
52	Shopper	(,)	
53	Seller	И вот такое вот еще	And here is another one
54	?	XXXX [sound quality of the recording deteriorates caused by increasing background noise]	XXXX
55	Shopper	Спасибо	[pays for product] Thank you
56	Shopper	До свидания	Goodbye

5.1.1 Discussion

The dialogue as portrayed in the Transcript 1 shows the seller and the shopper adjusting to shifts in meaning (e.g., line 28), topic (e.g., lines 27-29), actions (e.g., lines 41, 47) and purpose (e.g., lines 49-51). In the following sections, the discussion considers the transcripts in relation to roles, rights and responsibilities assumed by the seller and the shopper, their uses of questions, feedback and tasks, and how the dialogue portrays elements of instructional design.

5.1.1.1 Roles, rights and responsibilities

An analysis of the transcripts created to represent the shopping encounter shows the seller taking up the role of a primary knower (with regard to medicinal herbs and their health benefits, related products such as the

'low-calorie' honey and pricing of the products). The seller's role, or opportunity to participate in the interaction, is indexed through the use of questions (e.g., line 30), which reflect the seller' status as a knowledgeable expert about the products for sale, reveal the shopper's existing knowledge about medicinal herbs and expose the shopper's interests and needs (e.g., line 11). The seller also invites the shopper to accept this knowledge as authoritative (e.g., lines 15-17). In contrast, the student shopper responds to the seller's talk and takes up the role of a novice or secondary knower with regard to knowledge about medicinal herbs and related products during this interaction—asking particular questions (e.g., lines 12, 14, 19) that recognized the seller as more knowledgeable. The seller and shopper also took up particular rights and responsibilities as they discussed medicinal herbs, their pricing and their health benefits. The seller developed topics (e.g., the buckwheat product discussed in lines 42-46) and defined particular obligations for using the knowledge and opening access to it (e.g., uses of buckwheat and an acceptable source for future purchases in lines 47-51). The seller avoided use of the three-part pedagogic cycle—a form of interaction that would have been socially out of place at the bazaar. Instead, she established her social status as a knowledgeable expert through extended explanations of herbs, definitions of processes related to digestion and anemia, and classification systems for herbs such as those grown in the mountains (e.g., lines 34-39). The seller also imposed authoritative definitions for herbs and their medicinal benefits by responding to the shopper's questions and concerns; however the shopper also acted to cope with asymmetrical understandings by asking 'minor' questions about products and their prices, which elicited detailed responses from the expert without challenging her authority. Both the shopper and the seller drew from their understanding of retail buying and selling behavior to participate in a discursive formation for intentionally sharing and building knowledge about medicinal herbs and their health properties (e.g., Freebody, Chan & Barton 2013).

5.1.1.2 Questions, feedback, tasks

The seller opens a dialogue with the shopper by offering a comment about one of the herbal products and its benefit for digestion (line 01). In line 11, the seller asks the first question, "What sum of money would you like to pay?" This question functions as a "testing question"—a means of a) attempting to bring the shopper's interests to the surface of the interaction and b) gathering initial information about what the shopper cares about (e.g., price, quality, other concerns). The shopper avoids answering this question, by posing another question about the ingredients of a particular

product (lines 12, 14). A significant task for the seller is to figure out what the shopper knows about the various herbal products and their potential health benefits (e.g., lines 30-33). The seller also provides extended feedback to shopper questions about products. An example occurs in lines 19-25 where the seller replies to the question posed by the shopper about a product "And here is" (line 19). The seller identifies the product as low-calorie honey, recommended for diabetics, which works like a cholagogue, which encourages the discharging of bile from the human body (lines 22-24). Implicit in the seller's feedback is the use of explanations and examples that add to the shopper's developing understanding (e.g., lines 03-10 related to pricing of various quantities and lines 42-46 during which the seller tries to further develop the shopper's understanding about a particular product—the buckwheat.

5.1.1.3 Presentation of Information

During the shopping dialogue, the seller continued to propose and organize specialized content knowledge and health benefits about various products for the shopper's developing understanding; coaching the shopper through a process of understanding products, pricing and health benefits with a view to making a sale. The seller produced a sequence of utterances referring to specialized content knowledge about herbal products, while taking into account the perspective of the shopper. The disciplinary knowledge about the medicinal herbs was made visible during the interaction through complex syntactic constructions (e.g., lines 44-46), the use of specialized taxonomy or a classification system for herbs (e.g., line 27), a series of embedded clauses (e.g., lines 28, 32-33), specialized vocabulary (e.g., lines 23-25) and anaphoric expressions (e.g., line 35). The seller organized a kind of "first curriculum" (Macbeth, 2011) related to medicinal herbs in which she drew from vernacular common products such as honey and buckwheat and reshaped knowledge about those products using specialized disciplinary terms such as: 'heart muscle' (line 16), 'nervous system' (line 17), 'low calorie' (line 22), 'hemoglobin' (line 33), 'immune system' (line 44), 'anemia' (line 46). In order to support the presentation of ideas about medicinal herbs and their health benefits, the seller provided a series of propositions about medicinal herbs explaining why particular herbs were warranted or recommended (e.g., lines 15-18 about the treatment herb), why knowing about the herbs was significant (e.g., lines 29-33 about the benefits of honey) and how some herbs were related to one another as conceptual categories (e.g., lines 27, 34-39 listing all of the mountain herbs).

6. Teaching Spelling in a Fourth Grade Classroom

This particular lesson was part of a second language curriculum for teaching Russian reading and writing—spelling of *жи (zhi)* and *ши (shi)*—to Kazakh mother tongue students in the fourth grade. The 45-minute lesson occurred in the following phases: an opening (2 minutes), a copying activity (20 minutes) during which students copied text from the board into their notebooks while filling the gaps with correct letters, a dictation activity in which the teacher dictated the words to the class while one student wrote at the board (10 minutes), a reading activity (15 minutes) in which students silently read a dialog from the textbook while two students read the dialogue aloud, and finally a discussion of homework. The data were originally generated for a different project investigating language socialization practices of urban Kazakh-speaking children; however this lesson was selected for analysis because the interaction between the teacher, the student at the board and the students at their seats makes visible the teacher's attempts to build particular orthographic knowledge about spelling for her students. One boy in this class recorded his speaking for a period of two months at home and school. He was asked to use the recorder for prolonged periods of time. The length of recordings varied from half an hour to up to 5 uninterrupted hours. Fortunately, during the classroom lessons he sat in the front row nearest the chalkboard; thus the recordings contain the teacher's comments and the student and his classmates' responses. The interactional data was first transcribed broadly and then selected episodes were transcribed in greater detail. The exchange below took place during a spelling activity. The teacher was reading isolated words to students; they were supposed to write the word, and then write the plural form of the word. This plural form had the target 'жи/ши' combination and thus the overall goal of the exercise was to drill the spelling rule: 'жи/ши пиши с буквой и' (write zhee/shee with 'и'). One student was called to the board, while others worked at their desks.

6.1. Spelling Lesson Dialogue

This section briefly analyzes the dialogue retold in Transcript 2. The Russian recording of the dialogue is presented in the tables along with an English gloss. The results and discussion are organized together focusing primarily upon the English gloss (see Table 3 for the conventions used in Transcript 2). Table 4 represents the teacher student interaction (Transcript 2).

Table 3. Transcript 2 Conventions Used

Time length:	Transcript conventions used:	
	Teacher Апай	Teacher Apai
2 minutes, ten seconds	S	Student
	Арман	Arman
	Boldface	Kazakh
	CAP	emphasis
	[direction]	descriptions, stage directions
	(It's)	referent
	(.)	pause
	XXXX	unintelligible utterance

6.1.1. Discussion.

An analysis of the spelling lesson Transcript 2 (see Table 4) shows the teacher drawing from Russian and Kazakh language varieties in order to guide her pupils through the Russian language spelling lesson. The focus on learning Russian spelling mirrors the general population preference for Russian schooling in society.

Table 4. Transcript 2: Teaching Spelling

Line	Speaker	Message Unit	English Gloss
01	Teacher Апай	Арман идет к доске	Arman goes to the board
02		А вы с новой строки пишите [to whole class]	And you write from the new line
03		Работаем на оценку	We work for a grade
04		так (.) пиши [to K]	So write
05		Нож (.)	Knife
06	Teacher Апай	[to whole class, faster] Нож **деген не** ребята?	What does 'knife' mean, kids?

07		Что такое нож?	What is a knife?
08	Students	[not clear] XXXX	XXXX
09	Teacher Апай	Которым режут, да?	which is used for cutting, right?
10	Students	Да	Yeah
11	Teacher Апай	Хорошо	Good
12	Teacher Апай	Пишем с новой строки	We write from the new line
13		Нож	Knife
14		Нет (.) с новой строки	No, the new line
15		[with emphasis] Нож	Knife
16		[annoyed] Ножь ножь [wrong pronunciation, with soft (zh) at the end]	Knife knife
17		Я вам не говорю	I don't say
18		Я говорю нож	I say knife
19		Тире поставь	Put dash
20	Teacher Апай	Арман че сегодня с тобой?	Arman, what's wrong with you today?
21		Тире поставь	Put dash
22	Student 1	**Арману** [loud whisper, urging] тире (.) тире	Armanu dash, dash
23	Students	[in unison] ТИРЕ!	DASH!
24		**Сызықша**	**Dash**
25	Arman	Тире?	Dash?

26	Teacher Апай	Во множественном числе пиши это слово	Write this word in plural
27		Во множественном	in plural
28		Как будет (.)	How to say…
29	Student 1	Ножики	Knives
30	Teacher Апай	[to A] пиши ножи	Write knives
31		Говорим ножи	We say knives
32	Student 1	[with realization] а да	Ah yes
33	Teacher Апай	Пишем (.)	We write
34		сами работаем	We work on our own
35		Быстрей	Faster
36		Быстрее быстрее работаем	We work faster faster
37		Ничего не пропускаем	We don't miss anything
38		С новой строки	From the new line
39		С новой строки	From the new line
40		С новой строки	From the new line
41		Никакую строчку не пропускаем	We don't miss any lines
42	Teacher Апай	[to A] ножи	[Write] knives
43		Запятую ставь	Put comma
44		Пиши	Write

45		Мышь	mouse
46		[to whole class] Мышь **не деген** ребята?	What is mouse, kids?
47		Это что такое?	What is it?
48	Student	Мышь это (.) крыса	Mouse is (.) a rat
49	Teacher Апай	А?	A?
50	Student	XXXX	XXXX
51	Teacher Апай	Он правильно все пишет?	Is he writing everything correctly?
52		[calling S2] Ерназар?	Ernazar?
53		[to whole class] Работаем и его ошибки проверяем	We work and correct his errors
54	Ерназар	Не	No
55		Апай, мышь неправильно написал	Teacher he wrote 'mouse' incorrectly
56	Teacher Апай	А что там неправильно?	What is incorrect there?
57	Students	там в конце...	There at the end…

6.1.1.2 Roles, rights and responsibilities

Teacher Апай (Apai-a Kazakh language term of respect for older women) asserted particular social roles for participating in the lesson for herself and her students (e.g., lines 01-02), determined particular rights for developing lesson topics (e.g., lines 06-07), determined access to particular perspectives about how work should be accomplished (e.g., lines 34-41), and assigned responsibilities or obligations for using particular grammatical knowledge (e.g., lines 26-27). Through a series of statements (*Arman goes to the board...you write...we work*), Teacher Apai asserted her role as the teacher, her right to develop topics for students'

consideration and her responsibilities for determining the obligations of the students and herself. She relied upon the students' prior knowledge about how to format their writing in their school notebooks and how to participate in turns of talk inherent in the three-part pedagogic (IRF) cycle. She asked students, for example, to join her in correcting errors in Arman's writing on the board, referring to herself and the class together as *we* (e.g., lines 51-57) and she extended the IRF cycle by asking Ernazar to identify what was incorrect in Arman's writing (line 56). Overall, Teacher Apai contributed commands and a series of questions, which set the lesson agenda, introduced the topics for students to consider, posed all problems for the students to solve, reinforced their obligation to participate under her guidance and asserted her right to expose deficits in student knowledge. Students, for the most part, responded to her questions and did not speak unless given a turn at talk by Teacher Apai, with the exception of lines 22-24 during which students took the initiative to address their classmate, Arman.

6.1.1.2 Questions, feedback, tasks

Teacher Apai and her students interact through a series of IRF pedagogic cycles (e.g., Mehan 1979) (e.g., lines 07-11, 28-32 and 46-50). Teacher Apai uses her feedback turns to act upon the students' second turns. In discussing a knife as a concept (lines 06-07) for example, Teacher Apai acts upon the students' second turn (e.g., Lee, 2007) by elaborating what a knife is used for and steer the discussion towards the use of a knife as a tool (line 09). Teacher Apai also supports first curriculum reworking (Macbeth 2011) of vernacular concepts such as *knife* (lines 07-09) and 'mouse' (lines 46-48) based upon linking these terms with specialized academic grammatical categories such as *plural* (lines 26-27) and *incorrect* (lines 55-56) appropriate for a spelling lesson. She directs her students to define terms such as *knife* and *mouse* and related arguments about them. She embeds a proposition about the act of cutting in connection with a knife as a tool for making incisions (lines 07-09). She also appears to accept her pupil's proposition linking the concepts of *mouse* and *rat* as equal to one another; perhaps classifying them as kinds of rodents (line 47). Teacher Apai takes up instructional tasks to accomplish the planned spelling curriculum (e.g. Gitomer & Zisk 2015). She sets the agenda (e.g., lines 01-03), poses the problems to solve (e.g., lines 04-05) and uses *testing questions* to estimate and expose the students' knowledge deficits (e.g., lines 28-31, line 51) (e.g. Graesser 1993; Drew 1991). She anticipates student background knowledge (e.g., line 09) and student misconceptions about pronunciation (e.g, lines 16-18,

28-31). She adapts and selects resources for instruction (e.g., lines 01-02). She develops questions to elicit student thinking (e.g., lines 28 and 51). She evaluates student work (e.g., lines 20-21) and explains procedures (e.g., lines 33-41) to help students to do the work required for the spelling lesson.

6.1.1.3 Instructional design

During the spelling lesson, Teacher Apai made use of a body of academic knowledge to inform her design of the spelling lesson. The body of academic knowledge included: specific linguistic features such as the non-standard pronunciation of *knife* (line 16) and logical syntactic connections such as adversatives and cause and effect:"I *don't say*, I *say* knife" (adversative lines 17-18); "Arman goes...and you write...We work for a grade...*So* write" (cause and effect lines 01-04). In addition, other linguistic features include: discourse markers such as shifts in topic (e.g., line 12, 20), anaphoric determiners such as summary comments by the teaching concerning Arman's progress at the board (e,g., line 51), academic register such as a classroom monologue given by the teacher concerning directions for completing the spelling assignment (e.g., lines 33-41). Teacher Apai reminded her students how to say *knife* and *knives* e.g., lines 16-18, 28-31). She also directed her students about how to appropriately write singular and plural words (e,g, lines 26-27 and 42, 44-45). Teacher Apai also directed her students to use proper formatting of examples on the board and in student notebooks (e.g., lines 02, 12, 21, 37-41, 43, 51).

7.1 Cross-case Comparison of the Herbal Medicine Shopping Encounter and the Spelling Lesson

This paper has presented detailed explanations of the dialogues between the herbal medicine seller and the shopper and between the teacher and her fourth grade students. The purpose of this investigation was to examine expert-novice interactions in two settings in order to understand to what extent the seller's interactions can be considered as instructional. The main research question was, "How does the seller's interaction with the shopper during the shopping transaction seem similar to, or different from, the teacher's interactions with the students during the spelling lesson?" Data generated for this study suggest that particular aspects of each interaction do appear similar in purpose and function. The particular instructional aspects that appear similar are summarized in Table 5 (see below). The methodology used for this study has been presented as an analogical

comparison between the shopping encounter and the classroom spelling lesson in order to understand to what extent the interaction in the sales setting can be considered as similar to what occurred in the classroom and therefore as *instructional*. The data and analysis has emphasized a set of positive, negative and inferred similarities (e.g., Bartha 2013) related to the ways the herbal seller and the fourth grade teacher as primary knowers interacted with novices as secondary knowers.

Table 5. Analogical Comparison of the Spelling Lesson and Shopping Encounter

	Spelling Lesson (*S*)	Positive Similarities	Shopping Encounter (*T*)
Vertical relations of traits, functions or relations with in each set	Teacher as primary knower interacts with students as secondary knowers		Seller as primary knower interacts with shopper as secondary knower
	Make the teacher-student distinction relevant to the interaction	Horizontal relations of similarity between sets *S* and *T*	Make the expert-novice distinction relevant to the interaction
	Estimating what students know or don't know		Figuring out what information is needed by customer
	Use of questions to bring student knowledge to the surface of the interaction		Use of questions to bring shopper knowledge to the surface of the interaction

	Negative Similarities
Evaluate student ideas in student work, talk, actions	Lack of horizontal relations between sets S and T
Develop questions that teacher already knows the answers to with tasks, activities, and problems to elicit student thinking	
Anticipate student challenges, misconceptions, strengths, interests, capabilities, background knowledge	

	Inferred Similarities
Teaching to different students by building understanding about individual student needs and interests	
Teaching to different customers by building understanding about individual customer needs and interests	

Regarding positive comparisons, this study affirms previous literature that indicates how the teacher and the seller could occupy a similar, common causal role as *primary knowers*. Both the teacher and the seller use questions supported by significant disciplinary, tutorial and personal linguistic knowledge in order to establish their right to speak as experts.

They use what they know in combination with their social status as experts to define accepted propositional truths in their respective subject domains. Both the teacher and the seller distinguished themselves from their students through questions, statements and tasks assigned to the students or the shopper as *secondary knowers* (e.g., Nassaji & Wells 2000; Berry 1091). Through interaction and the use of questions and feedback, the teacher and the seller can be seen as estimating what the students and the shopper know and don't know and making this lack of knowledge relevant to the dialogue. In terms of negative similarities, Teacher Apai clearly evaluated her fourth grade students' ideas and work during the spelling lesson. She developed questions to address problems and tasks that she selected for the lesson and she anticipated challenges to student understanding and misconceptions based upon her understanding of her students' on-going evidence of understanding during the lesson. However, the seller did not use questions to develop specific tasks or to anticipate difficulties to her customer's understanding and misconceptions. The seller's questions were designed instead to give attention to her adult customer's needs and interests. Furthermore, the seller explained why particular propositions about the medicinal herbs were worth knowing and how the propositions were related to other propositions about medicinal herbs. A conclusion is that how the seller acted fulfilled Shulman's (1986) definition of a teacher as "capable of defining for students the accepted truths in a domain" (p. 9), while the fourth grade teacher did not develop further explanations about relevant propositions in this particular lesson. Table 5 also shows an area of inferred similarity connecting Teacher Apai with the seller of medicinal herbs. Both the teacher and the seller gave attention to individual needs and interests and made assumptions about the person. Teacher Apai noticed Arman's mistakes at the board and complained that something must be wrong with him. The seller noticed the shopper's interest in the buckwheat product and suggested an amount that she estimated the shopper would be willing to purchase.

7.2 Cross-case Expansion of Positive Similarities between the Shopping Encounter and the Spelling

Lesson

Based upon the set of positive similarities between the roles of Teacher Apai and the seller of medicinal herbs, a series of further comparisons can be made about the use of questions, interpretive analytic work accomplished and teaching tasks involving content knowledge that can be

discerned in both the shopping encounter and the spelling lesson. The set of further comparisons is represented in Table 6.

Table 6. Testing questions, expert interpretive work, teaching tasks

Testing Questions (Drew, 1991)	Seller Interpretive Analytic Work (Dixon & Adamson, 2011)	Teacher Interpretive Analytic Work (Lee, 2007)	Teaching Tasks Involving Content Knowledge (Gitomer and Zisk, 2015)
Elicit responses that will reveal in what ways a novice's knowledge needs support	Figure out what sort of initial information to gather to meet unrecognized needs for customer	Estimating what students know or don't know	Anticipate novice challenges, misconceptions, strengths, interests, capabilities, background knowledge
Bring novice's knowledge to the surface of the interaction	Figure out what can be known about the customer to understand customer interests	Discovering particular identities of students	Develop questions, tasks, activities, and problems to elicit student thinking
Bring novice's lack of knowledge to the surface of the interaction	Asking "hypothesis-driven questions" testing customer needs and interests	Discovering particular problems of students	Develop questions, tasks, activities, and problems to elicit student thinking
Make the expert-novice distinction relevant to the interaction	Work with customers to customize and create potential solutions	Finding and repairing problematic student responses from previous turns	Evaluate student ideas in student work, talk, actions. Create and adapt resources for instruction, such as examples, models, explanations, processes

Decide how to direct the flow of information to coach the customer through the buying process	Steering the interaction in particular directions	Evaluate and select resources for instruction. Explain concepts, procedures, representations, examples, models, definitions
	Exploring alternative interactional trajectories	Create and adapt resources for instruction, such as examples, models, explanations, processes
		Evaluate and select student activities to elicit student thinking
		Do the work demanded of students to accomplish the planned curriculum

Both Teacher Apai and the seller used questions to test the understandings of the students and the seller. Teacher Apai tested what knowledge students had about spelling of singular and plural forms for particular words. Teacher Apai steered the lesson to focus her students' attention upon particular errors they made and upon the need to format their spelling examples correctly. The seller tested what knowledge her customer had about a particular product. She tried to find out particular needs and interests of her customer and she made decisions about how to direct the flow of information at the right moments to coach her customer during the process of purchasing the buckwheat product. Both Teacher Apai and the seller designed their presentations of information around the use of content knowledge. Teacher Apai developed questions, examples and tasks to elicit her students' thinking about problematic spellings and to anticipate difficulties, which her students could experience. The seller made less use of questions, but created a series of propositional truths and explanations, which she selected and presented to her customer. Teacher Apai used information to further evaluate her students' progress with

spelling. The seller did not evaluate her customer's understanding about medicinal herbs.

8. Significance and Limitations of the Study

Comparing expert-novice interactions according to two registers and related settings is important for understanding spaces as contexts for human activities. Rather than linking societal features such as schooling to particular geographic locales, this paper investigates how instruction as a societal feature and social practice can be enacted in two geographic spaces—a fourth grade spelling lesson and a marketplace (Blommaert 2010). The analysis drew upon interpretations of interactions between Teacher Apai and her students and between the seller and her customer. The interactions were represented in the form of transcripts constructed around what was perceived as the focus of attention during interlocutors' actions and reactions. Certainly an argument can be made that the brief transcripts recorded in this paper present only a limited view of the potential knowledge, which could be drawn from during the shopping encounter and the classroom lesson. Arguments can also be made that the researcher's interpretation of bodies of knowledge remains separate from how the people involved understood what they were doing. However, the data discussed in this study suggest the contours of a cross-case comparison. In the end, what is notable in this study is: a) the extent to which the seller and the teacher as primary knowers used disciplinary content knowledge for testing, interpreting and analyzing the extent of novices' understandings and b) the experts' interpretation and analysis of student knowledge and actions in order to plan and produce a practical application of content knowledge, with which students lack familiarity.

Acknowledgements

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Chapter Two

Estimating the Effectiveness and Feasibility of a Multiliteracies-based programme for Introducing EFL to Very Young Learners

Eleni Korosidou & Eleni Griva

Outline

In a world where children experiment with digital technology and tools even before they enter kindergarten, it is evident that traditional teaching approaches or traditional game-based learning should be re-conceptualized for early childhood education. The purpose of the present paper was to measure the effectiveness of a multimodal learning environment and estimate the feasibility of a multiliteracies-based programme. The programme was carried out in a Greek context, where there is limited empirical evidence for introducing EFL (English as a Foreign Language) via ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) to very young children. Digital tools were employed to encourage children of early childhood (5 to 7 years of age) to get involved in a number of interactive play-based digital activities, which provided opportunities for effective interaction in the target language. Both qualitative and quantitative instruments were employed for evaluation purposes, namely a) initial, mid-term and final assessment of children's oral skills b) a teacher's/researcher's journal and c) external participant's observation records (field notes). The results of the study demonstrated the strong effects of multiliteracies pedagogy on very early language learning. Among the leaning gains recorded were the acquisition and retention of new vocabulary, the enhancement of children's oral language skills and their phonological awareness, along with the development of their social and digital literacy skills.

1. Introduction

The increasing access of even very young children to authentic English language use on online sources, as well as their aptitude for using the emerging technologies have motivated researchers to examine the potential of utilizing technology applications as alternative tools for foreign language learning and teaching (Cutter, 2015; Marek, 2014; Merzifonluoglou, 2018). ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) seem to be effective educational tools which can support early EFL (English as a Foreign Language). Teachers can enrich their practices by employing a multiliteracies pedagogy to let learners use digital tools and acquire digital literacies. Through such a learning process learners can develop "the capabilities required to thrive in and beyond, in an age when digital forms of information and communication predominate" (Littlejohn, Beetham and Mcgill, 2012, 547).

Within the Greek educational context, English is the dominant foreign language taught from the 1st grade onwards during the last decade. The curriculum for the EFL in early childhood (Dendrinou, Zouganeli and Kosovitsa, 2013) is focused on children with emergent literacy in their mother tongue (L1) and aims at social literacy in the foreign language (FL), which children have already developed in L1. The purpose is to let children develop an intercultural communication ethos through a number of age-appropriate activities. Young learners are encouraged to participate in role-playing games, make creative constructions, paint, imitate, move and sing. The relevant vocabulary is presented through illustrated worksheets, cards, songs, fairy tales, games and stories. Regarding ICT integration in kindergartens and early primary settings the official programme of studies for kindergarten emphasizes the role of ICT as a learning tool. In the context of daily school activities in various topics, children can get acquainted with and develop a number of ICT skills by understanding the role of digital technologies in modern society and culture. Taking the abovementioned into account, we aimed to design and implement an innovative, longitudinal programme for EFL learning, starting from the kindergarten and continuing to the 1st grade where interaction with ICT for educational purposes would be of utmost importance. In the present paper the term ICT is used synonymously with to digital technology for educational purposes, through the utilization of computers, tablets, digital cameras, interactive whiteboards, programmable toys and interactive games. In addition, the term early childhood setting refers to kindergarten (1st year of programme implementation) and first grade of primary school (2nd year of programme implementation).

2. Literature review

UNESCO (2018) defines digital literacy as the ability to access, manage, understand, integrate, communicate, evaluate and create information safely and appropriately through digital technologies. In fact, digital literacy is seen as an umbrella term that includes a continuum of meanings extending across the ability to use digital devices or software to being capable of consuming and producing digital content or to meaningfully participating in digital communities (Alexander, Adams Becker and Cummins 2016). Regarding the development of children's skills in the digital society, European organizations have been taking initiatives to ensure the creation of a framework to enhance digital literacy for all (Digital Competency Framework for Citizens, 2017; Digital Citizenship Education Handbook, 2019) underlining the challenges for education brought about by the potential of digital literacy practices. Teachers (European Framework for the Digital competence of Educators, 2017) are also invited to transform pedagogy and embrace innovative digital learning practices by selecting, managing or creating digital resources.

Being literate today is not the same as 20 years ago (McLean, 2013) and it is probably not going to be the same in another 20 years. The 21st century young learner lives in a world of technology and innovation, often described as the world of the "digital age" and the "digital native" (Rodrigues and Bidarra, 2014). The question of how the use of ICT in an educational context can be made effective, so as to enable learners to become digitally literate, arises. It is suggested that the effective use of technological educational tools means that on-screen experiences are linked to those off-screen, with an emphasis on collaboration between teacher and students and student and classmates during digital material processing (Takeuchi, 2011).

Effective use of ICT enhances children's cognitive and social skills, as the use of ICT can be supportive for language learning through the provision of a variety of images, stories, sounds and the creation of a multisensory and multimodal learning framework overall. According to the researchers, through such learning processes, the knowledge and experiences of young students are enriched with positive results for their cognitive and social development (see Adams, 2011). The provision of opportunities in a digital education framework leads students to the successful participation in activities where they discover the solution to the problem, engage in decision making, make observations and interact by exploring digital material.

2.1. Multiliteracies pedagogy through game-based digital learning

Siegel (2012) observes that the inclusion of multimodality in the classroom is necessary as children live in an era that calls for new literacies, while they also bring multimodal practices to school. Multiliteracies are not static; they are advancing or reforming as technology is developing, also rebuilding learning needs and by extension learning activities. In such a context, a multiliteracies pedagogical approach through play-based digital learning comprises of teaching practices that identify the educational potential of children's play with technologies by creating opportunities for meaning–making through different modes (textual relating to audio, visual, spatialetc.). Researchers have observed the benefits of multiliteracies pedagogy for young learners' language learning and their multimodal literacy skills (see Kaminski, 2019). In addition, Fleer (2013) reports children learn best through playful, hands-on and interactive learning experiences that are meaningful and relevant to them. Game-based educational activities a) are experienced as joyful, b) are meaningful for children, 3) keep children active and engaged, 4) engage children in minds-on thinking, in experimentation and hypothesis testing, and 5) let them get involved in social interaction (Hirsh-Pasek, Zosh, Golinkoff, Gray, Robb and Kaufman, 2015). These kinds of experiences are seen as optimal chances for engaging very young learners' deep learning, enabling them to understand and connect concepts and skills, apply knowledge to different situations and spark new ideas (Frey, Fischer and Hattie, 2017).

Digital educational games let children enhance their learning, develop their social interactions, as well as their problem-solving, memory, higher order thinking and critical ability skills. They are considered as a dynamic tool for developing pupils' cognitive skills and enhancing their learning motivation (Doliopoulou and Rizou, 2012; Kokkalia, Economou,Roussos and Choli, 2017; Lieberman,Chesley Fisk and Biely 2009; Stephen and Plowman, 2014). Hick and Turner (2013) invite teachers to become advocates of new ways of teaching, by embracing digital tools and by creating a technological context in class to promote learners' digital literacy skills during language learning. Under this perspective play can be connected to digital media and support 21st century learning needs.

3. The research study

In the present study we aimed to create an appropriate multiliteracies framework to enhance foreign language learning and digital literacy skills

development in an early childhood setting. The study aspired to enrich our limited knowledge about educational practices that support the integration of digital technologies in early years' language learning settings in Greece. Although the educational potential of digital technologies is acknowledged concerning young or older learners, more light needs to be shed on principles of ICT early childhood language learning, focusing on the appropriateness of a multiliteracies pedagogy and its long-term gains. In that vein, the research questions posed were the following:

1. Can the use of games and educational technology lead to the development of very young children's primary oral language skills? What are the specific learning gains?
2. Can a playful and multimodal learning environment lead to the development of positive attitudes towards their first contact with foreign language learning?

3.1. Context and sample of the study

Twenty-six (26) preschoolers attending a Greek Kindergarten during the 1st year of the study and the same children as 1st graders attending a Greek Primary school participated in the study. All children were Greek speaking, attending a school in an urban area of a provincial city. The participants had never before received formal instruction in the target language (English), as foreign language teaching in the Greek state school starts from the 1st grade onwards.

3.2. Research Process

The intervention lasted for 2 school years. Before the implementation of the intervention programme researchers designed the educational process, taking into consideration a) children's perceived needs, mapped through interviews conducted before the intervention, and b) the aim and the objectives of the programme. In particular, the activities designed focused on enabling children to become acquainted with the concept of learning a foreign language and familiarized with a number of age-appropriate daily communication practices in the target language. Participation in game-based activities followed pair or group work practices aiming at the development of social skills.

In more detail, the multiliteracies-based programme was designed to affect children's literacy practices, by exposing them to various modes of communication through text stories with visual, spatial, gestural and

verbal elements (digital narratives). A number of thematic units were designed by the researchers. The teaching process followed a number of different thematic units, designed on the basis of topics of interest for the young children (everyday life, family, food, children of the world etc.). Every unit began with a digital narrative, with the teacher inviting children to a digital storytelling process (see Digital Storytelling Association, 2011), where they interacted with the digital material and their classmates. The teacher aimed at gradually drawing the children's interest to the role of images, sounds, animation, colors etc. to meaningful understanding in the target language, creating ample communication opportunities and placing special emphasis on the *multimedia principle* (Mayer, 2014). Furthermore, the concept of *gamification of learning* was of critical importance, allowing for the incorporation game elements and game design techniques in a non-game-based context (see Werbach and Hunter, 2012), as well as that of game-based digital learning principles. Mobile devices and multimodal material that responded to children's curiosity and imagination were utilized, placing emphasis on the short concentration span of language learners at an early age (Murphy, 2011) and the ways to keep them motivated and active while attending the teaching session.

After the digital storytelling process, children utilized digital tools by, a) playing interactive language games (e.g. vocabulary games, matching games, jigsaw puzzles) on computers, tablets or the interactive whiteboard, b) engaging in educational robotics to input a number of commands or directions to a floor robot (e.g. sequencing of events or concepts in a story by programming the robot's movements), c) participating in multi-sensory activities with AR (Augmented Reality) content to practice communicative and social skills (e.g. using AR to explore and describe places or items and communicating ideas in a group). Exposure to the target language, verbal and non-verbal expression and collaborative learning were made possible while children were also fostering digital literacy skills.

3.3. Research Instruments

Both qualitative and quantitative data were gathered to assess the effect of the intervention on learners' oral language skills and their attitudes towards their first contact with foreign language learning. A) initial, mid-term and final evaluation, b) teacher/ researcher's journal, and c) external participant's observation records (field notes) were used as research instruments following a data triangulation approach (Kember, 2003).

a) *Initial, mid-term and final evaluation*

During the 1st year of the implementation, all participants were assessed on their ability for vocabulary comprehension and vocabulary production at the midpoint of the school year (mid-term evaluation), as well as after its completion, i.e. at the end of the intervention (final evaluation). The assessment was conducted using a test based on the PPVT-4 (see Dunn and Dunn, 2007) and and EVT-2 (see Williams, 2007) suitable for children aged 4 to 12 years. The test consisted of a 20-page picture book to assess the ability of preschoolers to receive and produce oral speech in the target language. The duration of the examination was 12-15 minutes. For the first 10 pictures (Part A), each child was asked to show the picture representing the word they heard from the teacher-researcher, and then to look at the next 10 pictures (Part B) and verbally produce the word depicted in the target language. The questions were of scaling difficulty and concerned vocabulary relevant to the thematic units processed. For each question there was only one correct answer.

During the 2nd year of the implementation, all participants were assessed on their ability for vocabulary comprehension and vocabulary production at the beginning, the mid and the end of the school year, i.e. before (initial evaluation), during (mid-term evaluation) and the end (final evaluation) of the intervention. Initial evaluation was possible before the 2nd year of implementation, as children had gained some knowledge and experience in the target language during the previous school year. The evaluation had the same structure as that used in the 1st year (Part A, Part B). In addition, it included one more part (Part C), where children were asked to describe a number of pictures given, by producing oral language. For each question in Parts A and B there was only one correct answer, while Part C was open-ended and children felt free to express their ideas in the target language.

b) *Teacher/ researcher's journal*

Journals are reported as valuable tools for recording and reflecting on aspects of teaching and improving the teaching/learning process (see GrivaandKofou, 2018). The teacher/ researcher's journal, kept once a week, was based on the reflective questions proposed by Richards and Lockhart (1994, 44) and the observations of Burns (1999) and Wallace (1998) as far as journal keeping is concerned.

c)   *External participant's observation records (field notes)*

Non-participant observation was chosen as a method of collecting qualitative data in order to reach more valid conclusions, through an observer serving as a direct source of information. The observer was a member of the class, without actively participating in the teaching process. Prior to the beginning of the intervention the observer had built trust in her relationship with the young children, so that her presence in the classroom did not affect the participants' actions (Menter, Dely, Hulme, Lewin and Lowden, 2011) while she observed "from a distance" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison,2011, 459).

3.4. Quantitative results

a)   *Initial, mid-term and final evaluation*

The non-parametric Wilcoxon test was used for the detection of statistically significant differences between the performance of children at the end of the 1st year of programme implementation and that at the end of the 2nd year (see Table 1). For Parts A and B of the evaluation each correct answer was given a full point, while partially correct answers in Part B were assigned half a point (e.g. producing the noun "song" instead of the verb "sing", i.e, the correct answer). The maximum possible score in both parts of the test was considered equal to 20. The difference between the performance of young students at the end of the 1st and the 2nd year although not being statistically significant, due to the acceptance limit (p=0.059), therefore setting implications for the effectiveness of the method used.

Table 1. Children's oral performance evaluated during the 1st and 2nd year of the programme implementation

		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Children's Performance	Negative Ranks	11	8,18	90,00
	Positive Ranks	4	7,50	30,00
	Ties	11		
	Total	26		

	Differences in Children's Performance
Z	-1,886
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,059

The non-parametric Wilcoxon test was also used for the detection of statistically significant differences between children's performance in Part C of the evaluation. Researchers focused on the completeness of children's answers in relation to their oral descriptions for a set of given pictures. More specifically, their answers were evaluated by the researchers on the basis of a 1—5 scale (from the least to the most complete description), which corresponded to the scores of 0, 3, 5, 8 and 10. A number of principles were set to better evaluate the completeness descriptions, namely:

- the existence of grammatical and/ or syntactical errors;
- the use of specific structures;
- the use of verb phrases;
- the choice of a more "advanced" vocabulary, in relation to their age.

The test was used to compare children's performance during the initial, mid-term and final evaluation at the 2nd year of implementation. The results of the analyses showed a statistically significant difference ($p < 0.05$) between the performance during the initial and the mid-term evaluation (see Table 2).

Table 2. Children's performance between the initial and the mid-term evaluation

		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Children's Performance	Negative Ranks	0	,00	,00
	Positive Ranks	24	12,50	300,00
	Ties	2c		
	Total	26		

	Differences in Children's Performance
Z	-4,299
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,000

3.5. Qualitative results

b)   *Teacher/ researcher's journal*

The qualitative analysis of the journals led to the formation of typologies, and several categories and subcategories under each one. The typologies formed, some indicative categories and subcategories are presented below (see Table 3).

Table 3. Qualitative analysis: Teacher/ researcher journal's typologies, categories and subcategories

Typology	Categories	Subcategories
A. Teaching Process	1. Multiliteracies skills development	-Developing digital skills -Developing multicultural skills -Developing language skills
	2. Teaching framework and activities	-Multimodal learning environment game-based learning -Collaborative learning -Role plays -Dramatizations -Gamified activities -Creative activities -Decision-making activities -Presentations

	3. Digital tools	-Digital media (maps, images, video, tours) -Digital educational games -Digital narratives -Educational robotics -Interactive flashcards
B. Learner's Attitudes	4. Participation in the learning process	-Taking initiatives -Engaging in digital storytelling -Participating in play-based digital activities -Participating in role plays and dramatizations -Learning the target language in a pleasurable way
	5. Difficulties encountered	-Difficulties with oral language comprehension -Difficulties in oral language production -Difficulties in decision making activities
C. Teacher's Role	6. Supportive learning strategies	-Encouraging children -Scaffolding learning -Organizing classwork -Differentiating learning
	7. Engagement in a digital learning environment	-Game-based learning through ICT use -Game-based learning through educational robotics -Interest for digital narratives -Interest for gamified activities
D. Teaching/ Learning Process Evaluation	8. Learning outcomes	-Vocabulary consolidation -Communication skills -Digital skills -Social skills -Phonological awareness -Positive attitudes towards foreign language learning -Positive attitudes towards cooperation in groups

The analyses revealed that employing multimodal material and having learners participate in game-based digital learning activities promoted the development of their target language oral skills and enhanced their positive attitude towards foreign language learning. As the researcher observed *"the children understood the instructions given to them orally"*, as well as *"the children understood the importance of my facial expressions, gestures and intonation for oral speech comprehension"*. In journal entries it was also recorded that *"the children presented their work to the whole class using simple expressions and vocabulary in the target language"* or *"(they) participated in the dramatization activity by producing oral language, as well as extralinguistic and paralinguistic elements"*.

Regarding the development of digital literacy skills, the researcher often noted that *"children engaged in hypothesis testing to program the floor robot"*, *"they became familiar with the use of interactive flashcards and played vocabulary games on the interactive whiteboard"*, *"they seemed to have become familiar with the use and the importance of the digital buttons embedded in the narratives"*, *"search for and found information with the help of the teacher"* or *"developed their digital skills"*. These observations showed that the contact children had with digital media during lessons contributed to the development of their digital literacy skills. Also they often had the opportunity to engage in problem-solving activities. "*By playing with the robot, the children learned how to program it*", "*they played and learned with the help of their classmates*", "*they collaborated to agree on the images they should choose to sequence the story*" and "*solved the puzzle using the digital images and helping each other to finish the game in less time, so as to gain more points*". According to journal entries, the young students "*responded to the digital narratives with great interest, reacting verbally and non-verbally*" and "*they get excited every time a new thematic unit begins by asking about the story, its country of origin and making assumptions about its content*". The teacher/ researcher also stated that "*learning English is considered a game and it always seems nice to play…*", "*…the English classroom is considered to be a separate space, connected to language learning as well as to storytelling and play-based activities*".Therefore, children's interest and motivation in learning is recorded, *"Children's enthusiasm for participating in target language activities was evident, as they wanted to watch and listen to new stories, play digital games, participate in activities"*, *"they seem to be very positive towards FL, asking to learn more, to watch stories and play games"*, *"they are very willing and positive towards the language lesson"*.

    c)   *External participant's observation records (field notes)*

The non-participant observation was based on free recording of field notes. The qualitative analysis of the notes allowed researchers to reach more general conclusions (Green and Thorogood, 2014, 155). The analysis of the data gathered led to the formation of the following categories (see Table 4).

Table 4. Qualitative analysis: External participant's observation records: thematic axes categories and categories

Thematic Axis	Categories
A. Learner's attitudes	-Positive attitudes towards target language learning
B. Learning as a pleasurable experience	-Digital educational games -Digital storytelling -Educational robotics -Creative activities -Songs
C. Learning outcomes	-Vocabulary learning -Learning stories/ tales -Oral language comprehension -Oral language production -Phonological awareness

In the observer's field notes it is stated that *"teaching goes beyond the traditional method, as a result children are excited",* as well as *"(the children) are looking forward to having an English lesson".* Moreover, young children's enthusiasm for digital narratives and digital books is often recorded, *"their participation while reading the digital book was great… the images, the sounds, the links attracted their attention",* *"...through digital narratives they learn stories they like",* *"the classroom works like a whole group not individually, everyone contributes to understanding the meanings, enthusiastically shouting words and phrases and being encouraged by the teacher"* or *"digital storytelling is innovative as a process but the children have learned how to read digital books and they know where they should place emphasis… they end up acquiring knowledge of the English language through storytelling and story-related play-based and fun activities",* *"through the pictures, the sounds and teacher's gestures and body language the children seem to understand the meanings… they often imitate the sounds spontaneously".* Educational

robotics activities *"motivate and maintain children's interest"*, *"the narratives are connected with programming the robot and the children are really experiencing the process as a game, in which everyone wants to win"*. Also, through coding children *"seem to be able to express their views without stress, because they play in groups" or "they observe their classmates, what they are thinking and doing, how they test their hypotheses when programming and they work together to win the game"*. The notes validate the positive attitude of young children towards their first contact with the target language during the implementation of the educational program. Also language learning is directly connected to play, as the observer noted that *"they often ask what they are going to play, considering language learning as a game"*. Moreover, the observer reports that *"children play a lot of digital games on the interactive whiteboard or the computers, they really enjoy it"*, *"they learn a lot of vocabulary in a playful manner and they seem to be able to recall it by singing or gesturing"* or *"they repeat the vocabulary while playing"*. Furthermore, oral language skills seem to be enhanced, as the observer recorded *"children produce words and short phrases… they sing songs and learn words and phrases… they listen to every single sound and are able to imitate the intonation"*, *"they recall them (short phrases, formulaic language expressions) really easily because they have linked them to a story, a song or to something fun they were invited to do during classes"*.

4. Conclusions

The findings of the present study reveal that the quality, quantity and frequency of the language input significantly contribute to the enhancement of young children's language ability (see also Hirsh-Pasek, Zosh, Golinkoff, Gray, Robb and Kaufman, 2015; Pfenniger and Singleton, 2017). The participants of this study showed better performance at times when they had frequent official contact with the target language without pauses (summer holidays, Christmas or Easter breaks). After children in this early childhood setting had taken the time they needed to express themselves verbally (see Pinter, 2017), being exposed to the target language for a year (in kindergarten) they were proved, by means of preminiary, mid-term and final evaluation, to be able to produce oral language using more advanced vocabulary and more syntactically and grammatically complete phrases. The findings of the study also show that digital storytelling can activate very young children's interest in language learning and help them develop their digital literacy skills (see also Korosidou and Bratitsis, 2019; Korosidou and Griva, 2020). The digital

storytelling process fostered the development of children's FL vocabulary, as narration was related to play-based activities offering opportunities for familiarization with age-appropriate language. Children who were invited to a meaningful and implicit instruction, became directly linked to greater vocabulary gains, having children relate stories' content to their real-life experiences, play an active role in solving a hero's problem or sequence events etc. The present study comes into agreement with previous research observations (see Marek, 2014) stating that quality teaching is directly connected to successful use of technology through design and implementation of effective activities and the selection of appropriate digital tools to achieve learning objectives.

The positive attitudes of children towards their contact with the target language were recorded to some extent. Based on the results of the quantitative analysis of the teacher/ researcher's journal entries and the non- participant observer's field notes, it was recorded that the motivation of young children was enhanced and their interest was triggered by the implementation of the multiliteracies-based programme. The children had opportunities to practice their language skills through the use of ICT, while digital tools allowed them to be autonomous during classwork. Collaboration in decision-making activities and play-based digital learning activities increased children's attention. In addition, multimodal stimuli made it easier for all students to experience successful learning experiences. All in all, employing a multiliteracies-based pedagogy in the language learning process motivated very young children, enhanced their active participation and positive attitudes and encouraged the implementation of innovative approaches in the FL learning environment.

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CHAPTER THREE

SETTING THE TEACHING ENVIRONMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION: CURRENT CHALLENGES

L'UDMILA HURAJOVÁ

Outline

In an era of globalization one of the main skills for every person is the ability to communicate in a foreign language. After years of searching for a global language to communicate in international teams, the world began to become more or less English. English has established itself in the world of corporations, and in the world of research and education. This process of Englishization, together with the possibility of borderless cooperation, made it possible to increase the degree of internationalization of education. Is internationalization a synonym for globalization? Altabach and Knight distinguish globalization and internationalization. They see globalization as "the context of economic and academic trends that are part of the reality of the 21st century." On the other hand, they describe internationalization as the set of "policies and practices undertaken by academic systems and institutions—and even individuals —to cope with the global academic environment" (Philip G. Altabach 2007).

Introduction

In a rapidly changing world, where change is the constant of life, we, as university teachers-professionals in our fields, are tasked with preparing a new generation for the future of uncertainty and unknown challenges. In such a world of finding solutions to absolutely new challenges for humanity, the old-new approach of cooperation—collaboration—teamwork seems to be a necessary and basic skill that we must work on, in the same way as our ancestors who once wanted to hunt mammoths. However, cooperation at a community or local level is no longer enough. The

mammoth challenges have grown to a global scale. We think that the need for university students to strengthen their teamwork skills, along with critical thinking, the ability to understand intercultural contexts and the ability to communicate in a foreign language, support the idea of internationalization of higher education. The process of internationalization can have several lines:

- the process of setting up education in a foreign language, in our case in English
- the process of setting up transnational cooperation in science and research
- the process of setting up an exchange of students and university teachers
- the process of setting up international projects with the aim of exchanging best practices

These settings in the process of internationalization of higher education may differ depending on the social order, the political situation in a country, the education system, the quality of education, the quality of teachers in higher education, financial support for education, science and research, the level of English, the readiness of students and teachers, and other parameters.

Internationalization of Higher Education in Europe

The process of internationalizing higher education in Europe is included in a document called the Bologna Process, which began more than two decades ago. The latest implementation report on the Bologna process implementation from 2018 illustrates the areas of progress as well as the deficiencies of the implementation process that need to be addressed in order to meet the stated objectives of strengthening cooperation in higher education based on quality and mutual trust (Commission/EACEA/ Eurydice 2018).

The report focuses on figures on student and staff mobility, national strategies and plans for the internationalisation of higher education, financial support and incentives for enhancing the internationalisation process, as well as joint programmes and awarding joint degrees. It emphasises support for the mobility of students with special needs. According to the report, the expected target: 20% of students/university

teachers in each EHEA[1] (European Higher Education Area) region will have a short or long stay at a foreign university by 2020 is currently challenging to verify as not all data has yet been collected. However, the individual data presented in the report demonstrated that in many EHEA countries, this goal will not be met. At the same time, the report points out that not only meeting figures is important when we talk about fostering internationalisation. We should also focus on the quality of students and university teachers' mobility. In addition to fulfilling numerical parameters, it is necessary to ensure the smoothest course of mobility, removing obstacles that prevent the increases in the level of internalisation through student and university teacher mobility. Figures are essential and can indicate trends in mobility, and can even be used to calculate ratios, which can serve as relevant parameters for assessing the quality of the education system. However, from these data, we cannot understand the context of education, to learn about the readiness of participants in the educational process in individual countries or individual higher education institutions in detail.

The information we can gain from the latest *Bologna Process Implementation Report* is that there are still differences in the EHEA countries regarding to their level of internationalisation:

> "Countries present very different situations with regard to internationalisation and mobility, especially when looking at mobility flows and the level of engagement in some internationalisation activities"
> (Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2018)

The countries differ in the following indicators:

- number of inward (incoming) mobility students/ teachers
- number of outward (outgoing) mobility students/ teachers
- level of budget/incentives for fostering the internationalisation process of higher education (IoHE)
  level of support and recognition of joint programmes and joint degrees [2,3]

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[1] The list of EHEA countries consist of 48 countries and it is available on the link: www.ehea.info/page-members.
[2] Joint programmes refer to inter-institutional arrangements among two or more higher education institutions that lead ideally to a joint degree (but also currently to double and multiple degrees).

- establishing a national strategy with objectives for IoHE portability of grants for degree or /and credit mobility[4,5]
- number of obstacles to staff and students' mobility

Source: BFUG data collection.

"Although the level of detail regarding internationalisation policies in such documents can vary greatly, they are expected to identify qualitative and quantitative objectives, describe processes, authorities and people in charge, identify funding sources and make"
(Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2018).

The quality of the IoHE process was also addressed by Hans de Wit, who proposes a system of internationalisation certification at a program level. The system should consider using different levels of assessment to identify the stage of internationalisation and provide incentives to improve the process. The system could evaluate internationalisation programs at bachelor, master, doctoral or school/faculty level. Evaluation procedures would focus on the overall process of internationalisation, not on individual activities. A team of experts should evaluate the internationalisation process, for example, experts in individual subjects, experts in quality assurance, experts in the process of internationalisation, and the view of students should not be forgotten (de Wit 2010). As already mentioned, the *Bologna Process Implementation Report* does not provide any details on

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[3] A joint degree is a single document awarded to students who successfully complete a joint programme, and it should be recognised as equivalent to national qualifications.
[4] Degree mobility.
[5] Credit mobility.

building an international environment in the university but mentions two terms "internationalisation at home" and "internationalisation abroad". As de Wit (2020) points out, one of the trends over the last 30 years of internationalisation within the world, including Europe, is to focus more on internationalisation abroad than on international development at home, and student and teacher mobility is the predominant form of the internationalisation process (de Wit 2020). These facts suggest that the process of internationalisation, narrowed mainly to student and teacher mobility, especially credit mobility, would need support, especially internationalisation at home so that the higher education market is not dominated by a few countries and strong long-standing internationally established universities.

Models of Internationalisation

Changes in the social climate, the technological boom, globalisation, the growth of national elements in some countries and many other factors have influenced and continue to influence the setting of educational goals, content and forms of education in the academic sector. The different contexts of the countries in which the higher education institutions operate also shape the process of internationalisation, which seems to be a necessary activity of each of them.

> "HEI management decision-making is continually exploring the pros and cons of internationalization. Finally, as universities are relying ever more on their own sources for self-financing, internationalization efforts and initiatives can be optimized by looking for alternative complimentary options such as self-internationalization models partially supported by an ever-increasing number of online programs which will bring paying "customers" to an efficient and relatively low-cost platform of exchange and learning." (Khan 2018)

Khan explains the **self-internationalisation model** (SIM) as activities of students, faculty staff and management of a particular HEI without the direct involvement or guidance of their academic institution while they are searching how to participate in the internationalisation process. He also mentions the **conventional internationalisation model** (CIM) that represent student/staff mobility, institutional collaboration in research areas, double degree, branch campuses and other initiatives. **International University Research Venture** (IURV) as a type of an internationalisation process of research in universities in the USA— a "type of intermediary node in international knowledge networks that requires scholarly attention

to evaluate its impact on global knowledge production and transfer, human capital, innovation, economic competitivness, and international development" (Kolesnikov, et al. 2019). Authors studied the knowledge flow of IURVs based on the motivation and they distinguish four sorts of drivers: collaboration–driven IURVs, strategy-driven IURVs, policy-driven and problem-driven IURVs. Soliman and his team studied strategies for the process of internationalization of the university environment at universities in the UK. Setting up a **conceptual model** of internationalization has three stages of development. The process of internationalization or strategy-setting begins at the operational level of management, for example, the initiatives by the Head of the International Office. The second level of internationalization is already under the control and strategic vision of the middle management of the HEI. In the third phase of its management, the internationlisation process is enriched with more international elements and becomes the main strategic priority, which is under the control of senior managers of the HEI (Soliman, Anchor & Taylor 2019). The study claims that the universities' strategies observed by the scholars were deliberate[6] with the clear set of objectives, processes and performance indicators, however,

> "The international strategy was seen as a deliberate strategy when considering each strategic period separately, while it was seen as an emergent strategy[7] when considered over several strategic periods." (Soliman, Anchor & Taylor 2019)

It turns out that the diversity of the environment in which HEIs operate naturally leads to a diversity of models and approaches to the process of internationalisation. No less important when setting a strategy for the internationalization process, it is to know the main reasons, needs or expected benefits from this process. The Fourth Global Survey on Internationalization of Higher Education, which was conducted in 2013 by the International Association of Universities (IAU) became a base for Buckner's study to analyse the obtained data to see how rationalizations of internationalisation in HEIs vary across contexts with the focus on international awareness and revenue generation. Her findings state that,

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[6] "Deliberate strategies provide the organization with a sense of purposeful direction" (Rivera 2012).

[7] Emergent strategy is a set of actions, or behavior, consistent over time, "a realized pattern that was not expressly intended" in the original planning of strategy (Rivera 2012).

"… anglophone countries outside of North America are much more likely to interpret internationalization in terms of revenue generation, the additional revenue from international students is being interpreted as an "opportunity" to capitalize off global demand for English

"the most recent internationalization strategies of both New Zealand and Australia have placed more emphasis on **global citizenship**"

"… in the United States, Canada, and other countries with knowledge-intensive economies, internationalization is framed as one way to improve students' awareness of global issues"

"to support students' international awareness in Europe, this is less common …. This may be because the European Union's emphasis on regional integration may presume students already have high level of international awareness"

"… many other strategic framings for internationalization are possible." (Buckner 2019)

Several parameters enter the IoHE process and shape it. These parameters can come from the macro or micro level, as well as from the internal and external environment. If HEIs set up, develop, update the internationalisation process, they must work with the parameters specified at both levels and environments. To simplify the view of the IoHE setup, we present the **"Body model"** of internationalisation (Table 1). In this model, each HEI acts as an individual "*education cell*" (such as a faculty or an institute) that is part of an "*educational tissue*" (a university) that is part of an "*educational organ*" (higher education institutions in the state). However, this organ is part of an "*education organ system*" (EU Higher education) that is involved in the *"education organism"* (global education environment).

Table 1. The "Body model" of Internationalisation (BMoI).

BMoI level	Parameters
Education Organism	• Global issues • Global citizenship • Global education/labour market
Education Organ System	• Strategy for IoHE • Support of IoHE • Motivation and drivers for IoHE
Education Organ	• National objectives for IoHE • National strategy • National support • Accreditation system
Education Tissue	• University (HEI) support/strategic frame for IoHE • Objectives / motivation/drivers for IoHE on HEI level • Best practice networking
Education Cell	• Objectives/ motivation/drivers for IoHE on faculty level • Staff's motivation and readiness • Students' motivation and readiness • Management support/strategic frame for IoHE • Level of interdisciplinary cooperation

The "Body model" of internationalisation (BMoI) is flexible, and the individual levels (*organism-organ system-organ-tissue-cell*) can be set according to the specific context in which the HEI wants to build its internationalization system. If the HEI were to operate in an environment with prevailing anti-globalization views or policies, the process of internationalization could be narrowed to a selected region and then this area would be the main education organism and the HEI could define further levels of BMoI to understand and consider parameters from all levels that may affect the actual process of internationalization of the HEI. We will explain the given model in more detail when setting up the IoHE model in a specific HEI in Slovakia.

Internationalisation of Higher Education in Slovakia

As mentioned above, Slovakia, as an EU member state, belongs to a group of countries that have not yet adopted a national strategy for IoHE. The process of internationalisation is on the shoulders and responsibilities of the HEIs management. After the era of socialism, Slovak higher education underwent several changes, such as the setting of a credit method of study, a system of mutual recognition of previous education, the division of higher education into three degrees, the implementation of digital technologies in education, but also administration management (Academic Information Systems). A system of mobility of students and university teachers was set up, and international project and research activities were launched. Some HEIs offer English language study programs for international students such as the Faculty of Medicine. These programs are offered for a fee, so they are a source of income for the HEI. A total of 34 HEIs, 114 Faculties offer 4,364 different study programs in all degrees, some of which can be studied in English (https://www.portalvs.sk/sk/). The Slovak Academic Information agency acts as a central institution that informs and maps the situation in both mobilities, incoming and outward mobility of students and teachers. The agency publishes publications and bulletins on grants for mobility programs. International students or university teachers will receive comprehensive information about the organization of university studies as well as opportunities to study, work, or participate in research in one section on the agency's website www.saia.sk. The necessary information and all relevant contacts are also available in English. Theoretically, it may seem that the situation regarding internationalisation is at an acceptable level. However, the reality is different, which we will illustrate with the example of the Faculty of Materials Science and Technology in Trnava (MTF STU), where the author of this chapter works as a Senior Lecturer specialising in ESP and CLIL.

Internationalisation Process at MTF STU

The Faculty of Materials Science and Technology in Trnava is one of seven faculties of the Slovak University of Technology in Bratislava. The only one that is not located in our capital city—Bratislava but 50 km from it in Trnava. The faculty consists of six institutes (Institute of Materials, Institute of Production Technologies, Institute of Industrial Engineering and Management, Institute of Integrated Safety, Institute of Applied Informatics, Automation and Mechatronics and Advanced Technologies

Research Institute). Currently, the MTF STU offers 11 Bachelor study programmes, 10 Master study programmes and 8 study programmes are accredited on a doctoral level. Study programmes taught in English for international students were originally offered only at a doctoral degree level. More recently, study programs in English began to be offered at the faculty, with the first two international students beginning to study the Industrial Management program in the last academic year. This school year 2020/2021 we have so far accepted three international students, and whether they will enrol in the Progressive Materials program and the design of the material will become evident in September 2020. The situation in internationalization at home is not more promising either when we include the number of MTF students who are motivated to study in English. For several years, the faculty has been offering courses taught in English for students currently studying one of the Bachelor or Master study programs. This school year, 34 students enrolled in four subjects of the Computer-Aided Production Technologies study program (Bachelor and Master degree programs) and 11 students in two courses of the Computer-Aided Design and Production study program (Master degree program). The total number of students enrolled in the Bachelor and Master programs is more than 1,800 for the school year 2020/2021. What is the cause of the low level of internationalisation at home? Why are HEIs in Slovakia more focused on internationalisation abroad? We believe we are in a vicious circle. If our goal is to accelerate the process of internationalisation, the HEI must be attractive to international students, and it can only be if it communicates its goals, achievements, study opportunities, and applications. However, this promotion is possible through English if we want to reach a diversified audience of potential students, teachers, and researchers. Most students, studying at HEIs in Slovakia study in the Slovak language, therefore, if we want to create an international environment for our HEIs, we must actively build and maintain the English Education Environment (EEE).

> "...missing English education environment (EEE) might be one of the reasons why we still face low level of IoHE in our country. In our faculty ESP teachers are one of the internal drivers for enhancing IoHE utilizing both close interdisciplinary cooperation among ESP and disciplinary teachers within the faculty and international collaboration with ESP experts from other countries with the main aim at setting up an effective EEE in various discipline courses." (Hurajová 2019)

Setting the English Teaching-Learning Environment in Higher Education

The English Education Environment (EEE) in the university environment is associated with several concepts such as EMI (English Medium Instruction), EMP (English Medium Program), and also CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning). Supporting the development of language competences of university students can take various forms. Some HEIs offer ESP (English for Professional Purposes) courses for students to develop their specific vocabulary. Other HEIs offer complete study programs or only selected courses taught in English. The motivation of HEIs to create EEE is currently almost exclusively linked to the motivation to increase the level of the internationalization process, especially in non-English-speaking areas. We adopted English as a lingua franca so that we could have a unified communication platform as such.

> "Although one language platform is required, diverse forms can be applied to build a studying environment utilizing English. CLIL as an umbrella approach in how to integrate subject content and language seems to be the way for achieving the goals and mission of the Bologna process and it can enhance the internationalization process of higher education in diverse contexts, as it can reflect them while it is applied into education." (Hurajová and Chmeliková, 2017)

Since 2015, we have been working on the idea of whether CLIL as an approach to EEE settings can work on a tertiary level. This approach has been implemented many times and studied in different countries, contexts especially at the primary and secondary level of education. Results from the international project ERASMUS + 2015-1-SK01-KA201-008937 Transnational Exchange of good CLIL practice among European Educational Institutions inspired us to test CLIL in the HEI environment.

> "One of the most important facts that has got a great impact on CLIL application success is students' willingness and readiness for CLIL implementation." (Hurajová 2015)

Students are one of the main stakeholders within the education process, and it is vital when setting up EEE to consider their readiness and motivation to study professional subjects in English. Students involved in studies dealing with the CLIL approach declare their positive (Granel et al 2019; Vega&Moscoso 2019)) and negative perceptions (Yang 2016) of learning in English. There are many more studies about CLIL classes or

EMI programs and students' attitudes to these programs than are mentioned in this part of the chapter, but their elaboration is not the subject of this paper. Two of these studies (Yang 2016; Vega&Moscoso 2019) also examined the impact in terms of language performance. They point to the fact that students in CLIL classrooms did not show improvement in language competence, but in one of these studies, students perceived the program positively (Vega & Moscoso 2019) and in the other negatively (Yang 2016). So, how to set up EEE in non-speaking English areas in order to support students' internal motivation to study professional subjects in English and thus increase the international environment in order to accelerate the process of internationalization? ESP / CLIL experts are the initiators of setting up EEE in order to increase the level of internationalisation at the MTF STU faculty. What are the parameters that we must consider when building such an environment under our conditions? Now, we come to the BMoI (Body Model of Internationalisation) presented above. Our initiative is a bottom-up activity, so, we have defined the levels of our "organism". In our BMoI, European HEIs represent "the education organism," Slovak HE (higher education) is "the education organ system," our university refers to "the education organ," our faculty is "the education tissue". "The education cell" from the BMoI consists of experts at the MTF STU eager to participate in internationalisation at home. Parameters that may in some way affect the EEE settings at our faculty are summarized in Table 2 showing the BMoI at the MTF STU.

Table 2: List of some parameters that should be considered at MTF STU while setting EEE.

BMoI level	Representative	Parameters
Education Organ System	Slovak HE	• No national strategy for internationalisation • Accreditation system • Awarding HE teachers • System of financing HEIs
Education Organ	STU (Slovak University of Technology)	• No institutional strategy for internationalisation • No network for sharing best practices • Internal competitevness • Administrative bureaucracy

Education Tissue	MTF STU	• No faculty strategy for internationalisation • Level of freedom for making decisions by faculty management • Financial awarding proactive staff members • Involvement of students in decision making
Education Cell	MTF STU experts	• Linguistic students' and staff's readiness for building EEE • Motivation for building EEE • Level of expert cooperation

In the absence of a national, university, and, as well as, a faculty strategy for the internationalisation process, a not too favourable quality of education, low awarding pedagogical and research staff and a high degree of bureaucracy, we focused on building EEE at the MTF STU on local parameters. We built the EEE setting on the cooperation of ESP / CLIL experts, disciplinary teachers and the implementation of the CLIL approach into EEE. We have launched two institutional research projects (INTER MTF I and INTER MTF II) to determine linguistic readiness and internal motivation/willingness of disciplinary teachers and students at the MTF for building an EEE. Unfortunately, the COVID-19 pandemic situation in the world has caused the suspension of projects, and we have not yet had a complete collection of data from students to obtain essential parameters for setting up an EEE at the MTF STU. In addition to the mentioned institutional projects, we initiated the international project Visegrad +, which we lead. Project 21910035 entitled "CLIL—Higher Education Teacher" (CLIL—HET) which aims at grouping ESP and CLIL experts/specialists to prepare the platform for networking within V4 and Western Balkan (WB) countries to support disciplinary teachers at Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) to set up an English Education Environment (EEE). The situation regarding the internationalization process is very similar for all participating partners. As part of the planned project outcomes, we are ready to test the implementation of CLIL into the EEE at all participating HEIs. The COVID-19 pandemic caused a prolongation of the CLIL—HET project as well. However, we are still working on delivering all planned project outcomes. We strongly believe that in order to build EEE in HEIs in non-English speaking areas, close cooperation

between experts of a given HEIs are needed. As part of the project, we have so far managed to launch the web portal www.clil-het.eu, which is a virtual space for a community of ESP / CLIL experts and a community of disciplinary teachers teaching their professional subject in EEE applying the CLIL approach. We have completed a didactic program for disciplinary teachers in order to increase their awareness of the CLIL methodology, its application in higher education, as well as to acquire the basics of English language didactics. We are currently preparing CLIL lessons for the new semester which will be the result of close interdisciplinary cooperation. In the next phase, we will collect data from CLIL lessons and prepare a report where we will interpret the obtained data. In January 2021, we plan to present our experience of the CLIL lessons, share the experience with interdisciplinary cooperation as well as the opinions and attitudes of students to the lessons.

Within these cooperation projects, we are gradually discovering the parameters of individual partner HEIs, which influence the building of EEE's to support internationalization at home, an example of which is staff motivation for close cooperation to deliver the CLIL lessons.

Conclusion

Setting an English learning-teaching environment, in other words, an English Education Environment is a necessary condition for accelerating internationalisation at home to increase the interest of international students in studying at HEIs. The motivations of the internationalisation process differ according to various parameters that affect internationalisation. Some HEIs seek to increase international awareness, while others, especially English-speaking HEIs, are still motivated by generating turnover from international programmes. Globalising corporate pressure, solving global problems of humanity, the boom of knowledge, technologies, future uncertainties, force the entire university space into interdisciplinary, cross-border even transnational expert cooperation. Educating and preparing experts for such cooperation is also the task of the university environment, and this is not possible without the internationalisation of the internal environment of each HEI. The diversity of life is also observable in the environment of higher education. External or internal drivers can enhance the internationalisation process. The BMoI presented in this chapter can be used as a flexible way of identifying and realising the parameters of individual levels of the model, which can facilitate or complicate the building of EEE in HEIs and thus accelerate the process of internationalisation in higher education. English, motivation

and cooperation appear to be the three essential elements for building EEE in higher education.

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Chapter Four

University Students' Self-Assessment of ESP Project Work as a Tool for Aligning Teaching with Learning

Nijolė Burkšaitienė

Outline

Even though student involvement in assessment (self-, peer and teacher-assessment) has been extensively investigated across a wide spectrum of discipline areas, self-assessment of learning English for Specific Purposes (ESP) remains an underexplored area of research. To date, little known research has focused on self-assessment used to analyse learning through ESP project work. This paper reports on the results of a small-scale study which aimed to establish the learning outcomes self-assessed by students as achieved through ESP project work and the difficulties faced by students while learning through ESP project work at a university in Lithuania.

The data for the present research were drawn from 22 English majors' written reports. To analyse the data, qualitative methodology was used. The study resulted in the identification and description of three general dimensions and six underlying higher order themes, including (1) student-identified benefits of learning through ESP project work, (2) student-identified challenges of learning through an ESP project, and (3) student-assessed experience of such learning. The results of this study demonstrate that self-assessment practice was effective as all study participants self-assessed learning through ESP project work, which suggests that self-assessment supported deep learning. The findings regarding student-perceived challenges are valuable as, on the one hand, they are a rich source of evidence for students enabling them to identify their real needs. On the other hand, these findings enable ESP teachers to take their students' needs into consideration and to align their teaching with student

learning in the way which could help their students to perform better in the future.

Introduction

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in student involvement in assessment (self-, peer and teacher assessment) in higher education (HE). The relevant literature reports on beneficial learning and pedagogical effects of its use across a wide spectrum of discipline areas. It has been found that student involvement in assessment enables them to become skilled learners having control over their own learning, being able to appropriately assess personal needs and to apply strategies for improvement (Nulty, 2011). It has also been reported that it promotes a deep approach to learning (Cheng & Warren, 2005; Race, 1993, as cited in Nulty, 2011), develops skills and improves achievement (Dochy et al., 1999; Falchikov, 1991, as cited in Nulty, 2011), fosters students' metacognitive awareness (Bourke, 2018) and motivation (Hanrahan & Isaacs, 2001; Mok et al., 2006). It has also been established that it fosters student awareness of themselves as learners (Burkšaitienė, 2020) as well as discloses gaps in students' performance and challenges that they encounter in the process of learning, which enables lecturers to constructively modify teaching (Boud & Falchikov, 1989; Taras, 2010; Micán & Medina, 2015; Huang, 2016).

On the other hand, it has been reported that implementing student (self- and peer) assessment in HE is a challenge for both teachers and students. It requires a change in the classroom culture and expansive learning on the part of lecturers (Webb & Jones, 2009, as cited in Parr & Timperley, 2010: 71), as well as significant changes in curricula that have to be revised so that self- and peer assessments are integrated in study programmes, introduced as early as the first year of studies and practiced on a regular basis (Nulty, 2011; Yucel et al., 2014). Implementation of student (self- and peer) assessment is also a challenge for students as they lack understanding, knowledge and experience of self- and peer assessment, therefore they need adequate training, teacher's guidance and support, which increases the workload both for students and teachers (Dochy et *al.*, 1999; Hanrahan & Isaacs, 2001; Hung, 2019).

Prior literature shows that even though student involvement in assessment has been investigated in different fields of study in HE, self-assessment of English as a foreign language (EFL) in general and English for specific purposes (ESP) in particular, remains an underexplored area of research. To date, some studies have investigated the impact which self-assessment has on students' EFL productive (oral) skills (Yucel et al.,

2014; Micán & Medina, 2015; Huang, 2016) and the potential which self-assessment of EFL receptive skills has in determining students' proficiency levels and the level of self-assessment accuracy (Ünaldi, 2016). Other studies have focused on self-, peer and teacher assessments of EFL productive (writing) skills (Matsuno, 2009; De Grez, Valcke, & Roozen, 2012), as well as on peer assessment of productive (speaking and writing) skills (Cheng and Warren, 2005).

However, to the best of our knowledge, self- and peer assessment of ESP in HE has been explored in only a few studies. Prosenjak and Lučev (2020) analysed the impact which international relations students' assessments of their peers' ESP oral presentations had on the level of the peers' oral presentation skills at a university college in Croatia. Lavrysh (2016) investigated the accuracy of self- and peer assessments of mechanical engineering students' ESP oral performance at a technical university in Ukraine, whereas Burkšaitienė (2020) studied English majors' self-assessment of their ESP oral presentations in the context of project work at a university in Lithuania.

Thus, prior research shows that an important issue regarding students' self-assessment of learning through ESP project work has not been analysed yet. Investigating this issue would, on the one hand, foster students' ability to reflect on and self-assess one's learning against specific benchmark requirements. On the other hand, such an investigation would deepen ESP teachers' understanding of students' learning ESP through project work, which would allow for a closer alignment of teaching ESP with students' learning it.

To contribute to the research literature, a small-scale study was conducted at a university in Lithuania. It explored 22 undergraduate students' (English majors') self-assessment of their learning through ESP project work and aimed to establish the learning outcomes that were assessed by the study participants as the result of learning through ESP project work as well as difficulties that they faced while learning through ESP project work. The data for the present research were drawn from 22 study participants' written reports on their ESP project work. The research starts with a review of the relevant literature which reports on previous investigations in the field. The research methodology as well as research limitations are then discussed. Finally, the results of this study are reported, and conclusions drawn. To conduct the research, qualitative methodology was used.

Literature review

Self-assessment refers to the engagement of learners in making judgements about their own learning, particularly about their achievement and the outcomes of their learning (Boud & Fachikov, 1989). In educational contexts it is mostly used for formative assessment to incite learning by increasing the learners' participation in the process of their own learning and by fostering reflection on the processes and results of one's learning (Dochy *et al*., 1999).

In recent decades, the number of studies into the use of student involvement in assessment (self-, peer and teacher assessment) in HE has been gradually increasing. To date, research has been conducted across a wide spectrum of discipline areas, including teacher training, engineering, business, medicine, psychology, foreign language studies, *inter alia*. As a result, student-perceived impacts of self-assessment on learning and the standard of learning outcomes on student metacognitive awareness of oneself as a learner and on self-regulation of one's learning have been identified (Dochy *et al*., 1999; Hanrahan & Isaacs, 2001; Micán & Medina, 2015; Bourke, 2018; Huang, 2016; Hung, 2019; To & Panadero, 2019; Burkšaitienė, 2020). To illustrate, in their review of 63 studies on self-, peer and co-assessment in HE, Dochy, Segers and Sluijsmans (Dochy *et al.,* 1999: 337) established that in most of those studies self-assessment was used to promote the learning of skills and abilities and that those students who actively engaged in self-assessment practice became more responsible for their learning, reflected more on their own learning and achieved a higher standard of outcomes.

In another example, Hanrahan and Isaacs (2001) investigated tertiary students' perceptions of peer and self-assessment of a research essay in a course of health psychology. The investigation was grounded on the belief that peer and self-assessment skills are needed by graduates in both their private and working lives. The authors argued that self-assessment will help students to set goals and thus to learn for themselves, whereas peer assessment will help them to contribute effectively to teamwork (Hanrahan & Isaacs, 2001: 54). The findings revealed both student-perceived benefits and difficulties of peer and self-assessment of the given assignment. The former included students' views that they gained a better understanding of marking, that peer and self-assessment were productive because they incited learning and improved one's work, that these assessments made a positive impact on student motivation (in particular on the motivation to impress one's peers), and that they developed empathy with the assessing staff. The student-perceived difficulties included problems related to the

implementation of these assessments in the course, the feeling of discomfort to assess the work of one's peers and difficulty to assess both one's own work and the work of one's peers.

The relevant literature also shows that to develop the ability to reflect on and assess one's own learning, students require training, adequate lecturers' guidance and support as well as sufficient practice (Hanrahan & Isaacs, 2001; Huang, 2016; Hung, 2019). According to Hanrahan and Isaacs (2001), training students to self-assess through the practice of assessing assignments may enhance their self-efficacy and make them feel more experienced. Similarly, Huang (2016) suggested that to ensure self-assessing reliability, lecturers should find out what their students need to be equipped with in conducting self-assessment and then design self-assessment tasks that could serve as training for self-assessment. The author concluded that such advance preparation can result in quality self-assessment.

It has also been reported that sufficient training provided to students to assess one's own work as well as that of one's peers can help them solve some problems. For instance, Dochy et al. (1999) reported that in some cases students did not understand assessment criteria. The authors argued that the accuracy of student self-assessment can be enhanced by lecturers' feedback given to students on their self-assessment. Similarly, according to Cheng and Warren (2005), the problem of a mismatch between students and lecturers' marking of students' proficiency and between the way students and lecturers interpret proficiency can be eliminated by training students to become reliable assessors.

The literature also stresses that not only students, but also their lecturers should have the necessary knowledge regarding the use of self-assessment at the university. In his literature review of 41 research papers on peer and self-assessment in university courses, Nulty (2011) analysed the relationship between peer and self-assessment, the use of these assessments in the first year of university studies, and the suitability of their use at the university. The researcher found that in some cases students themselves reported having a feeling that they were not trained to assess. The author suggested that students need to be trained to foster their understanding of the assessment criteria and to gain experience through practice so that they possess the knowledge which is necessary to be able to assess using assessment criteria (Nulty, 2011: 502). It was concluded that peer and self-assessment can and should be used from the very early stage in students' academic careers because the benefits they produce "outweigh impediments and arguments to the contrary" (Nulty, 2011: 496). It was also emphasised that to implement these assessments in the first year of

university studies, lecturers should have the knowledge about how to make good use of them in their courses (Nulty, 2011: 503).

Self- and peer assessment of EFL and ESP in higher education

Even though student involvement in self- and peer assessment has been investigated in HE in many discipline areas, research into its use in EFL university classrooms in general, and in ESP classrooms in particular, is scarce. To date, it has been found that self-assessment of communicative language competence (including both receptive and productive language skills) fosters students' ability to grade one's learning and empowers them to improve their foreign language proficiency (Yucel et al., 2014; Micán & Medina, 2015; Matsuno, 2009). To illustrate, in their study, Yucel, Bird, Young and Blanksby (2014) explored Taiwanese college EFL learners' experience with repeated practice of self-assessing their oral performance (oral responses were recorded on their cell phones), evaluated the effectiveness of this practice and analysed the students' and their teachers' perceptions of this practice. The findings showed significant improvement on many criteria of the students' English-speaking abilities (with less improvement on vocabulary and grammar) as well as on their ability to self-assess one's own oral performance. The authors concluded that self-assessment bridged the gap between repeated practice and English learning by allowing the students to reflect upon their performance, find their weaknesses, adjust their following talk, and recognize their learning outcomes (Yucel et al., 2014: 1191).

Cheng and Warren (2005), on the other hand, analysed first-year electrical engineering students' assessment of their peers' spoken and written proficiency in a course of EAP at a university in Hong Kong. In their study, peer assessment was investigated from three perspectives, including peer assessment of oral and written components in a group project (which combined a seminar, an oral presentation and a written report), the comparison of peer and lecturer assessments of the same pieces of work, and the analysis of students' attitudes towards participating in peer assessment activities (which included assessment of EFL-related and non-linguistic aspects of their peers' performance, such as preparation, content, organisation and delivery of an integrated group project). It was established that both students and lecturers found the peer assessment practice beneficial in terms of developing students' higher order cognitive thinking and facilitating a deep approach to learning. On the other hand, the results also showed that students had a less positive attitude towards

assessing their peers' language proficiency than assessing non-linguistic aspects of their peers' performance. It was suggested that students should be trained to become confident and reliable assessors of one's peers' language proficiency because this would enable them to confidently self-assess their own language skills, which is a precondition to improve them (Cheng & Warren, 2005: 110).

As it has already been mentioned, to the best of our knowledge, research into student (self- and peer) assessment of ESP in HE is particularly scarce (Lavrysh, 2016; Prosenjak & Lučev, 2020; Burkšaitienė, 2020). Lavrysh (2016) analysed mechanical engineering students' self- and peer assessments of ESP oral presentations and studied the markings of self-, peer and teacher assessments of the same assignments. The findings showed that self- and peer assessments improved students' critical thinking skills, involved students in the process of learning and assessment, developed their motivation and provided them with a greater ownership of the learning and assessment processes. On the other hand, the results also revealed that peer assessments were closer to teacher assessments than self-assessments, which signalled that students needed more experience to self-assess their own work.

The study conducted by Prosenjak and Lučev (2020) explored the impact which international relations students' assessments of their peers' ESP oral presentations had on the level of the peers' oral presentation skills and analysed the study participants' perceptions of peer assessments. The findings showed that repeated peer assessments made a positive impact on the students' ESP oral skills. It was also established that the study participants recognised the importance of peer assessment and were able to self-reflect more efficiently on their own and their colleagues' work.

The investigation carried out by Burkšaitienė (2020) focused on English majors' self-assessment of their ESP oral presentations on student-chosen project topics at a university in Lithuania. The findings indicated that self-assessment enabled the students not only to identify some linguistic gaps in their ESP oral project presentations and non-linguistic difficulties, but also to establish the reasons which caused them and/or the impact which the gaps or difficulties had on the presenters themselves or on their peers, as well as to foresee how the gaps can be closed and the problems solved. The author suggested that self-assessment raised the students' awareness of themselves as learners by giving them direction on how to perform better in the future.

It can be concluded from the studies cited above that even though student involvement in assessment in HE has been extensively investigated

across many disciplines, self-assessment of learning ESP remains an underexplored area of research. To date, research has focused on student assessment of their peers' spoken and written proficiency of EFL and on self-assessment of communicative competence (of receptive and productive language skills) of EFL and ESP. A single known previous study has analysed students' self-assessment used as a tool to foster student understanding of their own weaknesses in ESP oral performance while studying ESP through project work, neglecting an important issue of what students actually learnt through the ESP project work. We consider that investigating this issue would deepen our understanding of student learning in the context of project work, which would help university teachers to closer align teaching ESP with students' learning it. To fill this research gap, a small-scale study was conducted at a university in Lithuania. It explored 22 second-year students' (English majors') self-assessment of their learning through ESP project work and addressed two research questions: 1) What did the students learn through ESP project work? And, 2) What challenges/ difficulties did they face while learning through ESP project work? To carry out the research, a qualitative methodology was used.

Methodology

The conceptual rationale for using self-assessment of ESP in HE is based on the theoretical assumptions of formative assessment that self-assessment incites learning by increasing the learners' participation in the process of their own learning and by fostering reflection on the processes and results of one's learning (Dochy et al., 1999). In higher education, self-assessment enables students to become skilled learners having control over their own learning, being able to appropriately assess their personal needs and to apply strategies for improvement (Nulty, 2011).

This present small-scale study is part of a larger investigation which explored the use of self-assessment as a tool of formative assessment to foster learning through ESP project work at a university in Lithuania. The aim of the investigation was twofold, i.e. it aimed to establish (1) how students self-assessed their learning through ESP project work and (2) how they self-assessed their ESP oral performance (project presentations on ESP topics). This small-scale study reports on the results of the students' responses regarding the former research aim.

Research limitations

The present research has two limitations. The first limitation is the number of its participants (n = 22). It is worth mentioning, however, that the sample could not have been bigger as there was only one group of students (n = 25) who were majors in English and who studied ESP at the time of the research. Due to this limitation, the results of this study do not allow for wide-scale generalisations.

The other limitation is that even though the study participants identified their own strengths and weaknesses of learning through ESP project work, it is not clear if they will use this knowledge in the future to improve their own learning. This limitation could be solved by conducting further research in the field.

The study participants and the setting

The present study was conducted at a university in Lithuania with the participation of 22 majors in English (19 female and 3 male students), five of whom (3 female and 2 male students) were foreign students and 17 students (16 female and 1 male students) were native Lithuanians. The students' age ranged from 21 to 29, and none of them had studied ESP before. Project work was part of a mandatory course which lasted for one semester (16 weeks, 4 academic hours per week). ESP project work lasted for six weeks and covered three stages: project preparation, oral project presentations and project reports. During the first stage, students were informed about its aim, its role for studying ESP, possible benefits and challenges that ESP project work can entail. Then, requirements for ESP project work and project reports, as well as assessment criteria were analysed. Next, the students were asked to form project teams (five teams were formed, 4-5 students per team) and choose project topics. As project work was aimed to develop students' knowledge of and skills in ESP, it was mandatory to choose an ESP-related topic. Throughout project preparation, the teams were regularly consulted regarding both linguistic aspects (the use of ESP terminology, presentation language, the mode of presentation) and non-linguistic aspects of the assignment (project structure, length, outlining, writing self-assessment reports).

During the second stage, the teams presented ESP projects to their peers with each team member making his/her own contribution. After project presentations, the teams answered their peers' questions and/or discussed some actual issues raised by their project.

During the third stage, each team member wrote his/her project report, (individual reports were put into a team project file) in which they self-assessed learning through ESP project work in general and self-assessed their ESP oral performance (project presentations on ESP topics) in specific.

Data collection and analysis

The data for the present research were collected from 22 undergraduate students' written reports (three students from the total of 25 project participants did not write their project reports) in which they responded to the research questions: 1) What did you learn through ESP project work? And, 2) What challenges / difficulties did they face while learning through ESP project work?

As qualitative analysis allows to determine research participants' perceptions towards educational interventions, in this study student responses to the research questions were analysed using the method of inductive content analysis. First, each report was read at least three times and using the method of content analysis, raw data themes (primary units of analysis) were identified (Hanrahan & Isaacs, 2001). Then the established raw data themes were grouped into higher order themes and assigned to general dimensions. The research findings are discussed in detail in the next section.

To ensure the principles of ethics regarding anonymity and confidentiality, explicit assurance was provided to the study participants that the collected data would not include any personally identifiable information.

Results

The results of the inductive content analysis of student responses regarding the research questions revealed three general dimensions covering six underlying higher order themes, including (1) student-identified benefits of learning through ESP project work, (2) student-identified challenges of learning through ESP project, and (3) experience of learning through ESP project work.

General dimension 1: student-identified benefits of learning through ESP project work

General dimension *Student-identified benefits of learning through ESP project work* (n = 17, examples 1-24) covers two higher order themes, the first of which consists of four subthemes (Table 1). It should be mentioned that some study participants identified more than one benefit of learning

through ESP project work, therefore the number of examples is bigger than the number of study participants who identified the benefits.

Table 1. General dimension 1: Student-identified benefits of learning through ESP project work

Higher order theme	Subtheme	Examples
1. Knowledge and/or Skills	*1.1. Knowledge or understanding*	1-8
	1.2. Knowledge and learning from each other	9- 10
	1.3. Knowledge and skills	11-12
	1.4. Skills	13-14
2. Team working experience		15-24

The first higher order theme under General dimension *Student-identified benefits of learning through ESP project work* is *Knowledge and/or Skills*. This higher order theme comprises four subthemes of benefits. More specifically, eight students self-assessed that the major benefit of learning through ESP project work was new knowledge which they gained in the ESP field of their project or deepening their understanding of the phenomenon that they chose to analyse in their ESP project[1]:

(1) While researching for our topic, I found out more information about feminism than I had known before and was happy to have an opportunity to share it with my colleagues. (Project 3, student 9)

(2) Researching for the project was amazing! I learnt a lot not only about the history of feminism, but also about famous, gorgeous, and unique women who made a great impact on women's rights in society, about scientists, writers and politicians all of whom inspired me a lot. (Project 3, student 11)

(3) All in all, due to this project I gained some new knowledge, I deepened my previous understanding of feminism and had fun doing it. (Project 3, student 12)

(4) I learnt so many new things and I realized that some things I knew about Asian and European cultures aren't true at all. One of the best things

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[1]Project 1 "Erasmus+ mobility programme"; Project 2 "Youth help lines in Lithuania and abroad"; Project 3 "Feminism across the world"; Project 4 "Cultural differences between Asian and European countries"; Project 5 "Students' mental health".

of doing a group project with people from four different cultures is that you actually learn a lot of which you can use in the future. (Project 4, student 16)

(5) My sub-topic was about sleep disorders and how they affect a person's mental health. It fascinated me because I discovered so much more than I had expected <…>. (Project 5, student 19)

(6) It was interesting as I gained knowledge regarding anti-social personality disorder which I had never been interested in before. Also, I talked to a psychologist about mental disorders, which helped me to understand the psychologist's job. (Project 5, student 21)

(7) The project was useful for us as it expanded our knowledge on the chosen topic. (Project 2, student 5)

(8) Summing up, we found out many things that we hadn't known before the project and deepened our knowledge on the topic. In my opinion, we did a pretty good job at explaining what the Erasmus+ program is to our colleagues and we learnt many things ourselves. (Project 1, student 1)

Examples 1-6 above show that the ESP field-specific knowledge which six students gained through project work (projects 3-5) was beneficial to them personally. Examples 7-8, on the other hand, demonstrate that two students considered that the new knowledge which they gained was beneficial not only to them personally, but also to the whole project team (as suggested by the use of the plural form of the personal pronoun *us* in example 7) and to their peers (as suggested by the use of the plural form of the personal pronoun *we* and possessive pronoun *our* in example 8).

It was also established that four other students (examples 9-12) not only gained new ESP field-related knowledge or deepened the existing knowledge, but also taught their project teammates, learnt from them or developed some linguistic and non-linguistic skills:

(9) I asked many people about the youth help lines, however, most of them had no idea of what I was talking about. <…> Thus, I not only learnt a lot myself, but also taught my teammates what it is. (Project 2, student 8)

(10) I analysed some research articles and read some posts about the existing stigma related to mental disorders. This deepened my knowledge. And I learnt a lot from what my colleagues introduced. (Project 5, student 20)

(11) To sum it up, I gained much new knowledge about my colleagues' countries, deepened my knowledge regarding my own country and improved my team working skills. (Project 4, student 14)

(12) Although working in an international project team was not easy and sometimes our mentality set obstacles in reaching agreements, I think it was a really valuable experience since I got acquainted with and enriched my knowledge of some foreign cultures <…> And I think I improved my skills of intercultural communication, too. (Project 4, student 15)

More specifically, examples 9 and 10 demonstrate that the students who worked on project 2 and 5 both gained new knowledge or deepened the existing knowledge (about youth help lines operating in Lithuania and abroad in project 2 and about students' mental disorders in project 5) and that they also taught their project teammates (example 9) or learnt much from their teammates (example 10).

Examples 11-12 illustrate self-assessments of two students who worked on project 4. This project was prepared by an international project team with the participation of students from China, Russia, Georgia, Ukraine and Turkey. These examples show that the students not only gained new knowledge or deepened the existing knowledge regarding cultural differences between Asian and European countries, but also developed their skills of working in a team (example 11) and intercultural communication skills (example 12). Interestingly, one of these students (example 12) acknowledged that it was not easy to work in the international project team due to the existing mental differences as they caused some difficulties in reaching agreements.

The research findings also illustrate that two students improved their ESP productive (oral) language skills (examples 13-14), which they assessed as an outcome of learning through ESP project work:

(13) We improved our language skills by getting notes about our mistakes both from the teacher and peers and understood that everything is possible and fun to do with a great group. (Project 1, student 1)

(14) I believe I improved my oral presentation skills a lot. (Project 4, student 16)

Example 13 differs from example 14 in that the self-assessor attributed this learning outcome not only to himself/herself personally, but also to the whole project team (as suggested by the use of the plural form of the personal pronoun *we*), whereas example 14 illustrates that the student self-assessed this learning outcome as a personal achievement. It should be also mentioned that the former self-assessor indicated that it was his/her teacher's and peers' feedback on the team project presentation that had a positive impact on the development of the team members' language skills, signifying that the role of feedback is relevant for supporting student learning.

The second higher order theme under this General dimension is *Team working experience* (examples 15-24). It was established that ten students valued working in their project teams and enjoyed preparing their ESP projects with their teammates:

(15) We were working hard, and our team was great, and that helped a lot. This group was a great decision, and our colleagues noticed that. We understood that everything is possible and fun to do with a great team. (Project 1, student 1)

(16) The biggest benefit of learning through project work was teamwork! (Project 1, student 4)

(17) The strongest point in the project was our team. We helped each other to find information, create slides, even gave advice to each other what we should do during the presentation (Project 1, student 2)

(18) I believe this group work was beneficial since we learnt a lot, got more confident in presenting our topic in front of the audience and got better at working with each other. (Project 1, student 3)

(19) We managed to coordinate our work online <…> I'm very pleased we completed this project—I learnt a lot from teamwork. (Project 2, student 5)

(20) I truly enjoyed working in this group as it is very effective to share ideas and have productive time. (Project 3, student 9)

(21) It was a wonderful experience to work in a large and such a friendly team! We provided support to each other and created a positive atmosphere. We respected each other's time and work, so everything was done on time without any conflicts. (Project 3, student 11)

(22) All things considered, to my mind, our team worked well. I enjoyed working with these girls <…>. (Project 3, student 13)

(23) The experience of cooperating with colleagues from different countries is very special and precious to me. Our team held meetings at least once a week. We regularly checked our weekly tasks, discussed new ideas and planned the tasks for the next week. Everything was clear and went as planned. I must admit that successful cooperation helped a lot. (Project 4, student 17)

(24) All in all, it was interesting to work in this group and on such a topic. I learnt a lot <…>, so now I can say that we should all know more about mental illnesses and stay informed as we can save someone's life. (Project 5, student 19)

The examples presented above show that these study participants considered that the learning outcomes resulting from working in their project teams included boosted confidence and improved team working skills. The students also benefited from cooperation and support which

they gave to each other, which helped them to learn a lot, suggesting that their teacher's decision to ask the students to form project groups themselves was rewarding for them.

To sum up, the findings above demonstrate that while learning through ESP project work the study participants gained new knowledge or deepened the existing knowledge on a specific ESP topic, deepened their own understanding of the phenomenon chosen for their ESP project, learnt from their teammates and taught their peers, improved both their linguistic and non-linguistic skills, and benefited from team work.

General dimension 2: student-identified challenges of learning through ESP project work

The second General dimension covers three higher order themes (n = 14, examples 25-39), the second of which consists of two subthemes, Table 2. The results show that eight study participants did not specify any difficulties, whereas some of those who did identified more than one difficulty, which is presented in the table below.

Table 2. General dimension 2: Student-identified challenges of learning through ESP project work

Higher order theme		Examples
1. Understanding the specificity of the phenomenon or ESP specific terms		25-28
Higher order theme	Subtheme	
2. Information	*2.1. Searching for, analysing and identifying relevant information*	29-32
	2.2. Generalising relevant information	33-36
3. Team working experience		37-40

The first higher order theme under the General dimension of *Student-identified challenges of learning through ESP project work* covers student-assessed difficulties related to *Understanding the specificity of the phenomenon or ESP specific terms* (examples 25-28):

(25) During project preparation, I faced difficult vocabulary which contained specific words related to scientific discoveries women made and their contribution to modern societies. (Project 3, student 9)

(26) At first it was difficult to understand all the information we had, but we managed by explaining everything to each other. Initially we understood that Erasmus and Erasmus+ are two separate programmes. (Project 1, student 1)

(27) We spent hours trying to understand the differences between the two programmes. Having realized that it is one programme, we felt upset as we spent so much time on it <…>. (Project 1, student 4)

(28) While reading about Erasmus and Erasmus+ we spent a lot of time before we understood that they are not two separate programmes but one. It was the hardest part of the job <…> (Project 1, student 2)

More specifically, example 25 shows that one student had difficulty to understand ESP specific terms, whereas examples 26-28 illustrate that three students (all of whom worked on the same project) reported the problem of not understanding the phenomenon chosen for analysis. The use of the plural form of the personal pronoun *we* in these examples suggests that the problem posed a challenge not only to these self-assessors, but to the whole project team. Example 26 suggests the problem was identified by the team at the starting point of project work. Examples 27-28 illustrate that it took the team a long time to solve the problem, whereas example 26 suggests that the problem was eventually solved through cooperation within the team.

The second higher order theme of student-identified problems under this General dimension is *Information* (examples 29-35). It consists of two subthemes, the first of which (examples 29-32) demonstrates that four students faced the problem of managing big flows of information, including *Searching for information, analysing and identifying information relevant* for their ESP project:

(29) The most important and difficult part of my work was searching and analysing information, because I had to manage my time and try to find out why their (women's) works were important for society. Sometimes there was too much information, so I had to spend a lot of time trying to understand it. (Project 3, student 13)

(30) At first it was difficult to find information about Georgia's power distance, but finally I managed. (Project 4, student 14)

(31) I found the topic interesting and challenging as it had various subtopics, which were both positive and negative. The only difficulty was to find reliable sources regarding the influencers, nevertheless, I overcame it. (Project 3, student 10)

(32) There was a huge amount of information on the Internet and in the literature related to my topic, so it was a big problem to choose the most interesting and important [information], because everything seemed to be important. But having read many sources, I chose the events that were mentioned the most [often]. (Project 3, student 11)

However, it should be mentioned, that even though this problem was assessed as difficult, the students overcame it successfully (examples 30-32).

The second subtheme of student-assessed challenges is the problem of *Generalising relevant information.* This problem was identified by four students:

(33) While preparing the project, it was not easy to put everything into a brief form. But as we started working on the data approximately a month prior to the date of our presentation, we could analyse everything very carefully and think every detail through. (Project 1, student 3)

(34) At first it was very difficult to put everything together and link our separate parts into a single whole. Besides, it was very difficult to distinguish the main issues and leave out the most important data. (Project 2, student 6)

(35) The main goal of our project was to speak about women's role in the world. At the beginning, it was difficult to decide what to talk about as it is a wide topic. Fortunately, we handled this issue successfully. (Project 3, student 13)

(36) I found a considerable number of articles and books on my topic, therefore it was difficult to choose the most reliable sources. The most challenging part was choosing who to talk about as there were a lot of women who contributed to our perception of the world <…>. (Project 3, student 9)

Example 33 above illustrates that the student assessed this problem both as his/her personal and as a team problem (as suggested by the use of the plural form of the personal pronoun *we*) and stressed that proper timing helped to solve it. Example 34 suggests that the problem was faced by the team members (as suggested by the use of the plural form of the possessive pronoun *our*) at the starting point of making a joint project presentation (as suggested by the phrase *At first it was difficult <...>*), which allows the assumption that they eventually succeeded. Similarly, example 35 shows that the problem was identified in the initial stage of project work and that it was successfully solved by the team (as suggested by the use of the plural form of the personal pronoun *we*). In contrast, example 36 indicates that choosing reliable sources was assessed as a personal problem by the self-assessor, however, it is not clear if the problem was solved.

The third higher order theme of challenges under this General dimension is *Team working experience* (examples 37-40), i.e. it was determined that learning through ESP project work was a challenge to four students:

(37) I believe we did not do a good job of communicating with each other, so there were some misunderstandings (Project 2, student 7)

(38) I think the biggest problem was bad communication within our team. I don't think we felt like being a team, we tried to meet a couple of times, but in the end, we couldn't make it work. Most of the time we did everything on our own and only in the end we put everything into one big presentation. (Project 2, student 8)

(39) Even though we spoke English, sometimes I had a feeling as if we were speaking different languages. We had to spend hours discussing the [project] outline and the format. It took us weeks to come up with a common idea for our project. The problem was we were all thinking in a different way, which eventually became the essential idea of our project <…>. (Project 4, student 15)

(40) I also realized that even though I consider myself to be an extrovert, I am not good at group projects. This is mainly because I want to control every step of the process, but as I did not have much knowledge about education systems in different cultures, project work was a challenge. (Project 4, student 16)

Examples 37-38 indicate that two students identified the challenge and also acknowledged its cause (bad communication among the team members), whereas example 37 also shows that the student not only identified the challenge and its cause, but also its consequence (bad internal communication caused misunderstandings within the team). Example 39, on the other hand, demonstrates that this student attributed the challenge to the specificity of his/her project team (it was international) and stated that it was caused by lack of mutual understanding which was triggered by different mentalities and reasoning. The latter example is interesting in that the self-assessor noted that the lack of mutual understanding experienced by the project team members finally became the central topic of their ESP project. Example 40 differs from the previous ones under this subtheme in that it reveals that the challenge of working in a team was caused by psychological reasons, i.e. the self-assessor's wish to control the process, which was not possible because the student self-assessed that s/he did not have enough knowledge on the ESP topic chosen by the team therefore s/he could not take a leadership position in the team.

Thus, examples 25-40 demonstrate that student-identified challenges of learning through ESP project work include difficulty to understand the specificity of the phenomenon to be analysed in the project or ESP specific terms, difficulties caused by inadequate skills of working with

large amounts of information and the challenge to work in a project team caused by specific (mentality-related and psychological) reasons.

General dimension 3: experience of learning through ESP project work

The third General dimension covers examples 41-51 demonstrating that learning through ESP project work was assessed by 11 students as a positive or a very positive experience, their assessments ranging from it having been 'an interesting experience' to 'an excellent' or 'a great experience':

(41) It was a good experience and it was a pleasure to hear what our groupmates and our teacher had to say about such a topic. (Project 5, student 18)

(42) In conclusion, this was a very interesting experience. We worked very hard. I'm very happy about our work and that we managed to speak for an hour and a half, which was the longest presentation we had ever made. (Project 1, student 1)

(43) Working on this project was an interesting experience, especially the research part <…> (Project 5, student 22)

(44) It was an excellent experience! We learnt how to work in a team, improved our oral skills, and, of course, broadened our knowledge. Even though our work was not perfectly structured and we made some mistakes, we managed to report the main idea. This assignment will definitely help us in the future to create and present other projects because we became more confident to speak in front of the audience and improved our language skills. (Project 2, student 6)

(45) In my opinion, I reached my goal and I can say that I'm satisfied with the outcome of my personal work and our work as a team. In conclusion, we put a lot of effort into this project and even though we had some complications, it was a great experience overall. (Project 3, student 10)

(46) I think that preparing the project was great, not only because I had a lot of fun with my teammates as a team, but most importantly, we had an opportunity to choose the subject which we all were interested in and deepen our knowledge. More than that, we were forced to overcome some individual obstacles. For me it was talking in front of the class <…> (Project 3, student 12)

(47) I reached some of my goals. One of them was to learn as much about feminism as I could and not only about its positive, but also about its negative aspects. Overall, I'm satisfied with my work. And I'm grateful to my colleagues for their work. Even though we had some difficulties, we coped with them through communication and effort. (Project 5, student 11)

(48) I'm proud of our project even though we made some mistakes. We managed the time and achieved the main aim to inform our colleagues and encourage them to participate in the Erasmus+ exchange! (Project 1, student 2)

(49) After the presentation I felt relieved as we achieved our goal. <…> And we managed the time! I'm very excited we did it! (Project 1, student 4)

(50) This work was hard, but it was useful because there were so many things to learn, such as searching for important information, making sub-topics, analysing various texts, making slides, among other things. (Project 3, student 13)

(51) To sum up, I think the project was an overall success. It was a huge benefit for me to participate in such an academic activity and I believe that in the future I will use the knowledge I gained here while being a part of this project. (Project 2, student 7)

Examples 41-51 above illustrate that learning through ESP project work was rewarding to half of the study participants. Some students stressed what they learnt (examples 42, 44, 50-51), others emphasised that they achieved personal goals (example 47) or team goals (examples 48-49). The findings also show that for some study participants it was an interesting experience as they managed to engage their peers and the teacher into a discussion (example 41), did some research work (example 43), and made a successful project presentation on an ESP topic (example 42). It is worth mentioning that learning through ESP project work helped some students to cope with personal barriers (example 44, 46) and that this experience will be useful for their future learning (examples 44, 51). Finally, example 46 illustrates that it is important to give students freedom to choose a topic for their ESP project so that they develop more of an interested in analysing it.

Conclusions

This small-scale study explored 22 undergraduate students' self-assessment of learning through ESP project work at a university in Lithuania. It aimed to establish the learning outcomes assessed by the study participants as a result of learning through ESP project work as well as the difficulties that they faced while learning through ESP project work. The investigation resulted in the identification and detailed description of three General dimensions covering student-identified benefits of learning through ESP project work, student-identified challenges of learning through ESP project work, and student-assessed experience of such learning.

The general conclusion is that student self-assessment of learning as used in the present research was effective. More specifically, it was established that all study participants self-assessed learning through ESP project work. The findings show that the students (1) identified the learning outcomes that they gained personally, (2) identified the learning outcomes that were perceived as beneficial both for them personally and for their project team, and / or (3) acknowledged that learning through ESP project work was a positive/ very positive experience. Thus, the students perceived that they gained new ESP field-specific knowledge or deepened the existing knowledge related to their ESP projects, deepened their understanding of the phenomena that they chose to analyse, learnt from their project teammates and taught their peers, as well as benefited from team work. These findings are in accordance with Yucel et al. (2014) and Dochy et al. (1999), who stated that self-assessment allows students to reflect upon their performance, find their weaknesses and recognise their learning outcomes.

The findings that some students self-assessed that learning through ESP project work will be useful for their future learning and suggests that self-assessment will help them to set goals and thus to learn for themselves, which supports Hanrahan and Isaacs's (2001) view that self-assessment incites learning.

On the other hand, the present small-scale study resulted in the identification of student-perceived linguistic and non-linguistic challenges that they faced personally and / or perceived as the difficulties that the whole project team faced. This includes the difficulty to understand specific ESP materials or ESP terms that were relevant for their projects, the difficulty to manage big amounts of information, including searching for information, analysing it, identifying relevant information, and generalising it.

Finally, it was established that some students found working in a project team challenging due to bad internal communication, lack of mutual understanding or personal character features. However, it should be mentioned that even though in some cases the problems were assessed as serious or upsetting, the students stated that eventually they coped with them. This allows a conclusion that self-assessment supported their approach to deep learning, which is in line with Cheng and Warren' (2005), and further supported by Nulty's (2011) findings that self-assessment enables students to be able to appropriately assess personal needs and to apply the necessary strategies for solving problems.

The results that disclose student-assessed difficulties are particularly valuable as they are a rich source of evidence regarding the students' real

needs not only for the students themselves, but also for their ESP teachers. Such evidence enables them to take students' needs into consideration and gives them direction for further action, i.e. to modify the teaching/learning process so that to align ESP pedagogy with student learning in the way which could help their students to perform better in the future.

The present small-scale research contributes to the HE literature in the field and expands our knowledge on the use of student self-assessment for learning through ESP project work at the university. This research is novel as it is one of the first investigations which focuses on university undergraduate students' self-assessment of learning through ESP project work in the context of Lithuanian higher education.

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CHAPTER FIVE

STORY-TELLING STRUCTURES:
YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE A PRO!

HASAN SHIKOH

Outline

This chapter develops a rationale based on the *Labovian Narrative-Constituent Analyses* (Carter and Simpson, 1989) through which it studies and compares the narrative structures of two short-short stories titled *Delays*, by Syed Ali Abbas Hamdani (2001), and *Precious Moments*, by Bilal Naeem (2002). These 14-16 year old students of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) wrote their stories in timed one-hour durations in a creative writing course that formed part of their GCSE[1] qualifications in Lahore, Pakistan, taught by this chapter's author at the time. The implications of future progression in young learners of creative writing are discussed in the light of literature, followed by a conclusion.

Introduction

The rationale behind undertaking this short study is to enable myself and students of creative writing, particularly at the GCSE stage, to become better acquainted with the general character and impact of well-structured plots in short story narratives. In particular, rather than examining the work of professional writers, it aims to focus on short stories produced by young students so as to make the learning and materials authentic for learners, whilst also being a source of inspiration. Through this work, it is hoped that both the ESL teacher and learner are motivated to reduce the psychological pressure of teaching and writing well in a foreign or second

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[1] General Certificate of Secondary Education, University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate (UCLES)

language which they may erroneously tend to regard as being the domain of expert native speakers. Furthermore, the purpose of engaging with these stories in this way is to familiarise students with the variety of story structures that are possible to write in order to encourage them to try to be free in their creativity when they immerse themselves in their own writing.

The elements that are being studied for the purpose of this chapter are Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Result or Resolution, and Coda. The scope of analysis of other aspects of plot structure is vast, for as Labov (1967: 234) states there are "complex chainings and embeddings" of these elements. This chapter deals only with the simpler forms. A detailed analysis of the Evaluative clauses and the scattering of Speech Acts has been deliberately excluded as evaluation of those narratives constitutes what is called a secondary structure (ibid). A study of the same would then entail the need for an in-depth analysis into transitivity, choice of lexicon, metaphor, inference and ideology—all of which are beyond the scope of this chapter.

Analyses in Light of Literature: Investigation into the Narrative Structure

Text 1—Delays (Hamdani, 2001)

Labov (ibid) defines the narrative as a method of recapitulating past experiences by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) occurred. Goatly (2000) interprets this to mean that the narrative in its chronological sequence is called the *story*; and the actual way these chronological events are presented in the story is called the *plot*. Labov and Waletzky (1967), cited in Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton (2003:637) state that "…a clause can…be referential or evaluative. Referential clauses have to do with what the story is about: events, characters, setting. Evaluative clauses have to do with why the narrator is telling the story and why the audience should listen to [or read] it…".

The labelling of the narrative constituents of *Delays* (Appendix 1a) is based on categories referred to by Labov and Waletzky (1967) which they state can be considered in a narrative as a series of answers to underlying questions:

a. Abstract: what was this about?
b. Orientation: who, when, what, where?
c. Complicating action: then what happened?

    d.   Evaluation: so what?
    e.   Result/Resolution: what finally happened?

Goatly (2000), however, suggests that instead of simply using a general label such as a 'Complicating Action', a distinction can be made between *actions* on the one hand, which constitute the narrative clauses, and *speech acts* on the other.

In its 453 words, *Delays* is not dependent on any dialogue, although there are two sets of monologues which have been labelled as Speech Acts. The remainder of the story constitutes the referential narrative clauses, which have been labelled as Action; and the evaluative clauses are classed as Evaluation. (See Appendix 1b).

Now it may be possible to reconstitute the story from the plot by rearranging the referential narrative clauses in their chronological order as follows:

Table 1.

1) She loved her*
2) Tears rolled from her eyes.
3) Her hand gripped her sister tighter
4) The Mercedes sped away
5) And then they all turned their backs toward the car
6) except for her.
7) She looked towards the disappearing car
8) and under her breath, she spewed out her will to the air
9) And then she returned to her deathbed.

In this analysis, each of the narrative clauses shown in Table 1 is regarded as being significant for the story and plot because the story depends on one episode (Villalón, no-date) only and that each of these actions propels the forlorn narrative toward the Resolution (clause 34). It could be said, however, that the central and defining referential clauses of the story are 1, 2, 4 and 9.

In clause 28 (Appendix 1b) it can be noticed that it is not presented in the simple past or present tense but that it is in the past perfect: 'She *had* watched … while she studied …' and clause 29 'She did the … while Sarah fiddled …' is meant to have taken place in the same (past perfect) time period. Maintaining Labov's method, these have been labelled as Orientation because they provide the background as to why the protagonist

is in a state of mental agony and how she has been making sacrifices for her sibling(s). Why these would not be labelled as Action is because they do not occur immediately after the events arranged chronologically above (Labov, 1967; Goatly, 2000).

Clause 18 (Appendix 1b) marked with [A*] could be considered in two ways: As an evaluative clause and as a referential clause; as evaluative because it is the narrator's comment that she 'loved' her; but also as a Complicating Action according to Labov's criteria that "two or more clauses describing a pair of linked events or actions, ordered chronologically…will be in [the] simple present or simple past tenses …" (Goatly, 2003: 32). However, if the placement of the clause is analysed, it can be noticed that it is among clauses with the past perfect forms of the verb, which are marked as Orientation clauses. This may lead one to suggest that the writer should have written, 'She had loved her', instead of 'She loved her'; yet simultaneously, it can also be said that the protagonist loved her still; therefore, it has been regarded as an Action clause (marked with an asterisk), an Orientation clause, as well as an Evaluative one about which, in particular, there can be no doubt.

In Table 1, therefore, clauses 1 and 2 are crucial because they indicate that the protagonist was a selfless, caring and loving woman, prepared to do anything for others, but was then in agony; clause 4, 'The Mercedes sped away' in which the phrase *sped away* brings forth and intensifies the impact of the protagonist's feeling of loneliness as her sister, Sarah, departs quickly as a bride; and in clause 9 she *returns* to her room or house where she dies poignant and defeated. The underlying, or inferred, tale seems to be clear from this: Here is a distressed woman who cared for everyone else, kept delaying her own chances of getting married for the sake of her siblings but none of them ever seemed to care about her in return.

Therefore, when 'summarised' (storyline) the story might be depicted as follows:

Table 2

This is the story of a woman who loved and sacrificed and is now heart-broken that the last of her siblings gets married and leaves her like all the rest of them; she herself remains unmarried and dies lonely.

In this it can be discerned that there is an onset, an unfolding and a resolution (Labov and Waletzky, 1967, cited by Trabasso and Rodkin in Berman and Slobin, 1994: 86).

The final element to be elaborated upon for the purpose of this paper is Coda. Labov (1967) defines it as the bridge between the moment of time at the end of the narrative and the present. In other words, it indicates to the reader the point where the narrative has ended. In this story, it may be said that there are two codas: one is in clause 20 and other in clause 32 (Appendix 1b). This could be because clause 20 returns the reader to the present reality that the protagonist must face: "But now it was time to lose her"; and then in clause 32 the protagonist "return[s]" to her deathbed: that is, she had been sleeping in it ever since her parents' death, rose from it to witness each of her siblings getting married before she bid them farewell to return to it for the last time, lonely as always. If the two clauses were placed together, they would read as one coda, complimenting each other well: *But now it was time to lose her, and then she returned to her deathbed*. However, this raises a question: Labov states that codas close the sequence of complicating actions and indicate that none of the events that may follow are important to the narrative; but in this story, if it is to be accepted that there are two codas and that they are situated 11 lines apart from each other; and the analysis that there are six Action clauses in between, then perhaps text and discourse experts need to shed more light on the concept of coda itself.

It is through the internal monologue Speech Act in clause 34 (Appendix 1b) that readers establish that the question, "What happens next?" (Action) is 'properly' answered (ibid): "What finally happened?" (Resolution), that is, the woman is either destined to die unmarried or that just after her sister's wedding party, she would not be able to bear to live alone and miserable anymore and therefore she will abandon the will to live; a voice speaks on her behalf but it is completely unheard, and as a result, totally unregistered by society as she dies, or is destined to a lonesome demise soon enough.

Delays does not carry an abstract. "It has been observed over and over that not all stories have abstracts …" (Schiffrin et al., 2003: 639); which means that it has an inductive structure (Goatly, 2003: 34).

Text 2—Precious Moments (Naeem, 2002)

Like *Delays*, *Precious Moments* is not dependent on dialogue at all, except for an internal monologue, which has been labelled as a Speech Act. The rest of the story is a constituent of the Orientation and the evaluative

clauses (Evaluation), and the referential narrative clauses (Action) which begin much later in the story after 233 words (see Appendixes 2a and 2b).

It may be possible to reconstitute the story from the plot by rearranging the referential narrative clauses in their chronological order as follows:

Table 3.

1) He saw them picking something else out of his bag
2) So he just hopped from table to table to get to them as quickly as possible.
3) Two desks forward
4) and one of the low ceiling fan's spinning blades hit him in his forehead.
5) Then Keith fell down.
6) The bit of blood on the rotor blades flew off
7) and landed on other kids who squealed
8) Kids shouted and screamed, running out of the class
9) while Keith lay bleeding profusely on the floor.
10) I, of course, had run away with the other kids.
11) Precious moments, life and death seconds, ticked by as outside we gained some of our composure
12) someone ran to get help.
13) Help arrived but too late
14) Keith died.
15) We all felt terribly guilty

The clauses crucial to the story would be: 1, 4 and 9. Clause 1 establishes why Keith jumps from table to table: he is in a hurry to get to the bullies, and clause 4 triggers the gory theme of the story: "…one of the *low…spinning blades hit* him in his forehead." The writer's use of the simple and succinct word 'hit' to create impact is commendable as it returns a cold, steely register, perhaps in the way of Hemingway's style. Then in clause 9 the writer tells that Keith "lay bleeding *profusely*…"; here, the word 'profusely' may itself suffice to imply that there was little chance of Keith surviving, and that those were the 'precious moments' during which his life 'bled' out of him.

If these clauses were paraphrased together, the following storyline for *Precious Moments* could be drawn:

Table 4.

> As Keith hops from table to table to stop the class bullies
> from stealing something else from his bag, one of the low
> ceiling fans hit him in the head, cutting it, and ultimately
> killing him.

In this summary too, it will be noticed that there is an onset, an unfolding and a resolution (Labov and Waletzky, 1967, cited in Trabasso and Rodkin in Berman and Slobin, 1994: 86), which are the series of elements essential to establish in the mind (and indeed on paper) while planning the plot of a story.

Labov (1967) states that codas are free clauses to be found at the end of narratives and indicate that none of the events that follow are important to the same. They tend to bring the narrator and listener back to the point at which they entered the narrative. In *Precious Moments,* it could be said that two codas are noticeable: Line 29 (Appendix 2b): "I think back *now* that if I had kept my cool…Keith would be alive today." and line 31: "The class *makes* noise once again…they *have* even *begun* to tease another boy." Although these occur in close proximal sequence, the double spacing between paragraphs 10 and 11 (Appendix 2b) indicates what could be regarded as a double transition in time–line 29 is the writer's Coda immediately after telling his tale, and the Resolution clause in line 26 resolves that story: that Keith died. The Coda clause in line 31 is a Coda of a slightly later time; and yet, interestingly, one could venture to opine that it may be the Abstract to another story, which is of a similar consequence but one that does not need to told; perhaps the writer uses it to emphasize the cyclical pattern of events in life, and how short human memory is.

In line 33, the writer quite skilfully ends his story with a second Resolution for this new untold story, which actually has resulted from the impact of the gory event, at least in his mind: "Yet the memory of Keith and the time I wasted will remain etched in my mind, I know, for forever."

In light of this analysis, it can be stated that *Precious Moments* has a simple yet smart structure that can be studied with ESL/EFL writers to develop their own writing of short-short fiction when placed within timed sequences such as classwork or exams.

Brief Comparison of the Structures of the Two Stories

Delays starts with action immediately: "Tears rolled from her eyes." The readers' interest is immediately aroused because they would want to find

out why 'She'—whoever she was up to this point—was tearful. Action in *Precious Moments* starts 233 words later. Most students who have read or listened to the story have wondered during the first 233 words: "But what are the precious moments?" However, they tend to 'pardon' the delay in the action and accept it as well-written for the following reasons: 1) the story gathers tremendous pace afterwards through some horrendous action: there is a concentration of 15 Action clauses after the 233rd word; 2) the theme is heart wrenching; and 3) it has an orientation that they can relate to. In comparison, while it also garners student interest, action in *Delays* begins immediately from the first line but then it has only 9 action clauses.

Both stories have linear plots: *Delays* follows more of an episodic (McManus, 1998) "*in media res* (in the middle of things) plot—when the story starts in the middle of the action without exposition". Carter and Simpson state that "[n]o effective story can proceed without a well understood orientation section" (1989: 205). In *Precious Moments* the writer has achieved that comprehensively by using 257 words in 13 lines in the first three paragraphs, structuring his story in a simple chronological order in line with Freytag's plot structure principles (McManus, 1998) by first establishing the exposition thoroughly; that is, the time, place, persons and situation/activity (Goatly, 2003) and then proceeding to rising action, climax, falling action and resolution (also see Appendix 2c, Figure 1). In *Delays*, on the other hand, the writer punctuates it with an almost consistent Action-Evaluation-Orientation sequence for the first eight paragraphs. This, according to Labov (1967) is a strategic syntactic placement of the orientation clauses. Furthermore, its rising action, flashbacks and flashforwards, or 'analepsis' and 'prolepsis', respectively (Genette, 1980) make it increasingly interesting: consider lines 1 and 2 (Appendix 1b) as Action; and then line 10 as Flashforward (for the purpose of this chapter, this line is being labelled as flashforward because up until this point, it is unknown why 'she' was defeated); and then line 11 which returns the reader to the present moment; then to flashbacks in lines 13 and 15 to 19. However, just before these, lines 11, 12 and 14 which are in the current time and then lines 20 to the end is a sequence which is again interspersed with Action clauses. Among these, line 29 predicts that the future will never arrive. This is finally confirmed by the Resolution in line 34.

Implications of the Analyses for Future Progression

Labov's method of studying clauses to understand and create narrative structure could be regarded as being crucial in training students to plot the

sequence of story events because the clauses represent those events (Goatly, 2003).

In addition, since it seems brainstorming is a real issue (Berman and Slobin, 1994), most teachers encourage students to make mind maps to brainstorm and plan for their stories. Some students are likely to get bogged down by the process of then sifting through a jumble of their ideas which may not only be time consuming but could also make them lose the thread of their creative thoughts. With the summaries in Table 2 and Table 4, it may make it easier for a creative writing teacher to explain to students that story is different from plot in the sense that, as Labov (1967) states, narrative in its chronological sequence is called the *story* and how that sequence is presented is the *plot*.

Furthermore, Tables 1-4 can help a teacher to illustrate the point that when students start to think about writing a story, they should begin with the storyline first. This approach, as has been learnt from this short analysis, is likely to help them become more skilled at sequential and focused thinking (Carter and Simpson, 1989). Once they have penned their storyline and the story in its chronological sequence, they can then think of *how* to plot it (Goatly, 2000). They need to be aware that usually there are a few crucial action clauses on which their story hinges and that they need to meticulously plan for these. Following this approach, the other elements discussed further above should be relatively less complicated to create.

By working on distinguishing the referential narrative clauses (Action) from the evaluative clauses (Evaluation), the use of the former in a short story is "linked in some way, for example by cause or effect, or condition and response" (Goatly, 2003: 34). This is because, according to Labov (1967), if the order of these clauses is reversed, the interpretation of the sequence of the events will change, and consequently a different story will be produced.

Although it has been suggested that the structures for both the stories make for intriguing reading, the structure of *Delays* may present difficulties for the novice writer to adopt. However, in teaching practice, students should be encouraged to begin their stories immediately with Action (*in media res*), or as soon as possible thereafter because it tends to instantly generate the reader's interest. Furthermore, by commencing with Action (clauses), ESL/EFL beginner writers are able to maintain a focus on their story, thus also, to become succinct in writing. In other words, this combination promotes a lean writing style which tends to help maintain the interest, in particular, the young reader through to the end of the story. In contrast, however, delayed Action often generates a slow development of the story: student writers then linger for far too long at the exposition

stage, which consumes much more of their time and word limit. Then, they quickly rush to reach the climax stage because of the time and word-limit constraints, and thus may create a somewhat stunted story.

Another aspect that can be gleaned from this research is that if exercises about "decomposing" plots/short stories (Berman and Slobin, 1994: 86) using the Labovian method were performed in class with students, they would likely comprehend plot structures much better. This would be akin to learning through 'ripping' stories apart, then reading them again in their constructed form, much like the concept of reverse engineering.

By learning to discern the chronological story using the LNCA, the difference between a story and a recount becomes clearer in the mind of the teacher too.

Conclusion

In light of the LNCA, it can be stated that the qualities that make *Delays* and *Precious Moments* commendable and worthy of recommendation to teach from, are that they are original and authentic rather than a mere proposition that they are 'model stories'. This is because their elements make reference to events, characters and feelings that are understood to have happened or existed outside of the ongoing interaction, and simultaneously, structure the interaction in which the story is being told by guiding the reader through the related events and ensuring that they are comprehensible and worth recounting (Schiffrin et al., 2003).

Having been written by 15-16 year old ESL/EFL students during exam time, it can safely be claimed that these stories do hold merit and motivation for young and developing short story writers. This is because such authentic examples that illustrate two of the many possible variations within story structure, can help free the creativity process in the young writer developing their writing skills in the English language.

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Appendices

Appendix 1a

Story 1
DELAYS
By Syed Ali Abbas Hamdani
GCSE student of the class of 2001, Lahore, Pakistan

Tears rolled from her eyes and burnt her heart. Her hand gripped her sister tighter. What a combination of crowd she was standing in! Some had a pair of eyes that were wet, dabbing at them with tissue papers; and some were jubilant. As if they had won something. It was in fact an eternal tradition of all societies. It had to be like this. Each laugh this world gets is on the toil of a tear. Each victory has to be because of a defeat.

And she was defeated.

They were all heading toward a car. She could not stop her sobbing. Her heart was beset with a two-fold grief. Her little Sarah was in a bridal dress.

She could not believe the turn of Nature. She had watched this very Sarah swinging in swings, while she studied for her papers. She did the household works while Sarah fiddled with toys. She loved her. She loved all children. But now it was time to lose her. To lose her last leaf.

She too, was leaving her like her other two younger sisters.

The Mercedes sped away, leaving all of them behind, between eyes and tissues; leaving behind a black trail of smoke.

Leaving behind her miserable destiny.

And then they all turned their backs toward the car, looking forward to the future; except for her. She was to live in the memories of her past for all of *her* future.

She looked towards the disappearing car, and under her breath, she spewed out her will to the air, for it to carry it to Sarah: "My dear sister. Go to some really nice hotel after a few days of your marriage. Sit with your husband in front of you. Order a big, rather, two big meals. After eating everything, look into the eyes of your husband, while he looks into yours, with warmth, with ecstasy, with love. Tell him how much you love him. And then just remember me."

It was as a will of a child in his deathbed, who had high hopes, high aspirations, and high plans for its future.

A future that was never going to come.

It was as a will of a bird, born without feathers that looks at other birds in the sky, enjoying their flight; and wants to join them.

But it was not born for flying.

And then she returned to her deathbed. A nest where she was born, and where she would have to die … not blaming her parents, but herself, her fate.

A voice that was perhaps of her old conscience, echoed in her soul: "Marriages of girls who sacrifice should not be delayed until they are 'late' forever…" it said.

453 words

Appendix 1b

The Analysis of Text 1

Key
A: Action
ABS: Abstract
C: Coda
E: Evaluation
O: Orientation
R: Resolution
SA: Speech Act

DELAYS
Paragraph 1
1) [Tears rolled from her eyes A] and [burnt her heart. E]
2) [[Her hand gripped her sister [tighter. E] A]
3) [What a combination of crowd she was standing in! E] O]
4) [Some had a pair of eyes that were wet, dabbing at them with tissue papers; and some were jubilant. E] O]
5) [As if they had won something. E]
6) [It was in fact an eternal tradition of all societies. O]
7) [It had to be like this. E]
8) [Each laugh this world gets is on the toil of a tear. E]
9) [Each victory has to be because of a defeat. E]

Paragraph 2
10) [And she was defeated. A] R]

Paragraph 3
11) [They were all heading toward a car. A]
12) [[She could not stop her sobbing. E] A]
13) [Her heart was beset with a two-fold grief. O]
14) [Her little Sarah was in a bridal dress. O]

Paragraph 4
15) [She could not believe the turn of Nature. E]
16) [She had watched this very Sarah swinging in swings, while she studied for her papers. O]
17) [She did the household works while Sarah fiddled with toys. O]
18) [[[She loved her. A*] E] O]
19) [[She loved all children. E] O]

20) [But now it was time to lose her. C]
21) [To lose her last leaf. E]

Paragraph 5
22) [She [too, E] was leaving her A] [like her other two younger sisters. E] O]

Paragraph 6
23) [[[The Mercedes sped away A], [leaving all of them behind, between eyes and tissues; leaving behind a black trail of smoke. E] O]

Paragraph 7
24) [Leaving behind her miserable destiny. E]

Paragraph 8
25) [[And then they all turned their backs toward the car A], looking forward to the future; except for her. A] E]
26) [She was to live in the memories of her past for all of *her* future. E]

Paragraph 9
27) [[She looked towards the disappearing car, and under her breath, she spewed out her will to the air A], [for it to carry it to Sarah E]: "[My dear sister. [Go to some really nice hotel after a few days of your marriage. Sit with your husband in front of you. Order a big, rather, two big meals. After eating everything, look into the eyes of your husband, while he looks into yours with warmth; with ecstasy; with love. Tell him how much you love him. And then just remember me. E]" SA]

Paragraph 10
28) [It was as a will of a child in his deathbed, who had high hopes, high aspirations, and high plans for its future. E]

Paragraph 11
29) [A future that was never going to come. E]

Paragraph 12
30) [It was as a will of a bird, born without feathers that looks at other birds in the sky, enjoying their flight; and wants to join them. E]

Paragraph 13

31) [But it was not born for flying. E]

Paragraph 14

32) [And then she returned to her deathbed. C] A]

33) [A nest where she was born, and where she would have to die … not blaming her parents, but herself, her fate. E]

Paragraph 15

34) [[A voice that was perhaps of her old conscience, echoed in her soul: "Marriages of girls who sacrifice should not be delayed until they are 'late' forever …]" it said. SA] R]

Appendix 2a

Story 2
PRECIOUS MOMENTS
By Bilal Naeem
GCSE student of the class of 2002, Lahore, Pakistan

It was hot when we returned to school after summer break; very hot. Even though the overhead fans were hung low and were fast the heat was still quite unbearable.

Our class was large, eighty-three students, and me the poor prefect, had an impossible time controlling them. The period dismissal bell would ring and the teacher would walk out of the class. Someone would shut the door and then hell would break loose: kids screaming and shouting, walking, running, crawling and God knows what. Children would be throwing paper planes and paper balls as I would stand helplessly surveying the damage.

One of the few people who kept their head during the periods was Keith. He would sit quietly and patiently in a corner until the next teacher came, for which I was always highly grateful. But maybe that was just like Keith. He was an eccentric boy; he would talk to no one and no one would talk to him yet boys- for some unknown reason- were always teasing him. The insecure snobs of my class would find some perverse joy in mocking and insulting timid, quiet Keith.

It was just another one of those events really, who knows who did it? But somehow Keith's pencil box was lying on top of the silver metal cabinet in the front of the class. He had climbed a table and had retrieved it when he saw them picking something else out of his bag. So he just hopped from table to table to get to them as quickly as possible.

At least that is what he was going to do.

Two desks forward and one of the low ceiling fan's spinning blades hit him in his forehead. For a split second it seemed that the fan had just hit him and stopped. Then Keith fell down and there was blood everywhere. The bit of blood on the rotor blades flew off and landed on other kids who squealed like little girls. Kids shouted and screamed, running out of the class while Keith lay bleeding profusely on the floor.

I, of course, had run away with the other kids. Precious moments, life and death seconds, ticked by as outside we gained some of our composure and someone ran to get help.

Help arrived but too late … we could see that Keith was still alive but we had also seen his life gurgling out of his head as we ran to save

ourselves. He was going to die and we knew it, there was no question about it, no hope.

And that is exactly what happened. Keith died.

We all felt terribly guilty, or did we really? It could have happened to anyone and we were all shuddering at the thought, "It could have been me."

I think back now that if I had kept my cool and been faster to call for help, Keith would be alive today. If I hadn't lost those precious moments the chair at the end of the class would not be empty today.

The class makes noise once again and even though it may seem unreal, they have even begun to tease another boy. Life goes on. People come and go. Yet the memory of Keith and the time I wasted will remain etched in my mind, I know, for forever.

555 words

Appendix 2b

The Analysis of Text 2

Key
A: Action
ABS: Abstract
C: Coda
E: Evaluation
O: Orientation
R: Resolution
SA: Speech Act

PRECIOUS MOMENTS
Paragraph 1
1) [[It was hot when we returned to school after summer break; very hot. E] O]
2) [[Even though the overhead fans were hung low and were fast the heat was still quite unbearable. E] O]
3) [Our class was [large, eighty-three students, and me the poor prefect, had an impossible time controlling them. E] O]
4) [The period dismissal bell would ring and the teacher would walk out of the class. O]
5) [Someone would shut the door and [then hell would break loose: kids screaming and shouting, walking, running, crawling and God knows what. E] O]
6) [Children would be throwing paper planes and paper balls as I would [stand helplessly surveying the damage. E] O]

Paragraph 2
7) [One of the few people who kept their head during the periods was Keith. E] O]
8) [[He would sit quietly and patiently in a corner until the next teacher came, for which I was always highly grateful. E] O]
9) [But maybe that was just like Keith. E]
10) [[He was an eccentric boy; he would talk to no one and no one would talk to him yet boys—for some unknown reason—were always teasing him. E] O]
11) [The insecure snobs of my class would find some perverse joy in mocking and insulting timid, quiet Keith. E] O]

Paragraph 3

12) [It was just another one of those events really, who knows who did it? E]

13) [But somehow Keith's pencil box was lying on top of the silver metal cabinet in the front of the class. O]

14) [He had climbed a table and had retrieved it when [he saw them picking something else out of his bag. A] O]

15) [So he just hopped from table to table to get to them as quickly as possible. A]

Paragraph 4

16) [At least that is what he was going to do. E]

Paragraph 5

17) [Two desks forward and one of the low ceiling fan's spinning blades hit him in his forehead. A]

18) [For a split second it seemed that the fan had just hit him and stopped. E]

19) [Then Keith fell down A] and there was blood everywhere. O]

20) [The bit of blood on the rotor blades flew off and landed on other kids A] [who squealed like little girls. E]

21) [Kids shouted and screamed, running out of the class while Keith lay [bleeding profusely E] on the floor. A]

Paragraph 6

22) [I, [of course, E] had run away with the other kids. A]

23) [Precious moments, life and death seconds, ticked by as outside we gained some of our composure and someone ran to get help. E] A]

Paragraph 7

24) [Help arrived [but too late E] A] … we could see that Keith was still alive but we had also seen his life gurgling out of his head as we ran to save ourselves. O]

25) [He was going to die and we knew it, there was no question about it, no hope. E]

Paragraph 8

26) [And that is exactly what happened. [Keith died. A] R]

Paragraph 9

27) [We all felt terribly guilty A], [or did we really? E]
28) [It could have happened to anyone and we were all shuddering at the thought, ["It could have been me." SA] E]

Paragraph 10

29) [I think back now that if I had kept my cool and been faster to call for help, Keith would be alive today. E] C]
30) [If I hadn't lost those precious moments the chair at the end of the class would not be empty today. E]

Paragraph 11

31) [The class makes noise once again and even though it may seem unreal, they have even begun to tease another boy. C]
32) [Life goes on. People come and go. E]
33) [Yet the memory of Keith and the time I wasted will remain etched in my mind, I know, for forever. R]

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPACT OF TURKISH AS AN L1 ON EFL ACQUISITION

GABRIELA NEDELKOSKA

Outline

Successful acquisition of languages necessitates effective teaching processes which should encompass current views in order to meet and reflect the latest trends. Crosslinguistic influence is an important part of language learning processes and having the phenomenon in perspective during class management leads to more effective acquisition. This paper will show theoretical background, corpus analysis and the impact of Turkish language as the first language on successful linguistic transfer management during EFL acquisition.

Introduction

After the acquisition of the first language all subsequent languages upgrade the existing linguistic competence. Therefore, crosslinguistic influence is considered to be a major factor in second and third language learning as well as any other following languages.

Notions such as *transfer*, *interference* and *crosslinguistic influence* basically describe cognitive processes (conscious or unconscious) which implement the use of strategies and elements of previously acquired languages during the production of elements and structures in a new language.

Early research papers treat transfer as a negative phenomenon examined in isolation from other acquisition processes. However, more recent references to the subject consider it as a factor of primary importance acting in interaction with other extralinguistic and intralinguistic factors. The enhanced social mobility, as well as current geopolitical processes, as a phenomenon boosts the development of multilingual environments

which in turn necessitates more elaborate analysis of the crosslinguistic influence. Issues such as: *multilingualism and cognitive processes, language contact, minority language policies, multilingual education* etc., are considered as up-to-date trends of linguistic interest. In fact, the aim of this research is to contribute to answering such calls since its results are applicable in foreign (English) language teaching. Recognizing and addressing the crosslinguistic influence can aid the teaching process and facilitate the acquisition of English language, or any other language for that matter. Therefore it is of vital importance to identify and anticipate the language areas where it might occur.

Aims

According to Cook's "multicompetence model", speaking two languages is not a mathematical sum of both competences but their unique blend (Cook, 1992). Acquisition of two or more languages, especially if done through formal instructions increases the metalinguistic awareness. Development of metalinguistic awareness in turn provides better understanding of how a language functions and better information processing (language processing) which results in higher quality language production. Namely the learner is aware of the language aspects he/she analyses in order to tackle a certain linguistic problem (Bialystok, 1986). In other words multilingualism is an intriguing phenomenon which raises a great interest. Hence, the main goal of this research is to determine the specific elements of crosslinguistic influence existing in the interlanguage of learners with Turkish language as an L1 (first language) and English language as a FL (foreign language).

Research methodology

The corpus based research could be qualified as both theoretical and empirical since it encompasses relevant theoretical background as well as empirical analysis of the results. The corpus data were collected during one time period (by simultaneous application of the intended methods) in order to allow cross tabular referencing and analysis by means of combined (qualitative and quantitative) methods applied simultaneously:

- Subject interviews
- Production analysis based upon a given task

More specifically, the corpus of data represents a collection of answers of 30 subjects involved in the research (8th graders with the highest grade in English: 5 (outstanding)) by means of a written task sheet and a customized questionnaire. The subjects were asked to write a paragraph on the following topic: "When summer comes…", and write a short elaboration (definition and examples) on "The second conditional".

Defining crosslinguistic influence (transfer)

According to the "Creative construction hypothesis" (Sharwood–Smith 1996, p. 56) language transfer is a strategy used during production when the learners create their own system of rules connected to the new language. The language transfer is also considered to be a strategy which provides aid in filling language gaps (Kohn 1986, p. 22). As a learning strategy, it represents a significant component of the interlanguage, whose elements exist either by learners' choice or by modification of structures acquired via language reception.

In other words the language level or the amount of elements of transfer cannot be tested without detailed analysis of the learners' production. The researchers suggest that elements of transfer can be evidenced at each language level (morphological, lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic).

Identification of transferred elements

As previously stated, the elements of transfer can be isolated from the learners' production. According to Selinker, if a statistically significant trend in the speaker's native language appears, and is then paralleled by a significant trend toward the same alternative in the his/her interlanguage behavior, then that language structure can be identified as an element of transfer (Selinker 1983, 50). After a comparative study of the relevant language categories and subsequent identification of the elements of transfer what follows is their categorization (positive or negative transfer).

Corpus data analysis

In order to determine whether drawing parallels between languages plays a significant role in interlanguage formation or more precisely correlation between the potential influence and its actual effects, this research focused on subjects' production analysis. The data collected from the written production was comprised of 329 sentences containing erroneous

elements. As hypothesized at the beginning, elements of crosslinguistic influence were evidenced in 184 (or 56%) of them.

The reconstruction of language structures was followed by their classification based upon the grammatical category isolated from the production (not the reconstructed form)[1]. The errors were classified based on the language level/ level of linguistic analysis/levels of language structure (phonetic, morphological, syntactic, lexical and semantic) and the linguistic/grammatical category (plural of nouns, tenses, negation etc.) followed by more specific subcategories. The „surface strategy" (Dulay et al. 1982, 150) was employed, including the following strategies *omission, addition, misinformation, misordering*. The statistical software program SPSS was the major tool used for the empirical analysis. The Contrastive analysis defined or anticipated the areas where interference from the L1 can potentially be expected and Error analysis showed that in written production the interference is present at morphosyntactic, lexical and semantic levels (Table 1). Eighteen examples of inappropriate verb structures were analyzed from the total amount of errors, followed by 17 errors in word ordering, 13 examples of unmarked plural, 18 misused lexical items and 11 errors connected to gender. The analysis elicited the use of articles (97 errors) as the most sensitive area and hence this research focuses on these issues in more detail. What needs to be pointed out is that this significant discrepancy in the numbers is in coordination with the grammatical aspect of the issue. Namely there is consistency in the error type which could imply the influence of the grammatical rules of the languages the subjects speak.

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[1] There is a possibility that the grammatical category in the production is different from the grammatical category in the reconstructed statement, and failing to take into consideration such occurrence could lead to unreal statistical representation.

Table 1. Distribution of errors
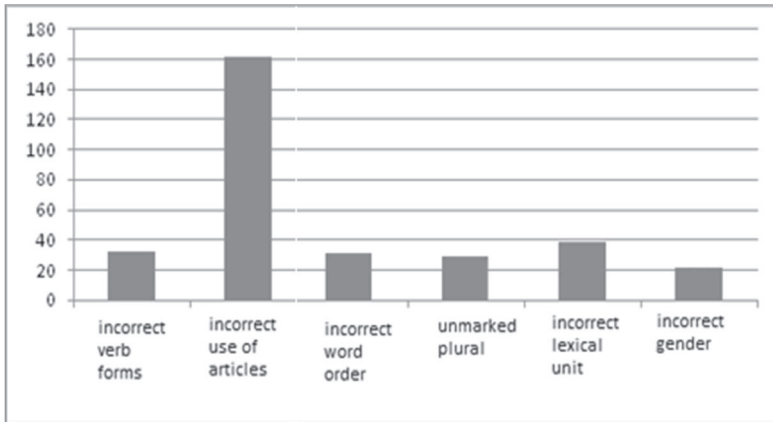
Turkish language influence

What follows next is a brief elaboration of the typical errors expected to be found in the production of the English language as a result of the Turkish language influence. As pointed out previously, the weakest area was expressing 'definiteness' or to be more specific the use of articles.

Marked definiteness in Turkish is more of an exception to the rule. In other words 'definiteness' in the Turkish language is not morphologically marked in most cases. Due to this *we expect omission of the definite article in the interlanguage of Turkish students learning English language as a result of L1 influence.* The corpus contained elements such as *in main clause we use would or wouldn't* where the definiteness marker "the" is missing, and errors in the word order were noticed as well. The reason for this is that a noun in Turkish language is considered to be definite if it can move within a sentence in its unmarked form (Kornfilt 1997, 273). Furthermore to refer to the entire class of referents in order to point out the most typical features English language nouns require definiteness markers, while such structures are not marked in Turkish. The corpus contained other errors such as: *go to beach*, *go to cinema*, *going to sea-side for holiday* and *going to korzo*[2] which occurred as a result of crosslinguistic influence.

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[2] The noun 'korzo' is an archaism (as literature indicates the etymological source—from the Italian—corso) meaning a walking area in both Macedonian and Turkish language used often in this region. The subject probably assumed that the

Regarding the incorrect use of articles (*I will go to Turkey because in the Turkey is our house/This summer I'll go to the Turkey/ I'll have a very nice time in the Sweden/And I love the dancing*) it is interesting to point out (as a curiosity in these and similar examples) that there is no definite article in the Turkish language, yet the students chose to use it. Such occurrences are noted in other linguistic research papers as well. Ellis noticed overproduction of certain morphemes in lower language levels as a result of the underdeveloped linguistic awareness (Ellis 2008). What needs to be emphasized here is that the necessary level of awareness cannot be reached directly. The path is actually U-shaped. In other words with increased awareness about the existence of the correct structure the number of errors declines. However a high awareness level could also cause errors and possible overproduction and overgeneralization due to the attention paid to the use of the particular category before the learner reaches the level where he/she ultimately acquires the correct form and uses it consciously. Put this way, it cannot be said that the influence from Turkish language causes the above mentioned errors. However, Ionin (2003) claims that languages without markers for definiteness, such as the Turkish language, cause overproduction of this category in the learners' interlanguage when they acquire a language where such a construction is present due to semantic universals (Ionin 2003). Namely, in one of her later studies she discovers that the problem lies with the dichotomy definiteness/specificity which is being observed differently having in perspective the linguistic features of different languages (Ionin et al. 2004). The Turkish language does not have such a distinction and the learners cannot tackle these concepts when mastering the English language, especially the role of the article in these structures. The overproduction of the definite article occurs in specific reference structures. Especially the examples of using the definite article in front of names of countries speaks in favour of Ionin's claims about the specific reference as opposed to the definite reference of proper nouns.

The existence of apparently the same category in two languages does not suggest automatic exclusion of transfer. *Since nonspecific reference is unmarked in the Turkish language the omission of the indefinite article is expected in front of singular nouns in English.* The learners with Turkish as a first language omit the indefinite article because the Turkish indefinite article *bir* is used to mark specificity but not indefiniteness. The corpus contained examples of which the following were selected: *watching*

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use of the noun is international. In this context the focus will be on the use of the article (the error will not be treated as an example of lexical transfer).

movie, *buy new car* and *I'd buy new home*. Apart from individual referents the indefinite article is used to refer to units, in other words it occurs in front of both singular and plural nouns. Namely, the indefinite article can be used to mark the so-called "pluralized" nouns (money-*para*, time—*zaman)* in order to provide a sort of limitation (sum for the first example and period for the second) (Schroeder 1999, 62), furthermore it is used in front of nouns marked for plural (p.59) bir şey-ler-al-ıyor (one items takes). *Due to this the Turkish language influence can be manifested by incorrect use of indefinite articles in the English interlanguage.* The corpus contained examples such as: *I have a cousins*, *watching a films*, *I'll have a very good times* and *read a books*.

Limitations to the study

Here is a short elaboration on the limitations to this study along with the efforts made to overcome them in order to obtain relevant results:

1. One limitation is the method of data gathering. Namely, the data was collected from written tests and the fact is that oral production differs significantly from written production. The results are relevant for and reflect written interlanguage in formal contexts with enhanced focus on language structures.

2. The duration of the process of data collection can also be considered a limitation which was overcome by adjusting the tasks. The total activity of the subjects was predicted to last 45 minutes, one school lesson.

3. Another limitation is the artificial environment (classroom) of the production having in perspective the student-teacher relations. The researcher was present during the entire data collecting in order to minimize such constraints.

4. The chosen tasks could also affect the production even though special attention was paid to their relevance and concordance with the curriculum. The analyzed categories were in a way determined by the task choice, but the corpus is wide enough to relevantly reflect the situation.

5. The determination of the language level can be considered as a final limitation. Namely, due to the short period allowed for testing the language level could not be tested and the school grades were taken into consideration.

Conclusion

Multilingualism expands the creative potential of language learners paralleled with the abilities for thinking, studying, problem solving and

communication. By recognizing this potential, modern societies create greater advancement and opportunities for social cohesion consequently educational policies should follow the trends. Treating multilingualism as a valuable phenomenon regardless of the languages' status is an ideal toward which each modern individual should focus. This would in turn result in pragmatic initiatives for its promotion.

Having the aforementioned in perspective, we decided to analyze an aspect of multilingualism (crosslinguistic influence) in order to provide a more elaborate view over the issue. Successful acquisition of languages necessitates effective teaching processes which should encompass current views in order to meet and reflect the latest trends. As mentioned previously crosslinguistic influence is an important part of language learning processes and having the phenomenon in perspective during class management leads to more effective acquisition. In other words apart from the theoretical background and corpus analysis, this research tackles pedagogical implications by indicating the advantages of successful linguistic transfer management during language acquisition.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF NOMINAL COLLOCATIONS PERTAINING TO SOCIAL ROLES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN THE BNC

TAMARA JEVRIĆ

Outline

In order to complete the picture of contemporary society, as suggested by Stubbs (1996), studies of social categories can be conducted by putting into perspective their relationship to language, and ultimately culture. From the perspective of linguistic analysis, studying collocations and their use can serve that purpose. The aim of this paper is to establish the differences between social categories of men and women and the social roles they embody by analysing nominal collocations. In this paper, this pertains to the marital status of men and women in the British National Corpus (BNC). Thus, the lemmas HUSBAND and WIFE, i.e. the lexemes *husband*, *husbands*, *wife* and *wives*, and the most frequent adjectival collocates which precede them are examined. Such collocations can point to primary language characteristics and reveal whether men are upheld to the same social norms as women.

1. Introduction

If "we speak, we act" (Larson, in Gandouz 2018), thus through speech we have the capacity to discover a world in which language in use challenges us to question and define contemporary society. To complete the picture of contemporary society as suggested by Stubbs (1996), studies should include analysis of basic social categories. Basic social categories comprise men, women and children. If "social attitudes are included in the meanings of social category words" (Goddard & Wierzbicka 2014, 44), the same principle should apply to collocations with men and women, i.e. words

that are frequently collocates with men and women. The position of society with regard to men and women can be ascertained by frequent language use, since such use incorporates cultural criteria.

Social norms can disclose the true position of women in a culture seemingly not guided by patriarchy. Their connection to language through which certain ideas and values are communicated can be perceived as a way in which socially constructed norms are culturally maintained and perpetuated.

Studying collocations and their use can serve the purpose of observing the relationship of social categories of men and women and the social roles they embody. Collocations with men and women can point to primary language characteristics and unveil whether men are upheld to the same social norms as women.

Collocations refer to frequent co-occurrence of words. The verb APPLY frequently co-occurs with adverbs *directly*, *equally*, *evenly*, *freely* and *sparingly*. The general rule is that words which collocate with the word central to the linguistic analysis, called *collocates*, cannot be replaced with their synonyms. Choosing to do so would cause the newly constructed collocations to sound at least objectionable, if not, in most cases, downright unacceptable for usage. One would not "*apply* the cream *straightforwardly*".

Collocations are defined by Stubbs (2002, 24) as lexical relations "between two or more words which have a tendency to co-occur within a few words of each other in running text". This definition concurs with Sinclair's views on collocations as he does not restrict the number of collocates to just one collocate co-occurring with words in a text (Sinclair 1991, 170). If we were to limit the number of collocates to just one, this would direct us to the analysis of nominal collocations which represents an extensive body of research on collocations (Pearce 2008, Caldas-Coulthard & Moon 2010, Piits 2013).

Nominal collocations, or adjective + noun collocations, were studied in a previously published paper on men and women (Jevrić 2017), and in a paper on the biological roles of men and women (Jevrić 2019a). Also, nominal collocations studied from the perspective of morphology in Jevrić (2019b) revealed that "all women, irrespective of their differences like age, religion, etc., frequently occur in collocations that define their marital status". In this paper, the social roles of men and women pertaining to

their marital status in the British National Corpus (BNC) are examined through lemmas HUSBAND and WIFE[1].

2. Methodology

Following the methodology of previously published work (Jevrić 2017, 2019a) this paper also focuses on a particular type of collocations. Those are so called *adjacent collocations*, where a collocation includes only one collocate before or after the node word (the node word being a noun in this research, but it can be any kind of word class). The frequency of these collocations in the BNC is measured by using the option *list*[2] while searching '[j*] husband' and '[j*] husbands' for the lemma HUSBAND, and '[j*] wife' and '[j*] wives' for the lemma WIFE. The generated adjective + noun collocations are the first one hundred most frequent collocations found in the corpus and are arranged from the highest to the lowest number.

   Another type of collocation which is in close relation to the first one are *window collocations*, where the number of collocates which precede or follow the node word can range to four. In the case of adjective + noun collocations this would include adjectives in an attributive, adverbial or a predicative position. In this research only attributive collocates are analysed.

   Analysing and discussing lemmas HUSBAND and WIFE stems from the premise that the four lexemes should be analysed independently of one another, but that the overall conclusion has to bring together conclusions about individual lexemes. Such analysis embraces the process of lemmatisation where word-forms are combined into lemmas. Although some would argue about the clear definition of what constitutes a lemma and whether it is sufficient to examine the collocability of different word-forms in order to decide whether they belong to the same lemma (Flowerdew 2008, 31–32), we would argue that the nouns in this research are suitable for the employment of lemmatisation. Attention is given to the nouns in singular and plural forms, and the collocability of their word-forms is centred on a single part of speech, making lemmatisation a fairly straightforward process.

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[1] It would be interesting to conduct this type of research on a literary corpus to see how contemporary writers depict social roles of men and women, and whether "female protagonists appear to be controlled, regulated and formed as individuals under a cultural compulsion" (Ćuk, 2017: 167).

[2] We accessed the BNC using the proxy website: http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/.

3. Analysis and discussion

The analysis of nominal collocations is divided into two sections. The first section consists of tabulated adjectival collocates of *husband* and *husbands*. The second section consists of tabulated adjectival collocates of *wife* and *wives*.

3.1. Lexemes *husband* and *husbands*

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

semantic field	**Polarity**	**collocates of *husband* (number of occurrences)**
physical appearance	Positive	–
	Neutral	–
	Negative	diminutive (1), little (3)
physical attractiveness	Positive	handsome (6)
	Negative	–
Age	Young	young (18)
	middle-aged	–
	Old	66-year-old (2), old (4), older (2)
character	Positive	caring (2), decent (2), devoted (15), doting (2), ever-loyal (2), faithful (5), good (26), long-suffering (2), loving (8)
	Negative	bad (2), boring (2), brutal (5), cruel (2), dick-led (1), difficult (1), dismal (1), dominant (2), domineering (2), errant (2), erring (3), dissolute, jealous (9), possessive (2), restless (2), unfaithful (3), violent (4)
intelligence	Positive	clever (2)
	Negative	–
emotional state	Neutral	–
	Negative	bereaved (2), betrayed (2), cuckolded (4), devastated (3), discarded (1), distraught (4), irate (3), jilted (2), morose (2), outraged (2)

value system	Positive	beloved (3), better (4), best (3), dear (8), famous (2), fit (2), ideal (8), perfect (2), right (2), ritual[3] (1), suitable (4), wonderful (6)
	Negative	bloody (2), disagreeable (1), lousy (2), ritual[4] (1), peculiar (2), poor (6), tragic (2), unpleasant (2), unsatisfactory (3), unwanted (2)
love relations and marriage	Married	married (2), new (90), newly-wed (2), wedded (4)
	Single	absent (4), deserting (1), divorced (2), eligible (3), estranged (35), future (33), missing (7), previous (3), prospective (4), then (3)
financial situation	Positive	rich (5), wealthy (2)
	Negative	–
health	Positive	–
	Negative	ailing (3), disabled (3), drunken (2), invalid (3)
death and dying	Alive	mortal (2)
	Dead	dead (27), deceased (6), late (90), murdered (2)
place of origin	American (3), English (2), German (3), Italian (2), suburban (2)	
employment	unemployed (3), working (2)	
violence	battered (2)	
other	sleeping (2), snoring (2)	

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[3] Meaning *acquired through a ritual act*, *real*, as in: "except that the bride is physically mature and the *ritual husband* is her real husband" (H10).
[4] Meaning *acquired through a ritual act*, *not real*, as in: "every girl was "married" to a *ritual husband* who came from a matrilineage" (H10).

Table 2. Adjectival collocates of husbands in the BNC

semantic field	Polarity	collocates of husbands (number of occurrences)
physical appearance	Positive	able-bodied (1)
	Neutral	–
	Negative	florid-faced (1)
physical attractiveness	Positive	handsome (1)
	Negative	–
Age	Young	young (1), younger (1)
	middle-aged	middle-aged (1)
	Old	aged (2), older (1)
Character	Positive	affectionate (1), good (1), steady (1), supportive (1)
	Negative	abusive (1), adulterous (1), bad (1), boring (1), brutal (1), brutish (1), dominant (1), domineering (1), errant (2), henpecked (1), hen-pecked (1), impatient (1), lousy (1), selfish (1), uncooperative (1), unfaithful (2), unsympathetic (1), violent (1)
emotional state	Neutral	proud (1)
	Negative	bereaved (1), bored (2)
value system	Positive	better (1), experienced (1), lovely (1)
	Negative	bloody (1), cared-for (1), dependent (1), poor (2), rotten (1), stereotypical (1), strange (1), unskilled (1)
love relations and marriage	Married	new (1)
	Single	divorced (1), future (2), late (2), missing (2), potential (2), previous (1), prospective (2), widowed (1)
financial situation	Positive	rich (1)
	Negative	poor (2)
Health	Positive	–
	Negative	alcoholic (1)
death and dying	Alive	mortal (1)
	Dead	deceased (1)
place of origin	British (1), Canadian (1), English (1), foreign (1), French (1), Indian (1), local (1)	

| *Employment* | employed (1), naval (1), retired (2), sporting (1), wage-earning (1) |
| *Other* | boar-driven (1), hy (1), me- (1), other (1), particular (1), remaining (1), respective (1), separate (1), split (1), various (1) |

Contrastive analysis of nominal collocations which pertain to social roles of men demonstrates how physical appearance centres criticism on the frail physique of husbands with collocates diminutive and little, while accentuating their health and physical strength with able-bodied. One other example contributes to this image. It is placed in the category of other: "so chaste women wronged by their boar-driven husbands include not only such fictional figures as Hero in Much Ado About Nothing and Imogen (AHG[5]). This collocation is used to symbolize manliness and masculinity through its association between husbands and hunting. The collocation in physical attractiveness concerns husbands being handsome.

The character of husbands evokes a traditional role of men who are protective of their wives and their families: caring, devoted, steady, supportive. The gentle, perhaps less traditional side, completes this picture with adjectives affectionate, doting, loving. Regarding fidelity, husbands are very principled: faithful and ever-loyal.

Adjectives with negative meaning can be grouped together based on several categories. A reoccurring category is one of abuse. Husbands are capable of being abusive, brutal, brutish, cruel and violent. Hence their dominant, domineering or possessive nature. Their temperamental nature can affect their behaviour: jealous, impatient, irate and restless. Criticism is directed at husbands who are controlled and afraid of their wives: henpecked, hen-pecked. Conversely, they can be unfaithful to them by being impervious to moral rules: adulterous, dick-led, dissolute, unfaithful. Husbands are particularly flawed when leaving home: errant, erring. Intelligence of husbands yielded two results of clever husbands.

Apart from the more common negative emotions expressing sadness (the only positive one being proud), such as devastated, distraught, morose, the emotional state of husbands is predominantly affected by the behaviour of their wives being viewed as a source of their possible betrayal and abandon: betrayed, discarded, cuckolded, jilted. Husbands can also be abused by their wives – battered.

Since this research deals with the social roles of men and women regarding their marital status, collocates in the category of love relations

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[5] BNC document identification codes, as seen in Pearce (2008, 8).

and marriage are abundant. Husbands are: 1) currently married – married, new, newly-wed, wedded, 2) no longer married – previous, then, widowed, 3) no longer married, with emphasis on law – divorced, estranged, 4) future husbands – eligible, future, potential, prospective, and 5) husbands are no longer part of the family – absent, missing.

The value system, which encompasses general qualities considered proper in a society, contains a few adjectives which highlight cultural models against cared-for and dependent husbands, their disagreeable, unpleasant or stereotypical behaviour. The adjective poor comes with three different meanings: 1) having no money: "Payment could be enforced only by the courts, and would achieve little when poor husbands could not afford to pay" (EE9), lousy or bad: "through David's protests,' how much bluster it is, blusterers make poor husbands, never could make a woman happy for more than five minutes, and anyway" (GUX), or with an expression of sympathy towards them: "My poor husband. Always the business" (H0F).

The category of health points to a feature more typical of husbands rather than wives, which is their relationship with alcohol: alcoholic and drunken. The field of employment lists collocates that describe husbands as mainly employed: employed, unemployed, wage-earning and working, but also detail the type of employment: naval and sporting. The same applies to financial situation – rich, wealthy, but also poor (already explained). Place of origin also contains various adjectives pertaining to the description of husbands' geographical origin, American, English, foreign, local, suburban, etc.

The corpus continues to demonstrate what has already been noted in Jevrić (2019a, 114), that part of speech annotation includes mislabelled words. Some collocates are mistakenly classified as adjectives: "I mean I, it's no good me-- husbands to look af--, I I this is my second husband but er with my" (FXX). Verbs appear as adjectives, as in "the slave owner could, if he wished, separate husbands from wives, and parents from children" (EDH), or "which introduced as unsuitable (i.e. economically undesirable) suitors and brides, split husbands from wives, and wasted common resources" (J0P). The corpus can also contains some spelling mistakes, as in "Apart from the deadlines created hy husbands' and children's needs, she imposes her own time pressures" (EBR), where hy stands instead of by.

3.2. Lexemes *wife* and *wives*

Table 3. Adjectival collocates of wife in the BNC

semantic field	polarity	collocates of wife (number of occurrences)
physical appearance	positive	–
	neutral	blonde (8)
	negative	little (19), wee (3)
physical attractiveness	positive	attractive (6), beautiful (18), pretty (3)
	negative	–
age	young	young (97), 25-year-old (3), 27-year-old (2), 31-year-old (2), 40-year-old (2)
	middle-aged	47-year-old (3), 55-year-old (2), 62-year-old (2), 63-year-old (2)
	old	elderly (3), old (11), senior (3), 73-year-old (2)
character	positive	charming (7), cheerful (2), devoted (12), dutiful (8), good (49), long-suffering (7), loving (16), loyal (6), sensible (3), suffering (3), supportive (3)
	negative	bad, (3) batty (2), boring (3), cheating (3), dull (4), foolish (3), jealous (5), mad (7), nagging (3), obedient (3), unfaithful (5)
emotional state	neutral	–
	negative	angry (3), grieving (3)
value system	positive	adoring (3), beloved (11), better (3), dear (24), dearest (3), chief (9), excellent (5), favourite (5), ideal (4), lovely (15), respectable (4), perfect (6), proper (5), suitable (9), wonderful (6)
	negative	appalling (2), bloody (3), dependent (17), poor (15)
love relations and marriage	married	lawful (6), legal (4), new (71), present (10)
	single	abandoned (2), absent (2), divorced (10), estranged (62), future (34), missing (4), previous (3), separated (3), then (5)

children and parenthood	with child	pregnant (34)
	without child	–
financial situation	positive	rich (3)
	negative	–
health	positive	–
	negative	disabled (5), dying (3), sick (8),
death and dying	alive	–
	dead	dead (19), deceased (5), late (15)
religion	Catholic (4), Jewish (3)	
place of origin	American (10), born (2), British (2), English (18), French (7), Japanese (4), Irish (6), suburban (3), Welsh (5)	
employment	non-working (4), working (8)	
class	aristocratic (2)	
violence	battered (7)	
other	captive (4), other (3)	

Table 4. Adjectival collocates of wives in the BNC

semantic field	polarity	collocates of wives (number of occurrences)
physical appearance	positive	elegant (1), plump (1)
	neutral	black (1), dark-eyed (1)
	negative	fat (1)
physical attractiveness	positive	nubile (1)
	negative	–
age	young	young (22), younger (2)
	middle-aged	–
	old	elderly (1), old (36)
character	positive	devoted (3), dutiful (1), good (5), loving (1), philanthropic (1)
	negative	ambitious (2), double-crossing (1), faithless (2), foolish (2), pretentious (1), provincial (1), unfaithful (3)
intelligence	positive	–
	negative	bird-brained (1)

emotional state	neutral	contented (1), merry (12)
	negative	bored (2), ever-bored (1), hysterical (1)
value system	positive	beloved (2), famous (1), great (1), innocent (2), lovely (1), natural (1), peerless (1), real (1), respectable (1)
	negative	bloody (1), dependent (2), fucking (1), horrid (1), inefficient (1), poor (1)
love relations and marriage	married	monogamous (1), multiple (1), new (3), current (1), polygynous (1)
	single	deserted (10), divorced (4), earlier (1), estranged (1), future (5), missing (1), potential (2), previous (1), run-away (1)
children and parenthood	with child	pregnant (1)
	without child	childless (1)
financial situation	positive	rich (1)
	negative	–
religion	Catholic (1)	
place of origin	Asian (1), American (1), British (3), English (2), European (1), expatriate (1), French (2), foreign (2), Goan (1), Indian (1), Japanese (3), local (2), Majorcan (1), Nambudiri (1), Peruvian (1), Russian (2)	
employment	clerical (2), diplomatic (1), employed (1), military (1), non-working (4), presidential (1), political (2), working (6)	
class	bourgeois (1), middle-class (1), working-class (4)	
violence	battered (24), bruised (1), ill-treated (1)	
other	camp-following (1), conscious (1), different (1), homeless (1), house-bound (1), like (1), o- (1), other (15), respective (1)	

The semantic field of physical appearance has adjectives which are relevant to the size of wives, judging either their weight or height: fat, little, plump, wee. Some adjectives are simply descriptive. They do not contain a note of criticism or emphasis on a particular physical quality – blonde, black, dark-eyed. Physical attractiveness lists adjectives typical of women (see also Jevrić, 2019a): attractive, nubile (young, sexually attractive woman), beautiful and pretty.

Age seems to be a relevant factor. It contains not only the variations of young and old (younger, elderly, senior), but also wives' precise age, 25-year-old, 27-year-old, 47-year-old, 55-year-old, etc.

Regarding character, prominence is given to qualities of loyalty and obedience devoted, dutiful, loyal. It is interesting to note that dutiful has a positive meaning: "But as a dutiful wife, she managed to put a good face on it" (GW9), or "He is my husband and I a dutiful wife" (FRF). Obedient as a negative meaning: "You? A docile, obedient wife?" (JYE), or "the only rightful form of sex was between a dominant husband and obedient wife in a lifelong heterosexual marriage" (C9S). Another important quality is the expression of love which wives emote: loving, supportive, philanthropic. Attention is also given to the criticism of silly and slightly errant behaviour – batty, foolish, lack of loyalty and dishonest behaviour – cheating, faithless, double-crossing, unfaithful, uncontrollable behaviour – jealous, mad. Wives are described as a source of tedium and irritation – boring, dull, and also nagging, a quality usually associated with women. The collocation provincial wives refers to their old-fashioned and simple views rather than their place of origin: "the long, boring meals with pompous bankers and their dull, provincial wives" (FRS). Wives are characterized as unintelligent – bird-brained.

The emotional state of wives is more negative rather than positive. Two adjectives with positive meaning are contented and merry. The negative ones are angry, grieving, hysterical. A pair of collocates evokes the association of domestic housewives – bored and ever-bored. As to the value system wives are generally praised by society regarding their demeanor, as the adjectives are more positive than negative. Poor is only used to denote somebody worthy of sympathy: "So the next morning at dawn the poor wife took her baby in her arms and set out along the shore" (FUB), or "He had tried to hide his fears from his poor wife" (K95).

Collocates which comprise love relations and marriage are broken into several segments: 1) wives are legally married – lawful, legal, 2) wives are currently married – current, new, present, 4) wives are no longer married – earlier, previous, then, 5) wives are no longer married, with emphasis on law – divorced, estranged, separated, 6) future wives – future, potential, 7) one wife or multiple wives – monogamous, multiple, polygynous, 8) wives whose husbands abandoned them – abandoned, deserted, 9) wives are no longer part of the family – absent, missing, run-away. These collocates are far more diverse than those describing husband and husbands.

Concerning children and parenthood wives are typically pregnant or childless. Perhaps complementary to this field are two adjectives in other – homeless, house-bound. These collocates seem to evoke the phrase a

woman's place is in the home, demonstrating how wives are thought of in the context of home, but at the same time connote a woman's place being to look after her family. Only one collocate describes wives' financial situation – rich (occurring three times with wife and one time with wives). Place of origin lists various adjectives, but one generated adjective born has to be viewed in a larger context: "supervised by his New Zealand born wife" (K55), or "George III and his German born wife Queen Charlotte was in complete contrast to the snobbery of Versailles" (CEW). A similar example where it is necessary to extend the collocation span from one to two for the understanding of the nominal collocation can be found in other: "the bored charity conscious wives of big businessmen" (BMW). Suffering wives usually appears as long-suffering, with or without the hyphen: "and soon became known as the long-suffering wife of television's most disaster-prone character" (HRF) and "Susan, my long suffering wife, who never batted an eyelid as this project unfolded" (GX9).

A few semantic fields seem to be solely limited to wives. Wives are described according to which class they belong, aristocratic, bourgeois, middle-class, working-class. Wives also fall victim to their husbands, by being violently hurt or repeatedly abused—battered, bruised, ill-treated. Religion seems to play a relatively significant role in the lives of wives, so wives are either Catholic or Jewish. This is, however, easily rationalized by Pearce (2008, 12) and his contention about adjectives + nouns used to indicate that it is a woman in question, compared to the use of adjectives without nouns used to denote a man (see also Jevrić, 2019a, 13). In terms of work or profession, apart from wives being described as employed, non-working or working, many collocates describe wives in terms of their husbands' profession, clerical, diplomatic, military, presidential, political. They are merely passive subjects in their marriages, housewives dedicated to their husbands and family.

Some generated adjectives are mislabelled: "some other members of the family, like like wives, like mothers, aren't always able effectively to do something about it" (KGW), or "Well I was taking your point about (pause) You know o-- o-- wives, about being the same sort of age" (FMS).

4. Conclusion

The contrastive analysis of nominal collocations pertaining to social roles of men and women in the BNC revealed that husbands and wives are upheld to different social norms in society which is evident in several contrasted semantic fields. The most pertinent field is the one of love

relations and marriage. Society seems to carefully scrutinize women's commitment to marriage. The adjective divorced appears 10 times in front of wife, four times in front of wives, while in front of husband and husbands twice and once respectively. Estranged occurs 62 times before wife, one time before wives and thirty five times before husband.

The prospect of men of getting married is higher than the one of women, if we were to judge by the number of occurrences of new. New appear 90 times with husband, one time with husbands, 71 times with wife and three times with wives.

Other collocates common for the four lexemes, but with negligible variation in the number of occurrences are absent (occurring four times with husband and two times with wife), future (occurring 33 times in front of husband, two times in front of husbands, 34 times in front of wife and fives times in front of wives), potential (two times with husbands and two times with wives), and then (appearing three times before husband and five times before wife).

Unlike the adjective future, prospective occurs only with the male categories husband (four times) and husbands (two times) making it more likely for men to co-occur with such adjectives. It appears as if they are endowed with more marriage potential than women, hence exhibiting and cultivating such imagery in contemporary society. Accompanying this sequitur the collocate married would appear to be redundant as it is implicit in the meaning of the nouns, it is, however, generated twice before husband.

There are three segments missing in the description of men. Husbands are not characterized in terms of law as wives are. Also, the collocates suggest that it is impossible for wives to have multiple husbands. Thus, husbands remain the moral guardians of women whose stereotypically traditional role is that of preserving their wives' chastity and morality. Lastly, wives seem to be incapable of abandoning their husbands, as if patriarchal authority does not allow them to do so.

Putting together the image of contemporary society signifies evoking criticism towards the disconnection of social roles of men and women regarding their marital status. The traits which are central and embedded in collocations serve to highlight our attitudes and our actions (offering a speech and action correlation interpretation) in a contemporary setting. However, given that the period between 1980s–1993 the BNC encompasses may not reflect today's particular code of behaviour set for men and women, new research would be a welcome addition and may contrast these findings and bring them into line with contemporary societies' view on man and woman's marital status.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

CAPTIONS FOR TEXT-BASED VISUALS AND TEXTS AS A LEARNING AID FOR DYSLEXICS

LJUBICA KARDALESKA-RADOJKOVA

Outline

Cognitive peculiarities of students with dyslexia, specifically relating to their ability to connect concepts initially viewed as distant in an original manner can be used as a basis for tailoring specific learning aids. These creative paths of connecting and presenting ideas occur in a free-flowing, 'non-linear' manner, where multiple related ideas for a given topic or solutions to a problem are generated.

One of the potential challenges in an attempt to identify a pattern can be the fact that this process is not systematic and linear as in convergent thinking. Many widely used tests for creativity are measures of individual differences in divergent thinking ability. In fact, the number of different responses, or the number of responses given by no one else, has traditionally been considered as a measure of how creative a person is.

The three analysed dyslexic students (aged 14, 14, 16) have shown significantly higher propensity for an unusual combination of ideas, which is an aspect of creative thinking, compared to normally developing students. They were exposed to four types of exercises, including text only exercise, then a text plus a corresponding visual, and a text for which they were expected to draw their own visual. All four types of exercise required them to generate a corresponding caption for the underlying idea of the text it referred to.

The results are discussed in relation to their practical implications, in terms of retention of core ideas and the overall comprehension, thus providing indications for supportive learning methods.

1. Introduction

Cognitive peculiarities of students with dyslexia relating to their ability to connect concepts, which have initially been viewed as distant, can be used to create original tools to support their specific learning aids.

One of the potential challenges in an attempt to identify a pattern can be the fact that this process is not systematic and linear as in convergent thinking. Many widely used tests for creativity are measures of individual differences in divergent thinking ability. In fact, the number of different responses, or the number of responses given by no one else, has traditionally been considered as a measure of how creative a person is.

When it comes to struggling readers, captions as a form of additional print exposure have the central role in this paper. Captioning can be a great tool in classrooms to present information in multiple ways thereby addressing the diverse needs of learners in the classroom. They represent considerable benefits for boosting the literacy skills of all students, especially those with print disabilities or ELLs.

The aim of this study is to identify to what extent captioning can help strengthen reading comprehension (synthesizing in particular) among struggling readers.

Creativity is a broad and multifaceted construct (Sternberg, 1998). According to a widespread opinion, people with developmental dyslexia are particularly creative (Eide & Eide 2012; Jantzen 2009). This is a consequence of their preference for visual representation processing (West 2009). Historically, creativity tests that identify the three basic skills of creative thinking (i.e. widening, connecting and reorganizing) indicate that students with dyslexia have a statistically significantly higher propensity for an unusual combination of ideas, which is an aspect of creative thinking, compared to normally developing students.

Dyslexic minds process information in divergent, creative and lateral ways. But education systems aren't designed for dyslexic thinking and typically measure success by how accurately students repeat facts in an exam or test. Inclined towards imaginative and creative thinking most dyslexics find this difficult. The ability to provide an unusual combination of ideas, that support new possibilities and original solutions is among the most prominent features within the dyslexic group. Among the interesting intricacies is the fact that cognitive scientists have viewed strong working memory ability as one of the major key components of intelligence. There is strong correlation between working memory and elements of specific psychometric intelligences. However, recent studies indicate that lower

working memory, in particular, can contribute to cognitive advantages, including superior divergent thinking and creative abilities.

2. Method

The two analyzed dyslexic students (aged 14) have shown significantly high propensity for an unusual combination of ideas, which is an aspect of creative thinking. They were exposed to three types of exercises, including text only exercise, then a text plus a corresponding visual, and a text for which they were expected to draw their own visual. All three types of exercise required from them to generate a corresponding caption for the underlying idea of the text it refers to. For comprehension activities—fiction and factual texts were given.

Prior to the application of the tasks designed, they were tested via a Modality assessment test (Willis, M. and Hodson, V.K. 1999, 283) to identify their preferred learning style. The first respondent was inclined towards visual, while the second one to a kinesthetic learning style.

Data collection for the purposes of this paper was completed through a narrative inquiry approach and interviews. Brenner (2006) suggests that working with a written sequence of interview questions is often easier for the interviewer, in particular because it allows for flexibility to ask follow-up questions and probe when necessary, provide clarification and get to the root of the student experience. According to Yin (2011, 135), the purpose of an interview is to understand how participants make meaning of their lives, experiences and cognitive process. A variety of questions were used, such as basic, descriptive, experiential examples, comparative and contrastive questions.

Task 1 consisted of text only exercises where the respondents were requested to add a caption/captions. It was challenging for both respondents, since the fictional text consisted of figurative language as well as peculiar character names, which when observed were distracting for both students. Asked to reread the texts they managed to formulate a caption in factual text seeking explicit information and disregarding the indirect data that could be inferred, while for the fictional text the implicit meaning of the figurative language as well as implication of the characters' names was not taken into consideration and therefore the captions offered were not that illustrative.

However, they were introduced to the idea of graphic organizers and the possibilities offered: spidergram, mind map, steps in a process, Venn diagram, cause-effect, main idea and details.

These possibilities were relied upon to elicit succinct wording corresponding to the essence of the text presented.

The conclusion from observing their caption is the need for additional and repetitive exposure to these alternative methods, so that the students become more aware of the possibilities available but in a more systematic manner.

Task 2 required the students to draw visuals and offer a caption for the corresponding texts. Respondent 1 (who was inclined towards a visual style of learning) offered an elaborate visual, but needed assistance in formulating the caption, since he was absorbed by the task of visual representation which was energy consuming at the same time. The relevant component for the teacher is that through analyzing the drawing it can be identified what aspects of the text the reader found most prominent and whether they are the major components. The drawing itself is sufficiently indicative. Again, with appropriate guidance and discussion creative verbal solutions were offered. The second respondent (prone to a kinesthetic style of learning) responded that he could visualize the texts through short videos. However, due to the combination of dyslexia and ADD, repetitive exposures were necessary before authentic solutions were developed.

Task 3 offered a text and a visual for which the respondents were required to write a caption. This task was easier for both respondents in terms of providing a focus. So, combining the message with the visual and the actual text it was easier to a certain extent for the students to offer a caption. However, for the first respondent reported the visual offered was distracting, because, as he said (which is understandable since he is inclined to visualizing), he had a different idea of how to visually represent the content of the texts.

To verify the conclusions it was realized that the test needed to be repeated with the same task instructions, but different texts. Pedagogical implications are that captions are beneficial when it comes to reading comprehension especially for dyslexic students, and that reading captions enhance their reading vocabulary and comprehension skills. Additionally, findings support the theoretical notion that simultaneous processing (visuals / videos and text) enhances learning.

Both subjects reported enjoyment of the captionmethod over other options (e.g., print, uncaptioned media). At the same time it needs to be underlined that the use of captioned media requires little extra training or instruction for students as well.

3. Discussion and conclusions

The small sample size is the main limitation of this study. Both participants attended the same school and this fact ensures homogeneity of sociocultural and educational variables, but on the other hand it reduces generalizability of results'. On the other hand, the qualitative approach including oral interview and observation offered valuable insights.

In order to understand better the relationships between dyslexia and creativity, it would be useful to replicate the investigation involving larger and more representative samples. The perspective that considers originality as the distinctive feature of creativity, as widely assumed, could be a partial interpretation. This way of thinking (predominantly divergent) can promote an unconventional expression of feelings, opinions and originality in information processing (which the in school learning environment should not disregard for its peculiarities).

Captioned videos (suggested as a preferred form by the respondent of this study inclined to kinesthetic learning style) as an option can provide a semantically enriched context where the visual and audio input lend additional meaning to the printed words on the screen. Another benefit is the motivational quality of captioned printed texts, visuals and videos in the classroom, which can help students overcome a tendency to avoid reading. By creating opportunities for repeated exposures students are more willing to re-read and ponder into the varied layers of meaning of the written texts especially if they contain implicit information.

Graphic organizers have become popular in many areas of the curriculum. They are regarded as extremely effective for strong visualizers, and for that reason they were included in this study. Many dyslexic pupils are strong visualizers. Norris et al. (1998) showed that some children rely on visuals to help them think about what comes next and what to say, in particular when they write.

On the other hand, it would be misguided to assume that mind mapping and using graphic organizers are equally effective for all dyslexic pupils. Mortimer (2004) conceded that there is no current empirical evidence to support these suggestions. Namely, regarding visuo-spatial talents, the suggestion is that the assumption that dyslexic learners should be taught using visuo-spatial or kinesthetic learning methods may disadvantage those individuals who favor a verbal style.

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CHAPTER NINE

THE LANGUAGE OF WAR AS A FORM OF CULTURAL MEMORY

OLIVERA MARKOVIĆ-SAVIĆ

How could it repeat if it hadn't been forgotten?
—Ivo Andrić

Outline

The language of war, as an expression of a relationship between society and war, will be analyzed through a term war veteran as well as through a relationship between war, state and ideology, with a special emphasis on testimony as a form of cultural memory. Therefore, the text analyzes the linguistic construct of the term war veteran, starting from the fact that the linguistic designation of a particular social group reflects the attitude towards that part of the population. Since there is no conventional linguistic norm used to designate this group of people, it is necessary to clarify what value orientation is behind the use of a particular term. The text will analyze linguistic dilemmas and inconsistencies related to the term war veteran, as well as to the complementary terms fighter and the disabled war veteran. On the other hand, the term as well as the group itself are problematic from the aspect of recognizability. Namely, legal "invisibility" or unrecognizability and also conditions such as social "invisibility", as their needs and specificities are not in the scope of state institutions' involvement. The language of war, in the sense of the testimonies of social actors, can provide an insight into an interplay of social conditions, social actors, social organizations and ideologies that as a result lead to a mass participation of individuals in large-scale violence, such as war.

Introduction

The subject of this paper is the social construction of the term war veteran. The language statement of a particular social group reflects the overall attitude of society towards this part of the population. By reviewing literature and analyzing public speech, it can be concluded that there is no agreement on the terms used to refer to the participants of the war. Naming should be understood as an initial step towards understanding things (Semple, Smyth 2010, 8). This is not accidental, since the choice of words, the language, works through powerful metaphorical associations, stimulating those patterns of behavior that are not purely verbal. Language is a working thing. Behind the speech stands the appropriate political and legal practice, as well as the cultural context, which all intertwine in the act of identifying and creating appropriate language forms, as a reflection and an initiator of these practices at the same time.

Wilbur Scott (2004) offered an explanation of the construction of the term in the case of a distinction between the following terms: disease, illness, sickness. Disease refers to conditions that reduce the function of the organism/body. The perception that something is wrong is an illness and a sickness occurs when adequate medical experts confirm that a person suffers from an illness and can officially report it (e.g. getting a discharge status from a job due to illness). Regardless of whether someone is ill and to what extent, the assumptions, values and interests of several institutions are taken into account. In modern society this includes science, a health care system and court. So, as already mentioned, problematic conditions, however important they may be, do not speak for themselves. They need someone to identify, articulate and represent them. From the point of view of social constructivism, this means that the language which people use causes their way of thinking, the very concepts and categories by which the objects of acquaintance acquire a distinctive meaning. Hence, as Halmi (2005, 150) points out, "language is a necessary prerequisite for a way of thinking we know."

War veterans are a social group that has a special relationship with the state organization, because they have acquired their status upon the invitation of state institutions to respond to the obligation to participate in military or police structures. Problems that veterans face upon their return from the war, and for which they seek a special legal status, range from measurable problems (such as physical traumas, including disability, organic illness, psychological difficulties) to the problem of re-socialization in peaceful society. These problems continue to cause difficulties in establishing relationships with family, work colleagues, and the wider

social environment. Many veterans speak of a sense of loneliness, both in war and after returning to their homes (see more in Marković-Savić 2012, 2015). When we add that veterans are often found in deprived social groups such as the unemployed, social assistance beneficiaries and in a group that is also referred to as "transition losers", their difficulties are qualified by a combination of relational and distributional exclusion from social trends.

In the following text, sociological theories that have dealt with the explanation of the phenomenon of war will be developed. A concluding theory will be drawn that, in the structural organization of bureaucratic institutions, and ideologies that legitimize the functioning of social structures, we find an explanation and the possibility for the existence of the forms and distribution of violence that we find in contemporary wars. Therefore, the main question is how can the language of structures, as identified in the case of war veterans, be explained by means of the mentioned processes of bureaucratization and ideology, that is, to understand why the language of social structures towards this group is exactly what it is? In addition to this, the author's interest in the practical consequences regarding the status of this social group arising from the use of a certain term in normative acts will be explored.

Sociology and war

Sociology has not dealt with war as a social phenomenon or has done it sparingly and sporadically. The reason for this lies in the need of sociologists to break with the so-called "belligerent" sociology of the nineteenth century, as we find in the works of Ludwig Gumplowicz, Gustav Ratzenhofer, Carlo Schmitt, Georges Sorel, Georg Simmel and others. Nevertheless, we can distinguish certain sociological views that offer a contribution to the explanation of war and organized violence.

War and violence are often interpreted by sociobiological conditions and analogues of similarities between humans and animals. These views have a foothold in Darwinism and evolutionary theory. In itself, a sociobiological point of view is not as inaccurate as it is inadequate in explaining contemporary forms of sociality, that is, the differences between humans and animals. One of the most comprehensive sociobiological explanations of war is given by Azar Gat (2006). Gat thinks war is a universal phenomenon, in all societies and in all periods of history. The central process is a "natural selection", aggression is a means of acquiring more females (to ensure reproduction), and the result is the removal of a rival. "People, like all organisms, fight for the attainment or defense of the

very same objects of desire that underlie their lives in general, and which are originally shaped by the calculus of survival and reproduction in the evolutionary state of nature" (Gat 2012, 97)

Sociobiological theories find an explanation of social action in the natural reactions of people who, like animals, manifest instinctively in the event of danger with the following strategies: get caught, run or fight. In this sense, human behavior, as well as violence, is an extension of animal struggle for resources or territory, all for the purpose of the reproduction of the species. The role of socially-educated behaviors is reduced in relation to natural reactions, since primacy is given to biological forms that have been developed by the long-lasting processes of evolution. Although they diminish the role of social factors, sociobiologists do not deny it, and the main function of social organizations is the pacification of aggressive behavior. The more developed the institutions, the more successful they are: "…economically developed societies have demonstrated a markedly decreasing tendency to fight each other, and today they scarcely fight each other at all" (Gat, 78).

These views interpreted the wars in the Balkans as remnants of primordial forms of behavior, forgetting that the development of society actually created institutional conditions for the spread of violence known in the modern 20th century, to an extent uncharacteristic of any earlier period.

Sociological theories that contribute to the interpretation of contemporary wars are: the theories of globalization and the theories of rational choice. These theories study wars from the point of economic rationality, especially the economics of globalization as a qualitatively new phenomenon. Namely, one of the proponents of this theory, Mary Kaldor, emphasizes the difference between the old and new wars: "My central argument is that in the 80s and 90s, especially in Africa and Eastern Europe, a new type of organized violence has developed, which is one aspect the current globalized period"(Kaldor 2005, 13). In addition to the process of globalization, which is one of the main factors in understanding new wars, Mary Kaldor binds the goals of new wars to identity politics, which differs from the geopolitical goals of wars from earlier periods (2005, 19). This approach is beneficial when we track the variable of profitability increase, but criticism is addressed due to the lack of explanations on the nature of violence and war, the importance of the role of political and military forces of newly emerging nations. Critics also refer to the so-called chronocentrism, or the overemphasis on current events in relation to long-lived processes that indicate that human

development is measured and determined by centuries and millennia rather than decades and years (Malešević, 2011, 71, 329).

Theories of rational choice, contrary to macrostructural changes that the theories of globalization insist on, explain a great deal of human behavior with the instrumental rationality of individuals. Motivation of individuals to participate in violent behavior is expected with regard to economic gains and losses (Kalyvas, 2009). Kalyvas explored civil wars and ethnic conflicts that dominated the late twentieth century. This certainly stands as one of the variables for involving individuals in war events, but social action is more complex and unclear than the formula offered by the theory of rational choice. The motivation for responding to the call of the state for mobilization has a stronger foothold in the ideological preparation of justifying the use of violence in resolving the conflict, while the utilitarian calculation of an individual is reduced to avoiding a punishment due to a non-response to the call of state structures.

Another, among sociologists, especially among sociologists of history, popular explanation of the phenomenon of war is the one which essentially considers people to be creatures that follow norms. Namely, they understand war and violence as a product of culture, the standpoints that cause wars are religious beliefs, cultural practices (Smith, 1998), or the conflicts of civilizations (Huntington, 2000). These sociologists of history are on the trail of Durkheim's theory of solidarity, religion and norms in explaining the role of the culture of remembrance, myths and commemorations in explaining the social significance of war. Smith specifically highlights the cultural dimension of nationalism: "Today it gives a vision and a logical basis of political solidarity, one that requires national approval and boosts national enthusiasm. In comparison with it, all other visions, all other logical backgrounds, appear colorless and unbiased. They do not offer a feeling of chosenness, a unique history, a personal destiny" (1998, 271). However, although every violent conflict requires a collective interpretation and cultural coding, and specific discursive practices, none of this is sufficient or necessary for the commencement and conduct of a war, nor for explaining the existence and persistence of violent conflicts (Malešević 2011, 81).

On the trail of the macrohistorical approach to the study of society lie those explanations that seek for long-term historical processes. They are close to the views of classical theoreticians who based their research on the study of historical processes: "... we are intellectually constituted by a cruel fact that the community includes thousands of historians and scientists from the field of social sciences who have been working for several centuries; their accumulated archives were emptied out by McNeil,

Wallerstein, Man, Tilly, and others, as many years ago, much messier archives had been emptied by Weber and Toynbee" (Collins 2001, 45). For these theoreticians, the focus shifts from society to the state and its bureaucratic power of coercion. The state, with its bureaucracy, penetrates into society and creates cultural uniformity and national identity (Škorić, Kišjuhas 2016, 195). Collins (2000, 40) explains that scientists documented a "military revolution" in the form of a huge increase in armies in the 16th and 17th century. As a result, the problem of increasing costs for the armies arose, which led to a budget deficit in a large number of countries, which made the states penetrate civil society to mobilize economic resources and military labor, and also to raise funds. The states did this by "creating national identities and loyalty, as well as by mobilizing the classes to participate with all their number and weight in a comprehensive arena in order to fight for political representation and other concessions so as to satisfy fiscal claims" (Collins 2000, 41). In this way, states create structural nationalism that does not have to be intense or constant, as it can be said that the so-called banal nationalism has prevailed today (Malešević 2011, 210): "... almost subconscious, habitual reproductions in the daily rhetoric and practice of politicians, administrators, newspapers, brands, coins and banknotes, weather reports and many other common activities". However, this banality and boring routines are not harmless, but powerful ideological mechanisms that have the power to activate in a widely accepted legitimizing mechanism for the needs of aggressive forms of nationalism. The problem of the legitimacy of power is especially emphasized with state-centered theorists; they consider that the legitimacy of government lies in the geopolitical power of the state and the dominant ethnic group (which the state consolidates through language, institutions, education, etc.), and that a problem with the legitimacy of the state leads to disintegration, the weakening of identification with a certain ethnicity (as demonstrated in the case of Yugoslav identity when the Yugoslav state weakened). Published research on values, prior to the break-up of the Yugoslav state, showed that a large number of respondents highly valued the Western-European type of social system, appreciating its economic properties such as: efficiency, consumer power, employment opportunities and regular income, while in the Yugoslav system job security was highly valued. In addition, members of the upper classes preferred the western system of state regulation, while the lower strata gave priority to the Yugoslav self-managing system that protects workers from losing their jobs (Mrkšić 1990). On the other hand, the geopolitical role of Yugoslavia as a mediator between the two largest blocs of that time collapsed with the

collapse of the Soviet bloc and the cessation of the Cold War (Collins *apud* Škorić, Kišjuhas 2016, 2002)

On the trail of organizational materialists who transfer the central variable for the explanation of social life to the state and coercion, or dominance of the means of destruction, Malešević (2011) builds his explanation of war as a social event based on "cumulative bureaucratization of coercion" and "centrifugal ideology".

Obedience to the state, the tolerance of and submission to major social inequalities presuppose a threat to violence, however, in order for a forced power to survive it needs a legitimization. The legitimization of violence through ideologies and the clarification of seemingly irreconcilable processes, such as, a simultaneous proclamation of emancipation and the liberation of man as the central and crucial value of modern constitutional states, which are at the same time the most effective war machines producing millions of victims only in the 20th century and as such unprecedented in history, is insisted on by Malešević (2011). Ideology has the role to reconcile these absurd contradictions of the modern era, such as mass scale violence and the expansion of enlightenment principles that highlight human reason, independence, tolerance, peace, the right to life, freedom, equality and humanity as central ideas. Also, it is necessary to reconcile the same contradiction at an individual level, when ordinary citizens who are socialized in peaceful values to respect human life want to be sure that the use of violence against enemies is only a necessary evil. The function of ideology is to deprive the enemy of human traits and transform him into a monstrous evil against which it is worth fighting.

We can monitor state coercion, organizational preparation and ideology that legitimizes the forcible power of the state in peacetime conditions. These processes are empowered and prepared well before war, but also afterwards. Ideologization which is topical in the times of war, justifying and encouraging it, along with the strong coercion of organizations in the form of disciplinary consequences waiting for soldiers if they escape from the battlefield, disappeared with the cessation of wars, a change in the political course and pressure of the international community. A narrative justifying participation in war gives way to the banal forms of nationalism. War veterans and their sacrifice for national interests lost its justified character and became a budgetary burden.

Language Concerns Regarding the Notion of a Veteran

An analysis of the literature dealing with the issue of war veterans found that there was no consensus on the term denoting a group of citizens who

participated in wars as soldiers. In addition to this, the term "veteran" has a diverse language usage and because of all of the above it is necessary, at the beginning, to make an insight into possible interpretations and definitions of the term veteran. The importance of the question: "Who is a veteran?" can be illustrated by the fact that some very simple questions also depend on its answer: how many veterans are there in a country? what are their needs and how to answer them? The answers to these questions point to the social framework within which the needs, rights and problems of the veteran population are addressed. Thus, the definition of the term, among other things, provides a framework and content in which a strategy of response to the needs of veterans is developed.

The internationalism of **veteran** has a root in the Latin language, from there it entered great world languages and it primarily denotes a warrior. The root of the term veteran is in the Latin language (lat. *vetus*), indicating a person who served in the army. The adjective *veteranus* (from *vetus*, "old, experienced, ancient, former, aged[1]"), in Rome referred to an old, i.e. experienced, soldier who had a long service in the army and was then discharged from active service.

In English, the term veteran has been used since the beginning of the 16th century (Harper 2001) and denotes a "seasoned soldier". Soon, the meaning of this term extended to those who have a long work experience in any service or profession. These two comparative meanings are used today in many languages.[2] In our language, the word veteran in its colloquial use does not indicate a person who was a member of the armed forces, but a person who, as a soldier, participated in war. From the above,

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[1] *Veteran* (n.) c. 1500, "old experienced soldier", from French veteran, from Latin veteranus "old, aged, that has been long in use; vet (n.2) 1848, shortened form of veteran (n.) *Online Etimology Dictionary*, Available at URL http://www.etymonline.com/abbr.php Accessed: 18.05.2018.

[2] The interpretation of the word "veteran" in different languages shows their great similarity. Unilingual dictionaries, Serbian: an old soldier, a seasoned soldier, especially one who participated in war, an old warrior; fig. A man who has grown old in service, a man who has gained experience in a particular business (Vujaklija, 2011); "1. old, seasoned soldier; 2. transferred: a respectable man in service (Mićunović, 1991); lat. Veteranus, isp. Vetus, 2. veteris - old) 1. old seasoned soldier; experienced, tried old fighter; 2. transfer. an old worker in a certain area; an experienced man, honorable old man; adj. veteran, veteran's"(Klaić, 1986);-ana m (fr. Veteran, ger. Veteran) isp. veterinac 1. an old experienced soldier—These soldiers by profession, veterans, were very suitable to be used as teachers and senior officers of young recruits (Balt. 1,16). (*Речник српскохрватског књижевног и народног језика*, 1962. German: algedienter Soldat (Grujić, Zidar, 1974*)*.

it could be concluded that a veteran is a person who is primarily designated as a warrior, more precisely as an old, former, but also experienced and reputable warrior. Problems of the terminological nature in which the meaning of the word veteran is ambiguous are further transmitted to the determination of veterans in society.

There is no universal definition of veterans, and there are primarily two types of determinations, that are normative and public, i.e. colloquial, determinations. Normative definitions can be conditionally divided into so-called inclusive and exclusive definitions. Dandeker[3] and his associates divided them into ideal-type capabilities in which the most inclusive option is to include veterans who spent only one day in military service, while the most exclusive option requires active military service. Generally speaking, the more exclusive the definition is the greater benefits that veterans enjoy. Also, veterans with combat experience enjoy more benefits than veterans who do not have such experience (if they have any benefits at all).

Numerous circumstances affect the determination of veterans in one country. Because of this, there are many country-to-country differences and the definition of veterans depends on many social circumstances of post-war life, such as unemployment, housing, physical and mental health, and the military conditions in which veterans have served. In addition, the characteristics of the war in which the veterans took part are very important, as well as the relation of the current policy towards those war actions. One of the essential determinants of war participants in this research[4] is that state legislation does not recognize war veterans, but only disabled war veterans.

In addition to this, the use of a certain definition, i.e. determinant, is very different in national legislations, depending on the historical context. Understanding the social perceptions of veterans, i.e. their needs and responses to these needs, should be sought in the history of the war of a country, including the way in which the civilian population was involved. In some countries, the history of warfare on its own territory dominates (which significantly involves civilian population in warfare), while some

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[3] Christopher Dandeker, Simon Wessely, Amy Iversen, and John Ross, (2006) What's in a Name? Defining and Caring for "Veterans": The United Kingdom in International Perspective. *Armed Forces & Society*, Volume 32, Number 2, (pp. 161-177).

[4] The paper is the result of research for the purpose of an unpublished doctoral dissertation of the author entitled "The Social Position of War Veterans in Serbia—Case Study", which was defended at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, 2013, under the mentorship of prof. Djokica Jovanović.

other countries have primarily sent their troops to war zones abroad. In addition, research into the civil-military relationship in a country should be included and what kind of attitude there was in relation to the historical experience of warfare, as well as the structure of the army, whether it was professional or made up of people recruited from the civilian population.

In the legal regulation of Serbia, the official name for all those who participated in wars or armed actions are *fighters*[5]. The term fighters remained in use from the period of socialist Yugoslavia in which NLW fighters (National Liberation War) occupied a special place in society and all former soldiers were NLW fighters, since most of those soldiers remained in the armed forces. NLW fighters in the former Yugoslavia were the main ideological binding fabric on which the ideology of Yugoslavia, its creation and justification, as well as the tools to suppress narrow nationalistic projects within each community, were based. Because of this ideological position, they had great rights and were part of the state ideology. However, legal solutions relating to the rights of war veterans, especially those from the wars of the nineties, are obsolete and it is expected that the new law will be adopted and aligned with the highest legal act—the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia. In the current Constitution, for the first time the category of "war veterans" is mentioned in the Social Protection section, so we can say that this term is also in official use. The current legislation in Serbia, under the term "fighter", it means a former member of the army who was *not* at the same time a participant in war. Legal solutions indicate that, if fighters are not participants in wars, there is a category of veterans who carried out military or other duties in *armed actions*, in order to defend the independence and territorial integrity of the state. A fighter is also a person who during *peacetime* carried out other duties to defend the independence and territorial integrity of the state.

The determination of the term veteran depends on whether the determination comes from state legislation, as is the case with normative determinations determining who is qualified and who is not qualified to receive state aid based on military service, or from a wider public with differing opinions on what all former military officers have to satisfy to be accepted as veterans (colloquial definitions come from the public). Unfortunately, the author does not know any public opinion research in the territory of Serbia on understanding the concept of veterans, which would be very important for this research. However, that the term veteran

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[5] Law on the Rights of Veterans, Military Disabled Persons and Members of Their Families (Official Law of SRS, No. 54/89 and Official Gazette of RS, No. 137/04 dated 24.12.2004)

in the Serbian public refers to participants in wars (primarily the most recent wars from the former Yugoslavia) can be concluded from indirect indicators, such are the names of associations that are independently formed by participants in wars ("War Veterans of Serbia", "Serbian war veterans", "Association of veterans of war from 1990", "Association of war invalids of Serbia", "War veterans for peace", "Veterans' movement"), as well as from the use of this term in public speech when it comes to citizens and participants in the wars of the 1990s on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Namely, it is evident that the term veteran is used as a possibility to cover as large a group of participants of wars as possible, as there are no clear definitions of the name, type and war location. This again brings us back to the conclusion that the solution to the status of war participants is very problematic if the involvement of state authorities is not officially recognized. In general, based on all of the above and on the basis of such research in other countries, it can be concluded that it is not uncommon for the definition of national legislation to disagree with the definition of public opinion, but also of veteran organizations.

In many countries around the world, in colloquial use, the word veteran is used primarily to indicate a person who participated *in a war* as a soldier, that is, those persons whom the state called for to participate in a war. Even in those countries that very broadly define a category of veterans (such as the USA, the United Kingdom or Canada, where all those who were members of the army are called veterans), special rights and benefits belong to those who served in direct combat/war activities or in warlike circumstances (such as peace missions).

Formally and legally, the status of a disabled war veteran in Serbia may include: members of military structures (professional military personnel, soldiers in military service, civilian personnel serving in the Army, members of the reserve forces, volunteers who joined military units), members of the Ministry of the Interior (MI), as well as the members of the regular and reserve forces of the army and the police. There are also three special subgroups of persons who are war veterans in Serbia, whose legal position is not yet regulated: 1) volunteers in paramilitary structures whose contribution to the wars were significant—free estimates[6] speak of more than 10,000 members of various paramilitary units; 2) refugees forcibly mobilized by the Serbian Ministry of Interior from June to September 1995; 3) members of the armed forces of other state structures—primarily referring to the Army of Republika Srpska and the Army of the Republic

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[6] There are no official data for this group, so we rely on free estimates according Beara, Miljanović, 2008.

of Serbian Krajina, who are now residents of the Republic of Serbia (persons with a refugee status and persons who have obtained citizenship of the Republic of Serbia). All these groups were helped by state structures to go to war, giving them arms, uniforms and transporting them to war-torn destinations in other republics. Therefore, again, the question arises, how to name them and how to act, i.e. to respond to the needs of war participants, whose state was not at war, but helped people to go to war?

Conclusion

Behind the use of particular speech, i.e., the terms used to refer to a social group, there is relevant political and legal practice. Problematic conditions, however important, do not speak for themselves, but recognition and representation are needed. In addition, the language in use is an indicator of a political and social position, but also of an opinion on a particular group. In language used by state institutions to identify participants in wars, we can see how the group specificities and needs of the population are recognized. Also, we can understand the ideological relationship of social organizations and their leaders towards the war in which the veterans took part.

The state has a special attitude towards war veterans because they have developed their distinctiveness on the basis of the state's invitation to participate in compulsory military service or the obligation of military mobilization, and, in war conditions, an obligation to sacrifice in defense of the country or the national interest. State-centric theories explain the importance of states in relation to society, i.e. the central role of the state and its monopoly over violence for the development of modern bureaucratic institutions modeled on military structures. The state draws its strength from the monopoly over violence and bureaucratic coercion, without which wars would not be possible as organized mass violence.

War veterans recognize hierarchy and disciplinary procedures in state institutions from their military service. The habit of obedience, the dominance of the means of coercion, the recognition of the similarity of bureaucratic and military structures, whose functioning is well known, sends a clear message about the state's supremacy in any eventual protest against the institutional non-recognition they are experiencing. The legitimacy of ideologies is indispensable for the monopoly over violence to be tolerated. When they went to war, there existed a legitimacy of using violence against the "inhuman" enemy, and the fight was presented only as a necessary evil. However, after the war, the current ideology is on the

side of oblivion and marginalization of everything that has to do with the wars as well as war veterans.

The attitude of society towards war veterans is paradoxical and complex, just as it is towards wars and violence. Through the language official structures use to communicate their ideological view of the wars in the former Yugoslavia, a message is sent that veterans from these wars have no ideological support. Although the category of veterans is mentioned in the highest legal acts of the Republic of Serbia, and the participants in the wars abundantly use this term in the names of their associations, legal acts still do not recognize the term and the term fighter is still in use. Most importantly is that citizens who responded to the state's call for sacrifice in the name of national interests have no special status on this basis, the only category that has special rights are disabled war veterans. Obviously, the current ideological narrative is based on ignoring the wars of the 1990s and those who have to do with those wars. As a result of such a policy, we can expect that the treatment of some future participants in wars to be ideological, not based on the needs of those engaged by war employers. In that sense, we can conclude that state-centered theories offer an adequate response to the position of the state's dominance over society, that is, that the state fully relies on the capacities of using force in the mobilization process and a nationalist ideology as a justification for using coercion.

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CHAPTER TEN

GRAMMAR TRESPASSING INTO THE WORLD OF THE IMAGINARY: THE FUTURE TENSE AND ITS FORMATION[1]

JUNICHI TOYOTA & BORKO KOVAČEVIĆ

Outline

Human cognition can deal with both real and imaginary worlds freely, and the difference between them can be expressed through language. However, the way such differences are expressed can vary significantly in some languages, and some show sensitivity to the distinction. This paper looks at two extremely opposite cases. A particular construction to be analysed is the future tense. Various tense systems can be systematically classified by the presence or absence of the future tense, but its evolutionary origin has been a mystery. Futurity belongs to an unknown world, but some languages grammatically consider it a part of the real world and lack an overtly marked future tense. What is puzzling here is that grammar and its expressibility do not reflect our cognition by not having the future tense. It is argued that the difference is a result of cultural influences, such as death and the afterlife.

This paper is organised as follows: we first look at a grammatical structure, which organises itself based on the difference between the real and the imaginary world, i.e. the linguistic orientation proposed by Durst-Andersen (2011). This is one way to differentiate real and imaginary worlds. Apart from this orientation, the future tense, another way to differentiate real and imaginary worlds, is studied and the historical developmental paths of the future tense are illustrated, focusing on three

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[1] Abbreviations used in this paper are: ACC = accusative; CONJ = conjunction; FOC = focus; FUT = future; GEN = genitive; INF = infinitive; M = masculine; NEG = negative; NOM = nominative; PRS = present; PST = past; PRT = participle; REL = relative (clause marker); SG = singular.

major sources. And finally, motivations for choosing a certain source for the future tense are analysed, taking into consideration cultural issues concerning death and the afterlife.

Restrictions in grammar

Certain structures, such as the imperative and the subordinate clauses, tend to preserve archaic grammatical features (cf. Givón 1979: 83ff.). Negation also behaves in a similar fashion. A pair of examples in a illustrates this point. The fronting of the negative marker (1b) enforces inversion in the verbal clause, but this is a residue of an earlier V-2 word order in English. The V-2 order is still preserved in other Germanic languages apart from English, which makes the inversion (1b) stand out as a highly marked structure, and this is triggered by fronting a negative marker. The negative clause is also important in creating a new structure, e.g. the presentative passive in English (Toyota 2008: 110) or the potential passive in Japanese (Toyota 2011: 124-126), both of which emerged with negation, and gradually the restriction faded away and they appeared without a negative marker.

a.   *I have never seen this film.*
b.   *Never have I seen this film.*

Why is the negation so important here? By using negation, the existence of its referent is denied, or in other words, "negation is a digression into a possible but non-real world" (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 287). Negation, a common grammatical feature found in world languages, deals with an imaginary world, and this is one way to deal with the distinction between the real and imaginary world in grammar. However, there are more elaborate systems to make such a distinction in some languages, allowing us to classify language more systematically, focusing on an overall grammatical patterning.

Durst-Andersen (2011) proposes an innovative classification of languages based on basic communicative functions. He usefully divides languages into three groups, e.g. reality, speaker and hearer, and terms this type of classification linguistic orientation. What is unique in this approach is that each language has arranged its grammar in order to meet certain communicative demands. Thus, by looking at some inherent grammatical structures, one may be able to determine what type of communicative functions each language possesses. Among them, reality-oriented languages such as Russian make a sharp distinction based on

visibility or tangibility among interlocutors. These languages mainly deal with the 'here and now' in conversation, and therefore, interlocutors are familiar with their visible surroundings. Thus, the grammar in this type pays particular attention to the physical reality in their surroundings.

In relation to the case a, negation has a special role in grammar in Russian. When a clause is negated, a marked case marking is employed. Consider the example0, where traditional grammar requires a marked case marking, and the genitive form is an ideal choice. This is most clearly seen in the existential clause, e.g. the affirmative clause (2a) uses the nominative case for an NP, but once it is negated, the genitive case is enforced (2b). This alternation of the case is a result of sensitivity to visibility or tangibility, i.e. reality, in the real world, and the imaginary world created by negation needs to be overtly marked.

Another example is possession, as exemplified in 3. There are two constructions referring to possession in Russian. (3a), with *imeti* 'have' only involves abstract nouns (i.e. not something visible and tangible), whereas a locative phrase (3b), i.e. a locative schema (Heine 1997), deals with possession with concrete nouns (i.e. something visible and tangible). Possession seems to be a simple state of owning something, but there are two types according to whether the possessed object physically exists in this world or not. In other words, abstract concepts without a physical presence in the real world have to be overtly marked. Those who are not familiar with reality orientation may find it difficult to grasp this difference, but visibility or tangibility helps them to understand the usage.

	Russian			
a.	*Byla*	*kniga*		
	was	book.NOM		
	'There was a book.'			
b.	*Ne*	*bylo*	*knigi*	
	NEG	was	book.GEN	
	'There was not a book.'			

	Russian			
a.	*Ya*	*imeju*	*mnenie*	
	I	have.PRS	opinion.ACC	
	'I have an opinion.' (abstract noun)			
b.	*U*	*menja jest'*	*kniga*	
	with	I.ACC.SG	exist.PRS	book.NOM
	'I have a book.' (concrete noun)			

In addition, languages with a reality orientation do not distinguish between a spoken and written register. A spoken register is inherently concerned with the 'here and now', and a written register can transfer messages beyond time and space. Russian speakers are mainly concerned only with the former pattern and there is no need to mark the latter (cf. Toyota 2009). These examples show that Russian is an extreme case of reality-orientation, but there are other grammatical structures that can be more readily observable in other languages, too.

Distinction between the real and imaginary beyond linguistic orientation

Some features such as reality orientation can be language specific, but others can commonly be found across languages and language families from different parts of the world. Let us take a look at the tense system. Present and past tense refer to states and events that can be experienced. At least, they are or were experienceable in one way or another. The future tense, however, differs radically in this respect. Events in the future belong to an imaginary world with a considerably wide range of certainty. Even within the tense system, there is a difference between real and imaginary worlds, and it can be grammatically expressed.

The tense can be roughly divided into two types, termed here as the past v. non-past type, and the past v. present v. future type. The former does not have an overtly marked future tense, and the present tense can be used to refer to either present and future states or events. Thus, the presence or absence of the future tense is an important factor in classifying the tense system. Notice, however, some exceptions are found, e.g. no tense marker (e.g. Tibeto-Burman, Sino-Tibetan languages), and the future v. non-future type (Papuan languages and some Amerind languages in South America). In addition, this classification needs to be treated with caution due to the use of auxiliaries for the future tense. Strictly, only languages with morphological markings are considered to have a specific tense. In this sense, English lacks the future tense and is considered to employ the past v. non-past type. What makes the distinction harder is the fact that the auxiliary is an intermediate stage in historical change known as grammaticalisation (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2007), and it will later develop into a morpheme if grammaticalisation progresses smoothly. In spite of the ambiguous status of auxiliaries, the current work opts for an inclusive approach and constructions with auxiliaries are also analysed.
In spite of systematic classification, the tense system does not necessarily correspond to what we can discuss with language, i.e. speakers can discuss

an imaginary world without an overtly marked future tense form in their language. This point can be highlighted by looking at how the future tense is formed.

Development of the future tense

Previous research on historical linguistics and grammaticalisation has identified several sources for the future tense. Bybee et al. (1994) and Heine and Kuteva (2002) provide the most comprehensive view of various developmental paths, and there are roughly 12 different paths found cross-linguistically: 'come to', copula, deontic modality, 'go to', 'love', obligation, 'have'-possession, 'take', 'then', 'tomorrow', venitive and 'want'. Naturally, some are more likely to occur than others. Among them, motion verbs, verbs of desire and modality are the most common sources found across languages of the world. In many cases, the original source and the morpheme are both visible. For instance, consider a complex case exemplified 0 from Swahili (Bantu). In this language, a lexical verb *-taka* 'want' has turned into a suffix *-ta* (4c), but its original form can still function as a future tense auxiliary only in the subordinate/relative clause (4b). Like negation, the subordinate clause is an environment where earlier structures or functions are preserved, i.e. (4b) is a historical residue representing an earlier stage in change.

Swahili (Bantu, Payne 1997: 237)

a. *a-taka   ku-ja*
        3-want   INF-come
        'He/she wants to come.'

b. *a-taka-ye   ku-ja*
        3-want-REL   INF-come
        'He/she who will come.'

c. *a-ta-ku-ja*
        3-FUT-INF-come
        'He/she will come.'

Another complex case can be found in English, where there are several auxiliaries co-existing. Throughout its recorded history, English has had five auxiliary or auxiliary-like verbs referring to the future tense, and their sources are *weorðan* 'become, happen', *willan* 'want, wish', *sceal* 'ought to', all from Old English, and *go* in Modern English. Among them, *weorðan* 'become, happen' disappeared from the language in the Middle English period, but the rest remain to this day and function as the future

tense auxiliaries. Their diachrony is summarised in Figure 1. The dotted lines represent low frequency. Unlike Swahili, English uses several options for referring to the future, and each has its own specific meaning, such as the near future for *be going to*.

	00	00	00	00	1800
'become'*weorðan*	- - - - - - - - - - -►				
to'*sceal* 'ought	————————————————			- - - - - - -►	
	- - - - - - - - - - - - ———————————————————►				
going to			- - - - - - - ——————►		
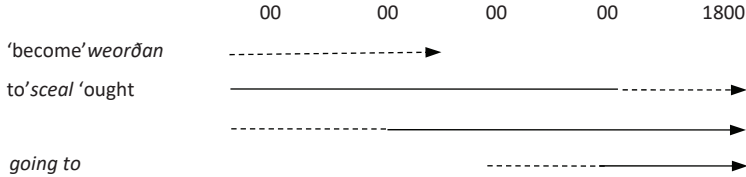
Figure 1. Diachrony of future tense markers in English

These examples are cases where a new future tense was created through diachronic change, but there are cases where a future tense which existed earlier disappears. Older Japanese *-mu* and its allomorphic forms can demonstrate one such case. This suffix normally denotes futurity, inference and desire, but it no longer exists in Present-Day Japanese. Below 0, there are three instances of a future tense marker, realised as *-n*, but this suffix disappeared and its residual form *-u* only denotes inference, not the future. The present tense replaces *mu-* in Present-Day Japanese.

	Middle Japanese			
Dou-wo	*gakusuru-hito*	*yuhube-ni-wa*	*ashita*	
	Buddhism-ACC	learning-person	evening-at-FOC	morning
	ara-n	*kot-wo*	*omohi*	*ashita-ni-wa*	*yuhube*
	exist-FUT	thing-ACC	think	morning-at-FOC	evening
	ara-n	*koto-wo*	*omohi-tekasanete*	*nengoroni*
	exist-FUT	thing-ACC	think-CONJ	again	always
	syuse-n	*koto-wo*	*go-su*	
	learn-FUT	thing-ACC	expect-PRS	

'Someone wishing to be a Buddhist priest often thinks in the evening that one will study tomorrow, and when the next day comes, he thinks that one will study in the evening. He always regrets his idleness and becomes adamant that he will study with meticulous attention to the subject.' (c.1349 Kenkou-houshi, *Tsurezuregusa*, 92)

The current state of the future tense radically differs from language to language, but when it appears, its historical source can be narrowed down to three major sources. Among the examples presented so far, English and Japanese present two opposing cases of historical change.

Motivation for the future tense

The exact nature of the evolutionary emergence of the future tense is a puzzle for philologists and historical linguists. For instance, Clackson (2007, 119) states that reconstruction of the future tense in Proto-Indo-European is hardly possible, since traceable forms in earlier daughter languages are so diverse. However, as pointed out by Toyota (2012), the future tense should be studied in relation to sociocultural changes, especially focusing on religions or common beliefs of any kind, such as mythology. He argues that religion is often developed in order to cope with fear and anxiety resulting from death, and how people saw death had a significant impact on how the future tense is formed. Let us explain his claim using English and Japanese.

Before the introduction of Christianity, paganism was widespread across Europe. The whole of Europe had been Christianised by the Renaissance (the last country to be Christianised was Lithuania in the fourteenth century), and Great Britain was Christianised from the 5th to 6th century onwards. There were various changes brought in by the shift of religions, but concerning death, the shift was from pagan fatalism to Christian uncertainty. This uncertainty was created by the Church not specifying what happens after one dies. Christianity is often misunderstood as having some notion of reincarnation. It was initially assumed to be the case, but later made anathema by the second Council of Constantinople in 553 A.D. The spirit lives on in the afterlife, but reincarnation was replaced with baptism (Davies 2002: 19-20). It seems that earlier Christianity was fully aware of the fear of death, and its new doctrine made God's authority much clearer and reaffirmed it to deal with this. However, the prosperity of the Church did not go unchallenged. People realised that churches in medieval Europe were full of corruption and they started questioning the authority of the Church. In addition to this, the Church failed to cope with two pandemics of the plague, raising disbelief in society. All these events made people leave the Church and lose faith in Christianity (see Sommerville 1992 for details of secularisation in England). Due to such changes, people questioned the authority of the Church.

These changes can be considered a trigger factor in developing a new future tense marker. *Weorðan* 'become' represents earlier pagan fatalism:

it is cognate with the Proto-Germanic *wyrd*- 'spin' (cf. West 2007). In pagan Europe, life was metaphorically considered as a thread, i.e. spinning out a thread was a way to determine the course of life, including the future. Likewise, *sceal* 'ought to', denoting obligation, also represents earlier fatalism, and therefore its use is in decline in Present-Day English. Due to the uncertainty created by the Church, the desire to go to a heavenly place, represented by *willan* 'wish,' replaced the earlier obligation-based auxiliaries. In addition, two pandemics of plague created much turbulence in society, raising people's fear and uncertainty concerning their current or future lives. This also made firmer the link between the future and a desire to survive the pandemics or go to a heavenly place if one died. The final addition emerged after secularisation, and a motion verb, which does not undergo any religious influence, was employed in an auxiliary phrase. These changes are schematically represented in Figure 2. The events related to religion seem to have preceded the grammatical changes, and the changes in the choice of auxiliaries can be explained in terms of religious teachings and how people treated them. In other words, the thought of an imaginary world had been lurking at the back of people's minds, and this was the driving force in creating a new future tense form.

5th-6th C:	12th-13th C:				18th C:	
	140014	150015	160016	170017	1800	
weorðan	-------------------►					
sceal 'ought	—————————————————————			----------►		
willan 'wish'	-----------------———————————————————————————►					
be going to be			-----------————————————————►			
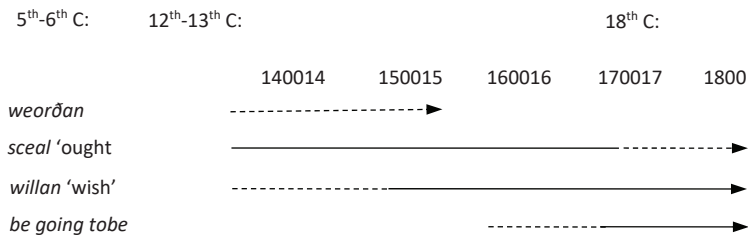
Figure 2. Diachrony of future tense markers in English and social changes.

As for Japanese, the future tense marker, exemplified previously 0, disappeared. The most widespread religious belief in modern Japan, whether people officially practice it or not, is Buddhism. However, the indigenous religion is Shintoism, which is similar to paganism in Europe in many respects. In particular, Shintoism believes in fatalism concerning death and that people cannot influence their death. Buddhism arrived at around the 6th century and competed with Shintoism. The difference between them is that, in Shintoism, future existence cannot be clearly identified. This uncertainty naturally raised a sense of fear among people. In this environment, the arrival of Buddhism was a deliverance from such

fear, since it offers several ways to secure a comfortable afterlife. For instance, prayers can often save one's soul and followers could have influence on a better afterlife. In addition, people adopted a practice from Confucianism in which the descendants have to commemorate their dead ancestors' body in order for souls to reach heaven. In this way, people could deal with afterlife as something real, i.e. the perilously imaginary world of the afterlife was made into something more concrete and real. Buddhism was readily accepted alongside Shintoism in early Japan, since Buddhism allowed people to deal with death more comfortably, and people could face death with more certainty. With the eradication of fear, the future tense marker 0 gradually fell out of use. Significantly, death could be a theme for satire or comedy in Japan from the 17th to 18th century onwards (cf. Komatsu 2011), although death has been considered a taboo subject and it is often shied away from. This would not have been possible without the fear of death being softened or removed from people's consciences.

In both cases, it can be claimed that death plays an important role in determining the presence/absence of the future tense, and if it appears, how it is expressed. Speakers in the past wanted to deal with something imaginary, such as fear. Mythology and in a wider sense also religions can be considered to have been created in order to explain something imaginary and unexplainable (cf. Segal 2004). Thus, it is possible to claim that these social factors can explain the development of the future tense.

Conclusion

Grammar is sometimes organised based on the distinction between real and imaginary worlds, and reality orientation, based on the visibility or tangibility of the objects in question, accurately represents one such case. The future tense also represents this distinction, but in a different way. It is heavily influenced by sociocultural and historical aspects of language and, in particular, the patterns in its current distribution and historical development can be accounted for by the concept of death and the afterlife. Death is pervasive in every culture in the world, and thus a culture-based approach discussed in this paper allows us to compare different languages more systematically. Thus, we can even discuss cases where the future tense disappeared as language developed, e.g. Japanese.

The afterlife normally belongs to an imaginary world, but in some cultures it is treated as being as real as the life in this world and the classical distinction between real and imaginary worlds becomes blurred. Variations in death-related cultural activities may appear to be completely

irrelevant to grammatical studies, but as this paper has argued, they have indeed played an important role in formulating the future tense.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN CONTEXT: CULTURAL DIPLOMACY[1]

NATAŠA BAKIĆ-MIRIĆ & MIRJANA LONČAR-VUJNOVIĆ

Outline

The goal of this paper is to place intercultural communication in yet another context—cultural diplomacy. First, we discuss and define several key terms discussed in this paper: culture, intercultural communication, and cultural diplomacy to show that they almost always overlap. Then, we highlight how the hidden bias and the lack of cultural knowledge can influence both intercultural communication and cultural diplomacy. Finally, a justification is offered on why intercultural communication is considered a pivot of cultural diplomacy.

Introduction

Up to now, cultural diplomacy has not been of interest in scholarly research despite its growing importance in the 21st century. This lack of interest in this so-called soft power practice is its actual impact around the globe and the fact that it is still unclear what the practice of cultural diplomacy includes. Some scholars believe that it is the realm of public diplomacy, international relations or a cultural mission of a country. On the other hand, Cummings (2003, 1) postulates that cultural diplomacy can

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become a powerful tool for improving a country's image in the world and its relations with other countries through intercultural communication which according to Ryan (2015, 67) focuses on how language underpinned by cultural norms, values and expectations affects the communication process between people living in different countries. As a result, the goal of cultural diplomacy is to create cultural synergy between culturally different others by way of communication.

The similarity between these two concepts postulates that cultural diplomacy and intercultural communication overlap just as culture and communication do. The reasons for this are twofold (Bakić-Mirić and Stojković 2013, 36):

1. Cultural diplomacy is related to intercultural communication because intercultural communication almost always serves as a medium of cultural diplomacy, and

2. The leading roles are given to the people who educate, create and perform art.

Therefore, cultural diplomacy is designed to connect people through art, music, film and cultural ambassadors rather then government officials who, in most cases, view host culture through their own cultural prism which in turn inevitably leads to harmful stereotyping, bias and misperceptions. The purpose here is not to choose between theoretical approaches but to recognize how the two pillars—culture and intercultural communication—as authors call them in this paper, support cultural diplomacy.

The First Pillar: Culture

In order to communicate adaptively and effectively with people from other cultures, we have to understand major characteristics that make up cultures different from our own. Although scholars like to say that culture communicates with other cultures without words, this is, sadly, far from the truth. The relationship between culture and communication is not that simple as culture is an elastic, multi-layered concept with multiple shades of meaning while communication is dynamic and subject to multifaceted interpretations.

In this paper, culture will be defined as "a learned meaning system that consists of patterns of traditions, beliefs, values, norms, meanings, and symbols that are passed down from one generation to the next and are shared by varying degrees by interacting members of a community" (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2012, 16).

As we have already said, culture is multi-layered and can be viewed as an iceberg, a tree or an onion. In this paper, culture will be described as an onion that consists of three peelable layers (Gibson 2002, 12):

1. The outer layer is what people primarily associate with culture or the visual reality of behavior, clothes, food, language, housing, etc. This is the level of explicit culture or visible aspects of culture.
2. The middle layer refers to the norms and values which a community holds or what is considered right and wrong (norms) or good and bad (values). Norms are often external while values tend to be more internal, and they structure the way people in a particular culture behave. Suffice it to say, they are not visible, despite their influence on what happens at the observable surface.
3. The inner layer is the deepest and represents the core of a culture and it is the key to successful understanding of other cultures. This is the level of implicit culture or non-visible aspects of culture, and it consists of basic assumptions and a series of rules and methods. Every culture has its own set of basic assumptions which can be measured by dimensions introduced by Hofstede in the 1970s. Each dimension is like a continuum and cultures differ in how they deal with these dimensions.

Intercultural guideposts: Hall's and Hofstede's cultural dimensions

Intercultural communication theory gives a number of useful frameworks to analyize and understand cultural differences. One framework for approaching intercultural communication is with high-context and low-context cultures, which refers to the value cultures place on indirect and direct communication (Hall 1976, 180). Simply put, when people communicate, they take for granted how much the listener knows about the subject under discussion; communication includes not only the communicator and the verbal and nonverbal codes but also cultural, physical, socio-relational and perceptual environments.

In low-context communication, the listener knows very little and must be told practically everything. In high-context communication, the listener is already "contexted" and does not need to be given much background communication. Therefore, in a high-context culture, most of the information is either in the physical setting or is internalized in the person and very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. In contrast, in a low-context culture, the mass of information is vested in the

explicit code. Thus, high-context cultures prefer messages in which most of the meaning is either implied by the physical setting or assumed to be part of the individual's beliefs, values and norms. In low-context cultures, people prefer to use messages in which the majority of information is in the verbal code and not in the physical setting (Hall 1976, 184-85).

According to Hall, high-context cultures (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Greek, Serbian and Arab cultures) focus on the nonverbal context; low-context cultures, on the other hand, focus on the verbal context (German, Scandinavian, U.S. American and Swiss cultures). These differences can cause difficulties in intercultural communication. To members of a high-context culture, members of low-context culture often appear very talkative, lacking in subtlety and redundant to those in high-context culture. To members of the low-context culture, on the other hand, high context communication is viewed as intrinsic to the individual.

Another framework for approachng intercultural communication was determined by Hofstede in the late 1960 and early 1970s when he identified four categories that define culture. In the 2000s research conducted by Minkov added a fifth category (long-term vs. short-term orientation) and in 2010 research conducted by Hofstede, both Hofstede and Minkov added a further category (indulgence vs. restraint) givinf a total of six categories that define culture (Hofstede 2011, 7, 9-16):

1. Power Distance Index considers the extent to which inequality and power are tolerated. In this dimension, inequality and power are viewed from the viewpoint of the followers—the lower level. High power distance index indicates that a culture accepts inequity and power differences, encourages bureaucracy and shows high respect for rank and authority. Low power distance index indicates that a culture encourages organizational structures that are flat, decentralized decision-making responsibility, participative style of management, and places emphasis on power distribution.

2. Individualism vs. Collectivism dimension considers the degree to which societies are integrated into groups and their perceived obligation and dependence on groups. Individualism indicates that there is greater importance on attaining personal goals. A person's self-image in this category is defined as "I." Collectivism indicates that there is greater importance on the goals and well-being of the group. A person's self-image in this category is defined as "We".

3. Uncertainty Avoidance Index—considers the extent to which uncertainty and ambiguity are tolerated. This dimension considers how unknown situations and unexpected events are dealt with. High uncertainty avoidance index indicates a low tolerance for uncertainty, ambiguity, and

risk-taking. The unknown is minimized through strict rules, regulations, etc. Low uncertainty avoidance index indicates a high tolerance for uncertainty, ambiguity, and risk-taking. The unknown is more openly accepted, and there are lenient rules, regulations, etc.

4. Masculinity vs. Femininity dimension is also referred to as "tough vs. soft," and considers the preference of society for achievement, attitude towards sexual equality, behavior, etc. Masculinity comes with the following characteristics: distinct gender roles, assertive, and concentrated on material achievements and wealth-building. Femininity comes with the following characteristics: fluid gender roles, modest, nurturing, and concerned with the quality of life.

5. Long-Term Orientation vs. Short-Term Orientation dimension considers the extent to which society views its time horizon. Long-term orientation shows focus on the future and involves delaying short-term success or gratification in order to achieve long-term success. Long-term orientation emphasizes persistence, perseverance, and long-term growth. Short-term orientation shows focus on the near future, involves delivering short-term success or gratification and places a stronger emphasis on the present than the future. Short-term orientation emphasizes quick results and respect for tradition.

6. Indulgence vs. Restraint dimension considers the extent and tendency for a society to fulfill its desires. In other words, this dimension revolves around how societies can control their impulses and desires. Indulgence indicates that a society allows relatively free gratification related to enjoying life and having fun. Restraint indicates that a society suppresses gratification of needs and regulates it through social norms.

For instance, people who come from low power distance, strong certainty avoidance culture (Germany) will expect and perceive communication in different ways than people from high power distance, weak uncertainty avoidance culture (India). Also, many high context cultures (e.g. Serbia, Greece) values past events and history which continually influence decision-making. This contrasts with low-context cultures that focus on the present and the future while minimizing the past (Ryan 2015, 69-70).

The Second Pillar: Intercultural Communication

Ting-Toomey and Chung (2005, 39) define intercultural communication "as the symbolic exchange process whereby individuals from two (or more) different cultural communities negotiate shared meanings in an interactive situation". So, the general goal of intercultural communication

is to create shared meanings effectively so that what a person intended to say or imply is clearly understood by the person coming from a different culture.

To begin with, we can say the intercultural communication takes place when cultural group factors (e.g. cultural values, norms, beliefs) affect the communication process. For example, during an intercultural encounter both individuals A and B can be aware that a cultural *faux pas* (a violation of accepted social rules) has been committed in the communication process and both of them are in the "mutual alertness" state. They can decide to repair the mistake through verbal means (e.g. trying to clarify the misunderstanding or apologizing to each other) and attribute the miscommunication factors (e.g. personality flaws) to cultural factors (Samovar and authors 2017, 103).

There is also the possibility that only A or B is aware of the intercultural mistake and the other person (the violator, A or B) has no awareness that a cultural mistake has been committed. This means that while one person is experiencing more and more frustration, the other party is still paying no attention to the existing intercultural communication problem (Ting Toomey and Chung 2005, 37-38). This is what commonly happens in most intercultural encounters. If both intercultural communicators continue to ignore cultural factors that impact their encounters, their incompetence in interpreting the other's behaviors may easily spiral into major escalatory verbal conflicts as is most often the case with Serbian and American or European Union diplomats.

Cultural Diplomacy

According to the Institute of Cultural Diplomacy, cultural diplomacy can be described as "a course of actions, which utilizes the exchange of ideas, values, traditions and other aspects of culture or identity, whether to strengthen relationships, enhance socio-cultural cooperation, promote national interests and beyond". (Available at: http://www.culturaldiplo macy.org/index.php?en_culturaldiplomacy; Accessed January 26th, 2020)

In practice, cultural diplomacy includes cultural models, such as diverse cultural exchange programs, music events and sports competitions that have proven to impact intercultural and interfaith understanding and reconciliation through its five principles (Available at: http://www. culturaldiplomacy.org/index.php?en_culturaldiplomacy; Accessed January 26th, 2020):

-   Respect & Recognition of Cultural Diversity & Heritage

- Global Intercultural Dialogue
- Justice, Equality & Interdependence
- The Protection of International Human Rights
- Global Peace & Stability

Cultural diplomacy tools

Cultural diplomacy can and should maximize the promotion of every aspect of a nation's culture. This includes:

- The arts including films, dance, music, painting, sculpture, etc.
- Exhibitions which showcase numerous objects of culture
- Educational programs offered by universities and language schools
- Scientific, artistic and educational exchanges
- Promotion of national literature through translation of popular and national literature and book promotions
- Broadcasting of news and cultural programs
- Gifts to a nation, which demonstrates thoughtfulness and respect
- Religious diplomacy, including inter-religious dialogue
- Promotion and explanation of history and social policies

All of these tools can bring understanding of a nation's culture to foreign audiences, which is one of the primary goals of cultural diplomacy. They work best when they are proven to be relevant to the target audience, which, in turn, understands them. Unfortunately, this is oftentimes not the case. To overcome potential misunderstanding, the abovementioned tools can be utilized by diaspora, which can largely help to overcome this challenge of understanding (Available at http://www.culturaldiplomacy. org/index.php?en_culturaldiplomacy; Accessed February 28th, 2020).

Bakić-Mirić and Stojković (2013, 46) give an example of how the utilization of cultural diplomacy tools by the U.S. and the EU had mended relations with the Serbian people in the aftermath of bombing of the then Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999 during the Kosovo War. The bombing campaign lasted 72 days and was not approved by the UN. It resulted in a number of civilian casualties including children, the use of cluster bombs and bombs with depleted uranium (both forbidden by the UN convention) and the destruction of major Serbian cities and industry.

During the bombing operation called Noble Anvil, the Serbian people were angry at the US and the EU because they felt that the whole nation was being punished for Milosevic's wrongdoings and that their foreign policy did not match their actions in practice. After the bombing and

especially after the unilateral declaration of independence of Kosovo from Serbia under the auspices of the US and the EU, the Serbian people's disillusionment and disappointment in the American and the EU foreign policy grew exponentially. Then, in 2004, both the US and the EU silently watched the destruction of Serbian churches and monasteries (some of which were on the UNESCO World Heritage List) by enraged Albanians while Kosovo Serbs fled their homes during the Kosovo March Pogrom. This further deepened the rift between the Serbian people on one side and the US and the EU on the other (Bakić-Mirić and Stojković 2013, 46).

Despite these unfortunate circumstances US cultural diplomacy had shown to be an incredibly powerful tool by wielding a powerful influence in Serbia through various scholarships, USAID, NGOs, music, movies and visual arts to try to mend the relationship with their former allies. These powerful cultural assets *sounded* like freedom from Milosevic's violent and repressive regime that was the cause of bombing in the first place.

Furthermore, a lot of money, time, effort and energy has been invested in cultural diplomacy and the organization of cultural and educational events by the EU (film and music festivals, language schools, art colonies, ERASMUS programs etc.) to bring Serbia closer to the European community (Osojnik *apud* Bakić-Mirić and Stojković 2013, 48) but with little or no results. Again, the rift is getting deeper and deeper especially with recent isolated events in which some Europeans have called Serbs "dirty", "without manners", "that all Serbs should have been killed during the bombing" or recent graffiti in Vienna which read "Death to dogs and Serbs" (Available at: https://www.blic.rs/vesti/svet/smrt-psima-i-srbima-u-prestonici-austrije-osvanuli-srbomrzacki-grafiti-ovo-je/6cvy6qv; Accessed February 18th, 2020) etc.

Another example by Bakić-Mirić and Stojković (2013, 47) was taken from the German newspaper "Tagesschau" during the 2007 Presidential elections in Serbia, which clearly sets the common ground for stereotypes and bias. The reporter describes the campaign to the German readership with the title: "Europe and cevapcici" and says:

> "The smell of fatty cevapcici is spreading in the cold night. Souvenirs such as T-shirts, calendars with pictures of (former renegade Bosnian Serb general) Ratko Mladić and (former President of the Republic of Srpska) Radovan Karadzić are sold in front of Sremska Mitrovica Town Hall. Inside, you can hear loud folk music, patriotic songs and the national anthem. It is only when a lady in a body-hugging suit and dreadlocks walks on the stage that the music dies away. The lady starts her patriotic speech with: "Brothers and sisters …"—you can only imagine the rest."

Incidentally, 13 years later, in March 2020, current ambassador of Germany to Serbia, Mr. Thomas Schieb said in an interview for the Serbian paper "Danas" that the perception of Germans about Serbia still hasn't changed (Available at http://rs.n1info.com/Vesti/a573904/Tomas-Sib-Imidz-Srbije-u-nemackoj-javnosti-je-jos-pod-utiskom-devedesetih.html; Accessed on March 1st, 2020):

> "Reputation and image of Serbia in Germany is still under the influence of the 90s. It seems that we are missing a few years in our perception. We don't live in the 90s any more, a lot has happened in the meantime but Germans don't change their minds easy. That is why, modern Serbia must represent itself much more, it has to be more present in Germany, not only through it's official representatives but also through its artists, athletes, representatives of civil society, journalists etc."

The question here is who has been constantly failing to present Serbia in a different light: poor cultural diplomacy or the inability of the EU to see beyond stereotypes and bias they have about Serbia and its people.

In the authors' opinion greater advocacy by artists, educators, politicians, ambassadors is required as well as the recognition of the potential of cultural diplomacy, culture and intercultural communication to foster understanding between people who come from different cultures. To understand Serbia and its people, both the US and the EU should try to understand its culture first and avoid interpreting Serbian culture through their own cultural prism. Unfortunately, this is oftentimes neglected and it causes stereotypes and bias.

Intercultural Communication—A Pivot of Cultural Diplomacy

The field of intercultural communication focuses on how cultural norms, values and worldviews affect the communication process between participants living in different cultures (Ryan 2015, 65). In this respect, both cultural diplomacy and intercultural communication are essentially concerned with the same outcome: making oneself understood and understanding someone else from a different country and national culture. To do this, intercultural communication becomes a main tool of cultural diplomacy to achieve its goal which is to focus on the ways in which a country communicates its culture to other countries and people.

Considering the ways cultural diplomacy operates as well as its scope and participants, it may be understood as a special type of intercultural communication. It exists to bridge differences in the globalized world, in

which people, cultures and communication cross borders due to travel either for pleasure, education, work and political reasons where foreigners and their geographic and cultural otherness become a daily experience (Lubecka 2012, 359). This fact cannot be ignored and that is why intercultural communication offers a real solution for constructive cooperation in all aspects of life. As Lubecka (2012, 360) points out, its implementation often depends on the ability of its users to act as cultural bridges.

The language of cultural diplomats incorporates culture-specific, artistic, sport and educational activities to promote a foreign culture. Here, the most important thing is to shape the message which will carry the picture of a country and its culture to a foreign auidence and how they will interpret that message. The communication process becomes a diplomatic test itself which will either serve its purpose of establishing good relations or miscommunication between the participants.

Until now, we have mentioned that one of the most important parts of every culture is understanding its values. In communication, values play the same role in cultural diplomacy as they do in intercultural communication. In practice it means that those involved in cultural diplomacy should understand intercultural sensitivity, which measures a person's interest in the needs and perspectives of people from other cultures. People who are interculturally sensitive thoroughly analyze how expectations and needs may differ, which in turn lead them to constantly attend to verbal and nonverbal signals. This is why intercultural sensitivity is an absolute must in today's multicultural world. Only by stepping out of one's own cultural frames can a person see and understand the world from the other's perspective and this requires openness, curiosity, empathy, tolerance, cultural awareness and sensitivity. Therefore, cultural diplomats should often act as cultural mediators and ease intercultural tensions by facilitating understanding of different sets of values, life styles, beliefs, traditions, religions and worldviews.

As opposed to traditional diplomats who are in most cases rarely interculturally trained, cultural diplomats serve as intercultural communicators because their primary goal is to promote their culture through the language of culture, art, science and education. More importantly, ordinary people, educators, artists, NGOs are the best assets of cultural diplomacy, which makes their undertakings more beneficial than those of traditional diplomats. Cultural diplomacy is created by the people for the people, who use culture to bond and get to know each other. Their understanding of intercultural communication is pivotal for promoting their culture in another country by ensuring that the people of that country recognize the

presence of a different culture from an intercultural communication perspective. This means respect and tolerance, open-mindedness, empathy, ethno-relativism that all together should help shun stereotypes, bias and prejudice.

Conclusion

The goal of this paper has been to show that culture, intercultural communication and cultural diplomacy are almost always intertwined. In a new model of a diverse society in today's modern world that is responsible, empowered and aware of the need to think in the realm of culture—cultural diplomacy and intercultural communication aim to transform any cultural dialogue between nations into a mutual understanding. This is why in contemporary post-modern multicultural societies cultural diplomacy cannot be efficient without intercultural communication as its pivot/main partner. Finally, in the age of social media where a culture and its people are labeled and berated by ready-made interpretations and/or past stigmas, cultural diplomacy and intercultural communication are indispensable for understanding and appreciating other/different cultures and peoples without predisposed or imposed judgments and biases.

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PART II

IMAGINARY WORLDS IN LITERATURE

CHAPTER TWELVE

NATHAN OF SARAJEVO?
PROMOTING RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE
THROUGH LITERATURE AND MUSIC

DAVID N. COURY

Outline

Immigration and multiculturalism have been two of the most divisive issues of the past decade in the Western world. As countries continue to diversify and accept new immigrants, ethnic and religious conflicts have escalated and with them, a rise in xenophobia, Antisemitism, Islamophobia and persecution of Christians, as witnessed by mass shootings at synagogues, mosques, and churches around the world. Religious intolerance and discrimination are certainly not new and the importance of tolerance was central to many thinkers of the Enlightenment, who struggled to make sense of the violence that had plagued the continent in the wake of the Reformation. One literary masterpiece of the Enlightenment, Gotthold E. Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* (1779), had at its center a parable about the search for the "true" religion—Christianity, Judaism or Islam—and in doing so made a plea for religious tolerance. Lessing argued for the peaceful coexistence of religions in an enlightened state and for the necessity to live out the peaceful values of each religion. Today, however, even the debate over toleration, as Alison Conway and David Alverez have argued, has become polarized.[1] Nevertheless, literature and art can be and have been, as Conway and Alverez suggest, "an insightful measure for a culture's understanding of the idea of coexistence in any given moment."[2] While their study examines works of the 17th and 18th century, these questions are no less pertinent in today's post-secular society. In

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[1] Alison Conway and David Alverez, eds., *Imagining Religious Toleration*. Toronto: U of Toronto Press, 2019.

[2] Conway and Alverez, eds. *Imagining Religious Toleration*, 3.

fact, many of today's immigrants to the European Union are more religious than their European counterparts, for whom secularization has formed a part of their cultural and national identity. As a result, Europe (and the West in general) is confronted with the Enlightenment's dual legacy of both promoting secularism and rejecting religious dogma but also underscoring freedom of religious thought and expression.

Introduction

What do literature and music tell us about Western society's understanding of religious harmony today? Is Lessing's Ring parable still relevant and does it speak to religious pluralism today? What can art say about contemporary debates over integration and assimilation (or in musical terms, polyphony) or over parallel societies (atonality) today? Like literature, music can impact our emotional responses and understanding of tolerance and acceptance through the incorporation of polyphonic sounds and tones that can come to symbolize plurality. This was the task that Bosnian musician Goran Bregović set out to explore in his 2017 musical project, *Three Letters from Sarajevo*, in which he similarly sought to bring together musicians from three different religious backgrounds: Israel (Judaic), Iberian (Catholic), and North Africa (Islamic) as well as his native land (Bosnian) in an attempt to create harmonic songs with a plurality of voices. This article will explore how literature (Lessing's *Nathan*) and music (Bregović's *Three Letters from Sarajevo*) can metaphorically contribute to debates over immigration, integration and assimilation that can allegorically help foster multicultural and multireligious societies.

Religious Toleration and the Enlightenment

Freedom of religion and religious tolerance have been fundamental principles of Western society and form an integral part of our understanding of liberal democracy, itself the basis of the Western post-war order.[3] It is widely understood as well that many of the fundamental freedoms associated with liberal democracy are rooted in Enlightenment thought and

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[3] Fareed Zakaria has argued that for almost a century in the West, democracy has been equated with liberal democracy and that that has included the protection of religious freedom. "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec 1997), 23.

this tradition is today embraced by parties on the right and the left.[4] Martha Nussbaum, in her study of the rise of religious intolerance, entreats us to remember that religious tolerance was not an invention of the Western Enlightenment, but predates modern Western society: the West's "goals are fairness and understanding, and we would be thrown off from the start if we were to think, mistakenly, that the ideas of mutual respect and toleration are exclusively Western." She notes further that tolerance is not a Judeo-Christian or "Euro-American" invention and that some of the most influential thinkers in promoting tolerance were Muslim. In particular, she cites the 16th century Mughal emperor Akbar who "proclaimed toleration among all religions and created a state cult that included elements from all the major religions in his empire."[5] Clearly all three religious traditions have proclaimed at one point in time the need for toleration.

Most writers and philosophers in 18th century Europe were aware of these traditions and many of the foundational texts on toleration today can be traced back to this era. H.B. Nisbet in his analysis of the rise of tolerance in Europe, writes that until more modern times, toleration had always meant religious toleration and not necessarily tolerance of cultural or ethnic differences. In fact, he states, "the most prominent documents are easily identified. In Britain John Locke's *Letter concerning Toleration*; in France, Voltaire's *Treatise on Tolerance*; and in Germany, Lessing's drama *Nathan the Wise*" all of which dealt with the issue of religious tolerance.[6] For Locke, this meant freedom of conscience as a natural right although, because of his denial of this right to atheists and Roman Catholics (who, he felt, showed allegiance to a foreign power), he introduced political considerations into his understanding of tolerance.[7] Voltaire, on the other hand, in what would become the French tradition, argued for a secular state, "tolerant of, but indifferent to the diverse religious beliefs

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[4] On the left, one could note Tzvetan Todorov's 2009 book *In Defence of the Enlightenment*. On the right, many populist parties proclaim the Enlightenment as a foundational part of Western society and use that argumentation to exclude religious Muslims. See for instance the party platform of Germany's Alternative für Deutschland, which states that German "Leitkultur" (guiding culture) is rooted in the scientific and humanistic tradition of the Enlightenment. *Programm für Deutschland* (2016).

[5] Martha C. Nussbaum, *The New Religious Intolerance: Overcoming the Politics of Fear in an Anxious Age*. (Cambridge, Harvard UP, 2012), 60.

[6] H. B. Nisbet, "On the Rise of Toleration in Europe: Lessing and the German Contribution," *The Modern Language Review*, 105.4 (October 2010), xxviii.

[7] Nisbet, "On the Rise of Toleration," xxix.

and practices its subjects."[8] Only Lessing's drama, Nisbet maintains, suggests more than mere toleration but rather makes a plea for religious plurality, in that it leaves open the question of truth claims of the three major monotheistic religions. This pluralism, Nisbet goes on to show, is something distinctly German, which he traces back to the 15th century philosopher and theologian Nicholas of Cusa, who called for interreligious harmony and who was someone Lessing knew and read. Lessing's drama, he maintains, is still relevant and important today as "the play's depiction of (albeit fleeting) harmony between representatives of Christian, Jewish, and Muslim communities also lends support to multiculturalism as a present-day alternative to social unrest."[9]

The social unrest as a result of multiculturalism, immigration and the increase in religiosity throughout the West has prompted Jürgen Habermas to suggest that we are now living in a post-secular society.[10] Habermas sees the root of these conflicts in a different dialectic of the Enlightenment, namely the tension between secularists and multiculturalists. On the one hand, multiculturalists "fight for an unprejudiced adjustment of the legal system to the cultural minorities' claim to equal treatment" whereby "the state should not push through the incorporation of minorities into the egalitarian community of citizens in such a manner that it tears individuals out of their identity-forming contexts."[11] On the other side, secularists "fight for a colorblind inclusion of all citizens, irrespective of their cultural origin and religious belonging. This side warns against the consequences of a 'politics of identity' that goes too far in adapting the legal system to the claims of preserving the intrinsic characteristics of minority cultures. From this 'laicistic' viewpoint, religion must remain an exclusively private matter."[12] The problem then is what he terms the "incommensurability" of world views and discourses, by which "cultural ways of life appear as semantically closed universes, each of which keeps the lid on its own standards of rationality and truth claims. Therefore, each culture is supposed to exist for itself as a semantically sealed whole, cut off from dialogues with other cultures."[13] Such semantically sealed off cultures invariably lead to what have been termed "parallel societies," in which the possibility of integration or true multicultural societies are not possible. As

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[8] Nisbet, "On the Rise of Toleration," xxx.

[9] Nisbet, "On the Rise of Toleration," xlii.

[10] Jürgen Habermas, "Notes on a Post-secular Society," *New Perspective Quarterly* 25 no. 4 (2008): 17–29.

[11] Habermas, "Notes on a Post-secular Society," 24.

[12] Habermas, "Notes on a Post-secular Society," 25.

[13] Habermas, "Notes on a Post-secular Society," 25.

a political philosopher, Habermas finds a path forward through liberal democracy in which both sides are respectful of the rights of others. In particular, he notes however, "the democratic state must not preemptively reduce the polyphonic complexity of the diverse public voices."[14] While such divisions and differences have been politicized and magnified, artists, writers and philosophers have sought to find ways to express the possibility of polyphony and plurality in their respective societies. One of the cornerstone works toward that goal is Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*.

Nathan the Wise

H.B. Nisbet notes the peculiarity that *Nathan*, a drama, would have such a historical significance for such a fundamental issue as tolerance in Western thought. He suggests, however, that this is likely due to the fact that "Germany, a disunited country until the second half of the nineteenth century, has traditionally looked to its cultural—and especially literary—achievements to define its national identity, and still habitually consults its classical authors for guidance on present-day problems."[15] Conway and Alverez argue similarly that literature can play an important role in helping shape political arguments and public opinion including pleas for religious tolerance. Lessing's *Nathan* was one such work. The title character of Nathan, the wise Jewish merchant, was modeled after a historical figure, namely Lessing's friend, the Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn. While Mendelssohn is today recognized for having played an essential role in the *Haskalah*, or Jewish Enlightenment, and is known for having written several philosophical works espousing freedom of religion and advocating for the rights of Jews, it was the literary manifestation of his ideas, incorporated into Lessing's play, that have come to be remembered most. Nussbaum notes this as well as and views this theme as one of the work's greatest achievements: "The play has had a towering significance in world literature, however—and is still popular in Germany today, while Mendelssohn's ideas are generally forgotten—because of the power of the poetry and narrative in which Lessing (a pioneer of bourgeois realist drama, who attached importance to the particularity of character depiction) realizes the abstract principles involved."[16] After September 11, 2001, *Nathan the Wise* saw a resurgence in German theaters so that by 2005, it was the sixth most performed play

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[14] Habermas, "Notes on a Post-secular Society," 29.
[15] Nisbet, "On the Rise of Toleration," xxviii.
[16] Nussbaum, *The New Religious Intolerance*, 162.

in Germany, suggesting that the play still finds resonance today in a world increasingly divided by religious difference and discrimination.[17]

Lessing's play is set in Jerusalem during the time of the Third Crusade and centers around three figures, the Jewish merchant Nathan, the Muslim sultan Saladin, and a Christian templar. Each finds himself in contact with and indebted to one of the others. Jerusalem is of course a critical setting as the holy site for Christianity, Islam, and Judaism and has been a site of both conflict and coexistence. The center of the play revolves around the ring parable[18] in which Saladin summons Nathan and asks him which of the three monotheistic traditions is the true religion. At a loss as to how to answer, Nathan responds with a parable about a man who possessed a magic ring that had the ability to make its owner pleasing in the eyes of God. The man had three sons whom he loved equally and to each he had, in a moment of weakness, promised the ring upon his death. He then had two replicas made so that when he died, each son had a ring. However, soon after, the sons quarreled over the authenticity of the ring and who possessed the authentic and true ring. The true ring, like the true religion, is not demonstrable. Saladin, however, is not satisfied with Nathan's answer and parable, pointing out that religions can, in fact, be differentiated by their clothes, food and drink. However, Nathan counters, they share the same foundations and all three are based on history. Furthermore, this history, he argues, is based on trust and faith. And whose faith and trust, he wonders, allows for the least amount of doubt? Henry Allison, in his study of Lessing and the Enlightenment, has argued that Nathan's argument here gives poetic expression to Lessing's basic point, namely "the irrelevance of the historical as a foundation for religious truth."[19] Any religion, he goes on to suggest, that is accepted merely out of piousness or respect for one's elders or cultural tradition rather than by a rational demonstration of its tenets loses all claims to absolute truth.

Recognizing this, Nathan continues the story. Eventually the sons took the issue to a judge to decide the veracity of the rings. Unable to make a determination without the father as to which was the true ring, the judge notes that a unique feature was that whoever possessed the ring, was made

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[17] See *nachtkritik.de*:
https://www.nachtkritik.de/index.php?view=article&id=624:liste-der-meistgespielten-stuecke-in-deutschland&option=com_content&Itemid=100089
[18] Lessing adapted his parable from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, where a similar story is told on the third day.
[19] Allison, *Lessing and the Enlightenment* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1966), 142. Many critics have noted that historically, Lessing's intent was a criticism of Christianity's intolerance toward the Other.

beloved in the eyes of God. He asks which of the quarreling brothers is most loved by the others and noting that none of them are, he chastises them for loving only themselves. He then declares that all three rings are forgeries and that the true ring had been lost. In order to make up for the loss, the father had three copies made. He dismisses the case but not before offering one last piece of advice: since the father loved each son equally, he would no doubt be dismayed that they had fallen into conflict. He challenges each of the sons to allow the ring's power to come to light, to strive for uncorrupted love, and to behave in a way that would make them favorable toward God. Then and only then might another, wiser judge make a decision thousands and thousands of years later as to which was indeed the true ring and thus the true religion.

As a result of this scene and the incorporation of the ring parable into the play, Lessing's work is often viewed as key text in German Enlightenment thought and on the ideas of tolerance. Nathan and Saladin, the Jew and the Muslim, respectively are, as Allison argues, the true representatives of this ideal, as Lessing's goal was primarily a criticism of Christianity's intolerance.[20] With this ending, Allison concludes, the ring is no longer conceived as some magical gift, rather a task that must be acted upon: "Moreover, since this task is universal, it is equally binding upon adherents of all faiths, and it provides the unifying standpoint from which the relatively unessential differences of the various religions can be overcome."[21] That is not to say that the differences are eliminated or ignored, rather that they must be overcome so that people of all religions can live together harmoniously. Thus it is important to consider that the consequence of the judge's decision was that the three sons (obviously symbolic for each of the three monotheistic religions) should live together peacefully and in harmony with the other, suggesting that a pluralistic society is the solution to religious particularism. What Lessing's parable instructs is not only that we cannot know which religion is the correct or true religion (or even if such a thing exists), rather humility and the quest for understanding and peaceful coexistence are paramount.

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[20] It is of course curious that Lessing, a Christian, would make the Jewish and Muslim figures the representatives of rational, Enlightened thought and not the Christian Templar. The reasons for this can be found in the origins of the play and a polemical debate that Lessing had engaged in with the Lutheran theologian Johann Melchior Goeze. He thus wished to point out the intolerance in certain theological stances.

[21] Allison, *Lessing and the Enlightenment*, 144.

Tolerance: Three Readings of the Ring Parable

But what does Lessing's story have to tell us today in the 21st century? Nussbaum reminds us that the play's enduring popularity should be attributed to its basic theme: "when we encounter people who differ in religion, we ought to focus on ethical virtues of generosity, kindness, and love, leaving the question of religious truth to one side in our civic interactions."[22] What this means in the 21st century, in the wake of religious conflicts in the Balkans, September 11th, American-led wars in the Middle East and the refugee "crisis" in 2015 is an important question. In the aftermath of the attacks on September 11th when inter-religious relations in most of the Western world had hit a low point, three German writers, one Christian (Angelika Overath), one Muslim (Navid Kermani) and one Jewish (Robert Schindel) were asked to give a contemporary reading of *Nathan the Wise* and reflect on the significance it held today.[23] While Angelika Overath reads Lessing's parable more as a fairy tale whose appeal lies in its aesthetic approach to a complex problem and Schindel had a more pessimistic view, Navid Kermani sees the immediate relevancy of the story today:

> Lessing's message, in times of genocide, of religious terrorism and the world-wide culturalization of political conflicts, is not obsolete. It is also not obsolete and especially not in Europe in the year 2003, sixty years after the annihilation of Jews, ten years after the Christian siege of Sarajevo, two years after the proclamation of the Italian Prime Minister "to conquer the Islamic world"[…][24]

While Kermani is particularly concerned about the oppression and persecution of Muslims during the lead up to the Gulf War, he also notes that the play can sometimes been overused as a "feel good" message about unity and harmony without asking and probing the more difficult questions. Kermani is aware of the pernicious nature of linking religion and belonging and how toleration is not just accepting the difference of others but allowing the coexistence of those who are different in the same society. In a speech that he gave for the opening of the city of Hamburg's Lessing Days in 2012, Kermani addresses the concepts of nationalism and patriotism and how they have been used historically to divide people into

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[22] Nussbaum, *The New Religious Intolerance*," 165.
[23] Angelika Overath, Navid Kermani, Robert Schindel, *Toleranz: Drei Lesarten zu Lessings Märchen vom Ring im Jahre 2003*. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003.
[24] Kermani, *Toleranz*, 36. All translations mine unless otherwise noted.

linguistic, religious and ethnic territories or nation-states. He reminds us that Lessing, some 250 years earlier, famously wrote: "I have no concept of love for the fatherland."[25] Not surprising, Lessing was one of the first German writers to use the term "cosmopolitan" or *Weltbürger*, as he saw himself, so Kermani, at home in both Saxony and Prussia—at that time, in two very different states. This identity crisis, however, was not a source of conflict for him rather an enrichment, as it represented a multiplicity of belonging.[26]

But the tension between nationality, religion and belongingness is still quite contested in Europe today. A few years later, an international debate, particularly among left-leaning scholars, arose over the legacy of the Enlightenment and the contradiction between tolerance and secularism.[27] Those in line with the French tradition of secularism embraced the Enlightenment critic of ideologies and dogma, arguing that Europe had fought too many confessional wars and only in a secular state that guaranteed freedom of worship could peace be found. On the other side of the debate were those who felt that such a strict adherence to the Enlightenment was just another kind of dogmatism, a kind of Enlightenment fundamentalism which suppressed religion and more nefariously could be used to discriminate against Jews and Muslims. This tension was also taken up by the Turkish-German writer Zafer Şenocak in his highly acclaimed essay collection from 2011 *Deutschsein: Eine Aufklärungsschrift* (*Being German: An Educational Tract*).[28] In an essay entitled "Die atonale Welt: Wie viel Vielfalt ertragen wir?"[29] Şenocak reflects on the legacy of the Enlightenment in the 21st century. The values

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[25] Kermani, *Vergesst Deutschland! Eine Patriotische Rede.* (Berlin, Ullstein, 2012): 24.

[26] Kermani, *Vergesst Deutschland*, 25.

[27] These debates by a number of leading European intellectuals were collected and published in German in Thierry Chervel and Anja Seeliger, eds, *Islam in Europa: Eine internationale Debatte* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2007). See also David N. Coury, "Enlightenment Fundamentalism: Zafer Şenocak, Navid Kermani, and Multiculturalism in Germany Today," In: Emily Jeremiah and Frauke Matthes, eds., *Edinburgh German Yearbook 7: Ethical Approaches in Contemporary German-Language Literature and Culture*, (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013), 139-158.

[28] Şenocak, *Deutschsein: Eine Aufklärungsschrift*, (Hamburg: Körber-Stiftung, 2011). The book has not been translated into English, but its subtitle is a reference to the German word for the Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*) while also conveying the meaning that the book is intended to educate or enlighten.

[29] "The atonal world: how much diversity can we handle?" Şenocak, *Deutschsein*, 36-58.

of the Enlightenment—above all human rights, he wrote—would be a solid fundament to give a heterogenous and multicultural society a sense of identity, for these values, he feels, do not have ethnic groups, nations or religious persuasions as their basis, rather they focus on the individual and on human rights. As a result of the crises and bloody conflicts of the previous century, the process of Enlightenment and of gaining understanding of the Other through reason and respect is all the more important, he argues, as a civilizing process and is the only alternative for living together harmoniously.[30] The problem, he sees, is that we encounter too much "atonality" in our everyday lives. Differences in ethnic backgrounds and religion thus compel us to listen and see differently.

Many contemporary Germans (as well as many Europeans) live in an "atonal" world in which dissonance and discord have overtaken public discourse. In musical terms, atonality refers to a musical composition that does not confirm to a system of tonal hierarchies. In broader terms, atonality rubs against the grain of tradition and in sociological terms, it can too often lead to nationalist bigotry and discrimination in which difference—religious, ethnic, racial—are emphasized over the plurality of a multicultural society. Thus many people today, Şenocak writes, stand before a multicultural society so helpless and irritated as they would before an atonal musical composition.[31] There is a lack of knowledge, understanding and often contact or familiarity with those aspects of society that are different. The broader public is confronted every day with "atonal" elements, things that do not conform to the system, particularly as a result of immigration, and find them hard follow. Yet societies also seek unity and harmony (or consonance in musical terms). Dissonance or tensions in our society can lead to conflict or even violence and the goal of politicians and civic organizations should be to diminish these dissonant elements. Artists, however, seek to create both consonance and dissonance in their works in order to push the viewer/listener to reflect on the atonal and how it can lead to new ideas or enrich our society. Therefore heterogenous and multicultural societies that cause atonality can be both embraced or rejected. In her analysis of Şenocak's essay, Vera Stegmann, makes important distinctions on this front:

> Dissonance and atonality may be perceived similarly, but have a different meaning in music. While dissonance primarily refers to a tension, clash, and lack of harmony among musical notes, atonality, the structure of twentieth century and contemporary music that lacks a key or a tonal

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[30] Şenocak, *Deutschsein*, 44-45.
[31] Şenocak, *Deutschsein*, 36.

center, is indeed a beautiful metaphor for multiculturalism in society. In contrast, tonality, the classical system of European music that centers around a key and a hierarchy of musical relations, could symbolize *Leitkultur*.[32]

Here Stegmann sets off multiculturalism (atonality) with assimilation (*Leitkultur* and tonality). Few issues regarding immigration in Germany today have been more controversial than that of the necessity for a *Leitkultur* or a guiding, unified culture that all immigrants must aspire to in order to be "true" citizens.[33] The solution to these tensions, Şenocak argues, is greater acceptance and toleration of difference or a turn towards polyphony,[34] a society that embraces a plurality of voices and rejects intolerance of all sorts—ethnic, religious or racial—something that post-unified Germany, he feels, has not done well. Here we find echoes of Lessing and the judge's final decree to the warring sons, namely to act in the spirit of kindness, understanding and toleration as the best parts of each religion call for. Şenocak believes, as Stegmann points out, that poetry and religious texts can help facilitate this work as they are musical in nature and as such can serve as a means of managing our feelings of tolerance and understanding.[35] While Şenocak often refers to German Romanticism and the musicality and mysticism of that literary period, he also alludes to Anatolian mysticism and makes connections between the Eastern and Western mystical traditions. Nonetheless, he, like Lessing before him, seeks to find harmony in atonality that can celebrate diverse, multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies. For him, music and literature can reflect the same diversity and plurality of voices that one finds in society.

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[32] Vera Stegmann, "*Deutschsein*: Zafer Şenocak's Poetic and Enlightened Vision of a Cosmopolitan German Identity," in *Türkisch-Deutsche Studien Jahrbuch 2016: The Transcultural Critic: Sabahattin Ali and Beyond*, ed. Şeyda Ozil, Michael Hofmann, Jens-Peter Laut, Yasemin Dayıoğlu-Yücel, Cornelia Zierau und Kristin Dickinson (Göttingen, Universitätsverlag, 2017), 133.

[33] Among the many studies on this, see Hartwig Pautz, "The politics of identity in Germany: the Leitkultur debate." *Race & Class* 46, No. 2 (April 2005) 39–52 and Martin Ohlert, *Zwischen "Multikulturalismus" und "Leitkultur": Integrationsleitbild und -politik der im 17. Deutschen Bundestag vertretenen Parteien.* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2015).

[34] Şenocak, *Deutschsein*, 58.

[35] Vera Stegmann, "*Deutschsein*: Zafer Şenocak's Poetic and Enlightened Vision", 133.

Three Letters from Sarajevo: Music and Tolerance

There is, in fact, a long tradition of music and tolerance at the conjuncture of the Eastern and Western worlds. As Jonathan H. Shannon has shown, during the period of Islamic rule in the Iberian peninsula, a period known for the relative peaceful coexistence among people of different faiths, a "culture of tolerance" is often sought and found in literature and architecture, but increasingly in music as well. His study of the legacy of music from medieval Iberia during the era of "al-Andalus," underscores "the potential power of music and music-making to promote understanding, and not merely tolerance, via what we can call 'deep listening.'" Unlike mere tolerance or understanding, "deep listening" in the musical world "has the effect of allowing people to transcend boundaries and to embrace not only the common humanity of the Other, but the inherent Otherness in all of us—our common alterity, our sameness through difference,"[36] or, in short, the atonality and polyphony of contemporary multiethnic and multi-religious societies. Shannon, like many other cultural anthropologists, makes a point to critique mere tolerance as an empty gesture (much like Kermani), offering up instead the need for societies to move beyond toleration to understanding and deep engagement with the Other and the artistic output of the other culture.[37]

Perhaps nowhere in Europe has this been more of a challenge than in the former Yugoslavia, the site of the only war and violent conflict in Europe since World War II and a symbol today for ethnic and religious conflict. Music has played an important role both during and after the breakup of Yugoslavia and the ensuing war and in the post-Yugoslav era. It also, as Srđan Atanasovski maintains, played an important role in the rise of ethnic nationalism, especially through the rising popularity of an aggressive mixture of folk music and nationalism found in a genre known as "turbo-folk." Western style music, he writes, "was relocated, both spatially and temporally, from being a vehicle of purported 'freedom of expression' in socialist Yugoslavia, to operating as a mechanism of Serbian banal nationalism."[38] The banality of this nationalism, he writes referencing Michael Billig, lies in the everyday nature of the discourse

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[36] Shannon, "Andalusian Music, Cultures of Tolerance and the Negotiation of Collective Memories: Deep Listening in the Mediterranean," *Cuadernos de Etnomusicología*, 2 (2012), 103.

[37] Shannon, "Andalusian Music," 112.

[38] Atanasovski, "Recycled Music for Banal Nation: The Case of Serbia 1999-2010," in *Relocating Popular Music*, eds. Ewa Mazierska and Georgina Gregory (London: Palgrave McMillan, 2015): 84.

which becomes innocuous and is stripped of its negative connotations. Serbian music, Atanasovski argues, has always been situated between Eastern and Western realms but used for political purposes to be linked to one or the other always with the goal of strengthening ties to national identity and the nation-state.[39] As such, it sought to diminish the atonality and dissonance that had arisen over time (through the plurality of cultures and ethnicities) that resulted in the complexity of what was once a multi-ethnic and multi-religious Yugoslav society. Popular music in the post-Yugoslav era has, as Ana Petrov has shown, been similarly complex and rife with political overtones: "In the aftermath of the Yugoslav wars, listening to Yugoslav popular music has often been seen as a choice charged with political meaning, as a symptom of Yugonostalgia and as a statement against the nationalistic discourses of the post-Yugoslav states."[40] One musician who strived to overcome these ethnic differences is Goran Bregović, the Bosnian former leader of the popular Yugoslav rock band Bijelo Dugme, and now one of the most popular Balkan musicians and film score composers. Bregović has in the past championed the music of the Roma and Sinti peoples and has distanced himself from the nationalist discourses of the post-Yugoslav states: "We are together because we sing certain songs together, not as Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Muslims, but as us who sing those songs together [even] after everything [that has happened]."[41]

In the mid-2010s, Bregović began work on a project that would become a sort of homage to his hometown Sarajevo, sometimes called the Jerusalem of the Balkans (a further echo of *Nathan the Wise*) for its historical plurality of religions. It was this history that inspired his musical project which sought to unite, on an allegorical level, Judaism, Christianity and Islam using the violin (instead of a ring) as a metaphorical instrument.[42] On the American CD release, the liner notes recount a story that Bregović claims to have read on the internet.[43] It tells of a CNN reporter who heard of an old Jewish man who had been praying to God at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem twice a day for sixty years. She interviews the man to tell him how amazing this feat is. The man responds: "I ask Him for peace among Christians, Jews and Muslims. I ask that hatred and war may end. I ask

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[39] Atanasovski, "Recycled Music," 86.

[40] Petrov, "Yugonostalgia as a Kind of Love: Politics of Emotional Reconciliations through Yugoslav Popular Music," *Humanities* 7, no. 4 (2018): https://doi.org/10.3390/h7040119

[41] Cited in Petrov, "Yugonostalgia as a Kind of Love."

[42] Goran Bregović official website: https://www.goranbregovic.rs/biography/

[43] Goran Bregović, *Three Letters from Sarajevo*, Universal Music, 2017.

that our children may grow up to be responsible beings who love their neighbors." "And?" the reporter asks. "I feel like I'm talking to a wall," the man replies. The story is an old joke that has circulated for many years but Bregović uses it, in the liner notes and in interviews, to claim that God did not plan for people to live together in harmony rather that it is something that we all must learn and actively work towards.

Sarajevo for Bregović becomes a metaphor for our times and the fragility of religious plurality and toleration. In a video trailer for *Three Letters from Sarajevo*, we see at the beginning vintage footage of Bregović from 1990 in Sarajevo saying that his city was "one of the few places in the world where you can hear [mosques, churches and cathedrals] all together and sounding so beautifully." Perhaps sensing the rising tensions at that time and what was to come, he concludes: "It would be a shame, if it has to stop one day."[44] Shortly thereafter, of course, the civil war in Yugoslavia began and the harmony of these sounds and of the disparate communities came to an end as violence and religious intolerance overwhelmed the region. The video trailer then jumps forward 25 years, when Bregović reflects (interestingly this time in English) on what Sarajevo has become and what it means as a symbol for society today. As a metaphor for our times it represents discord and dissonance, as ethnic and religious tensions continue to rise. This prompted him to embark on this musical project in which he sought to use the musical traditions related to each of the three religions to reflect not the societal dissonance of our time, but a unity through a polyphony of sounds and musicians. He recounts that he was looking for a musical metaphor that could be played in three main styles—classical, as Christians played, Klezmer, as Jews played, and "Oriental" as Muslims had played music so he incorporated into the project three instrumental songs, or "letters," one Christian, one Muslim and one Jewish in which these styles of playing are highlighted. Yet most of the songs are accompanied or infused with the traditional brass instruments, a sound that has become almost synonymous with Bregović's music if not traditional Balkans music itself (however authentic it may or may not be).

But beyond the musical styles, however, he also invited artists from different cultures and communities that represent the same socio-religious traditions: Bebe, from Spain, Riff Cohen and Asaf Avidan from Israel, Rachid Taha from Algeria as well as the Bosnian musicians Sifet and Mehmed. Each of the singers contribute songs in their native language

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[44] Goran Bregović, "Three Letters from Sarajevo—Trailer 1," YouTube Video, 3:02, July 7, 2017, https://youtu.be/wk7C6wPJe8Q

(Spanish, Hebrew and Arabic, respectively) which also reflect on the tragic and turbulent history of Sarajevo and the region. In her own music, for instance, Bebe often incorporates elements of flamenco, a hybrid style originating in Andalusia (al-Andalus) that is influenced by the music of the Romani peoples that bridges Eastern and Western styles and traditions. Rachid Taha similarly crossed and blended many musical styles—from Algerian chaabi to raï and rock. Taha somewhat famously both influenced The Clash's 1982 hit "Rock the Casbah" and re-interpreted it at a concert protesting the U.S. invasion of Iraq in which, by singing in Arabic, he stripped the song of its Orientalist undertones and sought solidarity from the West with the Arab world.[45] Riff Cohen, a Mizrahi Jew whose mother was French-Algerian and whose father was of Tunisian origin, sings in French, Hebrew and Arabic and thus is representative of Tzarfokai culture, that of Jews from the Maghreb.[46] Much of her musical work seeks to question identity concepts and break down the binary nature of identity for Mizrahi Jews: "If I have to introduce myself, I just say where my parents and grandparents are from, and that I'm just a first-generation in Israel. It's hard for people to make this connection of an Israeli whose grandmother speaks **Arabic** and dresses in traditional **Tunisian** clothes; to them, you're either an Israeli or an Arab."[47] Coen speaks here to the continued presence of binary thinking that compels religion to be linked with ethnic identity instead of allowing for a kind of atonality in identity construction. This fact was certainly not lost on Bregović whose native Yugoslavia suffered from the same dangerous linkage of religion and ethnicity after its break-up. Thus from his choice of performers to the style of music played, Bregović sought with *Three Letters from Sarajevo* to create a work that could harmonize disparate musical traditions.

Conclusion

Goran Bregović's *Three Letters from Sarajevo* is in many ways a musical re-working of Lessing's ring parable. Whereas Lessing addressed a pressing issue from the 18th century as to which of the three great monotheistic religions was the true religion, Bregović is less concerned

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[45] Jody Rosen, "Shock the Casbah, Rock the French (and Vice-Versa)," *New York Times* March 13, 2005.

[46] Joseph Gatt, "What is Judeo-Arabic?" *The Ovi*, https://www.ovimagazine.com/art/16892

[47] Alexandra Belopolsky, "Riff Cohen: 'Many Israeli artists become reluctant ambassadors,'" *Café Babel* https://cafebabel.com/en/article/riff-cohen-many-israeli-artists-become-reluctant-ambassadors-5ae0085ff723b35a145e379f/

with authenticity of any religion than with giving each (musical/religious) tradition a voice. Both however were responding to their age when religious intolerance was causing rifts in their society. Lessing, in the Enlightenment tradition, was speaking to his Christian brethren and imploring them to be more accepting of other religious traditions and to find commonalities instead of differences. Some two hundred years later, in the wake of September 11th, Islamophobia was again on the rise in the West and Antisemitism growing in the Middle East. Once again, artists and scholars turned to Lessing's parable to see what meaning it could give to a divided world. As the Turkish-German intellectual Zafer Şenocak argued, we continue to live in an atonal world, in which we find that difference becomes a source of conflict. Artists have long always sought to break from tradition and push back against accepted norms with the goal of offering greater insight and understanding into society and ourselves. In the musical world, intertextuality, remixes and "mash-ups" are a common technique for musicians to expand musical styles. Bregović pushes that goal even further and infuses his musical project with a socio-religious import. Drawing on a long-standing tradition of artistic works seeking to find religious harmony, he has created a collection of songs that embraces atonality through polyphony and a plurality of voices with the hopes of sending a message of peace and harmony to a region of the world where difference and the strife that it wrought are still quite raw.

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Chapter Thirteen

The Queen of the Nile Swills Down the Liquor: Shakespearean Echoes in Tennessee Williams's Imaginary Worlds

Vladislava Gordić-Petković

Outline

The world of Williams's plays is the controversial American South in its most nightmarish and bizarre version, a microcosm strained with countless contradictions, severely and almost irreparably damaged by long-lasting racial, class and gender conflicts, and in his search for proper strategies to submit such a world to artistic imagination the author is often ready to seize upon the legacy of his literary forerunners in order to "feed his imagination and trigger his creativity." Haunted by undying Shakespearean motifs of love, punishment, rivalry and revenge, Williams's most prominent characters might be accused of existential fallacy and therefore imprisoned within aimless and futile lives, no matter how desperately they are seeking to accommodate to an eroded jungle society. Their distinctiveness is rebuked and scorned, despite the obvious responsibilities of a rigid and bigoted society for their respective downfalls. Doomed to collide with societal norms, doomed to be punished and destroyed for chasing their dreams and obsessions, Williams's characters become morbidly preoccupied with the type of romantic imagination that restlessly fabricates alternative worlds, astonishing and odd at the same time.

Feeding the Imagination: Hunger and Fallacy

The plays of Tennessee Williams written between 1945 and 1960 give a distant but persistent echo of Shakespearean characters and plots, enabling both the audience and critics to observe powerful transformations of Renaissance drama in the radically changed modern context. A staggering mixture of revenge, sexual desire, punishment and imminent destruction, Williams's plays with the prevailing mythical pattern, such as *Suddenly Last Summer* and *Orpheus Descending*, resonate with echoes from *Hamlet*, *King Lear* and *Macbeth*, the same as those rooted in the plots tackling abandonment and financial ruin such as *The Glass Menagerie* and *A Streetcar Named Desire*. Although the American playwright never encouraged his audience to identify the impact of Shakespearean opus on his work, the critics cannot ignore the fact that his remarkable heroines at least distantly resemble Ophelia, Desdemona, Lady Macbeth and Cleopatra, whereas references to wheels of fire, brief candles, antic dispositions and mortal coils regularly occur in the most popular plays of Tennessee Williams.

According to Gilbert Debusscher, Tennessee Williams was "a predator who seized upon his own experience and that of his literary forerunners to feed his imagination and trigger his creativity" (Roudané 1999, 187). The best plays of Tennessee Williams offer a rich choice of powerful Shakespearean appropriations, digging deep into issues of identity, societal conflicts and declining moral values. Each in their own way, the protagonists tell of their isolation from the world, defining solitariness as a quintessential human condition: both a vagrant artist Val Xavier and a lovelorn but staunch survivor Maggie Pollitt turn into mournful sceptics who desperately struggle to articulate their experience of loneliness and nonconformity. A poet and a Bohemian largely disillusioned by the ways of the Southern world, Val Xavier gloomily equals life with incarceration: "Nobody ever gets to know *no body*! We're all of us sentenced to solitary confinement inside our own skins for life!" (Williams 2000b, 42), while less articulate but far more dramatic Maggie argues that "living with someone you love can be lonelier—than living entirely *alone*!—if the one that y' love doesn't love you..." (Williams 2000a, 891). The loneliness and isolation are the mark of an artist, inseparable from the hunger for love, which these characters feel.

In a letter to his agent and close friend Audrey Wood, Tennessee Williams acknowledges that he has only one major theme for his work: the destructive impact of society on the sensitive non-conformist individual (Haley 1998, 67). The description perfectly explains the origin and the

whereabouts of the outcast characters who relate the author's own experience, and the essence of Shakespearean tragedy. The characters invented from Tennessee Williams's reality and imagination embody the very same conflict of the tragic hero with the social and moral order that we encounter in Shakespeare's tragedies.

Doomed to collide with the laws and customs of the mercilessly rigid society, doomed to be punished and destroyed for pursuing their dreams, Williams's characters rely too much on their romantic imagination. Unable to understand the causes and tolerate the effects of their inner dichotomies and discrepancies, the society muffles the rebel yells of Val Xavier, Maggie Pollitt and Blanche DuBois, punishing them severely for their nonconformism. Not even the fact that all the prominent characters seek support and understanding can redeem them: their marginality is treated as an unpardonable sin, despite the obvious responsibilities of the rigid and bigoted society for their respective downfalls.

The world of Williams's plays is based on the reality of the controversial American South, strained with its many contradictions; their setting is a conservative society that is an eternal battlefield against racial and sexual discrimination (Bloom 1987, 86), which is perhaps the unexpected reason why we have to look for the elements of the imaginary and the imagined that shroud the lives of vagrant bodies and restless souls.

Shakespeare's Sister: Far from Laura's Escape Room

The Glass Menagerie is undoubtedly the first play by Tennessee Williams that attracted a wide recognition and made him visible as the great American dramatist: still, it is rarely pointed out to which an extent this memory piece dwells on imaginary worlds and invisible passions and conflicts. The play about a vicious family circle is filled with guilt and nostalgia, bitter and ironic towards the model of the dysfunctional family Williams knew so well, but there still is a memorable imprint of fantasy.

The play accentuates the need to take refuge in an imaginary world, which is not just fantasy, but also a self-fulfilling construction. The respective imaginary worlds Amanda Wingfield and her children Tom and Laura create for themselves are conditioned by the characters' mutual feelings of isolation and entrapment, caused by their inability to let go of the past. As in many later plays, the space tells it all: "The apartment is both literally and metaphorically a trap" (Bigsby 1992, 34). The fire-escape on the outside of the apartment signals how desperate the characters are to run away from the bleak place that is a total opposite to Amanda's childhood home, Laura's memories of a family idyll and Tom's

plans for an adventurous future. The characters' navigation through the domestic space tells much about their temperament: whereas Tom frequently steps out onto the landing to smoke or spends much time outside the apartment in order to distance himself from the poverty and despair which dwell indoors, Laura is so fragile and unstable both literally and figuratively that the fire-escape becomes an unsafe place for her no less than the big outside world which terrifies her.

Tom Wingfield, a visionary narrator of *The Glass Menagerie*, is nicknamed Shakespeare by his colleagues at work not simply because he writes poetry in secret during his daily drudgery in the warehouse. Jim, his only friend there, calls him by the Bard's name for the reasons that show how unreal the young Wingfield appears to him. "You know, Shakespeare, I never thought of you as having folks!" (Williams 2000a, 432), Jim says, hinting at the interests and priorities that isolate Tom from the real world of connections and relationships. When Tom forgets to pay the light bill and thus inadvertently causes a blackout during the elegant dinner given by his conniving mother who plots to marry off her morbidly shy daughter, Jim tells jokingly that "Shakespeare probably wrote a poem on that light bill" (Williams 2000a, 446). Shakespeare's name is brought once again in a thoroughly different context, when Jim addresses the embarrassed and timid Laura Wingfield who is horrified to recognize him as her highschool love interest. "I didn't even know you were Shakespeare's sister!" (Williams 2000a, 449), Jim says to her, inadvertently indicating that, for him, however intriguing, she is nothing but another ethereal and delicate creature of an unreal world.

The reference to Shakespeare's sister instantly reminds us of Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own,* and her quasi-biographical sketch about the imaginary sister of William Shakespeare. Woolf wrote several memorable passages about the thwarted chances and shattered dreams of a young woman with an artistic temperament who might have been born in Shakespeare's family, but who would be tragically denied any opportunity to accomplish or perhaps even outshine her brother's achievement. Virginia Woolf also suggests the option of a creative sisterhood whose transcendental influence makes it possible for ordinary women to write and thus make a first memorable move towards her independence. Unfortunately, no constructive fighting back against confinement was reflected in Williams's plays: "Southern belles" and "Southern wenches" (Falk 1961, 20), according to the somewhat imprecise but potentially disparaging classification by Signi L. Falk, are so deeply rooted into societal norms and settings that they might never consider the sisterhood of women as a strategy of self-liberation. For the lonely and insecure

Laura, any kind of acculturation that might secure her social standing seems to be impossible: her room becomes a whole world in which her dreams and thoughts may roam, yet it remains a safe space offering leisure and ease. Laura's travels around this sheltered and hidden harbour could never take her to an exotic adventure or a cross-cultural experience, since her fears and insecurities confine her to familiar content. The arrival of the gentleman caller Jim O'Connor disturbs for a while this tranquil comfort of hers but as soon as Jim leaves to meet his fiancée, she retreats in it. As opposed to Laura, Tom "stands outside this world, literally and figuratively" and by traveling outside the familiar territory finds "an avenue of escape through his art" (Bigsby 1992, 39).

Tom shares his mother's logic of escapism more than it seems judging by their incessant debates about money, health and the rules one should abide to: rejecting her dreams and norms alike, he inherits from her the stubbornly romantic and impractical streak. Amanda's seventeen gentlemen callers might be an obsession rejected and derided by her son, but Tom is no less committed to imagining his own reality, only making it less retrograde than progressive. Although both characters build imaginary worlds for themselves, their visions are truly worlds apart, since Amanda focuses on a romantic and glorious albeit sombre past that could take her family only to the present condition of poverty and anguish, whereas Tom envisions a future that might also be hopelessly inadequate, but at least is based on a plan or an idealistic project.

By the end of *The Glass Menagerie*, after having shattered his mother's social ambitions and fantasies about her children's career advancement and ruined his sister's prospects to overcome the self-imposed social isolation, Tom discloses another defeat by revealing that he had been sacked for writing a poem on the lid of a shoebox during his working hours. He might not escape through his art or become famous for an outstanding literary achievement, but his majestic rendition of his family's drama of delusion and loss might turn him into a paragon of Shakespearean negative capability: thus we perceive his failure as an expected outcome of the collision between the spiritual growth of an artist and the crude material concerns of society. Indeed, it is quite uncertain that Tom has committed to art in the long run: he might follow in the footsteps of his mother and sister, investing his fantasy into an imaginary world of art and adventure that will never become a feasible option. Tom's elaborate sketch of the family history in a series of glimpses and flashbacks is clearly motivated by seeking an apology for having abandoned his mother and sister, for sacrificing their well-being to the love of long distances inherited from his father. The powerful metaphor of "long distances"

stands for dedicating one's life to art but, in the long run, the sea expanse Tom wishfully embraces can mark any intellectual and moral pursuit into which Shakespeare's most courageous protagonists regularly plunge. Thus, Tom resembles Hamlet, who neglects the strong attachment to his mother, the affection he felt for Ophelia and most of his worldly concerns for the sake of the impending revenge.

Tom's ambitions, passions and hopes for the future have also assumed a lesser priority than they might have had if his adventurous father had stayed and accepted his responsibilities. His father has managed to do what Tom initially dreams of—escape from uneventful life with a garrulous spouse and head off to adventure. The father's example becomes a motivation and encouragement for Tom, and he will follow in his father's footsteps although his father's desertion brought him exactly those responsibilities and duties he wants to escape in the first place. Tom never blames his father for leaving the family, on the contrary, he admires him uncritically the same way Hamlet admired his late father.

The great Dane is not the only Shakespearean character whose traits can be recognized in Tom Wingfield's nervous, energetic, and guilt-ridden personality. Much like Othello, Tom is impressionable and impulsive, ready to take for granted any fantasy that bears a distinct resemblance to a possible change; he could be said to be blunt and capricious like King Lear, at times even self-absorbed like Macbeth, guilt- and grief-stricken all along; like Shakespeare's villainous characters he seems to lack the moral fibre, but Williams reassures the reader that Tom's recklessness is a part of a larger, artistic pursuit. And yet, few critics dare compare *The Glass Menagerie* to any of Shakespeare's work. Tom's pursuit of happiness has not been compared to Hamlet's revenge on any level, although the two characters share a certain reluctance to act on their secret wishes and aspirations. Hesitant to pursue the traces of Shakespeare in Williams's plays because Williams himself downplayed the impact of the Renaissance playwright on his work, the critics and the audience cannot ignore the insanity, fervour and doom in some of Williams's complex characters such as Blanche DuBois, but the list does not end there.

Slowed to a Crawl of Fancy: Blanche and Lear

Once a respectable Southern belle, Blanche DuBois is left without the last remaining chunk of her estate, lost during a long parade of family misfortunes and, despite her social background and refined manners, she cannot afford any more living as an upper-class lady she was brought up to be. However, she continues living in accordance with her hereditary

predispositions despite her new, incongruous setting, becoming a controversial figure in regard to her sophisticated attitude in the eyes of her hosts.

A Streetcar Named Desire demonstrates the range of transformations involving crucial elements of Shakespearean tragedy such as love, loyalty, loss and insanity, albeit the motif of sexuality seems to prevail. *A Streetcar Named Desire* is "the first American play in which sexuality was patently at the core of all its principal characters," a sexuality "with the power to redeem or destroy, to compound or negate the forces which bore on those caught in a moment of social change" (Bigsby 1992, 51). It seems that, as with many other of Williams's characters, the desired happiness is sought through romantic and sexual unions, which turn out to be only casual and insignificant, but the emotional dependence extends to pure fantasy and an inability to acknowledge reality. Blanche DuBois is much more than a love-starved Southern lady or a ghost reviving the glorious past: she desperately constructs a glorious future, highly improbable but deeply needed. She is a paradox in herself and a generator of paradoxes—she displays excessive femininity, yet cannot function successfully, her gender identity being curiously unstable and questionable (Berland 1995, 344). Behind her appearance of social snobbery, sexual propriety and seducing strategies as an indispensable element of her genteel upbringing, Blanche is frightened, love-starved, unruly and frail, incontrollable to the point of self-destruction. In the Kowalski household, she turns into an insecure, disoriented woman, addicted to whiskey and a self-constructed web of lies which seems to be her only refuge after a long parade of emotional and financial losses. However, although seemingly frail at the time the play depicts her, Blanche used to be strong and independent, as she had been supporting the destitute DuBois family for probably a longer period of time. The Blanche we meet at the beginning of the play has already cracked, battered by poverty and misfortune, and is thoroughly unable to restrain her passion and her desire. Still, she possesses such miraculous powers of narration, which supersede Tom Wingfield's capacities of articulating his own rendition of love and guilt. "Blanche's life and the South alike become art objects, admirable for their style, compelling in their artifice" (Bigsby 1992, 44) and the working-class neighbourhood of Elysian Fields turns into the stage and the incongruous setting of an impoverished Southern belle's performance.

Although the major concern of Blanche DuBois seems to be her fading beauty, her melancholy should be associated with a more metaphysical lust for art, which is vanishing from the horizon of drab everyday life. Blanche lives in a state of perpetual panic that she is losing her looks and

unable of holding back the years, gladly appeasing her fears and nurturing her fantasies with the help of alcohol: bereaved over her terrible losses in life, Blanche becomes erratic and self-destructive like Hamlet, and her speech incarnates, much like his, madness which is at times a wild and chaotic reaction to restraint but also a bitter struggle to win a desperately needed playground of language and art. Not prepared to use her strength and not capable of investing her energy into a constructive imaginary world, Blanche turns into a sad antipode to King Lear, who succeeded in transforming his madness into wisdom and resisted the urge to "crawl towards death unburdened" (Halio 1992, 97).

Many of Blanche's faults and multiple cases of her misconduct can be attributed to her desperate attempt to get rid of the agonizing singledom. Her greatest misfortune is the lack of family and husband who would support her financially, emotionally and morally, which was essential for a woman in the socio-historical context of the play. This necessity of traditional patriarchal support in the form of marriage is why Stella compromises and stays with Stanley, although their union offers only turbulent emotional mood swings and clear cases of domestic violence.

Quite flat as a character, Stella is shown to be violently addicted to sexual pleasure and unashamed to confess her emotional dependence on her husband who is at the same time her victimizer, so her position resembles to Gertrude's in *Hamlet*: the clueless adulterous queen who sees nothing wrong in remarrying and the Southern woman who traded her aristocratic tradition and images of glorious past for a highly doubtful marital bliss both unwittingly abandon their closest relatives, placing them in abhorrent danger. While Gertrude's sexual passion for Claudius intensifies her son's misery and finally endangers his life, Stella's unconditional adoration of Stanley and devotion to her unborn child imminently lead to her rejection of her metaphorical daughter—her delicate elder sister who now desperately depends on her love, care and duty. Stella's marital compromises endanger Blanche, who turns to her younger sister for care and support the same way King Lear turns to Cordelia, but without a kingdom she could offer as a stake in the emotional blackmail. Stella's readiness to accept Stanley as he is complicates Blanche's position in the turbulent household, reducing her to a scorned, unwanted outcast. As Blanche has practically no friends she could rely on, her dreadful and insupportable solitude, which is both the cause and effect of her vulnerability, links her to Shakespeare's lonesome tragic heroes.

The strange and ironic paradox is that Blanche's inability to acknowledge reality does not stop her from seeing Stanley in a realistic light; but since she is egotistically entrapped in fancy and thus discredited,

her insight can do nothing but promote her into an unreliable witness in the eyes of the other characters. Although her solitude and mental disorder connect her to Hamlet, Blanche also represents the set of values Hamlet reveals his disgust with in the famous scene with Ophelia. For instance, the make-up becomes a symbol of falsehood and misleading representation, and Blanche is seen as scheming and dishonest for painting her face in order to hide her true age. At the same time, she is passionately painting over her past, wishing to erase her missteps, consistently looking for ways to hide her past promiscuity and embarrassing alcoholism. Going to great lengths to protect his friend Mitch from Blanche's marital trap (which is as naive as Amanda's attempt to "catch the conscience" of Jim O'Connor), Stanley plays the role of Iago, who successfully lures Othello into believing in Desdemona's disloyalty, whereas he also embodies Othello's disgust with frail and deceptive femininity. The parallel between Desdemona and Blanche turns into another paradox: whether undeservingly or not, neither Othello's "fair warrior" nor the Southern lady depending on the kindness of strangers manages to escape calumny. Stanley sees it as an almost religious duty to reveal Blanche's promiscuity to Mitch, with a firm intention to save him from, an overly exaggerated, disgrace and shame. Williams wilfully exposes the male bonding theme, which connects Mitch and Stanley to their mighty predecessors Othello and Iago.

Seemingly less complex than Blanche and far more scandalous, the eccentric exhibitionist Carol Cutrere from *Orpheus Descending* could be treated as a tragic character crossed with Shakespeare's wise fool. She is a rebel and a sexual libertine who refuses to obey the rules, an outcast carrying a non-licensed revolver who decides not to fit in the prescribed mould. Carol discards her privileged social status, choosing to become a "lewd vagrant" instead. Similar to Blanche for having a more constructive past behind her, Carol has once tried to employ her activism for purposeful ends but she only met with failure and disdain. Her ritual role of the maverick and prophet connects her to the Weird Sisters of *Macbeth* since she, like most supernatural forces from Shakespeare's plays, acts more like a symbol or a catalyst of the plot than a lifelike person, remaining unchanged and unaffected by the action of the play. Seemingly compatible to Val Xavier and desperate to unite with him, Carol shares with him nothing but the curse and the blessing of being "a fugitive kind": in the eyes of the merciless and prudish society with fixed material concerns, they are discarded, damaged goods.

Fantasy Role Play: Language and Deception

While Shakespeare felt that speech must provide for dramatic economy, Williams lavishes words on his characters, letting them dwell on their life and opinions in endless soliloquies which often serve to bury their past or paint it rather than to dissect it. No matter how bitterly words struggle to present the meanings and mechanisms of the big outside world, they always set a trap to catch or harm both the character and the audience. While the Renaissance tragedy usually implies "an authorial obsession with the capacity of language to damage, deform and mislead" (McEachern 2002, 45), it also demonstrates how cruelly and efficiently language becomes "the apparatus of evil" which is "treacherous and unreliable, even in the hands of the good" (McEachern 2002, 45). Shakespeare's tragic heroes have to cope with a world in which language turns into an enemy: *Othello* demonstrates the power of words used to destroy love and devotion, *King Lear* deals with empty signs implanted by malevolent flatterers, as well as with the confusing realisation of the unbridgeable distance between sound and sense. The motive of the so-called mouth-friends used in *Timon of Athens* also points at the danger of surrounding oneself with flatterers. *Coriolanus* is unique among Shakespeare's tragedies for its hero's persistent mistrust of language; here the tragic hero is simply the man of action who cannot tolerate the capacity of language to mislead, as opposed to Hamlet, the man of thought who enjoys the slips and gaps of language.

Terry Eagleton argues that Shakespeare's plays "value social order and stability" with an extraordinary eloquence, further noting that "these two aspects of Shakespeare are in potential conflict with one another" (Eagleton 1986, xi). The stability of signs preconditions a tightly-ordered political state, but Shakespeare's "belief in social stability is jeopardized by the very language in which it is articulated" (Eagleton 1986, xi). Lacking material adequacy, language continues to hesitate between the equally unhappy solutions of understatement and linguistic inflation, both strategies of expression endangering social stability to a great extent, as *The Tragedy of King Lear* demonstrates. The old king's greatest mistake is the crass utilitarian exactitude with which he believes daughterly love can be quantified. King Lear arranges "a self-gratifying charade" (Kermode 2000, 185), and we sense that him giving his kingdom away in the opening scene of the play is at the same time a selfish and a theatrical act, calling for an imagined world which would put his persona at the pivotal place. 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 their profitable profusion.

Blanche's fantasy role play relies on a specific kind of linguistic inflation, and she persists in impersonating either a damsel in distress for Mitch, or a fragile Southern belle who needs to be waited on for her sister: but the most dramatic and the most complex is her role of the pervert preacher who conceals multiple dark secrets and harbours a maniacal wish to reach her former glory. Despite her narcissism and obsessive need to manipulate, Blanche's deception of others and herself is not a malicious intent, but rather a carefully designed illusion, a heart-broken retreat to a romantic time and happier moments before disaster struck her life. Inviting comparison to a variety of Shakespeare's heroines ranging from Ophelia to Lady Macbeth or from Viola to Cleopatra, this failed Southern belle has turned into an epitome of both a dismal and blissful human condition. Her unnatural obsession with light bears resemblance to the metaphorical candle from Macbeth's final soliloquy; her constant bathing owes to Lady Macbeth's attempts to wash away the "damn spot" that remains in her soul after the murder of Duncan. Blanche's anguish and suffering recall Lear's "wheel of fire" (Halio 1992, 237), but most of all, Blanche DuBois is Williams's Hamlet, representative of the writer's obsession with "this mortal coil" (Edwards 1985, 146), or, in Blanche's words, "the long parade to the graveyard" (Williams 2000a, 479). The scope of her linguistic expression, at times inventive and playful but also callous and vulgar, reminds us of Hamlet's both learned and bawdy idiom. Shakespeare and Williams invest their efforts into building characters that show the decline and fall of the intellectual, always being demonic and self-destructive at the same time.

On a more superficial level, Blanche's mixture of playfulness, coquetry and frenzy reminds the reader of Hamlet's "antic disposition" (Edwards 1985, 113) as the only possible outlet to a hyper-sensitive soul. Both Blanche and Hamlet are deeply disgusted with the world that cannot meet their expectations and needs or respond to their hopes and fears, but they seem to find solace in the imaginary turning the dreary world into a stage and transforming their miserable life into a captivating performance. While Hamlet accuses Gertrude of having betrayed his father for her own sexual pleasure, Blanche sees Stella's sexual fulfilment as a direct betrayal of the ancestral home and name. Like Hamlet castigating his mother, Blanche tries to convince her sister to aspire to something higher, to something more than instant sexual gratification.

The exceptional theatrical representation of Blanche's gradual descent into madness brings to mind Ophelia's mental breakdown after her

father's death. Both female characters assume new roles in their madness and act in their own imaginary plays. The cruel stud Stanley sees inadvertently through Blanche's role changing:

> STANLEY: You come in here and sprinkle the place with powder and spray perfume and cover the light-bulb with a paper lantern, and lo and behold the place has turned into Egypt and you are the Queen of the Nile! Sitting on your throne and swilling down my liquor! (Williams 2000a, 552)

Stanley's image of Blanche as an Egyptian queen results from the recognition of the theatrical elements in her disposition, such as fancy, illusion, cheap and notorious but effective tricks, subtle make-up and glaring costume. On a more general, and supposedly more bizarre level, "to Blanche's Hamlet-like musings on death and her Egyptian theatre, Stanley Kowalski's rebuttal signals the birth of a new American drama appropriating its native American idiom" (Meskill 2004, 158). The bathroom is turned into Blanche's tent of miracles, her sanctuary and hideaway where she can pretend to be Cleopatra. The two queens of the Nile continue to exist in the eye of the beholder, even if the beholder is cheeky or malicious, even if the spiteful spectator is ready to tear away the theatrical illusion and smash it. Blanche is not expected to function as a model of unfulfilled desire, whereas Shakespeare uses Cleopatra as a stock figure of the Western imagination and the broken promise of hedonism and lust. Cleopatra offers a model of carefree life immersed in self-oblivion, which is similar to Blanche's endless insisting on beautifying the dingy apartment of Stanley and Stella.

Cat on a Hot Tin Roof proves to be closer to *A Streetcar Named Desire* if we read it as a narrative of a dysfunctional Southern family and its destructive effects on a marriage of true minds. Apart from homoerotic anxiety, the factors that seriously affect Brick's marriage are also sibling rivalry, malice, gossip and greed. Maggie Pollitt is, contrary to Blanche, blatantly realistic about her future prospects, and she differs from *the moth of Laurel* in one important respect: Maggie the Cat is either unable or not willing to create her own world of fantasy. Maggie tries to overcome difficulties in a traditional, purely realistic way, using her energy and cunning strategies, since she is well aware of the fact that it is not the world of dreams and illusions she is captured in. The obstacles and impediments confronting her are painful and palpable: Maggie's sorrow springs from a life situation, which offers not a slightest glimpse of hope. She is stuck at the hot roof of her own, unable to escape from the painful obsession with Brick the same way she is incapable of letting go the estate of the Pollitts.

Living in a material world, Maggie is a crude, realistic overachiever who never lets herself slip into the world of pipe dreams and illusions, unlike Blanche who is lost in the world of simulation, unable to recover and to fight for a brighter future. With her stubborn devotion for her estranged and catatonic husband, Maggie is a curious replica of Lady Macbeth, as she also displays mock fortitude and readiness to use the valour of her tongue as the most efficient weapon.

Similar to Shakespeare, Tennessee Williams does not hesitate to employ a purely metatheatrical approach, keen on resolving existential conflicts and developing abstract issues in the manner of a "Chinese box" or "play-within-the-play", creatively embedding theatrical metaphors and theatrical reflexivity (Guilbert 2004, 116). The Christian moral and ethical framework is always present in Williams's discourse, but were it for the Shakespearean influences it would have been present to a much lesser extent. Much like the art of William Faulkner, the plays of Tennessee Williams transform the crucial elements of Shakespearean drama into an American idiom, and even the plays with prevailing mythical pattern offer an array of echoes and resonances, such as *Suddenly Last Summer* (introducing issues ranging from identity to insanity), or *Orpheus Descending*, a staggering mixture of sexual desire, revenge, racial hatred and imminent destruction. According to Sermin Lynn Meskill, one of the central themes of *A Streetcar Named Desire* seems to be "the impossibility of making theatre, emblematized in the destitute figure of Blanche DuBois, in the 'old' way, as Shakespeare did with Lear" (Meskill 2004, 158). Blanche's inner struggle can be interpreted as "the struggle of a new theatre to be born out of an old" (Meskill 2004, 158), the same as the new South imminently prevails over the quaint values of gentility (Fleche 1997, 50).

Magic and Misrepresentation: Concluding Remarks

In his book *The Vital Lie: Reality and Illusion in Modern Drama*, Anthony Abbott defines illusion as a "set of structures—games, rituals, masks, disguises, diversion, roles—that human beings use to keep themselves from facing reality, which, if viewed nakedly, would destroy them" (Abbott 1989, 4). The effects of illusion vary in Williams's plays to a great extent; an illusion that leads to imagining a parallel world can be seen as a demonic force harmful to one's mental health or a cure for one's present condition. From Amanda Wingfield who "survives, ironically, by selling romantic myths, in the form of romance magazines, to other women" (Bigsby 1992, 38) to Blanche DuBois whose vigour and vitality are

irretrievably weakened in the process of imagining an acceptable reality, surprisingly many of Williams's characters remain entrapped in myths, self-delusions, and pretensions of the gentility of the agrarian, Cavalier past. Some of his heroines, classified by the mid-century criticism as Southern wenches (Falk 1961, 20), passionate in behaviour, sex-driven, in conflict with Puritan mores, but also vulnerable and oversensitive, end up as outsiders, emotionally deformed, dissatisfied and dysfunctional. Often consumed by time and decay, the characters are rarely seen to resist to guilt and despair in the manner of Amanda Wingfield.

Tennessee Williams writes about psychological and spiritual displacement and disruption, about loneliness and self-deception, which trace us back to Shakespeare's memorable protagonists. The same way Shakespeare confronts his heroes and heroines with a repressive and hostile social order, Williams pushes his characters into a conflict with a soulless community from which many lesser but stronger conflicts arise: irreparable tensions within the American family, a sharp decline and imminent fall of ethical values and, last but not least, fearless challenges to the Puritan morality. The song that Blanche sings in Scene Seven, "Paper Moon", describes the way love turns the world into a phony fantasy, since lovers reject to accept the material world and prefer to believe in their imagined reality. The idea of fantasy as the privileged realm of reality sums up Blanche's approach to life:

> BLANCHE: I'll tell you what I want. Magic! (*Mitch laughs*) Yes, yes, magic! I try to give that to people. I misrepresent things to them. I don't tell truth. I tell what *ought* to be truth. And if that is sinful, then let me be damned for it! (Williams 2000a, 545)

The protagonist in this case is, as elsewhere in the plays by Tennessee Williams, an alienated tragic hero seeking to belong in an eroded jungle society (Falk 1961, 144) and trying to cope through false compensations of pipe dreams, or a muted survivor living a life of quiet desperation, a victim of societal pressure, animal desires, and loss of integrity. Too many plausible explanations of the vague longing and raving dejection show that the true art of theatre escapes definition. In that respect, Williams is probably among the best writers who have ever examined the frightening depths of human nature. Still, to paraphrase Jim O'Connor from *The Glass Menagerie*, we could have never thought that Tennessee Williams and William Shakespeare might have been "the same folks", with so much in common.

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Chapter Fourteen

Estrangement and Estranged Worlds in the Novels *The Heart of a Dog* by Mikhail Bulgakov, *Aelita* by Alexey Tolstoy, and *The Shape of Things to Come* by H. G. Wells

Iren Boyarkina

Outline

Utopia has been occupying the minds of science fiction writers for many centuries, and these debates became especially intensive after the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917. In their works, science fiction writers offer various views on the way a new, better society should be achieved, possible forms and targets of utopia, etc. This chapter focuses on *The Heart of a Dog* by Mikhail Bulgakov, *Aelita* by Alexey Tolstoy, and *The Shape of Things to Come* by Herbert G. Wells, which were written in the first decades after the Great October Socialist Revolution and manifest the authors' contemplations about the way to create a better society in general, and utopia in this particular case. These novels are important milestones for the analysis of utopia in science fiction literature since they represent different views on the ways of construction of the future ideal society. Mikhail Bulgakov seems to be somehow critical about the ways Bolsheviks chose for the construction of the Socialist utopia. The chapter analyses the motives of his criticism and compares them to the principles advocated by H. G. Wells in his novel. Alexey Tolstoy seems to be in favour of revolutionary methods of constructing socialism and utopia. The protagonists of *Aelita* are even ready to help their extra-terrestrial colleagues to fight for their rights against their oppressors. In

fact, these ideas are somehow similar to the Wellsian ideal of the World State, which influenced many important writers, artists, and filmmakers, and has forever changed the genre of science fiction in both literature and film.

Introduction

Science fiction is one of the few literary genres very closely concerned with the analysis and improvement of human society. It is also one of the few genres, which employs estrangement as its main *modus operandi*. However, it is the only genre, which uses estrangement for the purpose of cognition.

The principle to change the present human society in general, and individuals in particular, by letting them know the future negative consequences via estrangement and by extrapolating the present-day negative trends to the future, is one of the main characteristic features of the science fiction genre. George Orwell uses this principle in his famous novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, where by means of estrangement he creates a dystopian future society. In this novel, Orwell projects the unquenchable thirst for money and power he observed around him to the near future and creates a blood chilling society of total control, lies, and skilfully camouflaged inequality (Boyarkina 2018). In *Animal Farm*, Orwell projects the same thirst for power and hypocrisy into the future and into the animal world, creating less awe-inspiring and more comic dystopia compared to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. However, even if this estranged world is populated by speaking and reasoning animals, Orwell is obviously speaking about human society, its vices, hypocrisy, and negative tendencies.

In *Brave New World*, Aldous Huxley projects dystopian ideas about eugenics and education to the future to create one of the most terrifying dystopias of the 20th century. This construction of the estranged world of the future helps Huxley to express his deep concerns about human nature, issues of eugenics, the responsibility of science and scientists, and many other issues.

These dystopian constructs of estrangement are not coming from nowhere; they are not solely products of the authors' imaginations. Though constructed by means of estrangement, they are all firmly rooted in the negative trends of the contemporary society. They are not meant only to scare or entertain the readers, as it might seem at first glance, but to make them think about their present-day situation; analyse the negative trends and consider possible ways to change their situation for the better. This is also the task of *The Heart of a Dog* by Mikhail Bulgakov and

Aelita by Alexey Tolstoy, as well as of *The Shape of Things to Come* by H. G. Wells.

Thus, the genre of science fiction is characterised by estrangement and employs projections of various kinds to create this estrangement. Even when science fiction authors create various estranged worlds, speaking about the distant past or future, projecting events and protagonists in space and time, it is often the present they are concerned about. That is why their stories, estranged constructs must be projected back to the zero world or 'primary world', which is the world around us. Even if science fiction authors describe extra-terrestrial species, ghosts, and other non-existing beings, and estranged worlds thousands of light years away, it is mainly the human society they are concerned about and want to improve. Their stories and their parables of estrangement are aimed mainly at the improvement of present-day human society and individuals.

As a matter of fact, any significant work of science fiction can be viewed as a kind of a scientific research laboratory in which the important trends in the development of the society are studied, analysed and extrapolated to an imaginary world for further analysis. This imaginary world is a metaphor, a model, which tests the viability of concepts and ideas of a science fiction writer. In the case of negative trends observed in the society in the zero world, the author singles them out, exaggerates and extrapolates them to the imaginary world, thus creating a dystopia in most of the cases. In doing so, the author tries to draw the attention of the society to the existing problems, warning about the negative consequences if no measures are taken in due time. In other cases, the author tries to suggest his ideas to improve the society and explores the possibilities for a better world for everyone. Indeed, it is hardly possible to overestimate the significance of the science fiction genre for the development of society, as well as its attempt to consider the ways of creating a utopian society.

It is worthwhile to note that there are still on-going debates among literary critics of science fiction about the modes of analysis and interpretation in this genre. For example, Darko Suvin suggests that '[a]ny significant SF text is […] always to be read as analogy, somewhere between a vague symbol and a precisely aimed parable' (Suvin 1979, 76). In my PhD thesis[1], I demonstrated that with this approach, the parables and metaphors in science fiction can be very effectively analysed and interpreted through the prism of the theory of conceptual integration proposed by Mark Turner for the analysis of parable (Turner 1996) and the

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[1] Iren Boyarkina. "Musical Metaphors and Parables in the Science Fiction Narratives by Olaf Stapledon" (University of Rome "Tor Vergata", 2014).

conceptual metaphor theory first proposed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), later modified by Zoltán Kövecses, Charles Forceville, and other researchers (Faucconier and Turner 2002). This complex analysis allows us to single out and emphasise with greater precision different aspects and concepts in a SF narrative; it allows better comprehension of the phenomenon of estrangement, as well as various fundamental concepts in writer's philosophical, scientific, and social outlook. In this way, the main ideas and messages of a work of SF are better explored and interpreted.

This chapter will focus only on some aspects dealing with utopia and the construction of a utopian society, namely: the main ways to construct it, (that is, either through reforms or revolutions); the nature of the human material to work with; eugenics or/and genetics; education, and religion.

The Estranged Worlds of *The Heart of a Dog*, *Aelita* and *The Shape of Things to Come*

The Heart of a Dog by Mikhail Bulgakov narrates the life of a street dog, transformed by Dr. Bormental and Professor Preobrazhensky into a human being Sharikov and then back to a dog again. Bulgakov creates an estranged, alternative world, namely, an imaginative framework, alternative to the author's empirical environment by introducing as *novum* to the 'zero world' the experimentally produced super-intelligent dog, which gradually turns into a man. The choice of the super-dog as the *novum* is not incidental and serves different cognitive purposes. First of all, Sharik/Sharikov is the metaphor of the proletariat. It is emphasized more than once in the novel that Sharik's life was full of sufferings and hunger; he was prepared to sell his soul for some food, just like the proletariat, according to Bulgakov, sold its support to the Bolsheviks hoping for better living conditions. Bulgakov was rather critical about the Great October Socialist Revolution and the policy of the Bolsheviks, and the parable of Sharik can be viewed as the writer's parable and caricature of the first years of the young Bolshevik state. Surgeons Professor Preobrazhensky and his disciple and assistant Dr. Bormental were making their living by making people look younger. One of their scientific innovations was the idea of transplantation of the human pituitary gland, which is responsible for the production of various hormones. However, during the experiment, they achieved not only a desirable rejuvenation of the species, but also a complete transformation of one species into another one, that is, a dog into a human being. This is a key point in the parable of Sharik/Sharikov. One can draw the parallels between the dog's life before the surgery and the

life of poor classes, peasants and the proletariat, before the Revolution, both living in extreme misery, hunger, and ignorance. Having got the same rights and possibilities after the Revolution, the poor classes had to learn many things from zero: to read, to manage the newly born state, etc. In the same way, after the surgery, Sharikov had to learn elementary things: to walk straight, to talk, to perform simple daily routines, under the close observation and instruction of Professor Preobrazhensky and Dr. Bormental, who were very negative about Sharikov's manners and his *modus operandi* in general. This criticism of Sharikov is a metaphor of Bulgakov's criticism of the proletariat and Bolsheviks from the point of view of intelligentsia, to which Bulgakov also belonged, being a trained doctor. Ridiculing Sharikov for his bad manners and language, his lack of culture and education, Bulgakov probably meant to emphasize that the proletariat could never be equal in its intellectual and spiritual qualities to the upper class and hence, cannot claim the same rights and power in the new society that appeared after the Revolution. Professor Preobrazhensky and Dr. Bormental criticized the fact that ignorant and unexperienced Sharikov was immediately brainwashed by the local authorities (Shwander and Co) and started pretending things from his creators, like documents, registration, official place to live, etc. Actually, it was the beginning of the ideological and property clash between Professor Preobrazhensky and Dr. Bormental as representatives of intelligentsia or the intellectual elite on the one hand, and Sharikov, as a representative of the proletariat, on the other hand. However, Bormental and Preobrazensky can also represent capitalists in general, since they possessed means of production, like the clinic, laboratory, and medical equipment. While according to Wells it was possible to overcome this conflict between the working class and the oligarchy/capitalists by means of state reforms and regulations, it seems that Bulgakov did not share this opinion, since in his novel the conflict was not solved but escalated until Sharikov was converted back to his initial state of a dog. This fact extrapolated from the novel back to the zero world can signify that, according to Bulgakov, it is better to bring the proletariat back to the position it occupied before the Revolution and leave the power to those better instructed and educated. Such an interpretation confirms the conclusion by George Orwell, brilliantly formulated in his novel *Ninety-Eighty-Four*. "There are three distinct groups, which are fighting for power: High, Middle, and Low, and their interests will never coincide" (Orwell 2004, 253). Hence, a peaceful transfer of power is never possible *a priori.* This opinion is also shared by Marxism-Leninism. As a matter of fact, this opinion is also shared by Alexey Tolstoy and manifested in *Aelita*.

The main theme of the novel *Aelita* is the exploration of the intelligent life on Mars, which is complemented by the theme of love between engineer Los and Aelita from Mars. Syntagmatically, it can be divided into three parts: construction of the spaceship and all the necessary flight preparations on Earth; exploration expedition and its adventures on Mars; and life on Earth after the space flight.

The creation of the estranged world in *Aelita* is achieved by the introduction of several *novums* in the novel. The first *novum* is related to the possibility of creating an interplanetary spaceship operated by humans and the safe interplanetary flight of this spacecraft to Mars with Los and Gusev on board. This novum is closely connected by numerous temporal and causal relations to another novum, that is the existence of a highly developed human-like society on Mars, where social organization resembles capitalist society.

The protagonists of the novel are: engineer Los (one more representative of intelligentsia in the new Bolshevik state) and his close companion in the flight to Mars, an ex-soldier Gusev. Los is a perfect demonstration of the role of education for the construction of a new society, and socialist utopia in particular. Being poor, he got his instruction by working since the age of twelve, gained a profound engineering qualification to be able to construct a spaceship to reach Mars.

It is worthwhile to demonstrate a very close cooperation, and later even friendship, between the main protagonists of the novel, the engineer Los and ex-soldier Gusev. It is important to observe that they belong to two different social *stratums,* to intelligentsia and the proletariat. This is also the case in *The Heart of a Dog,* since Doctor Bormental and Professor Preobrazhensky belong to intelligentsia, and Sharikov is the representative of the proletariat. However, in the metaphorical estranged world in *The Heart of a Dog* we observe very tense and antagonistic relations between the social *stratum* of the proletariat and intelligentsia, symbolized by the ideological clash between Dr Bormental, Professor Preobrazhensky on the one side and Sharikov on the other side, which finally ended badly for the latter. In the estranged world of *Aelita* we do not only observe a very close and fruitful cooperation between the representatives of different social *stratums* of the proletariat and intelligentsia, Los and Gusev, aimed at the preparation of the spaceship and spaceflight to Mars. We also observe their successful cooperation during the expedition to Mars and their spontaneous participation in the local upheaval of the working masses on Mars. Actually, this fact is very metaphorical, it has a great significance for the estranged world but this message is also very important, when projected back to the zero world. Moreover, it is exactly the strong and

devoted friendship between Los and Gusev that saves their lives and makes their successful return back to Earth possible.

The estranged fantastic world of Mars is of particular interest and importance, since it demonstrates all the contemporary set of scientific knowledge and assumptions about interplanetary flights, extra-terrestrial life forms and the possibility/impossibility of cooperation between the human species and extra-terrestrial life forms. It is important to emphasize that some technical devices introduced by Tolstoy into this novel, not only were mentioned in *Aelita* for the first time in science fiction literature but came into existence just a few decades later. This fact clearly demonstrates both a high level of the development of the genre of science fiction in the Soviet Union, and a high level of scientific and technological development of the country.

Aelita also clearly manifests that Alexey Tolstoy was influenced by the ideas of H. G. Wells, who was a very enthusiastic advocate of the unification of nations and of the World State. As a matter of fact, H. G. Wells was very popular in the Soviet Union, his ideas were very appreciated, and his books used to be republished over and over again. Moreover, H. G. Wells visited the Soviet Union and was received by Stalin, whom he interviewed. In *Aelita*, the influence of the Wellsian idea about the World State is traceable to the participation of Los and Gusev in the improvised revolution on Mars and their contemplations on the social structure of society.

In the novel *The Shape of Things to Come* there is a double frame narration: Dr. Philip Raven is telling the future of mankind which he reads in his dream in the history book printed in 2106. His fragmented notes are arranged into a coherent book by his friend, who is actually narrating the story. The paradigm of *The Shape of Things to Come* is the evolution of mankind from the 20th century, i.e. the Age of Frustration to the establishment of the Modern World States. This main theme may be divided in 4 parts: the Age of Frustration, the birth of the Modern State, the Modern State Militant, and the Modern State in control of Life. There is no individual protagonist in the book. Humankind is the collective protagonist, though some names are mentioned in passing, like Karl Marx, Lenin, De Windt, Essenden, etc. Since the main protagonist, that is, humankind in general, is allegorical, the text must be analysed as a parable in order to understand its message.

The views of Wells, Tolstoy and Bulgakov on the human working material for their utopias are somehow different. As it emerges from *The Shape of Things to Come*, Wells is clearly optimistic (and utopian) about human nature and society. According to him, it is possible to overcome all

the negative aspects in human nature and the factors, which led to the collapse of the individual capitalistic enterprise, such as greediness for money, power, property, human aggressiveness, inertia, and so on, in less than two centuries. In his narrative, Wells believes that it is possible to create utopia already with the present species of *Homo sapiens*. Indeed, even Stalin observed in 1934: "You, Mr Wells, evidently start out with the assumption that all men are good" (Anon. 1947). Wells is certain that it will take a short time to construct utopia, and no violence is needed, no class war, simply because the old social order is already falling to pieces by itself. He explains, "There is no need to disorganize the old system because it's disorganising itself enough as it is. That is why it seems to me insurrection against the old order, against the law, is obsolete, old-fashioned. […] The collapse is not a simple one: it is the outbreak of reactionary violence, which is degenerating to gangsterism" (Anon. 1947). This violence is manifested through the outbreak of a war in the novel, followed by the plague, gangsterism became barbarism. This chain of events embodies several viewpoints and convictions of Wells and performs several functions in the construction of utopia. First, it exemplifies the outbreak of violence as predicted by Wells in passing to the World State. Second, it is a logical consequence of entropy, law and order deterioration of the contemporary state system. As Wells emphasises, "I attack the present system in so far as it cannot assure order" (Anon. 1947). In the text, the war is also followed by plague and maculated fever, which reduced the population by half, as a logical consequence of destruction of all infrastructures: sanitary, medical, etc. Third, taking into consideration that Wells was a devoted Darwinist, one might suggest that the war and the plague served in a way for natural selection, where the fittest survived. After the plague, the construction of the World State intensified. The conflict between the working class and financial oligarchy was solved by means of education and economic planning. According to Wells, "If a country as a whole adopts the principle of a planned economy, if the government gradually, step by step, begins consistently to apply this principle, the financial oligarchy will at last be abolished, and socialism, in the Anglo-Saxon meaning of the word, will be brought about" (Anon. 1947). In this way, a desirable ideal society could be achieved without a revolution by means of reforms and reorganisation.

Wells believes and demonstrates in the text that it is possible to end the antagonisms between the old-world order and the new one simply by some reforms and reorganisations in society, for example by publishing a Declaration, and that people would accept the New World Government,

though with some insignificant resistance. As Wells explains in the interview with Stalin, "And it seems to me that when it comes to a conflict with reactionary and unintelligent violence, socialist can appeal to the law […]" (Anon. 1947). Hence, in the novel we observe the international acceptance of Declaration, proclaimed by the New World Government; it manifests Wells' convictions that the counter reaction of the old classes can be overruled by appealing to the law and order. Even a year after publication of this novel, during his 1934 visit to the Soviet Union, Wells did not change his convictions and was discussing with Stalin the merits of reformist socialism over Marxism-Leninism (Anon. 1947).

At the head of the reforms and reorganisations, Wells places the intellectual elite, which controls the progress of the World State: Sea and Air Ways Control, the First Council, the Second Council, etc. Wells often emphasized the importance of education for a significant social change: "There can be no revolution without a radical change in the educational system" (Anon. 1947). Hence, Wells demonstrates that finally great results were achieved through education in the World State:

> With sound education of mind and body and a rigorous and exact protection of property from dishonourable impulses, we have found that it is possible to give every human being such a liberty of movement and general behaviour as would have seemed incredible to some militant socialists who ruled the world during the earlier decades of the last century. But it is because of their stern and thorough cleansing of human life that we can now live in freedom. We may go anywhere in the world now, we may do practically anything that we can possibly desire to do." (Wells 2005, 326)

In the same way, Mikhail Bulgakov and Alexey Tolstoy emphasize the supreme importance of education for any society. Bulgakov was a very educated man himself, a trained doctor and a man of letters. All his family consisted of educated and intelligent people. In Moscow, he lived in a historical quarter, for centuries inhabited by intelligentsia; he loved and appreciated arts, science, and culture. Also, the two main protagonists in *The Heart of a Dog* are highly educated surgeons, who show concern for the role of education, culture, arts, and sciences in society. Alexey Tolstoy emphasizes the role of education even more. He demonstrates that only after the revolution it became possible for poor people like Los to get a first-class education and to make first-class scientific discoveries and innovations.

Wells advocates the idea about the supremacy of law and order. "I am for order," he says in the interview with Stalin (Anon. 1947). If we

compare the views on the social reorganization of society and the ways to achieve it, we may discover that the views of Mikhail Bulgakov and Alexey Tolstoy differ. For example, Bulgakov's position seems to be closer to the position of H. G. Wells, who preferred to achieve an ideal society through social reforms. Also, Mikhail Bulgakov was very sceptical and critical about revolution, in particular, the Great October Socialist Revolution. Like Wells, Bulgakov likes order. In *The Heart of a Dog,* he is discouraged by the disorder and abandonment, which reigned in the streets and in the minds after the revolution. However, it can be also interpreted as the extrapolation of his own negative attitude about his place in life; he studied in Russia but had to adjust and to work in the new Soviet state. As it becomes obvious from the novel, Mikhail Bulgakov also regretted about the deterioration of cultural values. Alexey Tolstoy, on the contrary, was positive about the changes caused by the Great October Socialist Revolution. In his estranged world in *Aelita*, he shows the consequences of these changes, such as scientific progress and grand discoveries, authentic human relations, etc.

Eugenics, as a very important issue for H. G. Wells, is present in his text in different degrees. Wells is rather careful with eugenics in his narration. He speaks about various genes-modifying gases:

> Their general effect is to produce mutations of various types. They bring about, abundantly and controllably, a variability in life which has hitherto been caused only with comparative rarity by cosmic radiations. By 2050 the biological world was confronted by a score of absolutely new species of plants and—queer first-fruits in the animal world—by two new and very destructive species of rodent. The artificial evolution of new creatures had come within the range of human possibility. (Wells 2005, 317)

However, Wells wants humankind to be rather careful with eugenics applied to human beings:

> Even the human type, it realized, was threatened. […] A general plan for the directed evolution of life upon the planet was drawn up. […] The particular field in which we propose a continuation of restraint is in the application of the rapidly advancing science of genetics to the increase of variability so far as human beings […] are concerned. We believe that the general feeling of the race is against any such experimentation at present. […] For an age or so we can be content with humanity as it now is. (Wells 2005, 319)

As it follows from the events in *The Heart of a Dog*, Mikhail Bulgakov is rather careful about the use of eugenics. The results of the innovative

surgery on the dog Sharik clearly demonstrate a very high potential of this field of knowledge for the human species, as seen by the eyes of the trained doctor (as we said, Bulgakov was a doctor by profession). However, constant criticism of the newly emerged human creature by his surgeons (Bormental and Preobrazhensky) signify not only the social and political criticism of Bulgakov, but also his social and scientific concerns about the wide use of eugenics and responsibility for such scientific experiments.

Another important component in the abovementioned novels by Wells, Tolstoy and Bulgakov is religion—despite, or even because of, their socialist beliefs. Wells extrapolates from the increasing secularism of his own time to foresee a gradual disappearance of religion. Wells was brought up as a Christian, but a turning point in his beliefs occurred when he studied at the Normal School of Science in South Kensington under Darwin's chief disciple, Thomas Henry Huxley. Exposure to Darwinism and Eugenics, as well as solid scientific training (Bachelor of Science with first class honours in zoology and second-class honours in geology) had shaken his faith in God and he became an atheist. Ever since, he manifested his atheism in fiction and advocated Darwinism and Eugenics to the end of his life.

In the estranged worlds of *Aelita* and the *The Heart of a Dog,* we also do not observe any traces of religion due to several reasons. First, in the Soviet Union, religion was separated from the state, since almost the first moments of the existence of the young Soviet state. A special decree of the young Soviet government postulated this separation *de jure*. Second, both Tolstoy and Bulgakov were highly instructed atheists, they both firmly believed in the ability of humanity to perform operations, which were earlier ascribed only to God. For example, space flights and transformation of the human species by man himself.

Conclusion

These outstanding novels, *The Heart of a Dog*, *Aelita* and *The Shape of things to Come*, develop many themes relative to utopia and new ideal states by means of estrangement from the zero world. Alongside these main themes, the novels also raise the issues of the responsibility of science and scientists, ethics and morals relative to scientific research. The novels by Wells and Bulgakov also dwell on the issue of eugenics, the field that was later widely explored by many prominent science fiction writers. Careful analysis reveals that the influence of Wells on Tolstoy and Bulgakov is more substantial than it seems at first sight. It is hardly possible to overestimate the influence of these three novels and their

estranged utopian worlds on the discussions of utopia in the genre of science fiction. It is hardly possible to overestimate the political, economic, and literary importance of the *Shape of Things to Come* as a source of ideas, which foreshadowed politically the modern process of globalisation, socialisation of some economies (planning and control of economy, reduction or elimination of unemployment, etc.). It is possible to conclude, that mployment of estrangement and the creation of the estranged worlds in these novels, as well as their careful analytical investigation from various points of view, enabled many positive social, cultural, political and economic changes in the society.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE INTERNET AS A SPACE OF FOREIGN
LANGUAGE IN JEANETTE WINTERSON'S
THE POWERBOOK

ARIJANA LUBRIĆ-CVIJANOVIĆ

Outline

Inspired by the whirlwind of change in the world of technology, Jeanette Winterson's *The PowerBook* (2000) takes a step further in exploring the Internet's possibilities of redefinition and reinvention that determine the novel's incessantly shifting structure, setting, and cast. Published at the turn of the century, Winterson's state-of-the-art, yet decidedly modernist, fiction belongs to a historical and literary interregnum which requires it to negotiate between the old and new. Hence the delicate balance in this endlessly metamorphing narrative between old and new, real and fictional, worlds, thematic concerns, and literary allegiances. The aim of this chapter is to read the cyberworld in the novel as a cosmopolitan magical space of reinvention whose guiding principle of repetition takes it from sameness to difference and back, allowing the story to go "deeper than disguise" and prove *The PowerBook* to be a prose piece about and of our times.

The PowerBook: a fiction of and about our times

"Can we identify a set of thematic or stylistic characteristics that mark a new phase in the development of the novel, that would allow us to speak meaningfully of the twenty-first-century novel [...]?" (Boxall 2013, 1) This is the question that opens Peter Boxall's book-length discussion of twenty-first century fiction, which, in 2020, we are still unable to properly theorise for a lack of necessary perspective. Nevertheless, recent theoretical and critical literature on contemporary cosmopolitan fiction attempts to make sense of what it sees as "a new kind of novel—'the cosmopolitan novel'" (Schoene 2010, 11) whose representatives are, seemingly

paradoxically, disconnected but cohesive "narratives of connected humanity" (Leonard 2014, 4) which thematise and structurally reflect the idea of a borderless, transnational world. While cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan literature are not products of our rapidly changing times, there is something peculiarly contemporary about the idea of a new cosmopolitanism that these narratives communicate. The cosmopolitan novel of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, whose fragmented structures connected by themes, ideas, characters, and leitmotifs mirror the intricate ways in which our compartmentalised realities intersect, examines cosmopolitanism in the context of globalisation as a politically engaged phenomenon. Moving beyond traditional notions of cosmopolitanism as a form of detachment and disassociating itself from the naïve cosmopolitan perspectives inspired by the fall of the Berlin Wall, the new, especially post-9/11, cosmopolitanism assumes a more realistic attitude to the world which is prompted by the coexistence of cosmopolitan sentiments with paranoid xenophobia, nationalism, and racism. As an ethos and even a "strategy of resistance" (Schoene 2010, 5), the latest variant of cosmopolitanism hints at the need to ethically and politically engage with the world and critically assess a sense of disillusionment in the aftermath of the World Trade Center attacks.[1]

Unlike Berthold Schoene, who sees this as a crucial concern of British writing, which he believes is now evolving, or has already evolved, into a "'world literature' of cosmopolitan human experience" (2010, 16), Elaine Showalter claims that it is precisely a lack of political awareness and critique that lies at the core of the turn-of-the-century English novel which is "all dressed up and nowhere to go" (2000). Jeanette Winterson's *The PowerBook* (2000) serves, in Showalter's view, as a prototypical example of a certain plight the English novel was experiencing at the beginning of the new millennium. Showalter believes that Winterson's interest in love triangles and gender play styled in pronouncedly lyrical prose reminiscent of modernist aesthetics does not merit being called anything but "literary junk food" as its thematic focus clearly demonstrates that "English novelists are turning away from the big subjects to the perennial small change of romance" (2000). Published in 2000, Showalter's grossly generalising review is unaware of the full significance of its insightful claim about "the greatest social material offered to fiction since the 1840s", although one might wonder what happened to the world wars and

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[1] For a more detailed discussion, see Arijana Luburić-Cvijanović, "Cosmopolitan Encounters in Shaun Tan's *The Arrival*," In *Current Topics in Language and Literature—An International Perspective*, eds. Nataša Bakić-Mirić *et al*. (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), 225–241.

their aftermaths, for instance. It is also mistaken in assuming that English fiction, typified by *The PowerBook*, is solely "about love instead of money, about sex instead of power, about the past instead of the future" (2000). In fact, twenty-first century English and, more widely, British fiction has well surpassed Showalter's hope "that in the decade to come, British novelists will also look at the real cities changing around them and find language for the new stories of aspiration, ambition and adventure they contain" (2000). Even if Jeanette Winterson repeatedly writes about the at times admittedly trivial theme of love, both love and sex are regarded through the prism of the power structures that govern gender relations. As her 2000 fiction contrasts privileged and unprivileged past and present forms of travel and migration, the issues of power and money are refracted through a variety of historical contexts and captured perfectly in the image of illegal African immigrants selling fake Louis Vuitton luggage in luxury shopping streets once visited by the likes of the Medicis. Finally, while writers seem to find no fault with narrating the past and, in fact, persistently return to history as an overarching literary theme, *The PowerBook*, whose very title is a hint at its preoccupation with the present and future, carefully intertwines narratives of the past and present, offering glimpses into the future.

Such intersecting narratives, spun across time and space, are common in contemporary cosmopolitan novels like David Mitchell's *Cloud Atlas* (2004) or Caryl Phillips's *The Nature of Blood* (1997). They choose to develop their themes in endlessly transforming settings, characterised by spatial and temporal criss-crossing, rather than look exclusively to the future. Unlike the dystopian visions of Kazuo Ishiguro's *Never Let Me Go* (2005) or Ian McEwan's *Machines Like Me* (2019), which get to the root of our long-established concerns about cloning and artificial intelligence, the new cosmopolitan novel prefers the wide-angle lens. Much cosmopolitan fiction, epitomised by Winterson's *The PowerBook*, Hari Kunzru's *Transmission* (2004), and Salman Rushdie's *The Ground Beneath Her Feet* (1999), among many others, tackles a number of burning contemporary issues with future implications: travel and migration, global circulations of people and capital, subsequent changes in national identities and perceptions of community, the potential and influence of information technologies, American imperialism, terrorism, and continuing inequalities. With its endlessly transforming structure, settings, and characters, Winterson's whirlwind of a fiction—and she prefers to call it a fiction rather than a novel—examines some of these themes in ways that challenge any ingrained ideas one might still have of what the novel is. This metamorphic "*tour de monde*" (Schoene 2010, 12) keeps changing

shape, place, and time, casting the equally metamorphic characters in a world of transnational concerns which asserts its freedom from location in an intricate play between the local and the global. Evoking the new cosmopolitan idea of community as the Nancean being-in-common that incorporates both privileged and underprivileged existence, *The PowerBook* narrates our cellular, yet shared, experience of living through a story of love and power in physical space and cyberspace. While it all adds to the impression that, at the moment of its first publication, *The PowerBook* was on the cutting edge of literary trends, and the year of publication placed it symbolically on the historical and literary threshold, the timing expectedly doomed *The PowerBook* to be politically amiss despite its involvement in heavily politicized gender issues and its subtle hints at the economic undercurrents of contemporary Western societies. Winterson's fiction had no choice but to leave the big political subjects of the moment to authors like Mohsin Hamid and Ian McEwan; however, the inspiration it drew from information technologies enabled it to keep its head high above water by providing it with a space to explore another relevant, and not entirely unrelated, present-day issue, that of the Internet's virtually endless and magical potential for reinventing the world and self.

"Nothing is solid. Nothing is fixed.": cyberspace as a cosmopolitan magical space of reinvention

In *The PowerBook*, Winterson's customary quest for love takes its cue from the structurally, temporally, and spatially dispersed *Art & Lies* (1994), a "piece" which examines the mechanisms of memory and forgetting and exposes history as a fictionalised narrative.[2] Through endless alterations in structure, scene, and character that are typical of the new kind of novel inspired by our rapidly changing realities and technologies, Winterson attempts to depict "a world inventing itself. Daily, new landmasses form and then submerge. New continents of thought break off from the mainland. Some benefit from a trade wind, some sink without trace." (Winterson 2001, 63) In the morphing landscapes of thought where real and imagined places meet and merge, Winterson picks and examines bits and pieces of different lives, or different variants of the same life, set in the past and present, in real and fictional worlds, which tell the same timeless story of passionate yet

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[2] For more on this, see Viktorija Krombholc and Arijana Luburić-Cvijanović, "'What appears is not what is': Jeanette Winterson's *Art & Lies* and *The Passion*," *Kultura*, no. 150 (2016), 115–135.

conditioned or thwarted love. The story is gathered from the dancing reflections of a narrative broken into short chapters that combine brief paragraphs of first- and third-person narration with a contemporary form of dramatic dialogue, the Internet chat. Influenced by the Internet, *The PowerBook* is "structured as a series of intersecting and embedded micronarratives" (Leonard 2014, 53) with titles like "SAVE", "OPEN", or "EMPTY TRASH" designed, among other reasons, to indicate the book's connection with technology. On the very first page the reader is informed that the connection does not serve as a mere formal principle and throughout the book the narrator reminds us that technology is also "the site for self-reinvention" (Leonard 2014, 53) which translates its mutability into setting, character, and even the body. The complex interaction between sameness and difference draws attention to repetition as a guiding principle of the world, an idea that is common in and essential to cosmopolitan narratives like *Cloud Atlas*, *Transmission*, or *The Nature of Blood*. Coupled with an "attribute of variation" (Winterson 2001, 9) that characterises everything in *The PowerBook*, from tulips and humans to structure, the principle of repetition transforms the genderfluid characters from various historical contexts into the archetypal figures of storyteller, lover, artist, explorer, and traveller in a fiction where the "[s]lightest accidents open up new worlds" (Winterson 2001, 32). The fictional world's principle of chance is in fact one that also governs the real world: "I had planned my afternoon. Chance had changed it." (Winterson 2001, 44) Does Winterson's fictional world then mimic the real one?

In his nuanced discussion of the new cosmopolitan novel, Schoene considers the following question. If the globalised world serves as the setting in the new cosmopolitan novel which attempts to mimic the structure of this world, how does it impact the form and structure of the novel, and what is the structure of this world actually like? (2010, 12–3) In other words, Schoene is certain that structuring the larger cosmopolitan narrative as interconnected cellular smaller ones is designed to imitate the structure of the globalised world. Composite real-world structures that closely follow fluctuations in political, economic, and cultural power relations inspire narrative structures equally characterised by "recurrent reassemblage" (Schoene 2010, 21). On the other hand, Justyna Kostkowska, who interprets the variegated structure of *The PowerBook* as a celebration of diversity that defies authoritarian forms, focuses on the question of language and sees in Winterson's foregrounding of language an alternative to mimetic representation. Speaking of Virginia Woolf, Ali Smith, and Jeanette Winterson, she highlights "the innovative character of their prose, which puts language in the foreground to pose alternatives to mimetic

representation and realism" (2013, 4). Madalena Gonzalez goes a step further in the same direction to read the stylistic and narrative eccentricity in *The PowerBook* as reflective of the author's wish to mock mimesis (2008, 117). This jerky and ambiguous narrative, however, does not allow for easy solutions and offers instead the possibility of multiple and flexible interpretations. As ludicrous as it may sound, *The PowerBook* can and perhaps should be read as both mimicking reality and posing as an alternative to or mockery of mimesis. If the work's aesthetic concerns and eccentric means of expression and representation take it en route to alternatives and mockery, its Internet-inspired structure does mimic the reality as we now experience it. Winterson's peculiar combination of fantasy and realism further contributes to the impression that *The PowerBook* simultaneously attempts to question mimetic representations of orderly and unambiguous realities *and* imitate, as adequately as possible, a reality which has by now all but renounced its wish to distinguish between the real and the fictional.

Given its complexity, variety, mutability, and opportunities for (dis)appearing or going "deeper than disguise" (Winterson 2001, 4), the Internet, whose logic becomes "the novel's organising principle" (Onega 2006, 182), may just be the most suitable medium to articulate our mediated reality. The starting point is an Internet chat between a would-be interactive narrator and a user whose alias Tulip triggers the first among many transformations of identity which both the user and the narrator crave. The text then "saturates itself in a symbolic order drawn from computing technologies" (Leonard 2014, 54) which determines virtually every aspect of the novel, from chapter titles and narrative flow to the language and dynamics of relationships. Both Sonya Andermahr and Susana Onega have stressed the similarities between hypertext and the narrative organisation of *The PowerBook* whose structure "reflects the non-linear nature of reading hypertext" (Andermahr 2009, 103) with different stories "accessed, interacted upon, abandoned and reopened at will by narrator and narratee, as if they were links in a hypertextual network" (Onega 2006, 183). The narrative also "approximates to a series of 'windows', each adding a layer to the narrative so that reading is analogous to surfing the web" (Andermahr 2009, 108), with different windows containing different lives or alternative versions of the same life. Hypertext-like reading dissolves the boundaries between the micronarratives, allowing them to intersect, overlap, intertwine, embed in one another, and merge into "one archetypal quest narrative" (Andermahr 2009, 106).

Despite Winterson's usual interest in love, the quest is not an exclusively romantic one as the narrative also searches for a world beyond boundaries and binaries.

In her ecocritical reading of Winterson's work, Justyna Kostkowska expresses a view shared by Berthold Schoene that such texts possess "world-transforming potential, as they offer formal models that overcome dualistic thinking and unsettle traditional binaries" (2013, 5). Freedom for one night promised by the storyteller at the very outset is then freedom from the shackles of hierarchical dichotomies and fixed identities. It is precisely this freedom that the defiant pluralistic structure of *The PowerBook* formally enacts, stimulating reader participation, encouraging "relationships based on democracy rather than hierarchy", and subverting "the commercialized, consumer-oriented novel genre" (Kostkowska 2013, 71). To practice freedom, *The PowerBook* establishes its own dichotomies—meatspace and cyberspace, real and imagined, atom and dream—only to disavow them by persistently proving their porous nature. The reader is almost never entirely sure whether the scenes belong to the imaginary world or the equally fictional "real" one, and the narrator informs them of the intention to "move this story on, trying to avoid endings, trying to collide the real and the imaginary worlds, trying to be sure which is which", becoming aware in the process of writing "that the partition between real and invented is as thin as a wall in a cheap hotel" (Winterson 2001, 93). This enables the narrative to venture beyond the limiting simplicity of "either/or" and enjoy playing with clear-cut demarcation lines.

Perhaps the most obvious aspect of freedom *The PowerBook* has to offer is freedom from location in cyberspace. While specific locations play an important role in contextualizing the micronarratives, juxtaposing the past and present, and emphasising the significance of the local for the envisioning of the global, *The PowerBook* provides both the protagonists and the narrative itself with a sense of independence of location. The characters have the whole world, real and imagined, literally at their fingertips and while they are no doubt in particular places, they are also curiously displaced. In a sharp contrast to stories that were, as Kostkowska reminds us following up on David Abram, originally "told by specific people in a specific place" and "rooted in the location, the landscape" (2013, 8), the translocational and transtemporal nature of Winterson's narrative opens up ostensibly endless possibilities for exposing and overcoming the limitations of "real", physical space—the constraints of place, time, body, gender, sexuality, or marriage—possibilities that are invariably limited by "a discursively conditioned experience" (Butler

1990, 9). The limitations of what Winterson calls meatspace are intimated by Ali the Turk who spends her/his life in disguise and contemplates the body as disguise: "What if skin, bone, liver, veins, are things I use to hide myself? I have put them on and I can't take them off. Does that trap me or free me?" (Winterson 2001, 15) Winterson's narrative then uses this question as a stepping stone to explore disguise as a portal of freedom, bearing in mind that it can also become a snare.

To escape insistence on strict gender binaries in a world which struggles to accept the increasing ambiguity of gender and sex, itself a constructed category that once appeared to be (dis)comfortingly fixed and binary, *The PowerBook* employs fluidity of gender and therefore indulges in endless gender transformations. Cross-dressing, gender confusion, and mistaken identities, all evocative of Shakespeare's comedies, are here enhanced by means of magic, which can turn a tulip into a phallus, and technology, which allows you to temporarily be anyone you wish to be. The narrative clears the space for gender fluidity early on, when it determines the highly disputable, heterogeneous, and context-dependent real-world coordinates of "male" and "female" only to make known their inconsequentiality in cyberspace.

> 'Male or female?'
> 'Does it matter?'
> 'It's a co-ordinate.'
> 'This is a virtual world.' (Winterson 2001, 26)

The literal and figurative immateriality of "male" and "female" in cyberspace is emphasised by cross-dressing, magical gender transformations, as well as the gender-neutral name of the principal character Ali/x, rendering these categories unrecognisable. In this way, Winterson manages to "trouble the gender categories that support gender hierarchy and compulsory heterosexuality" and question the "heterosexual matrix for conceptualizing gender and desire" (Butler 1990, 8). Gender fluidity and hybridity are therefore thematised alongside ambiguous sexuality that crosses the boundaries of conservative morality and flouts the conventions of marriage, inside of which "there were too many clocks and not enough time" (Winterson 2001, 39). As genderfluid characters enjoy emotional and sexual relationships with cisgender ones and women have extramarital affairs with other women, *The PowerBook* effectively undermines heteronormative ideas of gender roles, sexuality, marriage, and family.

The characters' protest against heteronormativity is enabled by technology as "word-processing commands provide the lexicon for characters' relationships" (Leonard 2014, 54), allowing them to transport themselves

to any place, time, or self. Spatiotemporal shrinking in cyberspace provides independence from time and location, highlighting the characters' togetherness in the macronarrative: "The screen was dimming. The air was heavy. You and I, separated by distance, intimate of thought, waited." (Winterson 2001, 26) Since *The PowerBook* defies temporal and spatial distance, the characters' continually morphing selves virtually travel from Turkey to France or Italy, and effortlessly transport themselves from one moment in time to another. As Kostkowska notes, George Mallory, one of many fictionalised historical figures in Winterson's oeuvre, laughs at his broken yet ticking watch, mocking "the artificiality and insignificance of linear time" (2013, 78). The frequently disputed obsession with linearity in the self-proclaimed rational world is trivialised by the potential of Winterson's spatiotemporal puzzle in which different locations and moments require different identities. The endlessly transforming identities/disguises, signalled by shifting names—Ali the Turk; Ali/x the narrator; Ali's, a Turkish restaurant—confirm the narrator's claim that instead of being "close and finite, […] we are multiple and infinite" (Winterson 2001, 103). The indisputable pleasure the characters take in the transgressive potential of cyberspace contests Gonzalez's view that *The PowerBook* is "both complicit with the technological age and revolting against it" (2008, 116). Admittedly, Winterson makes sure to let the reader know that cyberspace is not free from limitations since the characters can be seen as "imprisoned within, as much as liberated by, a mobile network of cell phones, iPods, and laptops" (Gonzalez 2008, 114), and however deeply invested in cyberspace they are, they carry and feel the weight of meatspace—understood as place or body—which in the narrator's own words has indisputable advantages for love encounters.

The narrative, however, seems to show a certain preference for the imaginative potential of cyberspace that reaches far beyond the romantic or erotic chat to offer freedom in redefining both community and self. Community in Winterson's book is defined as "[s]o many lives, and ours too, tangled up with this night, these strangers" (Winterson 2001, 32). It is a mutable, transnational, cross-cultural, and at times quite literally imagined global community as a pan-historical rather than strictly contemporary phenomenon, which offers multiple forms of attachment. Community does not exist in *The PowerBook* in any of its traditional variants and is instead reimagined as "a noisy mediation" (Leonard 2014, 53) whose perpetually variable structure prefigures hierarchy and privilege. As such, community in *The PowerBook* suggests that "an elevated sphere travelled by the privileged is upheld by innumerable lower levels" (Schoene 2010, 14). The narrative makes this particularly clear

when it juxtaposes luxury shopping and police-dodging immigrant street vendors of fake luxury items, or when the lovers meet in hotels and restaurants which frequently employ illegal workforce. Yet, Winterson chooses not to dwell on it, not necessarily for a lack of engagement; as Gonzalez points out, Winterson's work can be read as an "attempt to re-aestheticize our so-called post-real experience and thereby reconnect us to a consciousness of the political and the ethical" (2008, 112). However preoccupied Winterson is with aesthetics, she provides subtle references to the more or less hidden lower levels of social stratification: poverty alongside riches in Capri, illegal African immigrants and refugees whose problems, or even very existence, are often invisible and underrepresented. The missing sense of solidarity in the characters from the elevated sphere, travelers whose privileged status is indicated by air travel, possession of computers and credit cards, dining out, and renting luxury accommodation, may point to our tendency to deliberately or inadvertently ignore the experiences of the less fortunate and disenfranchised members of society. The privileged, in Schoene's words, have the luxury to "easily avert their gaze" (Schoene 2010, 14). Rather than expose the mechanisms behind our emotional detachment, Winterson takes on the task of creating a community of real and imagined past and present characters from different locations and times, a community "as a fabulation" (Leonard 2014, 55) and a cosmopolitan space for her lovers to enjoy the freedom that reality denies them. Following up on Nancy, Leonard sees in *The PowerBook* a confirmation that "literature offers a perpetual calling together" (2014, 59). It is this ability to call together that Winterson mobilises to show community as a "mutually pervasive pattern of contemporary human circumstance and experience" (Schoene 2010, 15–6) that joins people from Turkey, America, Japan, France, England, Australia, and a number of other places. Winterson's community is also more than that as she builds layer upon layer of history, which allows Egyptian princesses at Karnak to share the same imaginary space as French teenagers drinking Coke, while Tiberius is hiding from the plots of the Empire as tourists inspect his Villa Jovis from a boat. Rather than explore this pattern of experience as "containing both dark and light" (Schoene 2010, 16), Winterson decides to merely hint at it and then fix her gaze on the light. She "turns to materiality's reinvention" (Leonard 2014, 55) with the help of a mind reaching forward "into the unlimited space it can occupy when I loose it from its kennel" (Winterson 2001, 45).

The ensuing transformations of community are conterminous with and inseparable from redefinitions of the self, which confirm Andermahr's claim that Winterson "continually returns to the idea that the self is not

fixed and that we live many lives simultaneously" (2009, 29). On a formal
level, *The PowerBook*'s structure reflects at the same time the globalised
world's scattered sense of belonging and community, "the mobility and
mutability of online identities" (Andermahr 2009, 103), and identity in
general as a continuous process of becoming. In Winterson's exploration
of mutability, the Internet is both the designated site for transformation
and the trope of mutability, with identities going well beyond mere
disguise. Reassemblage of the individual and the communal self is perhaps
most persuasively thematised through gender fluidity which affirms
Butler's view of gender as "a complexity whose totality is permanently
deferred, never fully what it is at any given juncture in time" (Butler 1990,
16). Butler's claim is clearly relevant for the understanding of identity in
general as a process whose totality is deferred, and Winterson examines it
at different junctures in time to highlight its characteristic alternations of
sameness and difference, mutability, and lack of finish. The transgressivity
of the sexed and gendered body in *The PowerBook* releases it from the
clutches of discourses that produce the body as "male" or "female", and its
conscious, deliberate, and active mutability allows it to defy the common
conception of the body as a passive recipient of cultural inscriptions,
earlier exposed by Simon de Beauvoir and Judith Butler, among others. To
transcend the limitations of the body and free it from constraints,
Winterson plays with the notion of gender as "persistent impersonation
that passes as the real" (Butler 1990, viii). To go back to the more general
notion of self, speaking of space outside marriage where "there would be
nothing to hold her", the narrator's lover defines the potential of
cyberspace using the following words: "Space without gravity or weight,
where bit by bit the self disintegrates" (Winterson 2001, 39). Then,
however, the narrative repeatedly confirms that the self reassembles and
its tireless reassemblage prevents the reader from distinguishing between
the real and the fictional self since both classify as "impersonation that
passes as the real". These reassembling selves can also be seen as "mere
replicas, but not even of themselves, for all identities are borrowed and
may be shucked on or off again at a moment's notice" (Gonzalez 2008,
113). Reinventing the self in different contexts, with the same lovers in
different disguises or impersonations, then serves to confirm the
performativity of (gendered) identity whose "potential for self-transformation
lies in the very act of storytelling" (Onega 2006, 182): "I can change the
story. I am the story." (Winterson 2001, 5) It all starts and ends "in these
long lines of laptop DNA" whose possibilities for transformation far
outmatch those offered by fancy dress shops which people enter "as
themselves and leave as someone else" (Winterson 2006, 4, 3). The

variable nature of laptop DNA results in what Gonzalez sees as a failure on the protagonists' part "to give a convincing performance of stable identity" (2008, 118). Leonard aptly notes, however, that stable identities are not at all what this narrative is after; instead, *The PowerBook* explores "the fluid and fabricated subjectivities that are made possible by digital and network culture" (2014, 55), and the selfsame exploratory gesture reveals that all subjectivities can be understood as disguises, impersonations, or replicas. Contact between these fabricated subjectivities that pass as the real, between bodies, between the self and community, as well as between different narratives, is enabled by writing which follows the narrative rhythms of the Internet. "*The PowerBook* is a book in which the writing of the story *is* the story." (Andermahr 2009, 103)

"There is always a new beginning, a different end"

The PowerBook is a quest-driven artistic attempt to collapse the boundaries of genre, gender, poetry and prose, reality and fantasy, and thus promote "a rethinking of the way we conceive of all the category-forming we engage in (Kostkowska 2013, 87). To embrace the opportunities for transcending binaries offered by new technologies, Winterson employs the Internet as a trope and organising principle. The strategy is not new but is reflective of an entire trend in contemporary British fiction, which takes inspiration from new technologies. With their rapid development, the novel as a genre is yet again in the process of reinvention, captured brilliantly by the *The PowerBook*'s narrator: "there is always a new beginning, a different end" (Winterson 2001, 4), and now experiments with "more cellular modes of representation" (Schoene 2010, 27). The novel's engagement with the medium, a feature of British fiction as early as the eighteenth century and then the target of renewed interest in the twentieth century, is also reflective of the persistent need in postmodern authors to expose "the flawed nature of representation" (Gonzalez 2008, 115). Through compartmentalised narrative representation of the interplay between homogeneity and heterogeneity, actual and imagined freedom from location, as well as different, and stratified, overlapping layers of privileged and underprivileged existence, *The PowerBook* as a prototypical cosmopolitan fiction also mimics and scrutinizes globalisation's strategies of "homogenisation, deracination and compartmentalisation" (Schoene 2010, 14).

Instead of dwelling on the political, social, and economic stratifications of the globalised real world, however, Winterson directs most of her attention to the possibilities of cyberspace and "remodels the epistolary

novel for the information age" (Leonard 2014, 54). She does so by pursuing narrative strategies typical of online communication which expose "the commodified condition of aesthetics" (Gonzalez 2008, 117). As if to redefine Samuel Richardson's technique of "writing to the moment" in the age of technology, Winterson creates the impression that the act of writing is simultaneous with the action being written. In Winterson's novel the technique is in reverse: events are not being written down as they are happening; they are happening as they are being written down. This further contributes to "the disintegration of the border that separates actuality and artificiality" (Leonard 2014, 54), a tendency, which is seen elsewhere, in politics, media reporting, holograms, prosthetic limbs, or plastic surgery.

In a narrative which suggests that it is not always easy, or useful, to distinguish between the real and the virtual, a hotel lobby encounter may imply that the chatting lovers know each other in real life, but then halfway through the story the encounter turns out to be fiction. The "real" world and the virtual world of cyberspace are both part of the fictional space of one of Winterson's many books, which erase the boundary between fact and fiction, history and fiction, and autobiography and fiction. Despite the fact that, in this sense, *The PowerBook* invites an active reader, Winterson's penchant for combining realism and fantasy, the interest in technology that she exhibits in this work, and the fiction's many structural gaps, short paragraphs and even shorter sentences may all be playing into the hands of the reader as consumer, whose preferences lie with the fantastic and the technologically up-to-date, while their diminishing attention span is increasingly intimidated by the likes of Thomas Pynchon or David Foster Wallace.

What directions in the development of the novel does it all point to? Should we follow Winterson's example in labelling such works as fictions rather than novels? However we decide to label them, and we are certainly fond of applying and disputing labels, will their structures and concerns further disperse and disintegrate? If so, can Winterson's "essentially modernist confidence in the redemptive, transformative value of art" (Kostkowska 2013, 4), which at the same time exposes its commodification, work its magic? *The PowerBook* is seen as representative of "post-realist aesthetics situated within a Baudrillardian realm of simulacra" that "has come to dominate much of contemporary fiction" and is characterised by "rampant technophilia" (Gonzalez 2008, 111). If it is situated within that realm, can it effectively reclaim aesthetics and express or embody the idea of art as a transcendent value? Gonzalez hints at another important direction the contemporary novel is taking: is *The PowerBook*'s obsessive

self-reflexiveness symptomatic of the "all-pervading self-consciousness of the Western world" and its "compulsive, if critical, narcissism" (Gonzalez 2008, 112)? Bearing all this in mind, it seems unlikely that the novel will go back to more traditional narratives, although they continue to be written and read, if less frequently. *The PowerBook*'s return to what Schoene calls "small *récits* […] outside any safely contextualising frame […] is no second-best compromise" (Schoene 2010, 28). It allows for the understanding of the magical potential of the Internet, and globalisation, from the position of the local or the microscopic. Taking her mind through space and time, and using "written and unwritten" narratives, Winterson sets out to tell different stories about millions of possible but unactualised worlds where paths may lead to different endings and confirm the narrator's claim that "stories are maps […] of journeys that have been made and might have been made […] through territory real and imagined" (2001, 53–4). *The PowerBook*'s exploration of the "territory real and imagined" is then bound to be open to endless and, yes, self-obsessed alternations which reflect and question our kaleidoscopic realities whose border between the real and the fictional has (entirely?) disappeared.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

TAPPING INTO (PAN)SEXUALITY
AND GENDER ROLES:
"APPEALING" WITCHES IN THE
CONTEMPORARY TV SERIES
THE CHILLING ADVENTURES OF SABRINA

GIADA GORACCI

Outline

The everlasting images of female energy have been long celebrated and passed on from generation to generation as symbols of natural strength and supernatural appeal. Occult allegories and "veiled" practices have roots in the belief that there is a corresponding realm to the material world in which we spend our human existence. The American horror web series *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina*, aired in 2018, renders the story of a half-witch girl, Sabrina, who is starting her "bewitched" education while trying to lead a "normal" life. The apparent normality of the protagonist's life is here tapped into a world of blurring and non-binary characters, who seduce the audience and invite them to resist "othered" experiences.

1. Introduction

Horror TV series became popular in the 1960s since the members of that generation were the first to grow up with television access. Nowadays, horror TV and web series have gained new popularity as a consequence of the reruns of previous horror programs; indeed, as Noel Carroll (1990) posits, the audience shows that the "affection for horror, to a large extent, was nurtured and deepened by the endless reruns of the earlier horror and sci-fi cycles that provided the repertoire of the afternoon and late-night television of their youth"(3). For instance, TV series such as *Buffy the*

Vampire Slayer (1997-2003) before and currently the web series *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* have become the new thrill and foster unpredictable and appealing characters, who, not surprisingly, challenge gender *clichés* and share a fascination with the sensual/sexual possibilities that witchcraft offers the contemporary audience. Blinking the eye to a wide range of "female" viewers, the characters of the series show a deeper development, they seem more human and reachable than in the past. Accordingly, starting from the 1990s, female characters on TV are more likely to be represented having occupations and playing roles that previously were only men's prerogatives. This notwithstanding, whatever part a female character might have acted, her role has inevitably been undermined by a male counterpart. Over the centuries, women have been "defined" on the premise that their value lies in their relationships to men (Lauzen, Dozier, Horan, 2008)[1]. In this perspective, female models have normally been proposed according to sexual stereotypes or social conventions. Conversely, the web series *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* titillates the audience's imagination fostering authoritative and dominating characters, who also offer sexist jokes, aiming at reinforcing female superiority. On this purpose, women are no longer heterosexual, but rather show "hues" which cannot remain unnoticed by audiences. Patriarchy and male dominance are eclipsed, and at times overlapped, by women's powerful and energetic halos.

In the past, female characters have been underrepresented and sexualized in TV shows, but in this series empirical evidence regarding women's stereotypes seems to suggest that even if female roles might follow patriarchal values, some others do on occasion challenge and undermine them. To this extent, witches are no longer represented as old hags, but rather as "appealing creatures" whose gothic paraphernalia and features hint at a subversive streak that undercuts established horror archetypes and tropes. In *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina*, female characters are rendered in a "veiled" version, a filmic device which makes them more obscure, transgressive, sexualized, and seductive. Likewise, common tropes such as supernatural phenomena, temporal or spatial haunting, and secluded locations enshrine a sense of excess beyond control. Within this background, the role played by Sabrina, the protagonist of the web series, embodies Ann Radcliffe's distinction between *horror* and *terror*, according to which "terror and horror are far opposite, [in] that the first expands the soul, and awakens the faculties to a

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[1] https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249025853_Constructing_Gender_Ster eotypes_Through_Social_Roles_in_Prime-Time_Television, last accessed 13/07/2019.

high degree of life; the other contracts, freezes, and nearly annihilates them".[2] Sabrina and her female companions entice the audience with an obscure and evoking imaginary and with the promise/threat of finding something more "appealing" beyond a misleading reality.

The witches of this series entrap, engulf, and overwhelm males' instincts and senses, thus disturbing and brainwashing their will and complacency. The impact of the witches is immediate on the audience, since they are "symbolically and psychologically capacious"[3], ambiguous, and uncanny. It is precisely this dimension, the uncanny, which provides a further approach, a more physical perspective, in that through the stereotype of the witch, the female bodies in the web series become metaphors of (pan)senxuality, of a higher level of multi-gendered entities, luxurious experiences but also deadly consequences. The (pan)sexual perspective adopted to display these contemporary witches rearrange the binary male-female gendered opposition on purpose, thus undermining patriarchal roles and making institutionalized definitions more adaptable. Within macabre locations, foggy pathts, obscure woods, and creepy settings, the audience is tapped into voluptuous atmospheres in which they dare to linger.

2. (Pan)sexualized Witches: The Real Threat

The horror web series *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina*[4] premiered on 26 October 2018—a Netflix's reboot of the 1990s TV com *Sabrina The Teenage Witch*—intersects contemporary trends and cultural issues such as gender roles, feminism, and the interest in supernatural. Indeed, in this series, Sabrina Spellman struggles to find her way in an in-between world of occult and modern witchcraft to reconcile her double nature as a half-human and half-witch. This alternative world is peopled by evil forces which threaten her and by several charming and ambiguous witches, such as Hilda and Zelda Spellman, Sabrina's aunts, Lilith[5], an intelligent

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[2] https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/an-introduction-to-ann-radcliffe, last accessed 13/07/2019.

[3] Roper, Lyndal. *Witch Craze*. Yale University Press, 2004. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1nq4f7, last accessed 13/07/2019.

[4] This web series has been developed by Roberto Aguirre-Sacasa, an adaptation of the comics written by the author. The first ten episodes were aired on October 26th, 2018. The second part of the first season was released on April 5th, 2019 on Netflix.

[5] Lilith is known as the first woman created by God. She was banned by God from the Garden of Eden because she was more intelligent and stronger than Adam and

manipulator who tries to convince Sabrina to sign the Book and become Satan's acolyte so that she herself can get the absolute power and become the Queen of Evil, Rosalind Walker, the daughter of Greendale's minister and Sabrina's best friend, Prudence Night, a student at the Academy of the Unseen Arts, who is the leader of the three Weird Sisters, Susie/Theo Putnam, a trans boy, and Ambrose Spellman, Sabrina's pansexual cousin from England.

These enticing witches embark on a new feminist season against an oppressive and phallocratic society by openly leading men to feel weak or emasculated. The first example of emasculation is fostered in season 1, chapter two *The Dark Baptism*, as the Weird Sisters and Sabrina try to take revenge against Susie's abusers. On this occasion, Prudence Night—one of the Weird Sisters—entraps some birds in a cage to show how she will punish the football players who bullied Susie and tells her companions and Sabrina: "We took their boyhoods. Until you release the birds, those four boys…won't be rising to any occasion". As this quote shows, men's power is the real threat to Sabrina, the institutionalized tropes of a patriarchy which is eager to forge and sacrifice women "to feed" and increase its own need for control and supremacy. Hence, in a society ruled by men, on the one hand witches represent the wild nature of women—a nature that cannot be tamed—and, on the other hand, they embody an "alternative" revenge against patriarchy.

As Rahul Roy *et alii* posit, masculinity

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she refused to obey his orders. That is why she is called the first female rebel. The original version from the *King James Bible of Genesis* 1:27 tells us: "And God created man in his own image, in the image of God. he created him; male and female he created them". This sentence shows that God created both man and woman at the same time, but Catholic churches censored the apocryphal texts. Tradition has it, that one day, Lilith asked Adam to be on her, but he refused. This was said to because of a conflict between Adam and Lilith. She decided to leave Adam and went to Samael, one of the demons who lived outside of Eden and eventually she bore his offspring. Inevitably, God cursed her and the generation she procreated with Samael. The apocryphal text recounts: "She liked the man's reproductive liquid very much, and she always walks to the point of seeing where she has fallen. All the liquid of man that does not end in the matrix of the wife is hers: all the seminal liquid that man finds wasted throughout his life, whether by adultery, by vice or in sleep".
https://biblehub.com/genesis/1-27.htm, last accessed 14//07/2019.
https://soulonsoul.com/spirituality/lilith-first-wife-adam-not-eve/,
last accessed 14/07/2019.

[…] refers to the socially produced but embodied ways of being male. Its manifestations include manner of speech, behaviour, gestures, social interaction, a division of tasks 'proper' to men and women […], and an overall narrative that positions it as superior to its perceived antithesis, femininity.[6]

As opposed, emasculation can be defined as the deprivation of man's masculinity. An emasculated man becomes impotent of both identity and power. Thus, the effect of Prudence's words on the audience is to undermine the boys' existence, since the "signs" of patriarchy, which exist in them are breached, enabling the witches to annihilate them.

References to a new feminist revolt against men can also be found in the following extract spoken by Madam Satan:

"I know you're scared, Sabrina. Because all women are taught to fear power. Own it".[7]

Or, again, in Sabrina's words as she argues:

"I have reservations about saving myself for the Dark Lord. Why does he get to decide what I do or I don't do with my body?"[8]

And, furthermore:

Sabrina: "I want freedom and power".
Prudence: "He will never give you that. The Dark Lord. The thought of you, of any of us, having both terrifies him".
Sabrina: "Why is that?"
Prudence: "He's a man, isn't he?"[9]

Commenting on these three quotes, we clearly understand that Sabrina and the female characters take pleasure in heightening their sense of femininity through opposing gender roles. In this perspective, if gender "is simply 'a social category' imposed on a sexed body" (D. Glover, C. Kaplan, 2009:15), this "sexed body" enshrines a twofold characteristic: it is appealing and bewitched.

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[6] Rahul Roy, Dilip Simeon, Maria Rashid, Ambreen Ahmed, Abhijit Das, Nighat S Khan, Charu Gupta, Raziq Fahim & Sanjay Srivastava, in *Understanding Masculinities: Culture, Politics and Social Change*, SANAM, 2011, p. I, last accessed online 23/02/2020.
[7] *The Chilling Adventure of Sabrina,* "The Witching Hour", Season 1, Chapter ten.
[8] *The Chilling Adventure of Sabrina,* "October Country", Season 1, Chapter One.
[9] *The Chilling Adventure of Sabrina,* "The Dark Baptism", Season 1, Chapter Two.

Connections of witchcraft with feminism date back to the first witch trials, which were parsed as persecution of all those women who refused male supremacy and normativity. *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* reflects this aspect of the phenomenon. Evidence can also be found in the fact that Sabrina co-founds a club "to topple the white patriarchy", which is called the "Women's Intersectional Cultural and Creative Association", also known as WICCA. The name of the club seems to indirectly announce the third wave of feminism. This happens when Sabrina uses her powers for feminist good as her non-binary best friend, Susie Putman, is bullied by some football players at school about whether "she is a boy or a girl" (first episode, first series); indeed, as the situation escalates to physical assault against Susie, Sabrina reports it to the straight, male principal but he merely refuses to re-act and tells Sabrina: "You're suggesting a witch hunt"; for this reason, she decides to punish him with spiders. In so doing, the principal reverses the patriarchal supremacy by swapping the roles so that the football players become the subjects of the witch hunt and the witches seem to act as persecutors.

Sabrina is deeply involved in problems such as gender roles, homosexuality, pansexuality, and cissexism, and will soon realise that her magic world suffers from the same power imbalances she is fighting in the mortal world. Inevitably, rather than letting her life be ruled by the witch/human binary system, Sabrina "fashions" her own path, one that gains control over the magic of the margin to protect those punished for living in it. The "other" way Sabrina decides to follow represents an alternative to a scheduled and pre-arranged bi-gendered society, which is the same that Sabrina's friend, Susie, describes in the following lines:

> I always saw gender in a very binary way growing up; I never really saw any other option. I identified as a trans man for a long time, and I spent that entire time trying to force myself into a mold that wasn't really made for me". That was one of the most difficult times in my life because I didn't understand there was a world outside the two options; outside of the binary—that never got talked about. […] That really helped me come to terms with identifying as non-binary. Just forcing my own path, in a way, going in a direction and seeing what sticks. You don't have to live your life for other people—the binary isn't a requirement, it's an option. One of many options.[10]

The liminal space in which Sabrina lives—as anyone bound to "othered" experiences—dives into a challenging trope: what is the cost of

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[10] https://www.vice.com/en_in/article/9k7p37/netflix-sabrina-teen-feminism, last accessed 15/07/2019.

either identity? The new message Sabrina proposes the audience is that magic should be used for justice and to fight male power on women. This is evident when the protagonist—a young half mortal/half witch, who is approaching her sixteenth birthday—is asked to promise her soul to Satan, in exchange for her full power. Not surprisingly, Sabrina has misgivings about the coven and refuses to sign her name in the Dark Book, thus triggering a series of events that finally will discredit the coven's "free and empowering" image, and will reveal its true misleading nature to the audience.

Despite the coven being mostly populated by women, the two leaders—the high priest and Satan—are still male figures. As a consequence of their presence, the first conflict of the series happens when Sabrina refuses to sign her soul away to the Dark Lord. For this act of disobedience, Sabrina is punished and put on trial. Despite the "supposed" power of women in the coven, they are still limited by male influence. Their power is only allowed if they continue to follow and serve men. In a similar sense, modern feminism is still limited by men.

In opposition, the group called WICCA stands for an association fighting discrimination against non-binary identities at school and supports a "diverse" audience. This group of women fosters a different vision of feminism than the coven, as the former is accessible to all women and non-conforming gender identities, whereas the latter is still based on a male system. This is evident since, despite the coven's promise of power to women, it is still a largely privileged group. Witches exist they are not created, which suggests that access to female power is only available to women who are born into this privilege. In the real world, this type of pre-determined feminist privilege to power is represented by the birth right of witches, leaving the mortals a different destiny. WICCA, on the other hand, represents a type of inter-sectional feminism that anyone can access, it is meant for shared community support rather than individual power. In this intersection of genders, Ambrose, Sabrina's pansexual friend, finds his place:

> Ambrose is outside of those typical definitions because one, he's loyal to himself and does whatever he feels like and that's why he's under house arrest, but two, because he's been trapped for so long " […] He hasn't necessarily lived through all of these movements and whatnot. He's seen them, or maybe heard of them vicariously, but he's never lived them. So I believe for Ambrose, it doesn't really come to his mind. […] to have a pansexual person of color played with depth and played as a multifaceted individual, not only is that artistically satisfying, but it's gratifying to be

able to showcase that and I hope so with grace but without artistic license; a human being that's more representative of the world we live in".[11]

Ambrose represents, in Annamarie Jagose's words (1996:101), "the point of convergence for a potentially infinite number of non-normative subject positions" and, as such, the actualization of all forms of identities that differ from the heteronormative model and question the "set of norms that make heterosexuality seem natural or right and that organize homosexuality as its binary opposite" (R. Corber, S. Valocchi, 2003:4). Pansexuality seems to converge with witchcraft in that both terms refer to multifaceted identities:

> The word witch is thrown around a lot these days: as an insult, an identifier, a badge of honor. We picture a witch, and we picture a multiplicity: She's a hideous woman in a pointed hat. A sybil swaying with prophetic visions. A bride of the devil. A devotee to the divine feminine. A Salem villager. An herbalist. A seductress. A forest dweller in a hut made of detritus or chicken legs or candy. A 1990s teenager in pentagrams and plaid. What does the word *witch* mean, though? And perhaps more importantly: what do we mean when we use it? […] She's an intelligent, resilient being who changes with the times, and changes the times along with her. […] her gift is transformation. She is a change agent, and her work is sparked by speech: an incarnation, a naming, a blessing, a curse (K. Horan, T. Kitaiskaia, 2017:5).

Sabrina is a woman and a witch, she wields a kind of uncanny sexual power, showing her beauty as "weird" and "alien". I would turn attention to the symbolic body-and-soul dichotomy which is essential since it provides a means of structuring the desire/denial of being a human and a witch, thus the continuous struggle between what is revealed and what is concealed, which inheres in the dualism between body and soul of every woman.

The cross-gendering technique used to present the protagonists of the series, however, is part of a more fluid portrayal of same-sex desire in relation to contemporary society. The challenge to gender and sexual multiplicity/diversity that these witches offer seems to encourage the audience to transcend the binary logic "on sex/gender imposed by the heterosexual matrix" (J. Butler, 1990:97). Sabrina is a sort of "half-formed girl"—a role which suggests a link to contemporary existential fragmentation—who surprisingly expresses her different relationship to

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[11] https://blackgirlnerds.com/gender-sexuality-on-the-chilling-adventures-of-sabrina/, last accessed 15/07/2019.

society by means of her metamorphic abilities, thus hinting at change and "fluidity".

3. Conclusion

As this web series shows, the fascination with witchcraft and the intermingled connections with gender roles still provide a real source of inspiration for contemporary TV/web screen writers in challenging and re-subverting heteronormative roles and identities labels, in order to free them from sclerotic definitions and by queering them in innovative and "enchanting" ways. The intense interest in this sort of series shows that the link of "the abject with the attractive, the ambivalent way in which heteronormative society tends to regard the homosexual" […] is changing since, as Paulina Palmer puts it, "[w]hile dismissing queer people as immoral and scandalous, mainstream society nonetheless frequently displays a sneaking fascination with them" (P. Palmer, 2015:107). *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* accurately portrays womanhood as an uphill battle, fighting against the patriarchy and even other women who support the traditional power imbalance. Sabrina represents a modern femininity, one that fights for her right to power, while also keeping an empathetic heart and love for her friends and family. Her unconventional role and appealing beauty—together with the presence of pansexual identities—originate fluid images of power and terror, which create in the audience an ambiguous sense of desire and repulsion at the same time.

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THE ANOMALOUS MEDIEVALISM
OF MERVYN PEAKE'S GORMENGHAST

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Outline

Owing to a conspicuous lack of electricity, water piping, sewerage, television, radio, and other typical features of modern life, the incredibly big architectural collage of Castle Gormenghast, constructed throughout centuries as a home to seventy-seven generations of the Groan dynasty, initially appears to be a medieval castle. However, during the course of reading the reader comes to a growing realization that the way of living and court life in it are far from medieval.

Parallel to the gradual dissolvement of the initially pervasive (pseudo) medieval context, numerous aspects and elements of modern life originating from somewhere beyond the castle emerge and proliferate in the course of the story. In spite of this process, Gormenghast maintains its medieval aura that makes it a "fuzzy set" of fantasy on its own.

The Anomaly of (Pseudo) Medieval Gormenghast

Peake and fantasy, as G. Peter Winnington (2013, 1) noticed, is "an enormous topic" and it is "hard to know where to begin" writing about it due to Peake's great creativity demonstrated not only in his fiction, but also in his poetry, plays, paintings, and drawings. Those who have read the Gormenghast trilogy, Mervyn Peake's best-known work of fiction, will most likely agree with Winnington's observation. It is a complex series of novels that an average fan of fantasy may find demanding and odd because it is quite different from what is usually expected from a book labelled as fantasy. Perhaps the best reason why this is so was offered by Winnington (2006, 2) who described Mervyn Peake's work as "anomalous."

This remarkable example of literary eclecticism is composed of such a variety of building elements, blended in an unexpectedly complex number of ways, that the end result they jointly create evades comparison with any other literary work of fantasy, written prior or after its publication. And yet, undoubtedly, Gormenghast is a fantasy, although all attempts to identify specific literary models or predecessors that could be said to share the same grounds with it will remain largely futile or at least curiously inconclusive.

In order to shed more light on the anomaly of Gormenghast, it may prove useful to analyse its medieval and pseudomedieval qualities—those showcased by the Castle, those exhibited by the community of people that live in and around it, as well as those related to the opposition to change that is grounded in the set of practices and rituals performed within its walls. Additionally, a comparison with some features of medieval romances offers insights into the effect that medievalism produces in the Gormenghast series, and particularly in its first two books.

The following quote from the chapter about medieval romances by Jeff Rider may serve as a starting point for an attempt to analyse the elements of medievalism in Peake's text.

> An aristocratic society lies at the center of the fictive worlds proposed by most medieval romances. The life of this literary aristocracy may have borne relatively little material resemblance to the lives of its medieval audiences, but it is nonetheless linked in recognizable ways to their interests, longings, ambitions, concerns, and values. And thanks to the significant continuity between medieval literary practices and modern ones, something of this implicit identification between the audience and the aristocratic society at the heart of romance survives for the modern reader. Even we modern readers, that is, sense that the members of the central aristocratic society we encounter in a romance are the protagonists with whom it is assumed we will identify, that the central aristocratic society is in some sense "our" society. (Rider 2000, 115)

In the centre of the fictive world of Gormenghast lies a medieval castle and an aristocratic society composed of a single family, with their numerous retainers and staff, whose way of life, on the surface, shows numerous similarities with that of the Medieval times. A closer look in their lives, thoughts, words, and behaviour will reveal numerous oddities and elements divergent from those expected both in the medieval and contemporary contexts. And yet, aspects of medieval life and literary practices should not be neglected because they are at the core of what makes and shapes Gormenghast. The castle, the people, their relations and

their demeanour often mirror, remind of, or are related to the medieval ones, and sometimes they are clearly used as parodies.

The Castle and the Genre(s)

In Peake's Gormenghast, the "continuity between medieval literary practices and the modern ones" is reflected in the genre mix. The book series encompasses an incredible variety of genres melted one into another in a flowing continuum with numerous overlaps, ranging from Gothicism rooted in medievalism to science fiction in *Titus Alone*. This great degree of variety merged into a continuum has a parallel in the castle itself.

This "great stone island of the Groans" (Peake 2011b, TG[1] chap. 69[2]) set in the "sea of nettles" (Peake 2011b, G chap. 1), with its "shadows of time-eaten buttresses, of broken and lofty turrets, and, most enormous of all, the shadow of the Tower of Flints" (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 1[3]), with its vast curtain wall, its moat, its numerous ramparts, wings, halls, turrets, battlements, secret passages, stairways, and corridors, initially appears to be a medieval castle. There is a notable absence of the key aspects of modern living in it; for example, there is no mention of water piping, sewerage, television, or radio in the first two volumes, while the protagonist Titus is in Gormenghast. There is no electricity, and the corridors are illuminated with candles, which are burning at every landing.

Over the course of history, the castle was expanded so intensely that it grew to amazing proportions. The process of expansion "had begun a tradition and had created the precedent for Experiment, for many an ancestor of Lord Groan had given way to an architectural whim and made an incongruous addition" (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 30[4]).

As a continuum consisting of parts built in various styles, the castle is an architectural anomaly. The source of such a collage created by fusing a variety of segments together can be traced in Peake's narrative approach. As Peake admitted,

> "I had no method. I had no preconceived plan; I really wanted to make a kind of pantechnicon book, in which I could shove in any mental furniture,

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[1] Hereinafter, the abbreviation TG will refer to *Titus Groan*, the first volume in the series, G will refer to *Gormenghast*, the second volume, and TA will refer to *Titus Alone*, the third volume. All quotes are from the Kindle edition.

[2] Chapter title: 'In Preparation for Violence.'

[3] Chapter title: 'The Hall of the Bright Carvings.'

[4] Chapter title: 'The Library.'

however horrible—or however beautiful—if I could do so". (Buxton et al. 2011, 31)

Gormenghast Castle is the most visible and the most visual reflection of the pantechnicon quality of the book containing a remarkable diversity of elements that, joined together, foil all attempts to position the castle and the story within the perimeter of a single category. As a conglomerate of diversified styles, architectural and literary, both the story and the castle of Gormenghast can be regarded as fuzzy sets on their own, composed of a number of other fuzzy sets.

Brian Attebery's "fuzzy set" of fantasy, a system borrowed from logicians, treats a genre as a group of central, prototypical texts defined not by boundaries but by a centre and while the centre is clear, boundaries "shade off imperceptibly" (Attebery 2004, 304–305). Genre is defined by central, prototypical texts that stem from what is called "taproot texts"— texts with the elements of the fantastic from which contemporary fantasy developed—written before fantasy was recognized as a genre, i.e. before the 18th century, before "a horizon of expectation emerged among writers and readers" (Clute and Grant 1997, 921).

According to Ronald Binns the trilogy "belongs to no obvious tradition, lacks an ordered structure, is occasionally careless in detail, and breaks in two after the second volume…" (Binns 1979, 21). As noticed by scholars, Gormenghast is an eclectic and complex mixture of genres and tropes, including those of Elizabethan drama, tragedy, *Bildungsroman*, science fiction, Gothic fiction, postmodern novel, postcolonial fiction, allegory, satire, and medieval mystery plays. There is a noticeable influence of Milton, the parallels with Carroll's *Alice* are often highlighted, the names of people are recognized as Dickensian, and *Tristram Shandy* is sometimes identified as a literary model for the protagonist Titus who is absent throughout a great part of the first volume named after him (Binns 1979, 24; Gardiner–Scott 1988, 13; Hindle 1996, 9; Mendlesohn 2013, 69; Mills 2005, 57–58; Redpath 1989, 68; Winnington 2006, 180).

The genre fuzziness is a feature the series shares with medieval romances, also recognized by some scholars as a fuzzy set. For example, Liu advocates the prototype theory and proposes that romance, and any literary genre for that matter, "operates not as a classical category but as a prototype category" (Liu 2006, 337–338).

As a complex and anomalous work of fantasy, Gormenghast itself is a fuzzy set. It is clear *what* its centre *is*. In the centre of it all is Gormenghast Castle, built and extended for centuries as the home of seventy-seven generations of the ancient Gormenghast Dynasty. The boundaries of this

fuzzy set gradually dissolve and shade off—those of the castle in its vastness, as well as those of the narrative in the conglomerate of its genres.

It would be an oversimplification to say that Gormenghast is a Gothic novel, but it would also be wrong to say that it is not. Certainly, it is not a typical Gothic narrative, but Gothicism defines it to a considerable extent, and can be said to represent one of the dominant fuzzy sets within the greater set of the novel. Most obviously, what makes it Gothic are the tropes. The central one is the setting—the (pseudo)medieval castle—but other Gothic tropes are also present: madness, grotesque, isolation, perversity, mystery, illusion, terror, and dissipation, to name a few.

Additionally, the series is Gothic in terms of the narrative strategy that is employed in the first Gothic novel, *The Castle of Otranto* by Horace Walpole. Gormenghast runs along the vein of Walpole's principles of "a new species of romance" as revealed in the preface to the second edition of *The Castle of Otranto* in which he attempted "to blend the two kinds of romance, the ancient and the modern." The former, according to Walpole, was all "imagination and improbability," whereas in the latter nature was always intended to be, and sometimes was, "copied with success" (Walpole 1854, xvi–xvii). Like Walpole, who "thought it possible to reconcile the two kinds," Peake successfully reconciled the medieval and the modern. Gormenghast combines Gothic medievalism with contemporary topics and narrative practices, and its Gothicism is rooted in medievalism, but it is not limited to it, nor does its presence impose genre limits.

The People and Other Worlds

The Groans live a life of a feudal aristocratic family. They possess a castle that has been their home for generations, the head of the family bears a hereditary title, they have numerous retainers, and the children are tended by nursemaids. After the birth, the Countess orders Nanny Slagg to take away the baby, to return it when he is six, and to go and find a wet nurse from the Outer Dwellings. This aristocratic family is at the core of the community in the isolated world of Gormenghast stretching "in the North to the wastelands, in the South to the grey salt marshes, in the East to the quicksands and the tideless sea, and in the West to knuckles of endless rock" (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 42[5]).

The pantechnicon quality of the book stems from all the mental furniture shoved in it in the form of the castle and everything in it, including people. The prototypes that Peake said he wanted to forget are

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[5] Chapter title: 'The Burning.'

re-formed within the "landscape behind the landscape" (Peake 2011a, 7), they leak out of it, and they get reshaped in the mind of the reader at least partially familiar with the conglomerate of all the mental furniture shoved in.

> Gormenghast remains truly *sui generis*, yet oddly English, both in its characterisation (which clearly owes a great deal to Dickens) and in the nature of the sluggish, unchanging aristocratic castle society it portrays (though there is no specific attempt at allegory). (Binns 1979, 21)

The reader is left with the feeling that, in spite of all its oddness and grotesqueness, the aristocratic castle society is and remains, as Binns pointed out, "oddly English" throughout the story. One of the reasons for such a feeling is the centrality of the castle in which they live. In the High Middle Ages, as noticed by Joseph and Frances Gies (1974, 6), "the castle played a crucial role: military, political, social, economic, cultural." In the first two parts of the series the castle plays this crucial role openly and visibly, whereas in the third book it becomes the symbol of Gormenghast's existence, both in the form of the flint that Titus' carries as a token of his home, and as its reconstruction in the Black House.

The initial resemblance of life inside Gormenghast to that of the Middle Ages starts wearing out as aspects of more modern times start appearing, and as it becomes clear that the occupants of Gormenghast are not medieval folk.

The world stretches far over the boundaries of Gormenghast.

> This ancient span of furniture was littered with textbooks, blue pencils, pipes filled to various depths with white ash and dottle, pieces of chalk, a sock, several bottles of ink, a bamboo walking-cane, a pool of white glue, a chart of the solar system, burned away over a large portion of its surface through some past accident with a bottle of acid, a stuffed cormorant with tin-tacks through its feet, which had no effect in keeping the bird upright; a faded globe, with the words 'Cane Slypate Thursday' scrawled in yellow chalk across it from just below the equator to well into the Arctic Circle; any number of lists, notices, instructions; a novel called 'The Amazing Adventures of Cupid Catt', and at least a dozen high ragged pagodas of buff-coloured copybooks. (Peake 2011b, G chap. 10)

Like the initial Gothic flavour, which does not define Gormenghast genre-wise but remains pervasive, and one of the dominant genres or sets within the greater fuzzy set, the castle's medieval qualities start dissolving, but they never disappear completely, and they survive throughout the story.

Although Peake wanted to forget the prototypes, his story is actually embedded in them, but they are so numerous and so intertwined that individual prototypes get lost in the whole. The gigantic castle, a long dynasty of aristocrats, an army of retainers, they all create an image of medieval life—not prototypical or realistic, but the one similar to the reflection in a distorted mirror. This image gradually dissolves, and the process of dissolution seemingly culminates at the end of the second volume, with Titus's decision to leave Gormenghast, and with the beginning of the volume, when he crosses its borders and arrives at the technologically advanced city. The true culmination of dissolvement, however, is the travesty staged in the Black House, which both Titus and Gormenghast survive.

The treatment of the central world, its relationship towards the other world(s), and the relations with the audience is what Gormenghast shares with medieval romance.

According to Rider (2000, 116) a common way to start a romance is to describe an encounter between the central world and an other one and, often, when the central society "is in a state of peace and plenitude, a state often represented by a joyous court gathering, the otherworldly intervention comes as a threat to this aristocratic well-being, a threat that must be resolved." Titus's birth is a parody of a joyous court gathering, whereas a threat from an other world is embodied in Steerpike. He wants to reshape Gormenghast by stirring up changes and by ending the stasis of its existence, and his attempts coincide with the birth of Titus, who will yearn to leave everything for an other world.

As in medieval romances, the intrusion of the other world serves to point to the central world's flaws "in response to pre-existing problems or tensions within the central aristocratic society which it cannot resolve on its own, or in order to bring to light faults in that society which might otherwise go unnoticed and uncorrected" (Rider 2000, 118). The Groan dynasty is obviously incapable of resolving its problems, which are deeply rooted in their opposition to introduction of any changes in their life devoid of all vitality. The most visible sign of such life is the decaying castle and all the faults of Gormenghast's society, which Peake foregrounds and presents so openly, and with such intensity that their grotesqueness and oddness, overwhelming initially, gradually become accepted as the norm of living.

Opposite to the central society are other social groups, who sometimes represent worlds of their own.

The members of these other worlds may resemble the members of the central society—they may be as sophisticated, rich, elegant, well-mannered

as members of "our" society—but their worlds are nonetheless recognizably
different from "ours." Their motives and customs may be enigmatic or at
least strange, and they themselves may be monstrous. (Rider 2000, 115)

There are three other distinct (sub)worlds in Gormenghast. The first
one is Steerpike, who rises from the bottom, from a (sub)world within
Gormenghast that is physically and hierarchically separated from that of
the aristocratic family. He eventually enters the highest circle of the
society and wants to reshape the world of Gormenghast as he wills.
Without Sterpike the true problems of Gormenghast would be left
unresolved because its society is incapable of overcoming them on their
own. It is steeped in stasis and chained to the past embodied in
meaningless rituals whose purpose remains long forgotten. As an
otherworldly intrusion, he is a catalyst that starts the disturbance and
triggers the process of change culminating in the hero's departure.

Another catalyst of change is Titus, who leaves at the end of the
second book. The hero's transfer to another world, which happens as he
crosses the threshold of Gormenghast and enters a completely different
reality, introduces the most obvious other world in the series. The "border
between the central and the other worlds may be psychic as well as
physical," notices Rider (2000, 117). Titus leaves Gormenghast and goes
to the city, where he starts doubting that Gormenghast actually exists.
Titus's dilemma, his hesitation whether Gormenghast really exists might
be said to retroactively turn the first two volumes into a Todorovian
fantastic narrative; but his later discovery of its borders moves the Titus
books out of Todorov's definition of fantasy and into the marvellous
(Young 2013, 50–51). Hesitation, however, according to Todorov, *may
also* be experienced by the character, but this is not a rule. This condition,
unlike the other two referring to the reader's hesitation and "adoption of
the attitude with regard to the text […] may not be fulfilled" (Todorov
1975, 33). Actually, there is no clear evidence that Gormenghast beyond
the borders to which Titus returns really exists, or that his return is only an
illusion, just like there is no firm evidence that the world of the city is
more real or less real than Gormenghast (Jakovljević 2019, 113–114).
When Titus says, "O give me back the kingdom in my head" (Peake
2011b, TA chap. 85), the kingdom could already be there, all the time,
from the beginning of the story—in his own mind.

The third world is the one of the inhabitants of the castle other than the
Groans. The Groan family has forty members of the kitchen, they have
stables and grooms for horses. Most of them are mentioned, but even
when described, particularly in the first volume of the series, they remain
inconspicuous, almost invisible, or blended with the castle, like Mr

Rottcod, curator of the Hall of the Bright Carvings, or the Grey Scrubbers, whose eyes are "the colour of the walls themselves" (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 2[6]). The exceptions are found in the family's pseudo-aristocratic circle: earl Groan's manservant Flay, Titus and Fuchsia's surrogate mother Nanny Slagg, Swelter the cook, and the Prunesquallors. They are all closely engaged in the family's life and daily routine, and they all share the family's inherent loneliness.

These worlds overlap, but never merge. Titus leaves Gormenghast at the end of the second book but he remains attached to it in the third one, in the world of the city, where he yearns for the evidence of its existence, which is why he returns to its borders, but never crosses them again. Steerpike manages to leave the kitchen and cross into the upper world of Gormenghast's aristocracy, where he remains a force of his own. Those who orbit around the Groans no longer consider themselves part of the non-aristocratic world that they come from, but they are never fully recognized as aristocracy. Not only the members of the Groan family, but their retainers also demonstrate aristocratic behaviour and look down on those who are not members of the family, or who are not as close to them as they themselves are. Fuchsia regards Steerpike as "that boy who hasn't any lineage." In her eyes, Irma "hasn't any lineage, either" (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 42[7]). Doctor Prunesquallor is "the commoner—who through his service to the family was honoured by a certain artificial equality of status, liable at any moment to be undermined" (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 16[8]). Although a commoner, he is "fascinated by those who want to work" and finds it "most absorbing to observe them" (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 26[9]). Even Nanny Slegg displays such behaviour when she learns that the Prunesquallors are expected to attend an event of family importance:

> 'Dr Prunesquallor and Miss Irma will come as well, dear: they always come to nearly everything—don't they, though I can't see *why*—they aren't ancestral. But they always come.' (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 41[10])

The non-aristocratic characters display amazing eloquence. The system of education in Gormenghast is not given shape before the second volume of the series, in which the reader is offered detailed insights into the lives of the professors. Education can be regarded as yet another world, and it is

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[6] Chapter title: 'The Great Kitchen.'
[7] Chapter title: 'The Burning.'
[8] Chapter title: 'Assemblage.'
[9] Chapter title: 'At the Prunesquallors.'
[10] Chapter title: 'Meanwhile.'

highly unlikely that Keda and Steerpike had a chance to become part of it. And yet, Keda is noticeably far too eloquent for an Outer Dweller, as evident from the following interior monologue:

> 'Keda,' she was saying, 'your life is over. Your lovers have died. Your child and her father are buried. And you also are dead. Only your bird sings on. What is the bright bird saying? That all is complete? Beauty will die away suddenly and at any time. At any time now—from sky and earth and limb and eye and breast and the strength of men and the seed and the sap and the bud and the foam and the flower—all will crumble for you, Keda, for all is over—only the child to be born, and then you will know what to do.' (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 51[11])

Steerpike, who sees himself as "a research scientist" in his "less ambitious moments" (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 26[12]), is also unexpectedly skilful with words, both in the manner of their combining in sentences, and in the intended effects he wants to achieve with them. He is an oddity among the odd. His smooth talk and the success in his efforts to rise on the ladder of hierarchy are more easily associated with post-medieval times when there were less obstacles to social mobility; however, they can also be related to the Medieval context. Almost like an educated man of the late Middle Ages he yearns for the freedom of thought and questions traditional values, authorities, rules, and ideals of Gormenghast that has become self-sufficient in its monstrous greatness and timelessness.

The portrayal of the characters' way of life, profoundly shaped and intimately connected with Medieval England—feudal hierarchy, daily court rituals, even parodies or twisted versions of medieval rites, or chivalry and moral codes of knightly conduct—provides another source of Englishness in the series.

Steerpike's eloquence and resourcefulness, employed first to charm Fuchsia, then Irma Prunesquallor, and particularly the earl's peculiar twin sisters Cora and Clarice, develop into a parody of chivalry. He persuades the sisters that he is their protector, their advocate, and the force to provide them with the power they yearn to rise to. Like a knight and a protector of ladies in need, whose distress about their position in the hierarchy he steadily fuels, he flatters them, promises them thrones of gold, and constantly reminds them of all the aristocratic luxuries they are deprived of, but which the two of them, as he stresses so often, by right and title deserve. His questions why their footman is not at the door and if he

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[11] Chapter title: 'Fever.'
[12] Chapter title: 'At the Prunesquallors.'

should speak with him make him sound like a renaissance villain, whispering poison into the ears of his victims and exploiting their weaknesses.

> 'You shall have them back,' said Steerpike. 'You shall have them all back. New ones. Better ones. Obedient ones. I shall arrange it. They shall work for you, *through* me. Your floor of the castle shall be alive again. You shall be supreme. Give me the administration to handle, your Ladyships, and I will have them dancing to your tune—whatever it is—they'll dance to it.' (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 32[13])

By promising what is needed and desired Steerpike successfully makes the twins obedient and employs them to act in his favour. He does not even hide his intentions to manage everything, and to organize everything to happen *through* him. With Fuchsia he is more delicate and careful, while with the twins, being an excellent evaluator of his victims' intellectual capacities, he can more openly verbalize his intentions. He proves to be a supreme villain who skilfully senses how to eloquently manage his victims.

Irma Prunesquallor's entire husband-hunting party is twisted into a parodic version of court balls and courting. Another parody of chivalry is presented in the conflict between Flay and Swelter, two characters who try to be as close as possible to the central society. Their hatred escalates into a sword fight—not the one between two great heroes, but between two parodic versions of medieval knights clothed in the garments of a cook and a manservant.

Such parodies of the central aristocratic society and of chivalric conduct, in combination with gradual disintegration of the medieval aspects of the world of Gormenghast grounded in architecture, inconspicuous absence of the elements of modern life, and in meaningless rituals, call for reconsideration of the way of life, sense of purpose, ambitions, and ideals of the society imprisoned and blocked in its opposition to change, afraid that changes would eventually destroy it completely. The society of Gormenghast castle believe they can survive any challenge as long as the connections with its past and tradition remain, undiluted and unchanged. The Groans do nothing to prevent its dissolvement into ruins other than to try and keep Titus as the earl and the lord. They abhor change in fear that it would destroy their seemingly stable world, but it is actually a great change in the form of the flood that

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[13] Chapter title: 'Reintroducing the Twins.'

triggers the much-needed rebuilding and reconstruction that stops its gradual dissolvement into nothingness.

Oddities, Rituals, and Change

In spite of all the servants and retainers, Gormenghast, with its "miles of rambling stone and mortar" (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 8[14]), leaves the impression of a haunted place permeated with a profound sense of emptiness, loneliness, and timelessness. The inhabitants' opposition to changes has locked Gormenghast in a timeless stasis in which the only process that affects the castle is omnipresent dilapidation.

The exact time when the story takes place is set to remain undefined from the very beginning. When in the first chapter of the first volume Flay asks Rottcodd what day it is, Rottcodd replies that "It is the eight day of the eighth month," but he is "uncertain about the year." The medieval-like look and feel of Gormenghast is a remnant of the times gone by. The absence of reference to the exact year maintains the pseudomedieval aura of Gormenghast. When in the first volume more and more people in the initially empty and lonesome castle start entering the panorama, it is not their conduct and appearances that dissolve the aura of medieval life, but the oddities such as "the stuffed leg of a giraffe" or "the head of a jaguar" (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 11[15]).

The number of such post-Medieval things and references gradually increases: comparisons with a macaw, drinking tea that became the English national drink during the 1700s, cardboard boxes, printed books in the library, Doctor Prunesquallor's glasses, and his sister Irma's darkly tinted pair, to name a few. The doctor's knowledge of anatomy is also clearly post-Medieval—he administers a drug with a needle, and he is familiar with the anatomy of the human body, including the existence of the "nerve endings" and the "third lateral blood vessel" (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 16, 26[16]).

The stasis and timelessness of Gormenghast spill over the walls as far as the eye can see. The sense that time has stopped flowing is present not only inside, but also outside of the castle walls, which separate its "'inner' world, submerged within the shadows of the great walls," from the "'outer' folk," the people *dependent* on the castle" (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 1,

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[14] Chapter title: 'A Gold Ring for Titus.'
[15] Chapter title: 'The Attic.'
[16] Chapter titles: 'Assemblage' and 'At the Prunesquallors.'

13[17]) to whom food is thrown from the battlements every morning. Among these Outer Dwellings there are more oddities such as cactus trees growing in the grey-coloured dust, although Gormenghast's climate with winters obviously would not support their normal growth outside. These oddities have the capacity to shatter the medieval-like look and feel of Gormenghast, but they do not do it. They are so well integrated into Gormenghast that their oddness remains if not almost imperceptible then rather unobtrusive.

The most significant instrument against change are rituals. Meaningless and devoid of any sense of purpose and reason other than to maintain the status quo, they are transformed into grotesque scenes that emphasize phobic opposition to change rooted in the obsession with tradition and the sense of connection with the long lost romantic and idealized past, in which everything, even the weird and grotesque rituals, made sense. The earl expects that his son will continue the tradition.

> 'You will bring my son Titus in his christening robes and will have with you the crown of the direct heir to Gormenghast. Without Titus the castle would have no future when I am gone. As his nurse, I must ask you to remember to instil into his veins, from the very first, a love for his birthplace and his heritage, and a respect for all of the written and unwritten laws of the place of his fathers.' (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 1)

The crown put on the head of the heir makes the christening rite resemblant to the medieval coronation procedure. The Groans as an aristocratic family keep records of their roots and maintain a number of rituals and rites and, as part of the family tradition, they want them to be instilled into the heir's veins. There are rules and variations of rituals prescribed for all eventualities and situations to prevent change and introduction of novelties.

> Had he been of a fair skin, or had he been heavier than he was, had his eyes been green, blue or brown instead of black, then, automatically another set of archaic regulations would have appeared this morning on the breakfast table. This complex system was understood in its entirety only by Sourdust—the technicalities demanding devotion of a lifetime, though the sacred spirit of tradition implied by the daily manifestations was understood by all. (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 9[18])

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[17] Chapter titles: 'The Hall of the Bright Carvings' and 'Mrs Slagg by Moonlight.'
[18] Chapter title: 'Sepulchrave.'

To not abide by the rules of the rituals is seen as an act of blasphemy. Titus' "first recorded act of blasphemy" (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 17[19]) is committed during baptism, announcing the irreconcilable tension and struggle between the accumulated tradition that needs to be instilled and the change that he will yearn for. His "act of blasphemy" announces his inability to accept and adapt to the pointlessness of the rituals as the generators of stasis. They are often performed without memory of the events from which their symbolism is derived, and as such they show the meaninglessness of the family's rigid links to the past and their blind adherence to it.

Interestingly, it is Lord Sepulchrave who already shows signs of departure from the tradition. Unlike his ancestors, who "had given way to an architectural whim and made an incongruous addition" (Peake 2011b, TG chap. 30) he does not follow such a whim. The construction and extension stopped sometime in the past. There are no additions from the more recent time or parts that are being built during the course of the story. Not only is the castle left in the medieval-like state of perpetually suspended development, but it is also undergoing a steady, widespread process of dilapidation and decay.

As Titus grows in temporally and geographically isolated Gormenghast, he develops a stronger and stronger sense of not belonging to this seemingly endless and self-sufficient world. Even as its lord he cannot change it because that world does not want to be changed.

Parallel to Titus' growing and compelling need to experience freedom, and to his increasing awareness that such freedom can be found only outside Gormenghast, the aspects of modern life, such as coffee, sunshades, microbes, a Women's column, and numerous others, proliferate. They subtly seep into the world of Gormenghast as the vast castle and the world around it become more familiar and thus smaller. This sense of downsizing and the process of changing introduced with the disturbances in its routines culminate in the epic flood, in Steerpike's death, and in Titus's decision to leave the castle. The culmination brings about the much-needed change and with it the fragmentation of the narrative, and of reality, in which even the existence of Gormenghast is placed in doubt.

Titus' desire for change is what he shares with Steerpike, although their means and intentions radically differ. His wish is brought closer to fulfilment when he turns his back on pseudomedieval Gormenghast and leaves it for the urban domain of the city (Jakovljević 2019, 112). The stability of Gormenghast is maintained with the rituals and tradition rooted

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[19] Chapter title: 'Titus is Christened.'

in the past, and all this is obliterated in the city, where the factory rises as the dominant force and symbol of modernism, consumerism, estrangement, and materialism. With the foundations of its stability, its medieval-like timelessness and its rituals gone, in Titus' mind the roots of Gormenghast weaken, and its existence is placed in doubt.

The Anomaly of (Non)Demedievalized Gormenghast

Gormenghast Castle shapes the impressions about the story from the very beginning. It looms over and casts its shadow over everything that happens in the novel. Starting with the castle and spreading in and about it: its boundaries, its purpose, its age, its architectural style, and the way of life in it, everything and everyone related to Gormenghast soon begins to show as anomalous.

As the story progresses, and as the reader is offered a wider picture created within the frame of the medieval castle as the centre that radiates throughout the story, the aura of medievalism dissolves gradually, but never entirely—not even in the third volume, where it remains present in Titus's thoughts, and in the dark atmosphere of the Under–River region that adds a Gothic flavour to the science fiction volume of *Titus Alone*.

The anomalous medievalism greatly contributes to making Gormenghast a highly distinctive fuzzy set of fantasy. The medieval aura remains at the core of the Gormenghast's quality to successfully blend such a miscellany of inhabitants, their lives, motives, rituals, and practices.

The castle dominates as a frame in which imagination and improbability merge with the elements borrowed from reality to create a unique fantasy narrative that combines the old and the new, the improbable and the natural, fantasy and reality. Although there is limited resemblance between the lives of the fictional aristocracy of Gormenghast and its real-life medieval counterparts, their way of life, their "interests, longings, ambitions, concerns, and values," remain linked in recognizable ways. Owing to the pantechnicon quality of the book, and to the genre and architectural continuums, and the areas in which different worlds overlap, the readers can find links with their own society. The medieval aura of the world, the castle, and the story of Gormenghast dissolves gradually, but never completely. It is the unbroken continuity between the medieval and the modern that makes it so timeless, and so familiar.

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