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NEW PARADIGMS

IN ENGLISH STUDIES

LANGUAGE, LINGUISTICS, LITERATURE AND CULTURE
IN HIGHER EDUCATION

“St. Kliment Ohridski” University Press
Sofia · 2017

NEW PARADIGMS IN ENGLISH STUDIES:
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Selected papers from the conference held at
Sofia University, 25–27 November 2016



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In fond memory of Professor Maria Georgieva

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FOREWORD

The volume *New Paradigms in English Studies: Language, Linguistics, Literature and Culture* brings together selected articles from the conference of the same name, held at Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski” between 25 and 27 November 2016. The conference was hosted by the *Department of English and American Studies* and was supported by Sofia University and the *Academic Foundation for English and American Studies*. It was part of the university’s annual events in honour of its patron saint, Kliment Ohridski – a prolific writer, scholar and educator in medieval Bulgaria. The year 2016 marked a special anniversary, 1,100 years since his death.

We dedicate this book to the memory of the late Professor Maria Georgieva, who was the inspiration behind the *New Paradigms* conference and infused everyone with her enthusiasm, openness to innovation, and boundless energy. Professor Georgieva was a highly esteemed sociolinguist at the *Department of English and American Studies*, whose research interests spread over intercultural pragmatics, English as an international language, applied linguistics and second language acquisition. She was also a member and former President of the *Bulgarian Society for British Studies*, affiliated to ESSE (*European Society for the Study of English*). She will be deeply missed.

The title of the book, *New Paradigms in English Studies*, makes reference to the now classic work by Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962). Kuhn borrowed the notion of paradigm from linguistics to explain the cyclical changes, or “revolutions”, in the field of science and their replacement with new theories and paradigms. These paradigm shifts, uncomfortable as they may be, are what drives research forward and opens new horizons. And just as the invention of Guttenberg’s printing press in the 15th century brought about the Scientific Revolution and led to the general democratisation of knowledge, so the new digital technologies of the late 20th and early 21st century have ushered in the Digital Revolution, transforming our relationship to society, culture, knowledge, literacy, literature, and language.

“New paradigms” proved to be a broad and inspiring topic and attracted a wide range of papers from various disciplines within the equally broad academic area of English Studies. This is reflected in the present volume: the topics cover renegotiating discipline boundaries and transdisciplinarity; tradition and innovation in teaching the English language; English as an academic lingua franca; teaching language, culture and literature in the age of digital communication

technologies; developing translation skills and raising (trans)cultural awareness, among others.

Considering the diversity of approaches and the myriad (sub)disciplines in the field, this volume is divided into four parts: *Language*, *Linguistics*, *Literature* and *Culture*. This division is obviously more or less arbitrary. While the transdisciplinary nature of many of the articles makes it rather difficult to pigeonhole them into a single category, the twenty papers have been organised in a way to allow them to create internal connections and to enter into dialogues with each other.

Part I, *Language*, focuses on the English language and its changing role in a globalised world. **Britta Schneider**'s paper presents English as a transnational language and calls for a methodological approach which transcends national boundaries and ideologies. Her analysis of street signs is further developed in **Svetlana Atanassova-Divitakova**'s exploration of Veliko Turnovo's linguistic landscape and the way multiple languages coexist in the streets of her home town. **Boryana Kostova**'s article explores the implications of having English as an academic lingua franca and the potential inequalities this may give rise to. **Irena Dimova** discusses the use of English as an international language and Bulgarian students' attitudes to it. **Emilia Slavova**'s article looks at globalisation and how it gives rise to fluid identities, unattached to a single national culture and national language, and questions the myth of the "native speaker".

Part II, *Linguistics*, brings together articles on the study and teaching of linguistics in academia. **Bozhil Hristov** and **Mira Kovatcheva** discuss the challenges of teaching early English in the 21st century and give an enlightening account of the development of the discipline at Sofia University. **Velina Dimitrova** presents an overview of several coursebooks in the history of the English language, outlining recent trends towards greater accessibility and a shift from an objectivist to a constructivist perspective. **Georgi Dimitrov**'s paper discusses the teaching of intonation at university and argues for closer links between intonation, on the one hand, and phonology, syntax, and text linguistics, on the other, as well as for a discourse-level, rather than sentence-level approach to intonation. **Rositsa Dekova** and **Vesselina Koynakova**'s paper focuses on the usage of electronic language resources in the teaching and academic research on epistemic predicative adjectives. **Angel Angelov** presents a historical overview of the development of sociolinguistics and its branching out into ecolinguistics, an area related to ecology, eco-activism and a concern for preserving biodiversity and linguistic diversity.

Part III, *Literature*, begins with a discussion of the teaching of literature in the digital age by **Alexandra Glavanakova**, who takes us through the most recent developments in American literature and gives some inspiring examples of her students' multimodal projects. **Lubomir Terziev** offers a very personal and perceptive insight into his teaching of Romantic poetry through the prism of affect, text and context. **Jonathan McCreedy's** paper is an intriguing sociolinguistic survey of Irish English accents in James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*. **Zelma Catalan's** paper offers a new interdisciplinary approach to the study of the window in mid-Victorian fiction. **Kornelia Slavova** describes American Studies as a transnational practice and gives an account of the appearance of two disciplines at the Department of English and American Studies at Sofia University, namely Gender Studies and Popular Culture.

Part IV, *Culture*, has expanded to embrace the teaching of *media and translation*. **Rositsa Ishpekova** and **Kalina Bratanova** use cognitive-pragmatic analysis to explore the metaphorical construction of the EU in media texts and apply it to teaching media discourse strategies. **Elena Tarasheva's** article gives an account of the institutional difficulties in bringing together media studies, journalism and English studies in Bulgaria, advocating the need to teach them in parallel. **Nelly Yakimova** discusses evaluating the quality of conference interpreting skills, while **Maria Pipeva** focuses on the ethical aspects of the translator's job and teaching translation skills and ethics to students. Finally, **James Deutsch** takes us back to paradigm shifts, the main theme of our conference and this volume, to demonstrate how the paradigm of paradigm shifts itself has shifted in recent decades and to remind us of the dangers of the post-truth period we have entered.

In conclusion, we hope that this volume has opened up a discussion about new paths, new trends and new paradigms in the broad area of English Studies (and its proliferating new branches) and has allowed us to reconsider our old practices and long-held beliefs. Of course, this is an ongoing debate, as nothing stays new for long; and just as yesterday's newspapers are old today, so new technologies, new media and new paradigms will be looking for a new name tomorrow, replaced by something even newer. Our acceptance of this simple fact may be an important step towards developing an ecology of knowledge and may help us embrace the changes with an open mind and heart.

The Editors

Sofia, 25 November 2017

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON ENGLISH BEYOND METHODOLOGICAL NATIONALISM – WHAT IT MEANS FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING

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1. INTRODUCTION

Methodological nationalism has been defined as the theoretical assumption that national social units represent the ‘natural’ order of the world, which involves taking these social units as *a priori* in the methodologies of scientific research (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). The study of language makes for an interesting case to critically apply the concept of *methodological nationalism*. As will be argued, the very basic concept of *a language*, in a differential sense and as systemic entity – like *Spanish*, *Swahili* or *Guaraní* – can be regarded as an effect of methodological nationalism as in lay discourse and most linguistic approaches, *languages* are thought of as constituted by spatially grounded, culturally homogenous social units – *nations*¹. The language practices of a nation’s social elites are considered representative or ‘correct’ and standard forms, speech by those who are socially or territorially more marginal are constructed as variations of these. We can infer from this that the development of languages is no socially neutral development but related to political structures and administrative institutions of states, which are co-responsible for the hierarchisation of non-standard language varieties into ‘sub’-languages or dialects (see e.g. Bourdieu 1980 (2005)). From a social-constructivist perspective, it therefore has been argued that languages are discursive objects that have been constituted in alignment with nation-states, and that “the nation-state ideology of language [...] constructed the unit of language through the formation

¹ What is said here about nations applies as well to *ethnic groups*, even though ethnic groups do not necessarily form organized political and administrative structures. In political science, ethnic groups and nations are both defined as culturally homogenous, territorially bounded groups (see below). Nations differ from ethnic groups on grounds of their more “conscious wish for self-control” (Edwards 1985: 13).

of the nation-state” (Muehlmann and Duchêne 2007: 105). The sociolinguistic commonplace that language norms are, in effect, social norms (see e.g. Weinreich 1945) relates to this assumption.

In this article, I discuss languages as an effect of social discourses – language ideologies, to be more precise – that construct the world as ordered along national, internally homogenous lines. I give examples of how methodological nationalism has affected concepts in linguistics and sociolinguistics and then show examples of empirical linguistic contexts in which the framing of *one language – one nation* is problematic and methodologically inadequate. Finally, in order to make the results relevant in applied contexts, I discuss how the insights of a non-nationalist² methodological framing of language may be applied to the teaching languages.

2. THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF LANGUAGES

The theoretical framework of approaching *languages* as a form of methodological nationalism is based on theories of discourse. The most central proposition of discourse theory is that *discourses*, made up of individual statements in spoken and written forms, “systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault 1972, quoted in Cameron 2001). Social categories – like *gender, nations, languages* – are among such objects that are considered to be created by human beings talking or writing about them (see also Jaworski and Coupland 2006, Foucault 1970 (2000)). Discourses are understood as “formation systems of utterances that refer to collective, and socially stratified knowledge that has an impact on human behaviour” (Spitzmüller and Warnke 2011: 9, own translation). There are different strands of discourse analysis and the field is wide, manifold and difficult to grasp in its entirety. It is impossible to give an in-depth overview here (for introductions, see e.g. Blommaert 2005, Gee 2005, Jaworski and Coupland 2006, Johnstone 2008, Mills 1997, Paltridge 2006). The most central insight in the context of this article is that categories that define social relationships are regarded as an outcome of social interaction, not as pre-given, natural or *a priori* categories. Yet, despite their constructed nature, discourses not only determine the social practice of speaking. They deeply influence our lives as they co-define who we are as social beings. As they construct our social positions in the world we live in, they impact on how we experience social reality and on our ability to act in it.

² Note that the term ‘nationalist’ in this construction does not refer to a political or ideological position but relates to not treating nations, as social and political institutions, as unquestioned givens in research.

In the context of the study of language, *languages* as discursive categories are part of the elements that we can study by means of discourse theoretical approaches. *Languages*, as systemic entities with clear and separable boundaries and definite and standardised rules, are the outcome of particular social discourses that, in Western traditions, are typically understood as homogenous systems of rules that are in a one-to-one relationship to territorial communities (on this kind of language ideology see Errington 2001, Joseph and Taylor 1990). While many approaches to linguistics do not question the existence of *languages* as systems of rules, more anthropologically oriented approaches – and in particular those that focus on non-European or postcolonial situations – have shown that the concept of language as a clearly definable system, with primarily referential functions, is a culturally contingent and predominantly Western idea, intrinsically related to the idea that the social world is divided into clearly definable ethnic groups and nations (Irvine and Gal 2000, Woolard 1998). This realisation brought about a critical perspective on the *language ideologies* – “cultural system[s] of ideas about social and linguistic relationships” (Irvine 1989: 255) – that determine how language oftentimes was conceptualised within linguistics (see e.g. Joseph and Taylor 1990) and how linguistic knowledge contributed to the colonial enterprise of ordering the world in a territorial and socially hierarchical way (Errington 2008, Warnke, Stolz, and Schmidt-Brücken 2016).

From this perspective, *languages* cannot be disentangled from the social conditions in which they emerge. The unquestioned postulation of languages as *a priori* systems has not only been criticised on grounds of linguistics’ sometimes problematic historical collaboration in colonial activities (see also Pennycook 1998). Sociological critique on a lack of theorising the social foundations of language maintained early that “[t]o speak of the language, without further specification, as linguists do, is tacitly to accept the official language of a political unit” (Bourdieu 1980 (2000): 468), which implies the necessity of an ontological questioning of the foundational categories of the study of language.

3. METHODOLOGICAL NATIONALISM IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

More recently, the argument that modern linguistics is framed in methodological nationalism has come up (Moyer 2017, Schneider 2014). As has been mentioned above, *methodological nationalism* is defined as taking for granted that “the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world” (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002: 301). First of all, it needs to be noted that the

nation is defined as a group that assumes a common descent, history, language and culture, where people, because of processes of cultural erasure (Irvine and Gal 2000), feel to be culturally ‘the same’, irrespective of their economic status and other social traits. The concept of methodological nationalism did not appear in relation to linguistics first, but rather emerged as a critique of different strands of the social sciences. Its most prominent early mentioning appeared in the text “Methodological nationalism and beyond: Nation-state building, migration and the social sciences” in which cultural anthropologists Wimmer and Glick Schiller outline their critique of traditional – national – framings of the social sciences and outline how the perspectives of the nation-state have impacted on research on migration (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). The authors of this critique of methodological nationalism show that in sociology, for example, “the classic theory of modernity has a blind spot when it comes to understanding the rise of nation-states as well as nationalism and ethnicity” (303). A large number of studies in sociology and political sciences have focused on political systems of *nation-states* or on *international* relations (ibid.). Even though some scholars have recognised a lack of theorising of the emergence of the nation-state and have produced valuable insights on national discourses and societies (see e.g. Anderson, 1985: 142; Gellner, 1983: 154), Wimmer and Glick Schiller attest a considerable “silence about the continuing importance of national principles” and argue that this “stemmed from a methodological problem” as “nationalist forms of inclusion and exclusion bind our societies together [and therefore] served as an invisible background even to the most sophisticated theorising about the modern condition” (304). The framing of societies as bound together inevitably by national institutional structures has had an effect not only on theorising in sociology and political sciences but also has impacted on other social scientific disciplines. As Glick Schiller and Wimmer maintain, for example, cultural anthropology, in approaching and studying particular populations as *minority* cultures, has co-constructed, supported and naturalised the perspectives of the *national* societies in which these minority cultures reside (306). Focusing on research related to processes of migration, Wimmer and Glick Schiller furthermore show how national epistemologies have framed studies that analyse the mobility of populations as a more or less teleological process that has the ‘integration’ of ‘foreigners’ into ‘host societies’ that are understood as ‘cultural containers’ to which migrants have to adapt (on critical view regarding migration research, see also Pries 2008).

Observing that the formation of social scientific disciplines historically concurred with the establishment of European nation-states, Wimmer and Glick Schiller therefore maintain that “[t]he epistemic structures and programmes of mainstream social sciences have been closely attached to, and shaped by, the experience of modern nation-state formation” (303). In other words, it can be argued that the epistemological foundations of the social sciences – and, as we will see below, of linguistics – are interwoven with historically contingent social discourses that developed particular categorisations of the social world, namely the assumption that the world is, by its very nature, ordered along national categories.

4. METHODOLOGICAL NATIONALISM IN LINGUISTICS

Languages, in applying the perspective that has been developed within the critique of methodological nationalism, can be regarded as discursive constructs that are influenced by national discourses and continue to play a pivotal role in ordering the social world. Standardised forms of language are typically strongly supported by national institutions, such as educational systems and governmental language policies, so that they are used more frequently (particularly in written media) and are socially accepted as ‘correct’ forms. Deconstructive views on the notion of *language* as a separable entity and on language standards have become popular in recent years (see also e.g. Makoni and Pennycook 2007) and display considerable overlap with the argumentation of the criticism developed in the debates on methodological nationalism.

Considering the disciplinary history of linguistics, it does not come as a surprise that the discipline’s framing is strongly influenced by the national idea. Not only did linguistics as a separate discipline appear during the heyday of nationalism, that is to say, in the beginning of the 19th century (see e.g. Robins 1997); furthermore, the existence of a separate linguistic variety in a given political unit usually functioned (and often continues to do so) as proof of legitimacy for a group to claim legitimacy. This was particularly pertinent in a time when bourgeois nation-states were formed and replaced the aristocracy or religious leaders as the locus of power (see also Barbour and Carmichael 2000). A distinct language thus has usually been taken to be an indicator for the entitlement of groups to form a separate nation and, to this day, as can be seen in current discourses on language and integration, the ability to speak a certain language “plays a key role in the

processes whereby social actors are granted legitimate membership as nationals, i.e. are treated as ‘truly’ French, Spaniards, Catalans or Danes.” (Pujolar 2007: 79).

Thus, if we attempt to question methodological nationalism in linguistics, we have to attend to the social categories on which the study of language is based. Where groups that are understood as culturally and ethnically ‘the same’ and as ‘naturally’ residing on a particular territory are taken as unquestioned ‘given’ in a particular linguistic framework, we may speak of a case of methodological nationalism. It needs to be considered that the framing of the social world as materialising along national lines is not necessarily and in all cases problematic as it depends on the research question whether or not such a framing is appropriate. The critical perspectives on linguistic and sociolinguistic terminology that I develop below are therefore not meant to devalue terms and concepts that base their work on the assumption that nations exist. However, a socially sensitive view on language in a transnational world needs to be reflectively aware of the epistemological histories that have framed our understanding of language.

To start with, we can see that the terminology to describe language variation tacitly constructs the national standard language of a state as reference point, by which it is normalised as a ‘correct’ variety. Terms like *dialect* or *minority language* define language varieties in relation to a dominant or majority language. In a similar vein, the notion of *language change* assumes that there is a language variety that is stable and that we need to explain how change happens – where we could ask the question the other way around (“How does stability happen?”) if we do not presuppose the stabilising practices and discourses of the nation-state that aim at fixing language in time and space. In the context of language contact, we likewise assume that there are fixed *languages* that get into contact with each other and that, therefore, we observe phenomena like *code-switching* or *language mixing*, while these terms only make sense if we assume stable, fixed codes to pre-exist.

A more explicit – and more extreme – framing of the social as intrinsically consisting of linguistically homogenous formations is found in some strands of structuralist linguistics. Chomsky’s early proposition that for analysing grammar, the “ideal speaker-listener” would be the one who lives in a “completely homogenous speech community” (Chomsky 1965: 3) demonstrates disregard for the fact that complete linguistic homogeneity is a myth in any social context. Furthermore, even where we find relative linguistic homogeneity, we have to account for its historical development. Social discourses like linguistic purism or technical media like the printing press and writing (methodological effects on linguistics of which are discussed, e.g., in Linell 2005) have to be considered

vital elements in the emergence of linguistic homogeneity that reaches beyond face-to-face levels. Based on these considerations, the study of grammar, and of what native speakers regard as *grammatical*, cannot be regarded as autonomous from social processes. Yet, traditional structuralist linguistics takes a homogenous language system at a certain point in time as the given object of study (see e.g. Chomsky 1965, Saussure 1913 (1993)) and “designate[s] the study of language systems in and of themselves, divorced from external considerations of a historical or psychological sort, or any factor having to do with actual speech production” (Joseph 2001: 74). The emergence of social units, and how this emergence interrelates with the emergence and regularisation of language structures, is not an object of study where *languages* are taken as ‘given’ and unproblematic facts. From a critical perspective that questions *methodological nationalism*, the object of *language* in this structuralist sense appears to be problematic, as what is described is not

a language at all but only a socially locatable register of a language (often the register called ‘the Standard Language’), and the question of how [syntacticians] come to have any particular intuitions about it is part of what a social theory of language must explain. (Agha 2007: 8)

A second example for a methodologically nationalist framing in the context of linguistics stems from the realm of the study of *English as a World Language*. The study of varieties of English typically conceptualises the nation as its methodological base and takes for granted “the apparent naturalness and givenness of a world divided into societies along the lines of nation-states” (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002: 304). Thus, we find manifold studies on the variability of English in different parts of the world. These are almost consistently classified on grounds of the national context in which they appear. We find descriptions of, for example, Indian English, Nigerian English, Australian English, and so on. On maps that display the distribution of English in the world, we typically find that these are divided according to nation-state political boundaries and whole countries are defined as, for example, ‘ENL – English as a Native Language’ or as ‘ESL – English as a Second Language’ (see e.g. Schneider 2011: 31). There are various problems attached to this framing.

First of all, language variation and multilingualism are part of every society. Particularly in an increasingly interconnected world that displays local diversity in many social contexts, we find native and second language speakers

of English in probably every country around the world – including in those that are conceptualised as ‘native English-speaking’ and those that are considered ‘non English-speaking’. Consider, for example, that a third of the population of Sydney, Australia, indicates to speak a different language than English at home (see e.g. Farrell 2008) or that in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, almost half of the population has a cultural background that is not German (e.g. in 2008, over 40% of the population of Frankfurt were of non-German origin or family background and displayed 176 different national backgrounds, see Fenzel 2013). Former British colonies, which are frequently considered of particular interest for the study of World Englishes, display similar or even stronger forms of diversity. The use of English here has a long history and English is therefore typically regarded as either being ‘native’ (where British settlers made up a large proportion of the population) or as ‘second language’, where the social elites (including those who are not of British heritage) have adopted English. The construction of countries as ‘English-speaking’ here tells us little about the number of people who actually use the language or about the diverse and mixed forms of language that may be common. Furthermore, given that European models of education prevail, the variety of English spoken by people who have attended high school or university³ in, for example, Nigeria, Jamaica or India cannot be seen in isolation from traditional European prestige standards (for more on a critical view on World Englishes, see Saraceni 2015). Overall, the approach runs the danger of rendering invisible the sociolinguistic hierarchies and linguistic diversities that are internal to nations by limiting analyses to the standardised written forms of academically trained speakers, where most education systems have been framed in colonial and national ideologies.

It is furthermore important to note that symbolic hierarchies in the evaluation of speech forms cannot only be found within national societies (where it is assumed that the national standard language has the highest prestige). Even though linguists frame the ‘Englishes’ of different countries as legitimate as soon as they develop local (national) ties (see e.g. the dynamic model of World Englishes in Schneider 2011), this does explain why some varieties of English seem to be more ‘native’ than others. Transnational symbolic hierarchies between ‘traditional’ (‘white’?) English – UK, US, Australian, Canadian – and ‘new Englishes’ (as in other postcolonial societies, particularly those with a history

³ Linguistic corpora for the study of World English, as the ICE corpora (see <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/projects/ice.htm>), are typically based on language practices of teachers and university students.

of plantation colonisation, for more see Mufwene 2013) cannot be grasped in models that reproduce the nation-state level as the only social sphere worthy of consideration. It is here a transnational, even global social space that co-defines the symbolic value of particular varieties. Adding to this, potential newer effects of communication in transnational social spheres as in international politics, academia or in digital social networks remain invisible in national framings of language (consider also Mair 2016). In this context, Saraceni has shown that linguistic research in this realm often suffers from tacitly reproducing UK and US norms as standards by describing structural features of ‘other’ Englishes with reference to these prestige norms (see Saraceni 2015: 80 ff.). On these grounds, it has been argued that

[E]xisting work on EWL [English as a World Language] [...] has produced mostly feature-based, structural descriptions of varieties, often characterized as differences from the major varieties that make up ISE [International Standard English]” and therefore, “the traditional approach to World English and variation, which correlates social variables – seen as independent and given – with linguistic variable, seen as dependent, is limited in several respects. (Hinrichs 2006: 145-146)

Again, the overall claim here is not to say that nation-states and the discourses that take place within them are irrelevant or that it is useless to study varieties of English, but it needs to be recognised that these Englishes, discourses and practices are neither static and defining the speech of all members of a particular society, nor are they autonomous from other social realms.

5. LANGUAGE BEYOND NATIONAL FRAMINGS

In everyday language practices, it is easy to find examples that illustrate that language use and nationality or ethnicity are very often not in a one-to-one relationship. Very obvious is the common use of terms in probably any contemporary society that stem from the English language. English⁴, particularly in contexts of mass media, cultures of consumption and in advertising, has become very common

⁴ Note that I reproduce here the discourse of language as appearing in *languages* (English, in this case), which is unavoidable given that we so far lack other forms to refer to particular linguistic features. Note also that the problem has been recognised before that in some contexts, “[w]e have

worldwide, where the use of English represents 'up-to-date'-ness and commercial success (see also Androutsopoulos 2007). In many urban contexts all over Europe, Africa and Asia, English is therefore also found frequently in the linguistic landscapes of public space. In a preliminary data collection for a project on English in urban centres across Europe, I collected linguistic landscape data in a street in a 'trendy' neighbourhood in Berlin, Germany. While many restaurants, bars and corner shops show some use of English lexical items in their public displays, there are shops in which the entire verbal part of the outward communication is written in the English language. This comprises names for the store, names for the items sold, slogans to promote the items, and up-to-date information for customers (as found on boards or signs where shop owners note latest news or offers).

One example of communication with customers I found was a black sign in front of a café, the script written in chalk, standing right on the pavement. The sign was written entirely in English and said:

Berghain blues? Come in and get your juice dose for happy come down



to recognise that we are inevitably part of a tradition of knowledge, one which we may criticize but which we cannot entirely escape" (Cameron et al. 1992: 3).

Berghain is the most famous nightclub of Berlin and on this board, the consumption of juice is put in relation to attending this highly popular and trendy place where we can assume that this link is made with the intention of increasing the number of sales of juice. So why is this message written in English? Applying a methodologically nationalist view, we would interpret this use of English as directed at native or non-native speakers of English who come to Berlin as foreigners or tourists. We could also ask whether this is a case of the ‘indigenisation’ of English in Germany – is this a sign that demonstrates the emergence of ‘German English’? A closer look at the linguistic features makes other interpretations more likely. We can indeed observe that the decoding of this message requires rather elaborate knowledge of English lexical items and that it may not be directed at speakers who are constructed as local inhabitants of the neighbourhood (where, on this Kreuzberg Street, native speakers of German, Turkish, English and many other languages live). The term *dose*, for example, is not part of the basic vocabulary of learners of English. Interestingly, this term and the mentioning of *Berghain* as well as the expression *comedown* (spelled *come down* in the example) are clear references to electronic music party culture. *Dose* is a quantity of a medicine or drug taken at a particular time – here very likely with reference to drugs, as it is common to consume drugs if attending *Berghain*. This interpretation is confirmed by the use of the term *comedown*, which has, as one possible definition “a lessening of the sensations generated by a narcotic drug as its effects wear off” (New Oxford American Dictionary 2009). Clearly, it is not only competence in the English language that is required here but further knowledge of the lexicon as used in a cultural context that is defined by the consumption of particular music, by particular party habits and by particular drug consumption practices.

This cultural context and its language practices, thus, are not defined by national identity and are not actually tied to a particular territory. They therefore may be described as deterritorialised – they can be found anywhere in the world where people get together to engage in and thus constitute electronic music culture. So, instead of interpreting this as an indication that English is used to attract ‘foreigners’, we see here the use of English that indexes a social environment that is not so much defined by national belonging but rather by adherence to a particular lifestyle of a group of people who move in a transnational community in which practices of consumption (of music, and, to a certain extent, of drugs) seem to be a defining feature of belonging. The crucial question is how to define the social entity we are confronted with and, in relation to language, the question

of how language use and the development of social structures and boundaries interrelate (of social *structuration*, in other words, see Giddens 1984 on theories of structuration, which emphasise the dialectal interaction of structure and agency). It is also vital to study why it is English that is used in this context – which probably has to do with the role of English as a global *lingua franca* and the fact that electronic music culture is of a transnational and deterritorialised kind, where speakers employ English in order to communicate with each other. In any case, it will not be possible to answer these questions without intense empirical study. However, what is clear is that the presupposition of national social spaces as overarching defining entities is inadequate in order to understand the use of language in this particular social context.

We could find a large number of other examples that show that language practice oftentimes does not fit into framings that are presupposed by national or ethnic social formations, among them code-switching practices, language crossing (Rampton 1995) or the use of fused language forms (for a taxonomy, see Auer 1999). What we have seen is that English in the Berlin coffee place example does not construct ‘German English’, but that, while we must not ignore nation or ethnicity as being of continuing relevance to interpret language use, we also have to attend to other kinds of social units in order to understand language in situations of globalisation and contact. The ‘new English’ as observed above does not fit into circles model as suggested by Kachru (1997) – it is not ‘native’, a second or a foreign language to a local, territorially-based community but links to new social personae that are not defined by nation or ethnicity. Contemporary sociolinguistics has emphasised the point that “variation is not just a reflection of the social, but essential to its construction” (Eckert 2016: 70), which we see here where language has the power to co-construct new social personae that move in globalised forms of cultures of consumption.

We can infer from this that language is a social practice, inseparable from the cultural contexts and social categories in which it is used and which it brings into being – language affiliation and the construction of language categories emerge in social practice. As we have seen in the example, language affiliation can function across national and ethnic boundaries and can be multiplex – English relates to several social spheres at the same time (to native speakers of English and tourists, as global *lingua franca*, to members of the local electronic music scene). In line with the proponents of a *sociolinguistics of globalisation* (Jan Blommaert in particular) we can therefore argue that, instead of conceptualising languages as given systemic and separable entities, we can approach language as actually appearing in mobile

resources that are highly flexible. This, fundamentally, implies that individual speakers and communities of speakers have “truncated repertoires” (Blommaert 2010), meaning they derive their lexical items and structural features from a large pool of different and diverse inputs, where standardised forms of language use that fit into national framings are one possibility among others. Yet, what do non-nationalist methodological perspectives and deconstructive approaches imply for the teaching of languages?

6. DECONSTRUCTING LANGUAGE STANDARDS AND THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGES

Quite logically, deconstructive views on language form a problem for the teaching of languages. Particularly where languages are taught as foreign languages, teachers utilise standardised models of languages in order to teach their pupils how to employ the newly learned resources in a correct way. Inferring from the above observations, standard languages are, however, discursive constructions that are interwoven with the emergence and construction of institutionalised and national social units and therefore represent a very particular (or peculiar?) kind of language with a very particular history. Additionally, due to increased language contact, local diversity, non-standardised practices becoming more visible in written digital media, and the emergence of social units that cross national boundaries, standard languages may be used differently and by a larger number of vernacular or non-native speakers so that language standards may become more flexible in the future.

Does this imply that language teachers should stop making their pupils acquainted with standardised forms of language? In this context, we must not forget that, at least currently, standard languages have a very high social prestige and functional currency in virtually all formal domains of contemporary societies. Furthermore, standard languages and the standardised forms of the English language in particular, carry the social function of symbolically expressing educational achievement and geographical and social mobility. At the same time, a deconstructive concept of language as a mobile resource and as actually appearing in truncated repertoires is not incompatible with learning and teaching standard varieties of language. Consider the following quote from a debate in a transnational online seminar organised by the *Linguistic Ethnography Forum* in 2016, discussing the problem of the teaching of English and its many different varieties, which makes it difficult to decide which one is the most appropriate:

Recognising that language is a mobile resource allows for the emphasis in accuracy in language use, and the learning of teaching Englishes worldwide, to shift from a vertical axis of linguistic hierarchy in relation to varieties of English to a more socially just horizontal one that allows for linguistic pluralism, with the emphasis upon the way that people acquire and use their sociolinguistic repertoires within new spaces and forms of cultural reproduction afforded by globalisation. (Clark 2016)

The author of this contribution argues that a view on language as a mobile resource can still mean to emphasise accuracy in language use and can also mean that English is still taught as a *language*. Yet, the author proposes that we should aim at changing our perspective and the way we conceptualise linguistic hierarchies. While language variation has been typically regarded as appearing in vertical framings – from ‘top’ (standard language, UK and US varieties in the case of English) to ‘bottom’ (regional varieties, sociolects, ‘broken’ repertoires as in contexts of contact), we have to aim at framing language variation in horizontal forms, where linguistic difference is not equivalent to social hierarchisation. Linguistic pluralism then becomes a fascinating area of study, where new social spaces in contexts of cultural globalisation may bring about new sociolinguistic repertoires. And yet, the ‘old’, standardised forms that have traditionally been associated with national communities so far do not lose in relevance and represent appropriate means of communication in particular – and particularly in formal – social domains. Not to give access to standardised languages to learners of language would therefore be inappropriate and unjust. At the same time, it is the teacher’s responsibility to support the deconstruction of the ‘vertical’ framing of linguistic diversity in order to overcome essentialist and morally normative views on standard language as the only valuable form of verbal expression – a view that is equally inappropriate and unjust.

In this context, teachers can arouse interest in their pupils for the fact that standard languages are no ‘natural’ entities with ‘naturally’ superior qualities in contrast to other forms of language. Among the questions that teachers of English as a foreign language, for example, may ask themselves when aiming at a more ‘horizontal’ approach to language in their teaching could be: What is *English* and why do we teach it? Which standard of English do we want to teach? What are the social practices that (re-)produce a standard? What should be the role of teaching standard language grammars? What kind of language resources and strategies do pupils need when faced with different ‘correct forms’? How do we prepare pupils to

critically reflect on their own and others' language use and on informal and formal rules of language? How can we make the multiple language resources of pupils a meaningful element in the teaching of language? How should governmental school curricula deal with multilingualism, multiplexity and language variation? These questions represent a first sketch of epistemological questioning of language teaching without claiming that the transfer and distribution of standardised language forms of national entities, which are socially powerful tools, should be given up.

As it is important to develop ideas of how to put horizontal views on language diversity into practice, I want to end this article with some suggestions for the potentials of non-nationalist methodological approaches to language in teaching practice. Practitioners have to decide for themselves which suggestions they find meaningful and for which age range these topics are appropriate:

- Teachers can discuss the historical development of languages in national contexts to make the construction and non-naturalness of language standards visible;
- Language use in culturally diverse nations (e.g. South Africa, Belize, Nigeria but potentially also Germany, Bulgaria, China or Vietnam) can be discussed in order to overcome a limited view on language as expressing national identity;
- The role of language, particularly of English, in transnational spheres (e.g. social media, politics, academia) can be analysed in order to raise awareness about the multiple social functions of languages beyond expressing national identity;
- The social indexicalities of local and non-local varieties and languages that are spoken by pupils in the classroom can be made subject of classroom discussion;
- Intercultural and polylingual language lessons in which the multilingual resources of the pupils find a place can be created, for example in discussions and elaborations on grammatical structure or in creative writing (for more inspirations, see e.g. Holmes 2015).

7. CONCLUSION

In this article, I discuss the notion of *languages* as a systemic entity to be an effect of methodological nationalism, meaning that the concept of language as separable system is intrinsically tied to the construction of social spaces as appearing in separable and territorially locatable units – in nations. Several examples from the realm of linguistics serve to show that an unquestioned pre-assumption of the existence of languages as neutral and objective facts can be problematic as it is socially unrealistic, in some cases naturalises a particular form of language as neutral object of study and therefore does not ensure the realisation of objective scientific research. I also argue that, in order to develop a socially sensitive view on language in a transnational world, we need to be aware of the epistemological histories that have framed our understanding of language and therefore have to question and denaturalise our discipline's conceptualisations and traditions.

In order to further illustrate that some very established concepts of linguistics do not always map language practices of contemporary cultures in an adequate manner, I have analysed an example of language use that does not conform to the expectations of nationalist framed research. The example shows that linguistic resources can be employed creatively to not only reflect social positions but to actually create them, where these positions may or may not have their source in ethnic or national identity. Such observations lead to a deconstructive view on language and on standards of language, which, however, does not mean to dispose of the concept of standard language. I argue that standard languages remain highly powerful tools in contemporary societies which we must not ignore in our analyses and where we should be aim at explaining their development.

In the final section, I link these analyses to the question of what a deconstructive view implies for the teaching of language. It is here suggested that the teaching of standards of language remains important as long as these represent powerful communicative tools in society. Yet, the deconstructive view on language also implies that language variation cannot be conceptualised as 'naturally' expressing social hierarchy. An epistemological questioning of the role of language standards for teachers and educational strategies to overcome essentialist and socially hierarchical views on language variation are suggested for practical applications. I hope that the suggested strategies can contribute to a more just form of language education that leads to more equity and to the empowerment of the multilingual and diverse populations our societies are made up of today and in the future.

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TALKING SPACE: A LINGUISTIC PORTRAIT OF A POPULAR TOURIST LOCATION IN VELIKO TURNOVO

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The aim of the paper is to provide a linguistic map of the Tsarevets Hill and the square below it. The portrait of the place is sketched within the framework of Linguistic Landscaping Studies (LLS), a branch of sociolinguistics which studies language in social space. Language and space are explored in the conditions of mobility, globalisation and superdiversity. Research in this area is associated with the names of Jan Blommaert, Ben Rampton, Steven Vertovec, Adam Jaworski and others, whose works in turn, are rooted in the ethnographic tradition set by Dell Hymes, John Gumperz, Michael Silverstein, Ron Scollon, Suzanne W. Scollon and other researchers. The linguistic portrait of Tsarevets, obtained through linguistic landscaping and ethnographic observation, cannot only be used as a tool for detecting social changes and changes in language use, but can also throw light on the way English taught at schools works outside the classroom. Thus, it will provide important implications about how English language instruction in Bulgarian environment can reflect the dynamic interplay of variables in complex sociolinguistic systems.

1. THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

Linguistic landscaping studies (LLS) implies a shift in the focus of interest – from individual speakers and groups of speakers to the physical spaces, which they inhabit. Originally, LLS emerged as a study of big urban centres where migration, political dynamics and mobility were important characteristics. It reflects processes such as globalisation and transnational flows of people and products, along with the spread of cultures and values. Linguistic landscaping is a sociolinguistic study, but it is also related to urban studies, social semiotics, nexus analysis, literacy studies and a number of other disciplines, which reflects its transdisciplinary nature. Among the major names in the field is Jan Blommaert (2012), who is

interested in the description of a place from a complexity perspective and in the histories of public signs (their indexical attributions). In a joint article, Jan Blommaert and Ben Rampton (2011) explore signs as the outcomes of multimodal communicative practices and see ethnography as intrinsically historicising. Adam Yaworski and Crispin Thurlow (2010: 187-218) focus on the interaction between written discourse and non-verbal modalities of communication, including visual discourse, spatial practices and architecture. Ron Scollon and Suzanne Wong Scollon (2003), who work in the sphere of nexus analysis, study the relationship between text and action. Human actions are believed to be mediated by semiotic or cultural tools. Such tools can include anything from language to material objects. It is through the use of these cultural tools that social action is performed. Michael Silverstein (2014) investigates language use and textuality in the light of indexicality and natural histories of discourse. The present article follows closely Jan Blommaert's (2012) empirical model of landscape analysis of his neighbourhood in the Belgian town of Antwerp.

Jan Blommaert's approach to LLS is the sociolinguistic study of globalised environments. Language and language varieties are not envisaged as fixed concepts and they are no longer related to bounded speech communities, sharing the same contextual knowledge. Due to the mobility factor, our modern world cannot be characterized adequately by "full membership" (in a single community) and "full knowledge" (of a single language). Within this framework public space is conceived as a complex sociolinguistic system that has huge descriptive and explanatory potential. The author presents the relationship between social space, social actors and their practices in the following way:

This descriptive and explanatory potential resides in points made in chapters 2 and 3: the fact that the semiotization of space turns space into a social, cultural and political habitat in which "enskilld people" co-construct and perpetually enact the 'order' semiotically inscribed in this space. Thus, analytically, we can use a richly contextualized, ethnographically interpreted linguistic landscape as a synchronic and descriptive diagnostic of the complexities of the sociolinguistic system it circumscribes (Blommaert 2012: 22).

One of the most important characteristics of complexity is the focus on historicity. Every sign in a complex system is interpreted and analysed as the outcome of a historical process of becoming. This would imply that we would not

interpret its meaning in terms of *what it is like*, but on grounds of *why and how it has become what it is*. Since every sign is loaded with different historicities and different layers of meaning, the interpretation of it will require synchronisation of these differences.

One of the approaches to the description of particular spaces is the combination of linguistic landscaping and ethnographic observation (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 11-15). Ethnographic analysis of the publicly visible bits of written language reflects how the principles of superdiversity (implying mobility, complexity and unpredictability) work. To make the linguistic map more revealing of the complexities of human linguistic practices and behaviour, I will touch on problems like “translanguaging”, “writing and voice” and “indexical interpretation” (Blommaert 2007, Blommaert and Rampton 2011, Jørgensen et al. 2011, Silverstein 2014).

LLS presupposes the study of linguistic signs in the conditions of superdiversity. The term “superdiversity” was coined by Stephen Vertovec to explain the phenomenon of “diversification of diversity” (Vertovec 2006: 1). It implies that the structure of modern societies is not only far from homogeneous, but tremendously complicated. New and more complex forms of migration emerge, which together with the new forms of communication (the Internet and mobile phones) turn the places where we live, and which we think we know well, into new habitats, characterized by mobility and a constant flux of norms and values (Blommaert 2012: 8 -10). In another article, Stephen Vertovec (Vertovec 2014: 1-2) explains that the term “superdiversity” has been widely adopted by scholars working in different fields and has acquired various interpretations.

2. THE PLACE: THE HISTORICAL TSAREVETS HILL AND TSAR ASEN I SQUARE

The physical space I am going to describe linguistically is Tsarevets Hill, where the remnants of the royal palace are, the small square below it and the fork of two streets leading to the centre of the town. The square (generally known as “Tsarevets Square”) is officially called “Tsar Asen the First Square”. Tsarevets Hill, with its remains of the royal palace, is emblematic not only of Veliko Turnovo, but also of the whole country. Here I focus on the signs of late modernity and the way they are created and interpreted by citizens, visitors and tourists.

Compared to the conception of an urban centre in a global world, Veliko Turnovo is comparatively small; it is smaller than other Bulgarian cities like Sofia, Plovdiv and Varna. There is no immigration of people from other countries but there are students, who count as temporary migration. There are also many tourists who visit the city. This, if not migration in the proper sense of the word, constitutes an important mobility factor. In addition, there is a third group of people, who cannot be called immigrants, but who show a live interest in staying permanently in Bulgaria. They come from West European countries and most of them are retired. As can be seen, we cannot call Veliko Turnovo a superdiverse place in the sense which Vertovec gives to the term, but the specific forms of mobility mentioned above indicate that it is not as stable and homogeneous as it, perhaps, used to be.

The place I describe abounds in visible signs, which display the use of languages other than Bulgarian. This use comes mainly from foreign language instruction and does not imply the presence of large communities of native speakers. In the city, there is a university with a well-developed faculty of foreign languages, two major language schools and schools with intensive study of languages. In addition, there is a military university, where foreign languages are also studied.

The publicly visible signs, which are the main objects of interest, are situated in space. In the framework of LLS space is not considered to be a neutral background. It is conceived as an agentic zone, where specific forms of conduct are expected and where specific actions and meanings can be generated. Signs demarcate spaces and turn them into specific loci, in which social, cultural and political structures are inscribed. This process is called semiotisation and as a result, semiotised space is turned into a complex sociolinguistic system (Blommaert 2012: 20-21).

3. TYPES OF PUBLIC SIGNS

The signs that are discussed here can be classified in two ways. The first classification, where signs fall into five groups, is empirical. In the first place, we have road signs. They are directing signs. Secondly, there are the boards that provide information about the historical past of the place. These are informational signs. Thirdly, we have shop signs, including the signs of cafes, restaurants and other places to eat, souvenir shops, and rent-a-car signs. All these places offer services. Then, there come advertisements, and, finally, there is the category of “other” signs, covering disparate kinds of inscriptions. All the five kinds of signs are permanent according

to Jan Blommaert' classification (2012: 62-64), where signs are divided into permanent, event-related and noise signs.

According to the languages used on the inscriptions, signs can be classified as monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual. Monolingual signs are predominantly in Bulgarian, but English alone can also be seen. Road signs are bilingual. They have a name in Bulgarian, accompanied by a transliteration in English and/or translation, if required. Shop signs, danger signs and some of the informational signs are also bilingual. Informational boards on the hill are multilingual; they contain inscriptions in three languages: Bulgarian (for native speakers), Russian (for tourists from the former Soviet Union, see 4.3) and German (for tourists from the former East Germany). When I talk about bilingual and multilingual signs, I would prefer to talk about the conversion or transformation of the inscriptions on them from one code into another, rather than talking about their being translated from one language into another. The term "conversion" will reflect better the complexity of the signs in space. Translation and transliteration are involved, but they are only aspects of the whole process of transformation.

4. COUNTING LANGUAGES

The simplest step towards describing a place linguistically is counting languages. I was able to count six languages in the target place, including Bulgarian, English, German, Russian, Italian, and Latin. The six languages are distributed unevenly throughout the five groups of signs discussed above. Bulgarian is to be seen everywhere: on the road signs, on the shop signs, on the informational boards. English is almost everywhere. German and Russian appear on the multilingual boards on the Tsarevets hill. These two languages are not visible in the square, which is a shopping area and where refreshments and souvenirs can be bought. They do reappear, however, on the right fork to the centre, where there is a real estate agency. Italian is to be seen on restaurant menus, mainly used for listing the names of different kinds of food. Latin has only got marginal use.

4.1. BILINGUAL SIGNS

I start the discussion with the bilingual signs because they are the most numerous and, as the analysis will show, the most productive type. Most of them, especially the road signs, look like double-language signs where the English inscription is a mirror image of the Bulgarian original. The two facets of these signs are

symmetrical – they have the name in Bulgarian and a transliterated, or a translated, version of it. There are exceptions, however. On one of the road signs we read “КВ. АСЕНОВ” with the English dubbing “ASENOV/RESIDENTIAL/ DISTRICT”. In the brackets there is information clarifying that by “district” a living quarter is meant (not a larger administrative unit).

Shop signs reveal a different picture. One of the souvenir shops, looked at frontally, has the name “СУВЕНИРИ” in Bulgarian and provides a translation “SOUVENIRS”, but the name of the shop “TSAREVETS” appears in its transliterated form only. Below, is a list of the items sold in the shop. The list is in English and it reads “EMBROIDERY, ROSE OIL, CERAMICS, ICONS”. This is not only a list of the items sold in the shops, but a list of objects considered to be emblems of Bulgarian culture, and they are advertised to be bought as souvenirs to carry home. In this case, English is the language that is supposed to advertise them to foreign visitors. Looking to the right, one can see a Bulgarian version of the same sign – “МАГАЗИН ЗА СУВЕНИРИ „ЦАРЕВЕЦ“ (SOUVENIR SHOP “TSAREVETS”)”, with no list of the items sold there (See Appendix, Pic. 1).

4.2. MONOLINGUAL SIGNS

Signs written in one language are the simplest in nature, but they are not the dominant type. The “RENT-A-CAR” sign is written in a single language – English. The aim of its occurring in English is not to exclude possible Bulgarian clientele, but to address English-speaking visitors coming from abroad. The café, called “КАФЕ ЗОГРАФ,” has its name in Bulgarian only, but on the signboard one can also see the logo of “COCA COLA”. Two layers are discernible in this sign – the dominant Bulgarian inscription and the logo imposed upon it. I classify this sign as monolingual because I analyse the logo as belonging to the classification of advertisements and not as part of the inscription. The name of the café and the logo make a complex, two-layered sign. One part of it is a shop sign, the other is an advertisement, but the two of them work together. The foreign tourist may not be able to read the Bulgarian sign, but the “COCA COLA” logo will certainly signal a refreshing drink.

The restaurant called “ЦАР ИВАН АСЕН” is another place which has its name in Bulgarian only. Some of the tourists happen to be Bulgarian and being a potential clientele, they have to be inscribed as a social group in the public space. Inside, English is visible on the menus, and the food which the restaurant offers is

not only traditional and Bulgarian. In my opinion, there may be two reasons why the name of this restaurant has not been converted.

In the first place, the owners of this restaurant did something similar to what the people who lived on Martha's Vineyard did. They wanted to preserve the pronunciation of certain sounds in their dialect in order to preserve their identity (Labov 1972: 1-42). Similarly here, by using only Cyrillic script, people have tried to preserve their Bulgarian identity. There could be another explanation, too. The restaurant does try to attract visitors from other parts of the world, but it does so in a strategic way – namely, by not converting the inscription into a foreign language. In this way, foreign visitors could possibly be attracted by something different, unfamiliar, and exotic. Attracting visitors from abroad, by not providing translation or transliteration of Bulgarian writing, might seem a bit controversial in a tourist environment such as this, but the significance of this monolingual sign can best be understood when compared to another restaurant which occurs in the same square and which is called “THE GREEN RESTAURANT” OR “THE GREEN PUB” (See 5).

Perhaps the only monolingual sign that is written in Bulgarian, and is targeted at a particular Bulgarian audience, is the small eating place, located at the fork of the two streets leading into the town centre. The menu in front of it is only in Bulgarian; it offers Bulgarian dishes and is quite inexpensive. The sign “ЦЕНИ НАРОДНИ” (“POPULAR PRICES”) narrows the potential clientele, which will probably include people working as guides, museum workers, shop assistants and perhaps anybody else who can read Bulgarian well.

4.3. MULTILINGUAL SIGNS

The third type of signs are those that are written in more than two languages. These are the boards on the hill that contain historical information about the royal past of Veliko Turnovo. The information on them is presented in Bulgarian, Russian and German. Russian and German were the two most popular foreign languages associated with the socialist past of this country. The signs emerged on the hill around the 1970s, when restoration work was carried out. The inscriptions contain identical information, presented in the three languages. The Russian and German texts are mirror images of the Bulgarian original. Here is an example of such a trilingual sign:

ТРЕТА ПОРТА НА ГЛАВНИЯ ВХОД. ВЪЗСТАНОВЕНА ПРЕЗ 1971 Г.
ТРЕТИЕ ВОРОТА ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОГО ВХОДА. ВОССТАНОВЛЕНЫ В 1971 Г.
DRITTES TOR DES HAUPTINGANGS. WIEDERHERGESTELLT IM JAHRE
1971.

As can be seen, the three sentences on the inscription contain the same information. Although they are written in three different languages, their grammatical structure is identical. The first part of the inscription is a verbless clause that says: THIRD DOOR OF THE MAIN ENTRANCE. The second part mentions the year when the reconstruction work was carried out and contains only the past participle form of the passive voice, without the auxiliary form of the verb “be”. It says: RECONSTRUCTED IN THE YEAR 1971.

Recent information boards that appear are bilingual, but the languages that can be seen on them are Bulgarian and English. Some of them are mirror images, others are not. Here is a sample of one, which is not symmetrical:

РЕГИОНАЛЕН ИСТОРИЧЕСКИ МУЗЕЙ – ВЕЛИКО ТЪРНОВО
АМР „ЦАРЕВЕЦ“
ОТ 9.00 ДО 17.00 Ч.
СЛЕД 16 Ч. ПОСЕТИТЕЛИ НЕ СЕ ДОПУСКАТ
ПОСЕЩЕНИЯ НА ГРУПИ САМО С ЕКСКУРЗОВОД НА РИМ – ВЕЛИКО
ТЪРНОВО

REGIONAL MUSEUM OF HISTORY – VELIKO TURNOVO
ARCHTETURAL RESERVE “TSAREVETS”
OPEN 9.00 – 17.00
LAST ENTRY: 16.00
GUIDED TOURS: ONLY WITH GUIDES FROM THE REGIONAL MUSEUM
OF HISTORY – VELIKO TURNOVO.

We can see here that although the two inscriptions contain the same information, it is not rendered in the same way in the two different languages. In the first place, the Bulgarian sign contains abbreviations: “АМР”, standing for “АРХИТЕКТУРНО-МУЗЕЕН РЕЗЕРВАТ” and “РИМ”, standing for “РЕГИОНАЛЕН ИСТОРИЧЕСКИ МУЗЕЙ”. The abbreviations do not appear on the English version of the sign because if they did, it would not be much informative for the foreign visitor. “АМР” and “РИМ” have only local use and significance and

their conversion in English requires full expressions. Secondly, we can notice the tendency to use functional equivalents, instead of literal translations. Thus, instead of “VISITORS ARE NOT ADMITTED AFTER 16. 00”, we see “LAST ENTRY”, “GROUP VISITS” is converted into “GUIDED TOURS”, and the working time is signalled not by the prepositions “FROM” and “TO” but by the adjective “OPEN”. On recent inscriptions, sign conversion involves not only rendering information in the target code, but using appropriate functional language.

5. TRANSLANGUAGING

Having completed the first step of the analysis – that of counting languages, we can continue with the interpretation of the picture obtained. On some of the signs two or three distinct languages are clearly visible. But there are signs about which it is difficult to say what language they are written in.

In a superdiverse world, terms such as code-switching and multilingualism can no longer explain adequately the complex blends of languages. Translanguaging is a concept that can define the phenomenon called also polylinguaging or transidiomatic practices. It refers to non-standard mixed language practices, characterized by creativity and linguistic profusion. Jan Blommaert and Ben Rampton (2011: 7) relate these mixing practices to the use of styles and languages that do not normally belong to the speaker. More precisely, the language mixing does not presuppose the alternation of two different language varieties, but blending of their linguistic features. Very often, language mixers have only got partial knowledge of the foreign language. Such practices are influenced by the new media and popular culture and are especially popular among the youth.

An extensive study of the same phenomenon in Bulgarian context has been carried out by Maria Georgieva. In her study of code-mixing strategies in both youth and adult discourse, she refers to language blending practices as “globe talk” (Georgieva 2011: 100-122) and defines their social functions as a symbol of modernity, open mindedness and creativity. In their analysis of polylinguaging in the context of superdiversity, Jens N. Jørgensen et al. (2011: 23 - 36) rely on the concept of linguistic features rather than on named languages, which are abstract and ideological constructions. They believe that features can help us understand better and analyse more adequately the process of language use. Ricardo Otheguy et al. (2015: 281-284) provide an explanation of translanguaging from a linguistic perspective. From this point of view, two (perhaps more than two) distinct and named languages exist only in the view of the outsider. The mental grammars of

language users are unitary collections of features. Therefore, linguistic practices are acts of feature selection and not of grammar switch. Durk Gorter and Jasone Cenoz (2015) discuss the relationship between translanguaging and LLS from a holistic point of view. From such a perspective, the difference between monolingual and multilingual signs is blurred (Gorter and Cenoz 2015: 59). If we have a bilingual sign where two languages are placed side by side, then the boundaries of the individual languages are transcended and the sign is perceived as one whole by the reader. In this article, however, I will accept that signs can be monolingual and multilingual (where features of individual languages are clearly discernible) and mixed or transnational (where features of different languages are blended). I believe that converting a sign from one code into another and code blending are different processes.

Instances of translanguaging can be seen in the restaurant called “THE GREEN PUB”. It is called both “THE GREEN PUB” and “THE GREEN RESTAURANT”. “THE GREEN RESTAURANT” is claimed to be FOR GOOD FOOD & FRIENDS. The two parts of the inscription form a closed, oval shape, inside which an interesting version of the name in Bulgarian occurs (See Appendix, pic. 2). The sign in Bulgarian says: “ЗЕЛЕНИЯ ПЪБ” and is not very clearly seen unless one stands close to it. Written in white letters on a bright green background, the English inscription catches the eye. What impresses me here is the choice of the English word “pub”. In Bulgarian there is a word that could serve as a translation for “pub” and this is the word “кръчма”,¹ but the preferences of the sign maker here have opted for the English word. In my opinion, this is not a choice of word, but a choice of language. As a result the two languages are blended. The name is inscribed as “ЗЕЛЕНИЯ ПЪБ” and is dubbed as “THE GREEN PUB” (the dominant inscription).² The strategy of attracting visitors to this place is just the opposite of the strategy of “ЦАР ИВАН АСЕН” restaurant. By mixing the two languages, the restaurant strives to be modern, attractive and popular. Popularity is associated with Englishness and with foreignness in a more global sense.

Interesting samples of translanguaging can be observed in the menus in the same place. On a board at the window of “THE GREEN PUB”, there is a menu

¹ The Bulgarian word “кръчма” has slightly pejorative connotations. There are, however other words that could have been used instead: ресторант (in fact, the place is also called “the green restaurant”), кафе.

² There is one more place in Veliko Turnovo where the word “pub” appears. This is a place located in a more central part of the town and is called “City Pub” (Сити Пъб).

offering dishes which have become popular worldwide. Several names of pizza are listed, all of them reflecting Italian spelling and to some extent grammar:³

MARGARITA, PEPPERONI, QUATRO FORMAGGI, CAP(P)RICIOSA,
SPAGETTI, SANDWICHES

There arises the question of what language this menu is written in. Spelling alone (reflecting fluctuations and inconsistencies, see 6) is not enough to identify a language. In addition, the majority of people do not recognise the markers of Italian grammar⁴. “Sandwiches”, coming at the end of the list, reflects both English spelling and grammar (the plural). I couldn’t say the menu is written in English, however, because one word is not enough to name a language. What occurs on this menu is not a language that can be named. This is a list of dishes of Italian origin, targeted at an international clientele in a Bulgarian pub.

For comparison, I can give the other menu of the same restaurant, which is written on a board in front of the pub. This menu offers cooked dishes. A list of the dishes served is provided in Bulgarian, which is then symmetrically converted into a mirror English inscription. The two versions of the menu appear on the two sides of a blackboard. Here is the menu:

ПИЦИ, ШКЕМБЕ ЧОРБА, ПИЛЕШКА СУПА, СВ. ПЕЧЕН ДЖОЛАН,
ЛАЗАНЯ,
РИБА НА СКАРА
PIZZA, TRIPE SOUP, CHICKEN SOUP, ROAST PORK LEG, LASAGNA,
GRILLED FISH

Although the words “pizza” and “lasagna” are used again, this time I could “name” the languages of the two-part menu as “English” and “Bulgarian” because both English and Bulgarian grammar and spelling are clearly visible and recognisable.

³ For example, plural forms and gender, but here, in my opinion, they are hardly recognised as words, which can be marked for gender, can change number etc.

⁴ “Formaggi” for instance is not generally recognised as a plural form.

6. WRITING AND VOICE

Writing is a complex set of semiotic practices. Because of its complexity and context-dependence, it can be seen as an ethnographic object and Dell Hymes (1977) seeks to find its place in the sociolinguistic repertoires of people. One possible interpretation of being able to write means being able to produce a voice (Blommaert 2007). To produce a voice, in turn, means to be able to make oneself understood in a certain context. Sometimes voices are mixed and clashes of discourses can be observed.

The menu with the pizzas discussed in 5 is written on a blackboard. This could easily be associated with a classroom where students learn, are allowed to make mistakes and can easily correct them by erasing what is wrong. The correct Italian spelling of “Margarita” is “Margherita”, “Quattro formaggi” should be “Quattro formaggi”, whilst “capriciosa” should be “capricciosa”. As can be judged by the traces on the blackboard, the one who wrote the menu had some hesitation about the correct spelling (See Appendix, Pic. 3). A couple of days later I passed by the same place again and I noticed that some of the mistakes were still there, but some had been corrected. More interesting was that some of the names that had been spelt correctly the previous time, occurred with mistakes. For example, “CAPRICCIOSA” was correct. “PEPPERONI”, however, spelt correctly the previous time, the next time appeared as “PIPERONI”. What we observe is mixing of voices, which leads to a clash of discourses (Bakhtin 1986/2006, Blommaert 2007). In our case, the voice of the foreign language learner and the voice of the menu-writer are mixed. The dishes on the menu are popular worldwide. There is an attempt to preserve their original spelling (the voice of the language learner is there).

What matters more, however, is the recognisability of the name, not the spelling rule. Thus, the voice of the one employed to work at the restaurant dominates. One needn’t learn Italian to know how to write “PEPPERONI” or “CAPRICCIOSA” or “PIZZA”. He or she can simply memorise the words as *names of dishes*. The use of the double letters, implying correct spelling, will only be of importance to someone who is interested in learning Italian. The one who wrote the menu needn’t have had these interests. He was involved in a process of learning, but this process was limited and incomplete (Blommaert 2007: 17). The learning motivation was subordinate to the motivation of attracting clientele. The writing was not meant to display knowledge of a language, but serve a more practical purpose. In the context of a restaurant menu, such writing manages to

produce a voice. The lack of knowledge of spelling rules can be ignored in this case as it does not make the names of the dishes unrecognisable.

Another sign that is worth discussing here is the “ASSENOV /RESIDENTIAL/DISTRICT”. It reflects an unfinished learning process. The one who performed the translation obviously had good dictionary skills and a decent vocabulary inventory. The anonymous author had hesitation about which word to choose. He/she had opted for one but was uncertain about the choice. This uncertainty was reflected in the explanation in the brackets. In this instance of clarification, the voice of the conscientious language learner dominates over the voice of the public sign writer.

7. INDEXICAL INTERPRETATION OF SIGNS

One expects certain signs in certain places. When signs are in place, habitual interpretations can be made because they fit into their spatial surroundings. When they are not expected, however, interpretation becomes difficult, and frequently disparate meanings to the same sign are attributed. Just opposite the Royal palace on the Tsarevets Hill there stands a sign in Latin, reading “*ETIAM SI OMNES EGO NON*”⁵. The sign is monolingual and is somewhat “the odd man out” in the whole picture.⁶ There is something puzzling about it from a historical point of view. The old capital of Turnovo was a medieval town and at the time of its grandeur the most intensive diplomatic, economic and cultural relations were held mostly within the Byzantine Empire. In this sense, the Latin sign is a piece that does not fit in the historical mosaic of the place. I made an attempt to interpret it with respect to its modern environment. Perhaps the inscription was meant to divert visitors’ attention from the ugly old building behind the canvas.⁷

⁵ Meaning: “Even if all others, not I.”

⁶ This is a very recent sign, which appeared after the repair work in the square, carried out in the years 2011 – 2012. It stands on the canvas wrapping up an old and decrepit building for safety reasons.

⁷ I talked to some of the guides and the ticket sellers working there, asking them why a Latin inscription should be put on the canvas and what significance it had for the whole place but they say they didn’t know and didn’t care about it.

8. “TRAVELLING” LANGUAGES

Languages as semiotic objects that can be seen on public signs can change their place in semiotised space, and through this they can acquire different indexical loads. For example, on Tsarevets Hill one can still see the trilingual informational boards. The combination of Bulgarian, Russian and German is associated with the socialist past of the country when the “consumers” of these signs were supposed to be mainly Russian and German tourists – the most popular images of foreignness at that time. Travelling was mainly associated with tourism, and learning facts about the historical past was of primary importance.

The two languages are now replaced by English in the new information boards on the hill. The “socialist” languages can be seen in the street leading to the modern part of the town centre, but this time their presence invokes completely different associations. Russian is no longer seen as a language of tourism. A new kind of mobility is reflected on public signs – people from abroad who are interested in buying property in Bulgaria. The presence of this group of people is inscribed on the public signs in the tourist area near Tsarevets – at the end of the square there is a real estate agency, which advertises and sells properties. In the new spatial and economic environment, the partner language of Russian is no longer German, but English. One such sign reads like this:

REAL ESTATE *BULGARIAN PROPERTIES* НЕДВИЖИМОСТИ

German appears further up the street, still associated with tourist travelling, but taking a very modest place in the modern linguistic panorama:

STADTRUNDFAHRT ЭКСКУРЗИЯ ПО ГОРОДУ

9. LLS AND LANGUAGE TEACHING

LLS can give us the opportunity to see language learners (and lecturers) as ethnographers. The idea is not new. It has been adopted in intercultural language teaching paradigms where culture and language teaching are inseparable. LLS as an ethnographic approach can be included as a component in the teaching of English in Bulgarian environment. In such case, it would focus on the use of English as an international language. Students, in their role of ethnographers, can walk around

the town they live or study in, observe inscriptions, photograph them, bring them to class and carry out discussions. I borrowed this idea from David Malinowski's teaching slides (Malinowski 2016 a, b), on which we can find both theoretical guidelines about the implementation of LLS to language teaching and suggestions for particular teaching techniques.

In this context, when students go round the town exploring public signs and the inscriptions on them, they will experience, perceive and conceive things at the same time. This would imply that they will learn how to understand the linguistic landscape in three different ways: experiential (imagine, remember, feel, etc.), perceptual (observe, see, hear, document), and intellectual (contextualise, historicise, map, categorise). Afterwards, they can be assigned writing tasks, or can be asked to discuss different aspects of language usage and functions of public signs. One impressive technique is called "Translate your city" (Malinowski 2016 b: slide 44). It asks the students to imagine what the place they have observed would look like if it was written in a different language or languages. It would be interesting to imagine the Tsarevets square, for example, with the signs on it only in Bulgarian or only in English. Such an activity would certainly trigger discussions concerning the symbolic role of the languages that can be seen in a given place.

10. CONCLUSION

LLS can prove to be exciting and fruitful not only as an area of research but also as a tool for language teaching and learning. Sensitising students to the complex relationship that exists between space, language in space and human spatial practices can prepare them to meet the challenges of getting orientated in the flux of changing norms and values that characterise the modern world. Along with mastering the English language (and maybe other languages too), they will also master a number of skills and cultivate a range of competences – linguistic, pragmatic, intercultural, sociocultural and others. The most important gain for both students and researchers could be to learn to understand differences in the form of new, unexpected, unusual and, even undesired usages. This is important because what is considered deviant today may turn out to be persistent usage and, in the course of time, become an accepted norm.

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APPENDIX



Picture 1



Picture 2



Picture 3

INEQUALITY AND ENGLISH AS AN ACADEMIC LINGUA FRANCA: PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES

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1. INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that the focus on the divisive nature of English is associated with discourses about language in the past, there is a growing recognition of the inequality that exists in the scholarly world, especially in terms of using English as a shared language of communication. When referring to communication in English among people from different first language backgrounds and across linguacultural boundaries, the term which has emerged, among others, is English as a lingua franca (ELF). Today it is conceptualised as part of the World Englishes paradigm which stipulates that ELF should be seen simultaneously as an instrument for liberation and continued oppression. Still, the establishment of English as the dominant language of scientific communication is well documented and undisputed even in the presence of the EU's decision to favour multilingualism. English is increasingly becoming the main means of academic communication in northern European universities and recently in eastern European universities, as well as the dominant language of instruction and publication.

This paper will have as its starting point the various conceptualisations of English in academia which point to a perceived inequality in relation to languages and the complex nature of its linguistic realisations, highlighting both its homogenising and localising trends. Then it will examine the implications, both objective and subjective, of using ELF as a medium of instruction and publication in non-English-speaking countries as part of the internationalisation process of universities. It will be finally claimed that the ramifications have created an emerging group of speakers of ELF in the academia and consequently have opened up a niche for learning English at tertiary level.

2. INEQUALITY DEFINED

The concept of (*in*)equality is central to political theory. When defining it in relation to languages, “the word *equal* needs to be used very carefully” (Crystal 2010: 6). For despite some important differences in their structural complexity, all languages are arguably equal because they meet the psychological and social needs of their speakers. Therefore the idea that some languages are intrinsically superior to others has no objective grounds; it is rather a linguistic myth than a linguistic fact. Indeed, some languages are more useful or prestigious than others at a given period of history (like Greek and Latin in the Age of Antiquity and the Renaissance respectively). Some languages are even seen as a commodity that commands an exchange value, or is a ‘linguistic capital’, to use Pierre Bourdieu’s term (Ives 2015: 78). However, such differences are not due to inherent linguistic characteristics but to the political and economic influence of the speakers. Therefore we can discuss languages from the point of view of equality/inequality by considering what constitutes the source of inequality. On the one hand people tend to appropriate language as a resource for their own purposes. On the other hand language is no more seen as a stable, self-sufficient, bounded system; it is rather considered as a social practice with fluid, changing nature (*ibid.*: 80). Reflecting on such insecurity, some authors understand *inequality* in terms of manifestations of subjectivity which surround the use of English by non-native speakers, or ‘structures of feeling’ experienced by the speakers which take the form of anxiety, embarrassment, affect, etc. (Park 2015). Therefore some authors argue that the sources of inequality must be confined to the relationships between language users, rather than languages and varieties themselves. Language should be considered as an activity of individuals who may be discriminated against due to many attributes, only one of which is language (Ives 2015: 79-80).

To outline the situation for English and its role in contemporary research and scientific communication and education, a range of metaphors were examined. The list starts with Swales’ (1997) description of English as a *Tyrannosaurus rex* and Bennett’s (2014a, 2014b) cautioning against the *erosion* of certain local discourses due to the *epistemicide* effects of English. A different example is Kachru’s (1992) model of the three concentric circles of English: members of the *outer circle* are countries where English has only been introduced recently and does not have any historical tradition. Some metaphors, such as the *semiperiphery* concept and Canagarajah’s (1999) *geopolitics of academic writing* arise from the source domain of political economy and from Wallerstein’s (2004) world systems theory. The core-

periphery-semiperiphery distinction highlights the various constraints affecting researchers in economically disadvantaged parts of the globe and the fact that the semiperiphery shares characteristics of both core and periphery of the world system. In line with the semiperiphery idea, Ferguson (2007: 20) uses a metaphor from economics, *location rent*, to describe the disparity between Anglophone and English-as-an-additional-language writers. Anglophone scholars, he argues, benefit from a resource, the production cost for which they contribute very little to. On the other hand, non-Anglophone writers (and their governments and taxpayers who pay for their education) are required to spend more time and money acquiring this additional resource. Similarly, Van Parijs (2007) uses a different metaphor, describing Anglophone scholars as benefitting from a *free ride* when it comes to writing for publication. Assuming an ironical stance, Bennett's *butler syndrome* metaphor describes the semiperipheral writers' attitude of uncritical subservience to the centre, combined with scorn for anything peripheral. The response to this core–periphery, privilege–disadvantage dichotomy naturally takes the form of Canagarajah's (1999) call for *resisting the linguistic imperialism* of English, Bennett's (2014b) appeal for *combating the centripetal pull* and Casanave's (2002: 181) demand for *wrestling with power-infused and entrenched academic cultures*.

This short study of metaphors associated with English as an academic lingua franca brings us to consider inequality as an existing issue with deeply social, political, cultural, epistemological and ethical implications. Indeed, as Bennett points out, “the global academic system is neatly split between a prosperous centre, a disadvantaged periphery and a less constrained semiperiphery” (Bennett 2014a: 1). The research she cites points to a firm correlation between a country's wealth and its scientific achievement, measured by published research papers and citations. This is proved by the fact that most studies are conducted and published by scholars from Anglophone countries, followed by those from non-Anglophone countries in Northern Europe, while the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe, i.e. the semiperiphery, make an occasional appearance (Bennett 2014a: 2). That a country's economic situation largely determines its social development and ultimately its academic culture is obvious. Are macro level forces the only reason for the unequal position of English, compared to other languages in academia?

In the last few decades there has been a great increase in the globalisation of pedagogic and research practices in universities all over the world. As part of the internationalisation process more and more academic institutions have promoted courses using English as a medium of instruction. These courses are meant to

attract students from as many countries as possible all over the world, and the only feasible solution to the language problem is seen as the use of English as a lingua franca. In the research field, the wish or need to be read and quoted as widely as possible at a global level has induced many scholars to publish in English. The adoption of English as a preferred medium for international communication in higher education has certainly provided a solution of great practical value. Also, the spread of English means that scholars from various countries are able to access and publish in one language, and more research can be disseminated. However, there is a negative side to this which has aroused fears and complaints from many non-English speaking academics.

3. PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF ENGLISH AS AN ACADEMIC LINGUA FRANCA

There are two main types of approaches to this issue. The pluralist approach argues that there are many Englishes, and English is deeply embedded in the multilingual and multicultural lives of its speakers. The penetration of English in all spheres of life has made it possible for users to construct hybrid, multiple cultural identities; by altering English to fit their local contexts and purposes they appropriate the language. Such localisation and appropriation of English is a sign of ownership of the language, i.e. 'English' belongs to all those who use it, making the issue of native–non-native speaker distinction irrelevant (Tupas 2015: 1-4).

The critical approach, on the other hand, accepts the existence of inequalities and examines those which mediate the relationship between Englishes, English users and other languages (*ibid.*: 7). It is concerned with issues of language contact, linguistic norms and their acceptance, and the expression of cultural and social identities. Some non-Anglophone academics from southern and eastern Europe take the critical approach and respond to the use of ELF by resisting what they recognise as a loss of identity and valuable traditions, by embracing and complying with these principles, and/or by feeling pressures, dilemmas and emotional burden (Bennett 2014b, Gotti 2016, Muresan & Bardi 2012, Muresan & Pérez-Llantada 2014, Pérez-Llantada et. al. 2011).

In the current climate of globalisation, a researcher assuming a very strong critical stance is the Anglophone Karen Bennett, who has studied the Portuguese traditional scholarly discourse in the humanities and social sciences of Romance cultures: Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, French and Romanian (Bennett, Muresan

2016). She and her Romanian colleague Laura Muresan found out that Romance academic discourses are linguistically and epistemologically distinct from those in English in terms of preference for certain lexical and syntactical patterns and approaches to text organisation in general. Romance historiographic discourse is described as more complex, elaborate and poetic than the one in English, which is seen as clear, objective, concrete and grammatically straightforward.

Researchers from these countries, however, are increasingly anxious to assimilate their discourse to that of the prestigious centre, distancing themselves from practices of their own cultures that they perceive to be backward or underdeveloped (Bennett 2014a, Lillis and Curry 2006), a situation described as the *butler effect*. This attitude may lead to loss of those traditional scholarly discourses as they gradually alter to become more like English as a result of constant contact with the lingua franca. Another concern is that “discourses of the academy are not transparent or impartial means for describing the world but work to construct, regulate and control knowledge, social relations and institutions” (Hyland 2011: 176). As discourses encode particular theories of knowledge in their structure, “the erosion of difference is leading to a loss of epistemological diversity” (Bennett 2014a: 115) that needs to be avoided at all costs. In the Italian context, Gotti observed the same process of hybridisation of discursive practices affecting smaller languages which are “subject to standardisation pressures in their semantic, textual, sociopragmatic and even lexicogrammatical construction” (Gotti 2016: 12).

Another study, by Muresan and Bardi (2012), refers to the Romanian context and describes the dynamics of the situation in the semiperiphery. It explores the Romanian academics’ difficulties to publish internationally from various perspectives: from a linguistic, methodological and institutional point of view. Thus, it manages to describe the divide between the realities of the internationalised and globalised world of academic research and the Romanian institutional incapacity of realistically evaluating the necessary stages of development in order to generate internationally valuable knowledge and to grow performant researchers. The findings of the study point to three important aspects of the problem. First, respondents consider the role of English as a gate to international participation, and they do not contest it for ideological reasons. Second, Romanian scholars tend to have a rather pragmatic attitude towards their own progress as members of the international academic community, and they choose to comply with the requirements of academic writing in English.

Third, there is a need for institutional support when training and/or developing researchers in internationally accepted practices and standards.

The interpretation of these findings highlights common pressures and challenges of teaching through the medium of English and publishing internationally. For example, a study conducted among 300 'semiperipheral' Spanish academics shows that 95 percent of them agree that non-native speakers of English are at a disadvantage when publishing internationally (Plo-Alastrue and Perez-Llantada 2015).

In a similar way, many academics at my university see the situation of the adoption of English as a means of instruction and publishing as a threat. I gathered information about these perceptions while being involved in translating and editing study plans, programmes and reviews. I also conducted a series of interviews in which academics shared their experiences of teaching and publishing in English. This small-scale research has shown that there are several reasons for such apprehensive perception of the situation.

First, in the process of internationalisation of the teaching programmes and marketisation of its activities, my university offers courses and programmes in English in order to provide instruction to exchange students and mainly to attract students from other countries. The problem is that the lecturers remain the local ones and should provide instruction both in their mother tongue and in English, although neither they nor the students are native speakers. This obviously requires extra efforts and the adoption of various cooperative strategies to facilitate comprehension. Also, in many cases both lecturers and students tend to overestimate their proficiency in English. As Gotty (2016: 29) points out, the use of English-medium-instruction, especially without adequate language competence, lowers the intellectual level compared to scientific discussions in the local language.

Second, many of these lecturers come from a generation which lacks the privilege of having been immersed in Western academic culture, but they are experienced in the Eastern academic conventions. This makes them well aware of the fact that academic cultures vary tremendously in terms of rules, conventions and language schemata, and they do not feel at ease when being outside their L1 academic culture. They perceive as challenging the rhetorical and structural practices, rather than the linguistic or discipline-related ones.

Third, university lecturers are conscious of their disadvantaged position as native speakers of a 'small' language. They realise the existing inequality in academic publishing in relation to discursive norms of languages different from English

and feel emotional burdens. Nevertheless, they are increasingly likely to publish in English in order to find their publications cited more often, and to respond to the pressures imposed by their institution. Interestingly, Bulgarian academics' attitude to the use of English as an academic lingua franca is similar to that of their Romanian colleagues: they are not afraid of losing their identity and would rather like to comply with the linguistic norms while still struggling with the rhetorical differences between English and Bulgarian. Another similarity is that they rely on institutional support for improving their language proficiency and for participation in international events. Unlike the Romanian academics, though, the Bulgarian ones have not yet realised the need for collaboration among researchers, reviewers and researchers' home academic institutions.

4. RESPONSES AND ATTITUDES

In the European context there are various responses to the internationalisation of English academic discourse:

4.1. The concerns have stimulated a lot of research into the academic discourse in English practiced by different communities. It involves analysis of intercultural variation, both at a textual level and in the communicative strategies embedded in its textualisation. Gotti (2016) refers to three recent research projects: the *Cultural Identity in Academic Prose* Project carried out by the University of Bergen, Norway; the *Spanish / English Research Article Corpus* Project, conducted by the University of Zaragoza, and the *Identity and Culture in Academic Discourse* Project, carried out in the University of Bergamo, Italy. They are valuable for two reasons. First, they have touched upon such current issues like identity and intercultural communication by investigating to what extent the non-Anglophone academics, belonging to different linguistic, professional, social or national groups, are affected by the use of ELF. Also, the findings of such research have led to the development and publication of study materials which can be used for pedagogical intervention to alleviate the inequalities associated with ELF.

4.2. The use of English academic discourse has stimulated a discussion on the ethical, ideological and identity issues in Romance cultures. Bennett and Muresan (2016) conducted a contrastive study, compiled a list of rhetorical features typical of Romance languages in the humanities and identified specific markers of rhetorical difference between the Romance languages and English. These rhetorical features include complex sentences of over 70 words long, a tendency to defer the main information rather than presenting it in first position, impersonal

framing devices, verbless sentences, verbal fronting, the use of magisterial 'we' for authorial self-reference, historical tenses, gerunds, and 'literary' use of language. Assuming a critical stance and a pragmatic perspective, the authors suggest how these rhetorical incompatibilities with English academic discourse should be approached by translators and literacy brokers.

4.3. An interesting example of good practice is the Romanian experience. Muresan and Bardi (2012) provide an account of an innovative staff development programme at the Bucharest University of Economic Studies, referred to as *English Language Education and Research Communication for Business and Economics*. This interdisciplinary English-medium master's programme was designed to enhance academic skills – teaching, research and educational management – as well as academic communication in English. The majority of participants were academics of various specialisations. The main motivating factor was strengthening their presence on the international academic field. The Romanian colleagues realised the need for institutional support in training and developing researchers in internationally accepted practices and standards and acted as 'literacy brokers' in Lillis and Curry's terms (2006). They adopted the genre-based approach to teaching research writing in English in response to identified academics' needs.

4.4. To provide a Bulgarian context, a staff development programme similar to the Romanian one was carried out at my university, and several courses devoted to academic communication were conducted. They were attended by academics from various professional fields who were involved in the international programmes of the university and had to deliver lectures in English. The programme focused on the development of skills and strategies associated with the spoken genres: lectures, conference presentations, discussions and question sessions. The programme finished with a written and oral exam on academic communication in English. The idea was that only academics with certified academic language competence would have access to teaching in English. This staff development programme proved very motivating for academics, and even those with high positions in the hierarchy or those possessing international certificates were eager to participate. The main reason was not only the development of communicative competence in English, to which the course contributed, but the discussion of language areas from a functional and contrastive perspective.

4.5. Another very positive outcome of the programme was the publication of a handbook of academic communication with the title *Key to Success: the Language of Academic Communication*. It presents academic discourse in three languages: Bulgarian, English and Russian. Although there are numerous textbooks and

self-study materials published by various British, American or Russian publishing houses, such a publication reflects Bulgarian academics' needs as speakers and learners of a foreign language. The handbook is systematic: it is structured so as to present the linguistic realisations of patterns in academic discourse as a full set of genres that constitutes a complete academic interaction. Thus the seven chapters of the handbook represent a genre chain which is a chronologically related sequence in academic communication:

Chapter one is devoted to first contact that precedes the conference participation. The genres discussed are the formal email, telephone conversation, introduction and acquaintance.

Chapter two presents all the stages of a scientific conference – opening, sessions and closing.

Chapter three covers the discussion session and focuses on asking and answering questions and the expression of agreement, doubt, disagreement, comment, recommendations, gratitude, etc.

Chapter four highlights such genres as the scientific article, academic lecture, PhD thesis and master's dissertation with their structure of introduction, main body and conclusion, and transitions.

Chapter five focuses on the genre of academic presentations.

Chapter six is a glossary covering vocabulary in the field of academic communication such as scientific forums, organisers, participants, publications, scientific establishments, academic staff, degrees and higher education.

Chapter seven includes a number of appendices – models of conference calls for papers, abstracts, lists of commonly used abbreviations in academic language, cohesive and rhetorical devices, as well as advice for translators of academic documentation.

The idea of collecting a corpus in three languages is based upon the belief that scholars from one language background may transfer features of academic language and genres in their L1 into the foreign language they use. However, the handbook is not merely a phrase book providing translations in three very different languages. By collecting texts from the same genres in the three languages the rhetorical differences are made visible and can easily be compared and contrasted. This platform of comparison between texts helps to identify equivalencies and differences at three levels: at the textual level, at the conceptual level, and at the linguistic level. This approach provides opportunities for learners to understand and challenge valued discourses and to establish a positive attitude to the differences.

Here are a couple of examples from Chapter three to illustrate this critical aspect of the handbook:

Bulgarian	English	Russian
Бихте ли казали още веднъж кой метод считате за най-добър?	Could you tell us once again which method you found / consider best?	Вы не могли бы ещё раз сказать, какой метод Вы считаете наилучшим?
Не ми стана ясно какво имате предвид, когато казахте, че ... Бихте ли повторили тази част?	I wasn't sure what you meant when you said that ... Can you go over / run through that part again?	Для меня осталось неясным, что Вы имели ввиду, когда говорили, что ... Не могли бы Вы повторить эту часть?
Съгласен ли сте, че ... ?	Do you agree that ... ?	Согласны ли Вы, что ... ?
Прав ли съм да мисля, че Вие предлагате ... ?	Am I right in thinking that you're proposing ...?	Я прав, полагая, что Вы предлагаете ... ?
Струва ми се, че имате предвид ...	You seem to be implying that ...	Кажется, Вы имеете ввиду ...

As seen from the short list of examples, the handbook regards text as a set of choices to be made in order to deliver content more convincingly. This approach of awareness-raising of text features and the variation of possibilities of language use can ultimately be very empowering and can lead to increased learner self-confidence. If the handbook is used not only as a reference but for pedagogic purposes, teaching and learning can go beyond the areas of academic vocabulary, set phrases and formulaic language to include strategies for participation in academic communication. Here the communication strategies are seen as techniques for managing the ongoing meaning-making, rather than elements of the speakers' knowledge. In relation to spoken academic communication produced by non-Anglophone scholars in ELF settings, I strongly agree with Bjorkman (2011: 91-93) that priority must be given to comprehensibility and meaning negotiation, followed by language complexity and syntactic structures that help increase explicitness.

5. CONCLUSION

As shown by the analysis of the globalising trends in research and higher education, the use of ELF is perceived as a source of inequality among researchers, lectures and students from non-Anglophone countries. From the review of the research conducted, it becomes clear that there is consistency of the experiences and feelings described in the various local European contexts. European scholars and academics are confronted with the same conflicting issues: trying to achieve a balance between their willingness to integrate more fully in the globalised world and to adhere to norms and conventions of the global professional community, on the one hand, and the need to preserve the national identity, values and discourses, on the other.

Such opposing trends offer new opportunities or even create a niche for the place of English at tertiary level. Language specialists from foreign language departments can take the role of *literacy brokers* or mediators of academic text cultures in order to provide institutional support to the academics involved in international programmes. They can develop tools to study academic discourse and to design EAP materials and courses at their local ELF settings. Such materials and courses should be realistic, reflect the rethinking of norms, and target use in terms of ELF. This does not mean only putting a stress on the rhetorical differences and the value of scholarly discourse of individual cultures. Rather than striving to achieve native speaker usages and sophisticated nuances of meaning, development of pragmatic strategies and communicative effectiveness in ELF settings should be pursued. Such an attitude would reflect the complex and contradictory nature of the English language today.

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ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE: SPEAKERS' ATTITUDES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING PRACTICES

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1. NEW PARADIGMS IN TEACHING ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

The growth of English into an international language has changed its contexts of use dramatically. More and more often the language comes to be used as a lingua franca, thus serving as a useful communicative tool among speakers of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. More and more frequent become the international communicative encounters in which non-native speakers constitute the majority of interlocutors. These new realities are largely the reason why a number of researchers working on English as an international language have repeatedly underlined the need to re-examine traditional assumptions and practices related to the teaching of English and shift to new paradigms so as to produce a more appropriate pedagogical model which takes into account the changed nature of English itself and its situations of use. As McKay (2003: 1) observes, "the teaching of English as an international language should be based on an entirely different set of assumptions than has typically informed English language teaching pedagogy". Some of these scholars argue for the need to move away from native speaker norms as the only authoritative models of correctness and appropriate usage (Modiano 2001, Seidlhofer 2001, McKay 2002, Jenkins 2006). Indeed, they call into question one of the major tenets of communicative language teaching which requires that learners conform to native speaker communicative patterns. Their main argument is that English as an international language belongs to all its users, therefore native speakers should not be the only source of points of reference. They also tend to stress the fact that one of the most common contemporary uses of English is in international, lingua franca contexts largely among non-native speakers, which seems to make the act of following native

speaker norms less relevant. In addition, many non-native speakers of English may not want to acquire native-like competence and may have the desire to project their own identity in the type of English they employ. The fact that many speakers of English learn the language to communicate with other lingua franca users should also be taken into account. Last but not least, non-native English speakers have the right to be viewed as competent users of their own variety of English, rather than as deficient speakers of a reduced standard native speaker English.

Drawing upon the statement that the English used for intercultural communication necessarily differs from the language of native speakers, some researchers even point out that International English (or lingua franca English, as it is also known) should be viewed as a separate variety and explore the possibility of codifying alternative English as a lingua franca norms. As Seidlhofer (2001: 137–138) states, “the ‘E’ in *English as a Native Language* is bound to be something very different from the ‘E’ in *English as a Lingua Franca*”. Likewise, Jenkins (2006: 141) defines lingua franca English as “sui generis”, a variety with its own specific proficiency levels. She goes on to explain that it is different from both native speaker English and English learned as a foreign language (i.e. English learned to communicate with native speakers). In this line of thought, lingua franca English occupies a “third space” (Jenkins 2006: 155). As a result, Seidlhofer (2001: 150) suggests that research should focus on identifying salient features of English used as a lingua franca which differ systematically from native speaker English with the “ultimate objective of making it a feasible, acceptable and respected alternative to ENL in appropriate contexts of use”. It is argued that the eventual codification of lingua franca English norms will provide an alternative framework for the teaching of English as an international language, one which is more realistic and relevant in lingua franca contexts.

However, despite its promise to bring English language teaching closer to what is happening in the real world, the idea of codifying alternative lingua franca norms has drawn some criticism. It has been established that from both sociolinguistic and structural points of view lingua franca English hardly displays stable features which could justify the act of defining it as a variety with its own identity (Ferguson 2009). Lingua franca communicative encounters tend to be marked by great amounts of heterogeneity. More often than not the participants in such events come from a wide variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds and display tremendous variability in terms of their proficiency in English: some possess a near-native command, while others have just a rudimentary knowledge of the language. What is more, users of lingua franca English hardly form a fixed,

settled speech community with common traditions and narratives. Rather, they tend to take part in various temporary communities of practice which often vanish into thin air once their members reach their shared goal. The lingua franca codes used in such communities of practice are often characterised by hybridity and a lack of stability. In addition, it should be noted that the attitudes of lingua franca users towards the eventual codification of separate lingua franca norms seem to be more negative than positive. Scarce though they are, attitudinal studies tend to provide evidence revealing users' adherence to and preference for native speaker English (Jenkins 2007, Georgieva 2010, Dimitrova 2011).

This is largely the reason why some researchers of English as an international language refrain from exploring the possibility of codifying alternative lingua franca norms and focus instead on the new skills and competences which present-day learners of English should acquire (Georgieva 2002, Canagarajah 2014). Such scholars tend to underline the need to broaden the perspective, increase the number of pedagogical goals and concentrate on new skills which will help learners become successful cross-cultural communicators. This in itself involves adding an intercultural component to the list of competences traditionally subsumed under the term 'communicative competence': linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse, strategic (Canale 1983). Indeed, a number of scholars have stressed the need to encourage students to develop 'intercultural communicative competence', i.e. the ability to function appropriately when interacting with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Byram 1997, Georgieva 2002). As Georgieva (2002) argues, to acquire such competence and turn into successful cross-cultural communicators, students need to become more sensitive to the pragmatic and sociolinguistic aspects of communication, as well as to learn how to apply strategies to sort out problems and overcome differences in intercultural communicative encounters. Likewise, Canagarajah (2014) points to the importance of equipping students with negotiation strategies to repair potential breakdowns and achieve intelligibility in cross-cultural communicative situations. In more general terms, this means laying emphasis on developing in students not only propositional knowledge, but also procedural knowledge of how to deal with the unpredictable situations of international communicative encounters.

2. SPEAKERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS GLOBAL ENGLISH AND TEACHING PRACTICES

The discussion so far makes it clear that indeed, there have been a variety of suggestions for new paradigms in the teaching of English related to its status as an international language. However, despite this explosion of scholarly interest in the question of what teaching practices should be used in the age of global English, relatively few sociolinguistic studies explore speakers' attitudes and subjective views on the issues discussed. Providing such a perspective is vital, because the new models scholars propose might not win the loyalty of the speakers of English. Therefore, to fill this gap in the research literature and enrich the existing analyses, I conducted a survey of university students' attitudes towards global English and teaching practices.

The participants in the survey were 101 students from the Department of English and American Studies at Sofia University. The majority of the informants (77.2%) were first-year students, 11.8% were second-year students and the other 11% were fourth-year students who had taken the English as an International Language course. In this respect, it should be noted that whereas the fourth-year students had to a certain extent been exposed to current debates in the sphere of English as an international language, this was hardly the case with the first-year and the second-year students. Furthermore, the ratio of male to female respondents was 32.7% to 67.3% and the age band of the informants was 18–22. The study participants were native speakers of Bulgarian with three exceptions: two students from Italy and one from Macedonia. All the informants filled out a questionnaire which consisted of four sections (see Appendix).

Section One of the questionnaire focused on the respondents' general attitude towards varieties of English and more specifically, their attitude towards three types of English which are frequently discussed in the literature on English as an international language: native speaker English (such as British English, American English, Australian English, etc.), International English (or *lingua franca* English, i.e. English used for international communication among speakers of different mother tongues) and non-native speaker English (such as Bulgarian English, Italian English, etc., i.e. English that is regionally specific, with a strong local flavour often resulting from L1 influence). The study participants had to state what their attitude is towards each type of English on a scale from 1 (very positive) to 5 (very negative). The second task in Section One asked the informants to evaluate native speaker English, International English and non-

native speaker English by underlining the word or words which best describe each variety. The descriptors that were given consisted of six positive words (*correct, acceptable, good, pleasant, natural, useful*) and six negative words (*weird, deficient, bad, menacing, unattainable, difficult*). The final question in Section One involved the informants in identifying the most suitable and desirable model in the English language classroom (native speaker English, International English or non-native speaker English) and providing reasons for their choice.

Section Two of the questionnaire was a self-assessment part in which the respondents had to define their general proficiency in English on a scale from 1 (excellent) to 5 (bad) and state whether the English they speak comes close to native speaker English, International English or non-native speaker English. They also had to answer the question of whether they would like to be able to speak and write in English the way native speakers do or the way non-native speakers do and then list reasons to explain their choice.

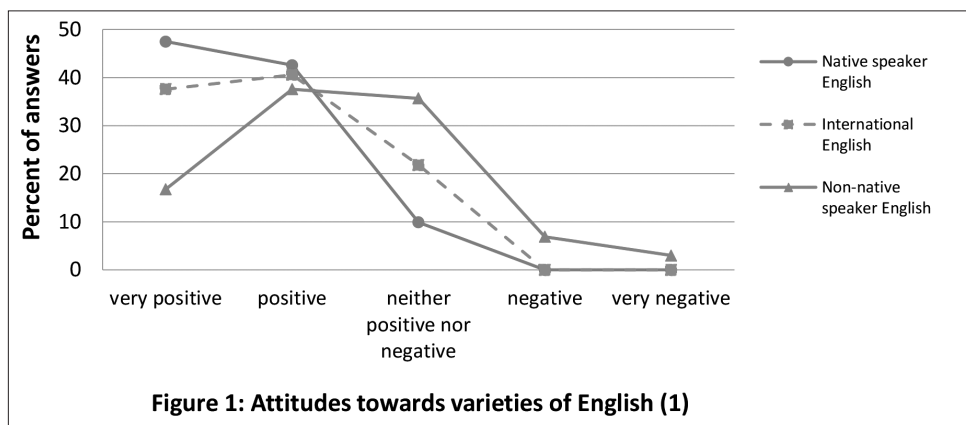
Section Three dealt with the topic of native speaker norms as points of reference in the process of learning and using English. The section consisted of several closed questions asking the informants to decide whether following native speaker norms is the right thing to do. The closed questions, which contained a positive and negative response, were generalised versions of popular statements made in various studies of English as an international language: e.g. reaching a native speaker level of proficiency in English threatens/does not threaten one's identity, partial divergence from native speaker norms when learning and using English is acceptable/unacceptable, changing the English language to suit one's own needs and personality is good/bad.

Section Four explored the issue of teaching practices by concentrating on what cultural materials should be used in the English language classroom, as well as on what skills and competences present-day learners of English should acquire. The first closed question in this section asked the informants to decide if the materials in the English language classroom should focus on the cultures of native speakers (e.g. British culture, American culture, Australian culture, etc.), local culture (e.g. Bulgarian culture if learners are native speakers of Bulgarian, Italian culture if learners are native speakers of Italian, etc.), international culture (all sorts of cultures that can be expressed through English, i.e. the rest of the world not categorised in terms of native speaker culture and local culture) or all of these types of cultures. The second question was about the type of knowledge which should be acquired when learning English. The informants could choose from:

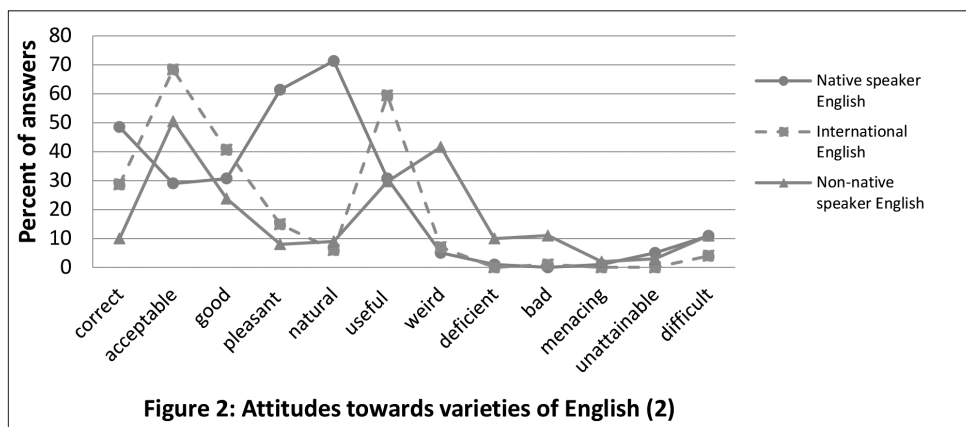
1. the traditional types of knowledge involved in the concept of communicative

competence, i.e. linguistic knowledge (knowledge of the linguistic code: vocabulary, phonetic and grammatical rules) and pragmatic knowledge of how to use the language appropriately in different situations, and 2. a combination of linguistic knowledge, pragmatic knowledge and an intercultural component, that is, intercultural knowledge of how to function appropriately when interacting with people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The next question dealt more closely with the type of skills present-day learners of English should acquire. The study participants had to select the skills they consider vital out of a list which covered the traditional competences subsumed under communicative competence and an additional intercultural element. The final question in this section was open-ended and asked the informants to state whether, in their opinion, the fact that English is an international language should affect teaching practices in the English language classroom and explain what form these teaching practices should take.

The analysis of the collected questionnaires clearly shows that the study participants display a consistent preference for native speaker English. When asked to express their general attitude towards native speaker English, International English and non-native speaker English in Section One of the questionnaire, the majority of the informants give priority to the native variety. Indeed, as can be seen in Figure 1 below, the informants evaluate native speaker English in very positive terms (47.5% define their attitude as very positive and 42.6% as positive). They also display a positive attitude towards the idea of International English, which comes in second place after native speaker English (37.6% describe their attitude as very positive and 40.6% as positive). Compared to native speaker English and International English, non-native speaker English is evaluated in a less positive way: a large number of informants (35.7%) express an attitude which is neither positive nor negative, that is, an attitude which could be described as neutral.



A similar pattern can be observed in the results from the analysis of the second task in Section One. Native speaker English is the variety which is described in very positive terms as 'correct', 'pleasant' and 'natural'. International English receives a positive evaluation as 'useful' and 'acceptable'. Non-native speaker English is again evaluated in more negative terms in comparison with the native variety and International English: many informants describe it as 'weird', 'deficient' and 'bad'; it is also defined as less 'acceptable' than International English (see Figure 2).



The participants' very positive attitude towards native speaker English is further evidenced by the fact that 73.3% believe it is the type of English that is the most suitable and desirable model in the English language classroom. Some typical reasons which the respondents list in support of their stance include the following: native speaker English provides the most direct link to the language;

it is the purest and most original form of English; it is natural sounding; studying it, students get a deeper understanding of the language itself; different varieties of English are certainly beautiful and useful, but only native speaker English leads to high proficiency; it is the most correct variety; in short, as one of the informants states, “it is the only correct way of properly studying the language”. International English is again evaluated in a more positive way compared to non-native speaker English, since 25.7% of the informants think that it is the most suitable model in the English language classroom. Some of the reasons they give for their choice are as follows: International English can better prepare students for the globalised world; one should learn how to communicate with people from different countries; International English can reach a wider community compared to native speaker varieties, which might be marked by some cultural features and references; it could be very difficult for a non-native speaker to come to speak the language with the same fluency as native speakers – in this respect, International English is more easily attainable.

Section Two of the questionnaire, which involves self-assessment, also provides evidence that the participants in the current study have a very positive attitude towards native speaker English. The majority of the informants define their general proficiency in English as very good (54.4%) or good (30.7%) and a large number believe the type of English they speak comes close to native speaker English (39.6%). Whereas this statement is true in the case of the fourth-year students, most of whom demonstrate a high level of proficiency in English, it is less applicable to the first-year students, whose command of English is still at a level which is more advanced than proficient, and the second-year students, who seem to be in a transition period from an advanced level to the stage of proficiency. Yet, the fact that these first-year and second-year students believe they speak native speaker English is highly revealing of the positive attitude they have towards this variety. It should also be noted that a slightly larger number of informants (41.6%) think the English they speak comes close to International English, that is, they believe there are clear differences between their English and the English of native speakers. However, the results of the analysis indicate that these informants want to eradicate the divergences. Indeed, 94% of the respondents state that they would like to be able to speak and write in English the way native speakers do. The reasons they provide to account for their choice once again reveal a very positive attitude towards native speaker English. Some typical answers are the following: native speakers hold a position of prestige; native speaker English has the best defined rules and patterns; it is the variety that provides one with the opportunity

to reach a high level of competence; speaking like a native speaker is the closest to achieving perfection; it is a prerequisite for becoming a professional and finding a good job; speaking a native variety one could make a career in an English-speaking country; it is only when you are able to write and speak in English like a native speaker that you have mastered the language.

Furthermore, the analysis of the informants' answers in Section Three of the questionnaire reveals their very positive attitude towards the idea of having native speaker norms as points of reference in the process of learning and using English. Indeed, 81.2% of the respondents state that following native speaker norms is the right thing to do, 84% think that reaching a native speaker level of proficiency does not threaten one's identity and 81.2% take it as a sign of professionalism and becoming an expert/a language professional able to function in different spheres of social life. It is interesting to consider the way in which the respondents react to the idea of diverging from native speaker norms. In general, 60.4% believe that failure to attain a native speaker level of proficiency in English does not reduce one's sense of self-esteem and self-respect. What is more, 80.2% of the informants point out that partial divergence from native speaker norms when learning and using English is acceptable. Some 39.6% further state that changing the English language to suit one's own needs and personality, which seems to imply greater amounts of divergence from native speaker norms, is good and could be viewed as a strategy of self-expression. However, it should be noted that a slightly higher number of informants (43.6%) do not have an opinion on this matter and 16.8% reject the idea altogether. It appears that what the majority of the informants can accept is just partial divergence from the native speaker model, which, it could be argued, once again reveals their positive attitude towards the idea of having native speaker English as a point of reference.

The discussion so far shows that the study participants display a very positive attitude towards native speaker English: it is the variety they describe as correct, natural and pleasant; it is the type of English they want to have in the English language classroom; it is what they want to speak. The reported results also indicate that the informants have a positive attitude towards International English. As already demonstrated, it tends to occupy the second place in the respondents' hierarchy of preferences: it is the type of English they describe as acceptable and useful; some of them even define it as a model suitable for the English language classroom. Indeed, the study participants seem to accept this usage of English and come to evaluate it in a positive way. The results from the analysis of the rest of the questionnaire prove this point. For instance, when asked what cultural materials

should be used in the English language classroom, 30.7% opt for international culture, that is, a variety of cultures that could be expressed through English, which is very much in keeping with the idea of International English. A significantly higher number of informants (50.5%) broaden the perspective even further by pointing out that the materials used in the classroom should focus on the cultures of native speakers, local culture and international culture. This act of broadening the perspective could also be observed in the informants' answers to the next two questions. More than half of the respondents (63.4%) believe that learning English should involve acquiring not only linguistic and pragmatic knowledge, but also intercultural knowledge, that is, knowledge of how to function appropriately when interacting with people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Similarly, 74.3% think that present-day learners of English should acquire the skills of language use in intercultural settings/international encounters alongside more traditional skills such as producing grammatically correct utterances in English, using language appropriately in different situations, combining forms into meaningful spoken and written texts. All this comes to show that the study participants are in favour of incorporating International English into the teaching practices of the English language classroom. The informants' suggestions in the final part of the questionnaire as to what form teaching practices should take in the age of global English provide further evidence of their positive attitude towards International English. Typically, they continue to underline the fact that it is important to use native speaker norms as points of reference (a stance which they adopt quite consistently in all of their answers in the questionnaire). However, their suggestions also reveal the belief that International English should be in one way or another a part of the teaching process in the English language classroom. For instance, some informants clearly state that more and more space should be given to international contexts and world debate in English classes, textbooks and materials should not be Bulgarian, but international in character, teaching should focus not only on grammar issues, but also on sociocultural information, students should be exposed to a diversity of accents and patterns of speech which they might encounter outside the classroom and should have more practice in developing intercultural skills.

All things considered, it is important to note that this study produces results which to a great extent corroborate the findings of previous work in the field providing evidence in support of learners' preference for native speaker English, especially at a tertiary level (e.g. Dimitrova 2011). However, it also adds a new dimension to the picture drawn so far by bringing the concept of International

English to the fore and suggesting that it should be made a part of the teaching process in the English language classroom. The findings of the current study have important implications for teaching practices. A central issue which emerges from the analysis is that native speaker English should not be banished from the English language classroom, since it still tends to win the loyalty of the learners of English. Yet, an act of transforming the traditional teaching framework appears to be necessary. The results of this study show in a convincing manner that any transformation of the traditional framework should work towards making more space for International English. Teaching should involve raising students' awareness of the growth of English into a global language, the diversity of factors that have caused its spread and the multiple shapes it takes in today's fast globalising world. Indeed, students should learn about English in the plural (i.e. about Englishes) and should be made sensitive to the characteristic features of its varieties, their typical speakers and contexts of use. The sociocultural information students are exposed to should go beyond the boundaries of native-speaking countries to include a diversity of cultures and world issues. Last but not least, students should be coached to develop strategies for negotiating meaning, overcoming difference and achieving intelligibility in intercultural settings if they are to approach the wide variety of international communicative situations with greater confidence.

3. CONCLUSION

To sum up, the results from the analysis of the collected questionnaires clearly show that the informants in the current study do not support the suggestions of many researchers of English as an international language to move away from native speaker norms as points of reference in learning and using English. Native speaker English is the variety which the respondents evaluate in very positive terms: it is correct, natural, a prerequisite for reaching a high level of competence in the language and becoming a professional. At the same time, however, the respondents appear to support the suggestions for broadening the perspective and incorporating new skills and competences with an intercultural/international element into the traditional list focused on in the English language classroom. The trend towards broadening seems to be viewed as a means of preparing students for the globalised world out there in which English has come to function as an international language. In this respect, the results of this study suggest that the teaching of global English does not have to be based on entirely new assumptions, but a process of broadening the scope of traditional pedagogical models appears to

be necessary. Indeed, the results indicate that instead of discarding old paradigms in the teaching of English, the key to success might lie in adding new elements to these more traditional paradigms so as to transform them and make them fit the new contexts of English language use.

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APPENDIX

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Section One:

1).	On a scale from 1 to 5, what is your attitude towards native speaker English (such as British English, American English, Australian English, etc.)? 1. very positive 2. positive 3. neither positive nor negative 4. negative 5. very negative
2).	On a scale from 1 to 5, what is your attitude towards International/lingua franca English (i.e. English used for international communication among speakers of different mother tongues)? 1. very positive 2. positive 3. neither positive nor negative 4. negative 5. very negative
3).	On a scale from 1 to 5, what is your attitude towards non-native speaker English (such as Bulgarian English, Italian English, etc.)? 1. very positive 2. positive 3. neither positive nor negative 4. negative 5. very negative
4).	Underline the word or words which best describe each type of English: - native speaker English → correct – acceptable – good – pleasant – natural – weird – deficient – bad – menacing – useful – unattainable – difficult. - International English → correct – acceptable – good – pleasant – natural – weird – deficient – bad – menacing – useful – unattainable – difficult. - non-native speaker English → correct – acceptable – good – pleasant – natural – weird – deficient – bad – menacing – useful – unattainable – difficult.
5).	Which type of English is the most suitable and desirable model in the English language classroom? 1. native speaker English. 2. International English. 3. non-native speaker English. Your reasons:

Section Two:

6). On a scale from 1 to 5, how would you define your general proficiency in English? 1. excellent 2. very good 3. good 4. not very good 5. bad
7). The type of English you speak comes close to: a) native speaker English. b) International English. c) non-native speaker English.
8). You would like to be able to speak and write in English: a) the way native speakers do. b) the way non-native speakers do. Your reasons:

Section Three:

9). Following native speaker norms when learning and using English: a) is the right thing to do. b) is not the right thing to do. c) I don't know.
10). Reaching a native speaker level of proficiency in English: a) threatens one's identity. b) does not threaten one's identity. c) No opinion.
11). Having a native speaker command of English: a) is a sign of professionalism and becoming an expert/a language professional able to function in different spheres of social life. b) is not a sign of professionalism and becoming an expert/a language professional able to function in different spheres of social life. c) I don't know.
12). Failure to attain a native speaker level of proficiency in English: a) reduces one's sense of self-esteem and self-respect. b) does not reduce one's sense of self-esteem and self-respect. c) No opinion.
13). Partial divergence from native speaker norms when learning and using English is: a) acceptable. b) unacceptable. c) I don't know.

- 14). Changing the English language to suit one's own needs and personality is:
- a) good → it is a strategy of self-expression.
 - b) bad → it is a sign of self-consciousness/fear of losing one's identity.
 - c) Neither of the above.

Section Four:

- 15). The materials used in the English language classroom should focus on:
- a) the cultures of native speakers (e.g. British culture, American culture, Australian culture, etc.).
 - b) local culture (e.g. Bulgarian culture if learners are native speakers of Bulgarian, Italian culture if learners are native speakers of Italian, etc.).
 - c) international culture (i.e. all sorts of cultures that can be expressed through English).
 - d) All of the above.
- 16). Learning English should involve acquiring:
- a) linguistic knowledge (i.e. knowledge of the linguistic code: vocabulary, phonetic, grammatical rules) + pragmatic knowledge of how to use the language appropriately in different situations.
 - b) linguistic knowledge + pragmatic knowledge + intercultural knowledge of how to function appropriately when interacting with people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.
 - c) I don't have an opinion.
- 17). Put a tick (✓) next to the skills you think present-day learners of English should acquire:
- the skills of producing grammatically correct utterances in English.
 - the skills of using the language appropriately in different contexts.
 - the skills of combining forms in such a way as to produce meaningful spoken and written texts.
 - the skills of using strategies to solve problems in the case of breakdowns in communication.
 - the skills of language use in intercultural settings/international encounters (i.e. when communicating with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds).
- 18). English is nowadays the international language. In your opinion, should this affect teaching practices in the English language classroom? What form should teaching practices take?

Personal Information:

What is your age?

What is your sex? male/female (Please underline)

What is your nationality?

What is your year of study at the Department of English and American studies?

GLOBALISATION, FLUID IDENTITIES, “NATIVE SPEAKERS” AND THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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1. INTRODUCTION

Globalisation has caused dramatic changes in all areas of life, including education. The English language, turning into the global language, the result and the driver of globalisation, has also changed, and with that, the ways it is theorised, studied and taught have undergone substantial shifts. The exclusive relationship between the English language and British (or American) culture has been shaken, and the status of the “native” speaker has been reconsidered. The paper discusses globalisation and how it has reflected on issues of language, nation, identity, and ultimately language teaching. It questions the persistent native-speaker myth, giving examples from everyday life, performance, popular public figures, and teacher blogs. Finally, it calls for a rethinking of the native/non-native speaker dichotomy and discusses the implications for the teaching of English language and culture at the higher education level.

2. GLOBALISATION, TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND TRANSCULTURAL FLOWS

As a term, “globalisation” gained momentum in the 1990s and became one of the defining words of the late twentieth century in social, political and academic discourse. It brought awareness of the ongoing processes of cultural homogenisation, but also of diversification and hybridisation; and it foregrounded the complex and often strained relationship between local cultures and global culture. Since then, globalisation has amassed a huge amount of meta-discourse about itself, and has turned into “a self-conscious and seemingly autonomous political, economic, cultural and intellectual project” (Blommaert 2010: 1).

One popular way of accounting for globalisation is through Arjun Appadurai's five types of scapes, or "spaces of flows", namely: *ethnoscapes* (the flow of people: migrants, tourists, or refugees, exiles, guest workers and so on); *technoscapes* (the flow of technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, or flows made easier thanks to technology); *financescapes* (the flow of capitals through the global financial system); *mediascapes* (the flow of information through the mass media, television, the Internet, film productions, and so on); and *ideoscapes* (the flow of images, terms, ideas, ideologies, worldviews such as freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty, or democracy) (Appadurai 1996).

Drawing on Manuel Castells and Arjun Appadurai, Jan Blommaert focuses specifically on the crucial role of recent developments in information and communication technology in the process and defines globalisation as follows:

The term *globalization* is most commonly used as shorthand for the intensified flows of capital, goods, people, images and discourses around the globe, driven by technological innovations, mainly in the field of media and information and communication technology, and resulting in new patterns of global activity, community organization and culture (Blommaert 2010: 13).

The idea of flow, of fluidity, of constant movement is at the heart of the conceptualisation of the period as "liquid late modernity", and opposed to the "heavy" or "solid" modernity of the previous period, associated with hard borders and nation states, in Zygmunt Bauman's definition (2000). In liquid society, people, capitals, ideas, technologies, and media travel freely across national boundaries, undermining nation states and fixed identities, resulting in transcultural flows and fluid identities. This leads to complex processes of cultural *homogenisation* (westernisation and Americanisation), on the one hand, with parallel processes of diversification and *heterogenisation*, as well as *hybridisation* and the loss of fixed national identities.

While many theorists consider globalisation to be a recent, late-twentieth-century phenomenon, others regard it in a deeper, historical perspective, tracing its roots to the Age of Discovery and the beginning of colonialism in the late 15th century. The "long" view of globalisation sees it as being embedded in the histories of trade, conquest, colonisation, decolonisation and postcolonialism (Jay 2010). So, from a historical point of view, the onset of globalisation is connected with the conquest and colonisation of North America. The expansion of European

empires in subsequent centuries, and of the British Empire in particular, have further deepened the process. One very obvious result of that is the global spread of English and the many varieties of English observed today, now labelled World Englishes.

Another important aspect of globalisation is its institutional, political and economic basis as a project aiming to rebuild Europe in the aftermath of WWII. As a result, transnational institutions (such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations) were created with the purpose of promoting international cooperation and the preservation of world peace. These institutions were also instrumental in supporting the newly emerging post-colonial states in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, as well as the post-communist states in Eastern and Central Europe after the end of the Cold War (Jay 2010). From this perspective, globalisation is associated with the post-war demise of the British Empire, decolonisation, and the growth of the USA as a global power and key player on the international scene. The legacy of the English language remained in the new independent states, but the language continued its spread beyond the former colonies due to the technological and communication revolution led by the US. To this, the demise of the Soviet Bloc after the end of the Cold War can be added, as well as the replacement of Russian as a lingua franca with English. The English language has turned into the global language with a clearly pronounced American accent.¹

This trend was followed by the beginnings of the European Project in 1948, started as an antidote to the extreme nationalism that had torn the continent apart. The *European Coal and Steel Community* was started in 1951 by six member states (Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, France, Italy, and West Germany), followed by the *European Economic Community* in 1957. The process of transformation and integration of European states culminated in the 1993 *Maastricht Treaty* (shortly after the fall of the Iron Curtain), which formally marked the beginning of the *European Union* and opened the way for new states to join, including Bulgaria in 2007. The introduction of a common currency, the Euro, in 1999, facilitated the functioning of the European single market (the

¹ English is, of course, not the only language used a lingua franca beyond its national borders (so are Arabic, French, Chinese, Spanish, Persian, German, Russian, and so on), nor is it the language with the most speakers worldwide (Chinese has more speakers). English is, however, the most widely used language, spoken in over 100 countries around the world, as well as the most widely studied foreign language. The number of people learning English at present exceeds the number of learners of French, Spanish, Italian, Japanese, German and Chinese combined (*The Washington Post*, The World's Languages in 7 Maps and Charts).

'liquid' connotation in 'currency', from the Latin *currens*, the condition of flow, is not accidental). The *European Union's* "four freedoms" – the free movement of goods, services, capital, and people, clearly correspond to Appadurai's scapes discussed earlier.

In addition to all that, a European educational programme, the *Erasmus Programme*, was started in 1987, supporting the academic mobility of staff and students and promoting cultural exchange, the learning of European languages, and the development of a shared European identity. While not truly global in the literal sense, the European Project has further obliterated national borders, identities, and linguistic boundaries within the European continent. And while there has been no officially adopted common language (the *European Commission* has instead decided to emphasise plurilingualism), Euro English has de facto become the working language in many areas of life, both at the highest administrative levels of the EU and at the grassroots.

All this has resulted in what Alistair Pennycook describes as "transcultural flows": new cultural forms that emerge, change, move, transcend borders, and produce new identities (2007: 6). As he further specifies, transcultural flows do not simply cross national borders, transcending local spaces, but are tied to processes of borrowing, appropriation, blending, remaking, resistance, and alternative cultural production. They are also tied to English, or to what he terms *global Englishes*:

English is a translocal language, a language of fluidity and fixity that moves across, while becoming embedded in, the materiality of localities and social relations. English is bound up with transcultural flows, a language of imagined communities and refashioning identities (Pennycook 2007: 6).

Based on the above, it would be reasonable to conclude that globalisation is not a single process, but a complex of processes, taking place across time and space, conveniently but also inaccurately described under a single umbrella term. It is an economic, but also a cultural process; a technological one, but equally a linguistic one. It is both a very contemporary phenomenon and, at the same time, one rooted in historical events going back several centuries. It can be regarded as an American-centred phenomenon, but can also be seen as a Euro-centred one. In each case, the English language is closely interwoven with these processes

3. LANGUAGE(S), NATION(S) AND FLUID IDENTITIES

Globalisation, and the free movement of people it entails, has weakened national borders and has challenged the romantic enchantment with language as a symbol of national identity. The almost sacred tripartite link between language, land and nation has been challenged as critical theorists, sociolinguists, and applied linguists (among others) have demonstrated how both national languages and national identities have been constructed as part of nation-state ideologies. As Alistair Pennycook (2010) argues, the assumption of orthodox modern linguistics that languages are objective realities, determinate or determinable objects, does not hold. Languages, conceptions of languages and metalanguages used to describe them are inventions, Pennycook and Makoni claim in *Disinventing and Reconstructing Languages*; languages, as distinct entities, are social constructs, invented “as part of the Christian/colonial and nationalistic projects in different parts of the globe” (2007: 1).

Not only languages, but nations can also be seen from this perspective as inventions, illustrated in the widely popular work of Benedict Anderson on *imagined communities*. In his view, the nation is a socially constructed community, imagined by a group of people who will never meet face-to-face with most of the other members of the community, yet identify with them as belonging to the same group, having a shared language, land, history, culture, and so on. The sense of belonging they experience is facilitated greatly by a national literary cannon, the media, and education (Anderson 1983).

However, the changing dynamics of globalisation, the flows of people around the globe, the influence of new digital media and popular culture all serve to weaken national boundaries and national identities, disrupting previously stable social constructs such as “culture”, “nation”, “state” and so on (Pennycook 2010: 80). This clearly reflects on national identity. In place of the traditionally accepted modernist views of identity as fixed, stable, and related to a particular race, gender, class, language and culture, post-structuralist theories see identity as complex, fragmented, fluid, dynamic, and discursively constructed (e. g. Norton 1997; 2010). Agency, subjectivity, and personal investment are central to the construction of identity; so is desire: “the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety” (Norton 1997: 410). New identities, detached from national identifications are created and performed, and “like popular culture, these new identities are performances that are always

changing, always in flux” (Pennycook 2010: 77). A rethinking of the relationship between language, nation, and identity seems to be in order.

4. FLUID IDENTITIES AND “NATIVE SPEAKERS”

The changing relationship between language and nation has also reflected on the concept of the “native speaker”, so popular in applied linguistics, as well as in broader public discourse. Native speakers of English have traditionally enjoyed the privilege of being seen as the proper “owners” of the English language, its authentic speakers and intuitive arbiters on correctness. “Native” is etymologically associated with something belonging to a person by birth, such as “native land” or “native language”. Thus, the collocation “native speaker” has come to reaffirm the link between language and place of birth, while everybody who was not born into the English language is conveniently classified under the umbrella term “non-native speaker”.

In spite of the strong positive connotations of being a “native speaker” today, the term “native” itself is controversial and ideologically loaded with various, often negative connotations. In colonial times, the “natives” were the original inhabitants of the conquered lands, such as American Indians. There is also an internal hierarchy between native speakers, when English, British, American, Canadian, Australian, South African and other native speakers are compared. Accent, educatedness, adherence to standard speech, and even skin colour all seem to play a role.

So, it appears at closer inspection that this binary “native/non-native” opposition is highly problematic, and has been contested in recent years. The native speaker, Claire Kramsch writes, is “a monolingual, monocultural abstraction; he/she is one who speaks only his/her (standardised) native tongue and lives by one (standardised) national culture” (1998: 80). In his perceptive analysis of the “native speaker” construct, Ben Rampton argues that, from a sociolinguistic perspective, it is wrong to assume that people belong to one social group only and never change their affiliation. People shift their group memberships throughout their lifetime; they may live in multilingual and multicultural environments, where they are exposed to multiple languages from an early age; and they may master more than one language, at different stages of their life, with different degrees of expertise (Rampton 1990).

In place of “native speaker”, Rampton suggests using the term *expert user*, which emphasises the fact that expertise is either acquired, or consciously learned,

rather than biologically fixed or innate. Importantly, Rampton notes, *expertise* refers to language use, not to symbolic group identification. For the symbolic value of language to denote group membership, another term is proposed: *language allegiance*, which can be acquired either by *inheritance* (a connection through place of birth, parents, environment, and so on), or by *affiliation* (a connection of choice, the result of personal investment) (Rampton 1990).

The change of terms reflects on the “sacred” relationship between language, nation and land discussed earlier. *Expertise* and *allegiance* seem more adequate than nativeness in determining both one’s linguistic competence and one’s connection to a particular language and culture. In an age of globalisation and the free movement of people around the globe, one’s links to one’s native land and one’s native language are weaker and contingent on specific circumstances; multilingual and multicultural societies contribute to the creation of fluid, cosmopolitan identities in which, as defined by Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (2002), people exhibit a culturally open disposition and a readiness to continuously engage with other cultures and systems of meaning. Instead of belonging to a particular location or nation, they have a sense of belonging to the world as a whole, drawing their allegiances from “here, there and everywhere” and using elements from different cultures in creating their sense of self (Vertovec and Cohen 2002).

5. SOME EXAMPLES

To illustrate the points made above, I would like to give several examples, taken from everyday life, from performance art, from the life of translingual writers and other popular public figures, and from an ELT teacher blog.

5.1. BLACK FRIDAY IN THE GLOBAL MARKET

“BLEC FRAIDEI 1 LEV KG”: this makeshift advertisement for potatoes, written in crude letters on brown cardboard, appeared on social networks in November of 2015. The currency (lev) attests to the fact that it is probably from Bulgaria. Starting as an American tradition on the day after Thanksgiving, Black Friday has recently spread around the globe to attract customers with great discounts just before the big Christmas shopping. It is a recent arrival in Bulgaria’s shopping culture, mostly seen in the newly-built upmarket shopping malls, and is used either as a direct borrowing of the English expression “Black Friday”, the transliterated

“Блек Фрайдей”, or the literal Bulgarian translation “Черен петък”. However, as this grossly misspelt advertisement illustrates, the tradition has already trickled down to some small stall holders in the street market, even if their expertise in English is very limited. Globalisation, hand in hand with the English language, has reached the farthest ends of the “periphery”.

This example illustrates some of the effects of globalisation and the ways in which cultural trends, as well as linguistic patterns, easily transcend national borders. Even individuals who have not been exposed to other cultures and languages feel the need to belong, to index their global orientation, and to affiliate with a language and a cultural tradition they are not born into.

5.2. “BE LIKE WATER”: AN ARTIST’S SEARCH OF IDENTITY

Many of the ideas discussed earlier about hybridity, flows, and fluid identities, are illustrated in a brilliant art performance titled *Who am I? Think again*, presented at the TED Global 2013 conference in Edinburgh, Scotland by the conceptual artist Hetain Patel (Patel 2013). He examines the vexing question of identity in the modern world as he plays with the audience’s perceptions of ethnicity, race, gender, dress, body movement, and language, mixing autobiographical narrative with physical theatre, using powerful imagery, different languages and accents, and a lot of humour.

The performance begins with a bearded young man of darker skin colour (**Hetain**), wearing a typical Indian dress and squatting on a chair, looking distinctly foreign and culturally distant from a Euro-centric point of view. Next to him, a Chinese-looking woman is seated (**Yuyu**). The man begins his monologue in a language which he later labels Mandarin Chinese, and the woman interprets his speech into correct but heavily accented English, saying:

Yuyu: Hi, I’m Hetain. I’m an artist. And this is Yuyu, who is a dancer I have been working with. I have asked her to translate for me.

The opening line immediately creates a feeling of disjuncture, paradox, and a confusion of identity, as the interpreter Yuyu renders the performer’s autobiographical narrative in the 1st person, referring to herself in the 3rd person. The confusion continues as she comments on his place of birth and his accent, obviously at odds with the English-speaking audience’s stereotyped expectations of Patel based on his appearance, dress, body language, and foreign speech:

Yuyu: I was born and raised near Manchester, in England, but I'm not going to say it in English to you, because I'm trying to avoid any assumptions that might be made from my northern accent.

The irony of this statement is hard to miss, and the audience responds with laughter. The mystery of Patel using Chinese is revealed in the next turn: it appears that his Chinese is the result of his having learned a text by heart as part of his art project when he was visiting China.

Having confronted one of the audience's stereotyped expectations, based on language, he goes on to comment on his traditional Indian dress. As a child he was forced to wear it, although it made him feel uncool and "girly", and clashed with his sense of identity as a British-growing youngster. His way of coping with the awkwardness of the garment was to pretend that he was a Kung Fu warrior. This reference illustrates the fluidity of cultural influences in the global world, as it shows a British-born boy of Indian descent identifying with a Chinese character.

Patel's next self-identifications are with Spider-Man, a fictional superhero from American popular culture, and Bruce Lee, Hong Kong-American martial artist, philosopher, filmmaker, actor and a pop-culture icon of international acclaim. Bruce Lee is credited with changing the perception of Asians in the West through his movies, as well as with introducing Eastern traditions to Western audiences. As Yuyu translates the next excerpt from Hetain's monologue, he suddenly takes over from her and for the first time speaks in English, albeit not in his own voice, but in an imitation of Bruce Lee's accent and intonation:

Hetain: Empty your mind. Be formless, shapeless, like water. Now you put water into a cup. It becomes the cup. You put water into a bottle, it becomes the bottle. Put it in a teapot, it becomes the teapot. Now, water can flow or it can crash. Be water, my friend.

These famous Bruce Lee lines encapsulate the essence of fluid identity and its ability to shift forms and appearances.

Patel's story shatters stereotypes about fixed identities, showing that sometimes assumptions are made on the basis of arbitrary features; that it is easy to adopt, intentionally or by accident, features and characteristics that are in conflict with one's perceived identity; and that most of the features associated with a given class, gender, or ethnicity are a matter of socialisation, of learning, and are subject to change.

The performance ends with an observation regarding the squatting position at the beginning, spoken in English, in what seems to be finally Hetain Patel's authentic voice:

Hetain: This is my art. I strive for authenticity, even if it comes in a shape that we might not usually expect. It's only recently that I've started to understand that I didn't learn to sit like this through being Indian. I learned this from Spider-Man.

Patel's performance presents, through art, what postmodern theories have tried to articulate about identity as fluid, resisting any fixed national categories; identity as a mixture of features, some of which are optional, and a matter of performativity. Identity, from this perspective, is related as much to place of birth, cultural background, mother tongue and parents' ethnicity as to diverse influences, emotional affiliations and intentional self-identifications. Language and cultural allegiance happen not only from inheritance, but from desire and affiliation, as discussed above.

5.3. NATIVE LANGUAGE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE

Hetain Patel's life trajectory is far from unique. The points made above become clearer when applied to real-life situations, taken from the millions of life stories of people who are not rooted to their native place and native language, and who do not fit the simplistic monolingual and monocultural model. Some high-profile examples include translingual writers such as Bulgarian-born French intellectuals Julia Kristeva and the late Tsvetan Todorov, both of whom moved to France in their twenties and established themselves in the French intellectual tradition, writing in French and fluent in English, but less confident in their native Bulgarian; Bulgarian-born writer Iliya Troyanov, who immigrated to Germany as a child, then moved to Kenya, lived in India, and writes in German; or Kapka Kassabova, who grew up in Bulgaria, moved to New Zealand, then to Scotland, and writes in English.

Other high-profile examples include Bulgarian-born actress Nina Dobrev, who moved to Canada in early childhood and recently performed in the popular series *The Vampire Diaries*; news-presenter Ralitsa Vassileva, who was educated in Sofia and New Delhi, India, and was an anchor for the CNN for over twenty

years; the iconic British rock star Freddie Mercury, who was born under the name of Farrokh Bulsara in Zanzibar (now part of Tanzania) and was raised there and in India before moving to Great Britain in his late teen years. One final example is the former American president Barak Obama (2008-2016), who was born in Hawaii (the first American president born outside of continental USA) by a mother of mostly English ancestry and a father from Kenya, and spent part of his childhood in Indonesia with his Indonesian stepfather. Obama was falsely accused by his political opponents of not being American-born and a true American, invoking 19th-century nativism rhetoric and attitudes.

These examples, and many others like them, demonstrate the complexity of defining people's native language and national identity. They entail looser links between place of birth, nationality, citizenship and mother tongue; and also, a new and more fluid conceptualisation of identity, based on more complex affiliations, attachments and allegiances.

5.4. REFLECTIVE TEACHING: "WHAT AM I A 'NATIVE SPEAKER' OF?"

The argument about who is a native speaker of English is well summed up in an essay by Lizzie Pinard in her teacher blog *Reflective Teaching* (Pinard 2016). While nominally considered "a native English speaker", Pinard breaks down her "native" identity to multiple components: place of birth; place of living; parents' nationalities and predecessors' roots; education; languages spoken at home; languages learned; and finally, citizenship. It seems that in her case, many of these elements are in conflict, constructing a complex identity which is hard to describe as purely "English" or "British".

Born in Chichester, England, Pinard spent most of her childhood in Botswana, while going to a boarding school in South Africa for her secondary education. She then spent some 10 or 11 years in total living in the UK, at various periods, for her A-levels and higher education. In addition to the UK, Botswana and South Africa, she has also lived in France, Indonesia and Italy, thus demonstrating the irrelevance of the "place of birth" criterion for millions of mobile individuals who have more than one place of belonging.

Pinard's ancestry is no less complicated than her place of birth. Although her mother is English, she has similarly spent a large part of her life outside England. Her father is Dominican, with French roots on his father's side, and just like her mother and herself, has spent a large part of his life living in different places (Dominica, Barbados, Grenada, UK, Belize, Indonesia, Libya and Botswana).

Reflecting on her “native language”, Lizzie Pinard tries to formulate what language it is that she speaks. While her mother’s tongue is British English, for most of her life she has been exposed to non-British varieties: in Botswana, South Africa, France, Indonesia and Italy, as well as at home, via her father. She shares that when she started her A-levels in Britain, she had to adjust her grammar, vocabulary and accent in order to be understood. Besides, she lacks a wide range of cultural references acquired through the mass media, as British TV was not available in Botswana while she was growing up. Instead of building a wide range of repertoires in a single language, Pinard has accumulated a rich multilingual and multidialectal repertoire in several languages (Setswana, French, German, Afrikaans, Indonesian, and Italian), as well as in different varieties of English:

What am I a “native speaker” of? Errrm a variety of English that doesn’t have an actual name? A cross between Botswana English, South African English, British English and Dominican English.

Finally arriving at the last decisive aspect of one’s national identity, citizenship, Lizzie Pinard comments that in spite of her meandering paths through various geographical locations and languages, she has been treated as British on the strength of her British passport and has received a teaching job as a native English speaker, even though, as she ironically observes, even her British passport is an accident:

So, where am I from? ... The strange thing is, I got a job in Indonesia on the basis of being a native speaker of British English, with my British passport. This clearly exemplifies how meaningless certain bits of paper and labels can be, not to mention job selection criteria of this nature! (My mum nearly had me prematurely in Libya so even my passport is a bit of an accident!)

Pinard’s blog post (as well as many other articles uploaded on her blog) attests to the complex nature of identity and language discussed earlier. It calls for a rethinking of misleading notions such as “native/non-native” within the ELT profession, drawing attention instead to the multiple identities and linguistic repertoires a single teacher can bring to the classroom. Her professional biography and achievements (winner of the *2014 Macmillan New Talent in Writing Award*)

are proof of the increasing relevance of interculturality in what was previously considered a monolingual and monocultural field.

6. FLUID IDENTITIES AND THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN HIGHER EDUCATION (DISCUSSION)

The changing conceptualisations of and relationships between language, nation, and identity call into question the way the English language and English culture are taught at all educational levels and contexts, but more specifically, in higher education, where the future generation of teachers and other language professionals are being trained. University students of English are much more than language learners; they also study literature, culture studies, linguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, linguistic history and a range of other language-related disciplines; and they need to develop their professional, critical, intercultural, teaching and other skills in order to be able to occupy positions of responsibility in the foreseeable future.

The three main questions we, as teachers, need to answer, according to Mario Saraceni (2015: 171), are:

- *Which* models of English should be taught?
- *Who* should be teaching English?
- *What* is the role of culture in ELT?

To answer the first question, it follows from the discussion above that the model of English as a national language, based on an idealised native-speaker model, is inadequate and has lost its relevance. This may be a well-established fact in sociolinguistics and other fields, but is much less so in language teaching, so it needs reiterating. English has become the global language, spoken by people from many different backgrounds, in a wide range of dialects and accents. Several decades of research and advocacy have turned World Englishes, the varieties of English spoken mostly in the former colonies, into legitimate varieties. The notion of English as a *Lingua Franca*, a more recent notion recognising that English is now predominantly used between speakers with a different first language, has also become very popular. The European project and the role of English in facilitating communication between EU member states and in European institutions has

made Euro English another widely recognised and accepted (non-homogeneous) variety.

Global media and the internet have further contributed to the spread of English and to the parallel processes of linguistic and cultural homogenisation, heterogenisation and hybridisation. Issues of language standardisation and nonstandard languages open another avenue of discussion, especially in the digital age when much of the language the younger generation encounter may be deliberately destandardised, globalised, and at the same time nativised to index local identities. These issues have been widely discussed and recognised in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics (Grozdanova 2003; Seidlhofer 2004; Sharifian 2009; Georgieva 2011; Mauranen and Ranta 2011, Jenkins 2014, to name only a few). Yet the idealised near-native model is so pervasive in ELT that, as Mario Saraceni observes, alternative views still need to be advocated:

If, nearly 30 years later, we're still advocating the need to *begin* to favour plurality against singularity, one could be excused for feeling that, perhaps, there *may* have been a certain amount of 'congestion' in the field (Saraceni 2015: 4).

Closeness to some idealised and clearly prescribed linguistic standard may be desirable for the purposes of shared understanding; but we also need to acknowledge the role of language as an identity marker and develop students' appreciation for varieties, as well as for various registers and modalities of communication.

Second, as teachers of English, we need to re-examine the native speaker myth and the misleading "native/non-native" dichotomy, bringing the attention of our students to language expertise and language allegiance. Contrary to previous beliefs, in which the ideal teacher may have been an idealised monolingual and monocultural native speaker, we need to put greater value on teachers who are not only bilingual and bicultural, but ideally multilingual, multidialectal, multicultural, transcultural; people who have developed rich linguistic repertoires and cosmopolitan identities, and who can foster the same in their students. These are qualities which both we, as teachers, as well as our students, can work to develop, unlike our birth certificates, which are beyond our control. A non-native teacher with a high level of proficiency and a wide interest in other cultures could, in fact, be a much better model than a teacher who has not struggled with the

hurdles of learning a foreign language; or one who has been brought up in a single culture without necessarily reflecting upon it.

Third, the relationship between language and culture in the context of teaching needs to be reconsidered, as both language and culture have been construed as fluid, in a state of constant flux, contact and exchange. English in particular has to be seen as detached from its “umbilical cord”, its connection to the “mother land” or the “ancestral home” (Saraceni 2015). We need to set English in a much larger intercultural, transcultural perspective and to develop students’ awareness of and interest in countries where English is used, beyond the narrow Anglo-American inner-circle paradigm. Intercultural competence, Farzad Sharifian maintains, needs to be viewed as a core element of proficiency in English for intercultural communication, and we need to make a fundamental shift in ELT education from a monolithic to a plurilithic view of English as we develop a curriculum that accounts for the complex sociolinguistic reality of English around the globe (Sharifian 2009). Learning English at the higher education level should necessarily involve learning about its historical, social and cultural settings and should place it in a more global context, instead of the traditional Anglo-American setting it has enjoyed for so long.

7. CONCLUSION

To sum up, all these issues need to be brought to the attention of students of English in higher education. Students need to develop better understanding of the variation within the English language, and to build a wider repertoire of varieties and registers they can understand, and possibly use some they can relate to. It is much easier today than it used to be in previous years to find appropriate-level English courses with a strong cultural and intercultural component. With the advance of new media, there are boundless resources available for developing one’s own teaching materials, such as personal blogs, vlogs, podcasts, discussion forums, and so on. The TED talk series are one easily available option and a great resource, offering both a wide range of intellectually stimulating topics, and an even wider range of speakers from different backgrounds, with their respective accents and varieties of English. As teachers of English, we need to accept the fact that it is no longer possible to study language in isolation, and it is my belief that issues of globalisation, fluid identities and transcultural flows need to be closely interwoven into the study of English in higher education.

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OLD PARADIGMS IN THE MODERN AGE: TEACHING EARLY ENGLISH IN 21ST-CENTURY BULGARIA¹

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to trace the shift in focus between the way Historical Linguistics and the History of English used to be taught at Bulgarian universities, in particular the University of Sofia, and the way they are currently taught in view of the changing conditions and the new challenges posed by the information age. Although some may disparage these disciplines as old-fashioned, irrelevant or divorced from this new reality, it is argued that in fact they are as relevant as ever. In addition to offering indispensable knowledge for anyone who wants to be a highly-trained professional explaining and working with the language, they can develop “timeless” skills which have always been of use. More specifically, the paper presents how a tailor-made teaching methodology and philosophy can foster transferable skills that give modern students a competitive edge in the information age. The focus is on promoting analytical thinking both “within” and “out of” the box, efficient problem-solving strategies, as well as critical assessment of data in a sea of information. All of these competences are extremely valuable in the 21st century, so old paradigms can certainly be profitably put to new uses.

In the rest of this paper, we first outline some general points about what makes diachronic studies useful and worthwhile (Section 2). We then provide a brief overview of Sofia University’s traditions in teaching these subjects (Section 3), before pointing out how the focus has shifted in the first decades of the 21st century (Section 4).

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2. WHY STUDY HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS AND THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH?

Languages are constantly in a state of flux. The present day is no exception. To ignore this fluidity, variation and ever-present change would be to give students a simplified, incomplete and distorted picture of language (cf. Rissanen et al. and Adams 2012: 1176). Furthermore, the word stock of a language as a shared commodity of the speech community is a repository of wisdom and a window into its history from across the ages. Back in the 19th century, when all linguistics was essentially historical, hardly any justification for a diachronic approach would have been needed, but now this seems to be in order even within a degree programme which involves a great deal of linguistics, such as English Studies. The legacy of the venerable Neogrammarian scholarly paradigm was indeed behind the creation in the early 20th century of preeminent publications such as *The Oxford English Dictionary* (originally conceived as a *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*) and Otto Jespersen's monumental seven-volume *Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles* (Jespersen 1909–1949). However, the strong position traditionally ensured for the History of English within the curriculum of universities across the world can no longer be taken for granted (see Rissanen et al., Minkova 1977: 42–43, 2009: 893, among others).

There is no room for complacency even at an excellent centre of learning with an outstanding profile such as Helsinki, for instance. Helsinki is famous for the revolutionary *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*, probably still the most popular large-scale electronic database for studying the history of English, and has a star-studded team of internationally renowned experts, among them distinguished contributors to seminal publications such as the *Cambridge History of the English Language* (see Rissanen 1999). Nevertheless, they saw fit to justify the diachronic component in their English Studies programme by drafting a brief online essay in defence of the subject (Rissanen et al.; cf. Hiltunen 2012 for the wider context). There, and in landmarks in the field such as Joseph and Janda (2003) or Hayes and Burkette (2017), among many others, a solid case is made for the central role diachronic research and teaching should play at English departments.

In the first place, if the aim of human knowledge is to understand not only how things work but also why they work the way they do, we cannot dispense with the historical dimension (see Rissanen et al. and the chapters in Joseph and Janda 2003). If we want to know why a given language is structured the way it is, and why it functions the way it does, we need to understand how it has developed and

changed, coming to be as it is (Rissanen et al., Haspelmath 2009: 396, 398–399, with references).

One of the authors' very first encounters with Historical Linguistics was through the unlikely parallel to male nipples as an illustration of the importance of the historical dimension in explanation. In a lecture hall in Sofia University's north wing, overlooking Bulgaria's National Library, on a winter day back in the early 2000's, Mitko Sabev opened his introductory talk on Historical Linguistics (as part of the Introduction to General Linguistics module) with what might at first sight seem an unorthodox choice of case study – male nipples.

As observed by Lass (1997: 12–13, with references), male nipples are a puzzle for anatomists – although they are doubtless “the same thing” as female nipples, there is no reasonable explanation for their existence in the male mammal “system”. They do not supply milk and neither are they particularly linked to sexual arousal (Lass 1997: 13). Clearly, male nipples make no sense if looked at functionally or from the point of view of a synchronic biological system. Their existence can only be explained on historical grounds – apparently, they are formed early in an embryo's development, before the formation of the appropriate gonads and genitalia (Lass 1997: 13). So it turns out that, if females are to have nipples, males need to have them too, and all of this only makes sense if considered diachronically (Lass 1997: 13). As Lass (1997: 13) sums up:

[male nipples] exist only because history as it were made them before making the decision about ultimate utility, and evolution has not developed any way of getting rid of them.

Rissanen et al. provide another apt analogy. It is perfectly fine for a mechanic to know how a car functions (as a synchronic system), and what tools they need in order to be able to fix and repair it. Certainly, no historical knowledge is necessary for that. However, if a mechanic wants to go beyond these rudimentary basics and become a visionary designer or a planning engineer who develops new prototypes, they will need to know why certain structures can make a good vehicle, but not others, how they have come into existence and how they have evolved over time in order to improve their quality, speed, safety, etc. Examining the track record of various forms of vehicle will also give an insight into what ideas are likely to work better than others for future models. Overgeneralising somewhat, the difference between a mechanic and an engineer roughly corresponds to the one between a language teacher and a professional linguist.

Even though language creativity may not be consciously controlled by design (at least most of the time), the fascinating fact about change is that the optimal (or at least workable) solutions seem to be ultimately implemented as if by an invisible hand (see Keller 1990). A simplified analogy with language would state that you cannot, for example, develop Perfect constructions unless there are Past Participles or appropriate auxiliaries like *have* already available. Even in synchronic studies like those on the results of grammaticalisation, directionality is shown to follow the changes in time. Thus, space terms can be recruited for the expression of temporal relations (e.g. *before*), and conjunctions of time can be reinterpreted as conjunctions of concession (e.g. *while*), but not vice versa. As with vehicles, understanding presupposes historicism.

History in general often has the hopeful and laudable aim of teaching people not to repeat mistakes from the past (though, sadly, this does not always work in practice). To quote Rissanen et al.'s sobering conclusion, perhaps also intended as a stark warning:

We could also say that an awareness of the difference between “how” and “why” marks the difference between vocational schools and universities. This does not mean underestimating the value of vocational schools or car mechanics, but it is obvious that a higher education institution which fails to grasp this difference is doomed to mediocrity and loss of excellence.

They must have realised the value of what they are talking about, since Finland often tops various rankings and does very well in higher education tables.

To give another linguistic analogue, a teacher of English will be aware that certain English plurals involve voicing of a medial fricative (e.g. *knife* ~ *knives*, *thief* ~ *thieves*), but only a specialist will know its diachronic origins. Synchronically, the plurals of *knife*, *thief* etc. are “irrational exceptions to normal pluralization, and ‘inexplicable’” (Lass 1997: 13). However, they have a clear historical source (see Lass 1997: 13–14). In Old English, a fricative was voiceless if word-final, as in *pēof* [θe:of] ‘thief’ (nominative singular), but was voiced when it ended up between two vowels, as in the nominative plural *pēofas* [θe:ovas] ‘thieves’; so this was a perfectly regular process of which there are only historical leftovers now and which has no synchronic motivation whatsoever (see Lass 1997: 14, cf. Haspelmath 2009: 396–399, with references). These alternations can be described as “evolutionary scars on the present-day body” (Lass 1997: 14). In fact, they are a

prime example of linguistic male nipples. Thus, to explain and understand certain forms, we often need to look into their history.

Language change is a snapshot of a particular cognitive feat like the one just illustrated by the phrase *linguistic male nipples*. In communication, context helps the strangest combinations of units to acquire meaning, and speakers readily avail themselves of this fact to be creative. If more speakers employ the novel form, lo and behold, we are dealing with language change. Students in the 21st century are not always aware that Historical Linguistics does not discuss dead languages only. The principles of language creativity are behind phenomena much closer to the speaking practices of young people, e.g. the formation of slang. The so-called cognitive revolution in linguistics threw into sharper relief the ubiquity of mechanisms such as metaphor and metonymy.

Variation, one of the central concepts in diachronic studies, is also at the heart of all language studies which pay attention to “the human factor” and to the role of language as a means of communication (Rissanen et al.). A historical perspective naturally serves as a bridge to the exploration of present-day sociolinguistics, text linguistics and stylistics or regional varieties (see Rissanen et al. and the rest of this volume). Even further afield, an interesting observation by Alison Wray and George Grace reveals a relationship between type of language and type of society. A well-known concern for communities in the information age is that intimate communication, as well as first-hand experience, might be disappearing. The linguists discovered that language varieties used within closed communities tend to diversify, while those used in exoteric, open societies get levelled out and become simpler in form (Wray and Grace 2007).

Understanding the principles of variation is likewise vital for language learning and teaching, which entails phenomena like interference, contact, children’s language acquisition, as well as variation in pronunciation and structure, among others. Andrei Danchev was one of the first linguists internationally who, as early as the 1980’s, advocated a principally identical approach to Historical Linguistics, translation studies and second language acquisition (Kovatcheva 2013). Perceiving these underlying links should cement the centrality of diachrony in the linguistics curriculum, both theoretical and applied.

Importantly, diachronic studies bring together and consolidate the students’ knowledge of synchronic phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics, showing them in their interconnections and also in action (e.g. the alternation between [f] and [v] used to be a purely *phonological* rule but has over time become a *morphological* fact about stems like *thief*). Therefore, Historical Linguistics can

in certain respects be seen as a jewel in the crown of linguistics. Sensitivity to the dynamic processes in the use of language, including stylistic differentiation as a result of borrowing (e.g. after the Norman Conquest), can in turn come in handy for all sorts of modern occupations such as editing, translation and interpreting, copy-writing, working in the public domain and even practising cognitive psychotherapy (see Minkova 1977: 43).

However, the drop in the popularity among students of subjects like the History of English and Historical Linguistics is probably due to the undeniable challenges they present, including reliance on background from the other branches. Being a jewel in the crown comes at a price. We have established in our practice that students often struggle in Historical Linguistics not because of any difficulties inherent in the discipline as such but because of learning gaps in synchronic linguistics. For instance, if you don't know, or have forgotten, that /e:/ is a mid-vowel and /i:/ a high one, it is difficult to state that a development from /e:/ to /i:/ is (rather intuitively and self-evidently!) described as raising.

Finally, linguistic courses on Early English could easily be designed as an aid to the study of Medieval and Renaissance English literature for those less interested in the workings of language, so they are doubtless in a good position to offer much-needed interdisciplinarity and transferable academic skills.²

3. HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS AND THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOFIA IN THE 20TH CENTURY

English Philology (in its various senses) has been taught at the University of Sofia for more than a hundred and ten years, having been introduced as a subject within the Faculty of History and Philology as early as 1906 and upgraded into a degree programme at the Department of Germanic Studies in 1928 (see Hegedűs 2012: 1387). Constantine Stephanov (1879–1940) was appointed as the first English lecturer at the University in 1906 (Shurbanov and Stamenov 2000: 267, Hegedűs 2012: 1387). He was a graduate of the American College in Samokov (one of the oldest American educational institutions outside the USA) and had obtained a degree from Yale in 1901. His academic interests spanned both linguistics and literature and he introduced courses in English Historical

² See Minkova (2009: 896) and Adams (2012: 1164, 1166, with references) for the way the History of English fits in the liberal arts curriculum as a naturally interdisciplinary subject.

Linguistics and the History of the English Language, including Early English, Anglo-Saxon and Middle English Grammar (Hegedűs 2012: 1387). Stephanov published on culture and history, as well as on geographical variation, language contact, and Latin loans in English (see Hegedűs 2012: 1387, with references). Another pioneering lecturer involved in teaching the diachrony of English at Sofia was Roussi Roussev (1900–1988), who had originally studied Classics (Hegedűs 2012: 1387). Although he never published in this field, he was in charge of the module on Middle English Grammar (Hegedűs 2012: 1387).

English Philology became an independent department at the University of Sofia in 1946, headed by Marco Mincoff (1909–1987), an internationally renowned expert on Shakespeare and Renaissance drama. Like Roussev, Mincoff had originally studied Classics at Sofia and then went on to complete a doctoral degree as a Humboldt scholar in Berlin, with a dissertation on historical linguistics, more specifically an analysis of Anglo-Saxon expressions of power and might (Mincoff 1933). Hegedűs (2012: 1387) describes Mincoff's dissertation as "an important monograph for studying the development of OE words like *rice, maga, welig* [...]". His *English Historical Grammar* (Mincoff 1955) is still a valuable source of detailed information on the history of English and went through several editions (see Hegedűs 2012: 1387), while his synchronic *English Grammar* (Mincoff 1958) skilfully incorporates relevant diachronic background into the synchronic description of the structure of English. Grounded in the best Neogrammarian and Jespersenian tradition, it was also surprisingly ahead of its time in many respects and is still relevant and useful, demonstrating a happy marriage of pertinent and enlightening diachronic information, a rigorous synchronic description and an acute awareness of its Bulgarian-speaking audience. During Mincoff's terms as head of the department between 1951 and 1974, English Philology was differentiated into a literary and a linguistic track, with English Historical Linguistics emerging as a specialisation (Hegedűs 2012: 1387–1388).

Another graduate of the American College (now relocated to Sofia), Maria Rankova (1914–1989) gave lectures on English historical grammar from 1965 until she retired in 1974 (Hegedűs 2012: 1388). She devoted in-depth studies to the development of English periphrastic *do* (Rankova 1964, 1966), cited in some of the most authoritative publications on English historical syntax (e.g. Denison 1993). She also published (in Bulgarian) an outline of the history of English (Rankova 1971).

Andrei Danchev (1933–1996) was a prolific author too, with numerous groundbreaking articles on topics ranging from historical phonology to syntax, for instance Danchev (1967, 1969, among many others), singled out in Mitchell's (1985: xl) highly selective bibliography. As noted by Hegedűs (2012: 1388), "Mincoff, Rankova and Danchev were seminal teachers", and some of their former students teach English Historical Linguistics at a number of universities. Among them are Donka Minkova from UCLA, one of the leading international authorities in the field, recently awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Sofia, Christo Grancharov (formerly at the University of Plovdiv) and his student Yana Chankova (South-West University Neofit Rilski, Blagoevgrad), as well as Snezha Tsoneva-Mathewson in Plovdiv (see Hegedűs 2012: 1388). One of Danchev's successors, Mira Kovatcheva, is now Professor of the History of English and Historical Linguistics at the University of Sofia, where she teaches with her students Mitko Sabev and Bozhil Hristov, both of them with degrees from the University of Oxford.

Marco Mincoff and Maria Rankova followed a traditional (Neogrammarian) approach with an emphasis on comparison of textual variants, and hence dialect, focusing more on the facts than on the possible accounts of these facts, and with little overlap or cross-referencing with courses in English phonology and morphology. Even though four semesters were dedicated to the chronological coverage of the two main periods (Old and Middle English), hardly any time was allotted to the study of diachronic syntax or lexical semantics. The only sources were Mincoff's (1978) reader and his excellent textbook *English Historical Grammar* (Mincoff 1955). Delightfully unbiased and theory-free, its erudite synthesis of the available scholarship still frequently offers the most cogent answers to intricate puzzles. In terms of accessibility, however, it has long proved to be indigestible by the average student from the next generations. A more user-friendly collection of texts was compiled by Mira Kovatcheva in 2002, revised jointly with Mitko Sabev and published as an e-reader in 2015 (Kovatcheva and Sabev 2015).

In 1975, Andrei Danchev introduced a new structure to the now reduced course – down to three semesters (see Minkova 1977). The chronological overview was replaced by presentation according to linguistic level. Among other innovations, Minkova (1977: 43) mentions historical syntax and lexicology in Danchev's new syllabus from the 1970's. One of the major principles he tried to teach his students was that of continuity between historical and contemporary states of a language, always drawing parallels between diachronic developments and synchronic variation, as well as between similar processes in English, Bulgarian

and other European languages. Thus, an attempt was made to relate the history of English to the study of English synchronic linguistics (see Minkova 1977: 43–44). Danchev managed to subtly interweave theoretical aspects of the changes discussed. In this he was remarkably unprejudiced, being able to appreciate structural, functional, formal, socio- and psycholinguistic approaches in equal measure (see Kovatcheva 2013).

Both Donka Minkova and Mira Kovatcheva were exposed to the two types of methodology and later they too tried to keep an open mind amidst the succession of fashionable theories, although by now they were working thousands of miles apart (see e.g. Minkova 2014). In order to fill a perceptible void, more attention was given to the history of English syntax from the early 1980's onwards (cf. Minkova 2009: 894 for the wider international background at the time). If there is a hallmark to be identified as a "Sofia School", it is bound to be the belief that the historical developments in a language should be considered part and parcel of any theorising on its modern state.

As outlined above, the traditions which Sofia's English Department has in teaching and research in the History of English and Historical Linguistics have been acknowledged and recorded in widely acclaimed standard handbooks such as Bergs and Brinton (2012). Coupled with the citations in some of the most respected international publications in the field, this testifies to the quality of scholarly work whose foundations were laid more than a century ago and which still goes on to this day. At the same time, Hegedűs (2012: 1388) observes that, in Eastern Europe, English Historical Linguistics "is unlikely to appear in the curriculum of those newly established universities that cater for the practically oriented training favoured in the current economic constellation". This harks back to one of the key distinctions drawn by Rissanen et al. and foregrounded above – namely between truly academic and more vocational institutions.

4. INTO THE 21ST CENTURY

Traditionally, Historical Linguistics and the History of English have been anticipated by many students as "punishing courses", making undergraduates "anxious, apprehensive and resentful", though various authors and instructors have looked into how they can be rendered more "hospitable", even enjoyable, as already noted above (see Minkova 1977: 42–43, Adams 2012: 1163ff., 1171–1172, Hayes and Burkette 2017). As Rissanen et al. advise us to keep in mind, the attitudes towards learning and studying more generally have changed

dramatically in Europe and beyond over the last decades. Rote learning and diligent memorisation by heart are no longer seen as desirable or as an end in themselves (Rissanen et al.). Conversely, problem-solving, answers arrived at by independent reasoning, seeing the outlines of the bigger picture gradually emerge from a tangle of details, and intelligent, well-informed use of reference materials are understandably more appealing and valuable to school-children and university students alike (Rissanen et al.).

In line with this paradigm shift, Rissanen et al. report the following modifications they have made to the way they approach teaching at Helsinki:

We have tried to get rid of the reputation of the difficulty and learning-by-heart bias of the history of English by giving the students two examinations during the course. They are allowed to bring along lecture notes and hand-outs to the exams, but of course no other reference material. The failure rate is very low, although there are always students who find it hard to grasp the essence of historical linguistics.

At Sofia, we have been driven by similar considerations. There are now two required diachronic courses which students need to take in their third year. The first is Historical Linguistics, where we discuss the fundamental principles of language change at the levels of phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and the lexicon, followed in the summer term by a systematic study of how English evolved from Proto-Indo-European, through Proto-Germanic, Old and Middle English, into Modern English. As one of the aims is to explain the current state of English, its male nipples, warts and all, the second course ends with a revision of the synchronic irregularities in the present-day language, emphasising how they can receive a diachronic explanation. A similar orientation is espoused by Adams (2012: 1172, with references; cf. Minkova 1977), who sums up that “[t]he history of English perhaps matters most to students when it helps to explain the way we talk now or our attitudes about that talk”.

We have accordingly tried to pick well-balanced, accessible textbooks which are at the same time comprehensive and intellectually stimulating, with a healthy mix of linguistic (internal) and cultural (external) history (see Dimitrova, this volume). Minkova (2009: 893 fn. 1) has praised Brinton and Arnovick’s (2006) book, whose second edition we use in the summer term, as “a model of good pedagogical writing” which is “likely to have a long shelf-life” comparable to

Baugh and Cable's (2013) classic – the latter has already gone through six editions since it first appeared in the 1950's.

Secondly, in view of the changing perceptions of what is considered valuable in education, we are making a point of focusing on the interpretation of facts. Like our colleagues at Helsinki, we allow the use of materials during quizzes and exams, in fact any type of non-electronic material that students might wish to bring along, including textbooks, readers, notes, printed lecture slides, handouts, other printouts, etc. When, upon joining the team, one of us had to do this for the first time, he expressed doubt as to its viability, believing that it would render testing pointless and that everyone would automatically get the top score. That obviously did not materialise and the distribution of marks shows the typical bell-shaped curve expected for any random group of learners.

During regular quizzes and tests, students are given tasks in which they have to clearly formulate the problem (i.e. what they are being asked), show that they can move from the concrete (token) to the general (type) (and back), as well as demonstrate intelligent use of resources and application of knowledge to concrete data, including the interconnections between (sub-)topics and (sub-)disciplines. For instance, we would never dream of expecting anyone to learn by heart, say, the strong declension of Old English adjectives. Rather, they are free to consult the relevant table, but they must figure out which of a number of prospective forms from the paradigm they have in their specific sentence for analysis, providing argumentation for their choice. Likewise, when we ask exam candidates to comment on any grammatical changes that they can spot in short parallel passages from the Gospels in Old, Middle and Early Modern English, no one would get any credit for simply reproducing the oft-repeated mantra that English has lost its inflections over time and has become an analytic language. Instead, they ought to explicitly identify instances of those processes offered by the passages in front of them. In this way, we hope that we encourage undergraduates to rely on lateral thinking and cultivate marketable analytical skills and efficient problem-solving strategies, successfully navigating a sea of available information. In addition, they need to be mindful of time constraints. This is not very far from what a modern data analyst has to do when faced with a daily job assignment, with the whole of the Internet and other high-tech resources and databases at their disposal, but also working to a tight deadline. We see the value of this approach in producing independent thinkers who can use materials efficiently, sifting what is relevant from what isn't, and critically appraising the quality and reliability of the information available to them.

As already mentioned, in our classes historical changes are constantly compared to dynamic processes in Modern English (and/or Bulgarian), thus promoting the idea that language use is itself a creative activity. In a sense, by laying bare the mechanisms of change we are trying to help students bootstrap their own creativity. Distilling all of the underlying philosophy, our course objectives for the History of English state that, by the end of the course, participants should be able to:

- demonstrate basic knowledge of the main periods in the development of English;
- provide a diachronic explanation of the present state of English;
- analyse texts from earlier periods;
- use electronic and traditional resources efficiently;
- approach problem-solving with analytical skills and independent critical thinking.

Quite apart from everything discussed so far, discovering what is essentially a new language and culture can be lots of fun, as confirmed by the growing numbers at the meetings of a voluntary extra-curricular Early English Reading Group that has been running for a few years now. In addition, some students report that the course has helped them in their German classes or improved their understanding of how Bulgarian works in comparison with English, raising awareness of the connections between them. These are separate topics, however, and they will have to await future investigation.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND OUTCOMES

It might be instructive to conclude with some statistics and a couple of anecdotes which show how participants have reacted to the courses. During an official faculty-wide teaching assessment and evaluation procedure in 2016, 80% of respondents said that Historical Linguistics had contributed to their specialist training, 93.33% confirmed that it had been instrumental in acquiring or improving knowledge and skills, and 80% believed that it had stimulated them to think independently and creatively. In the autumn of 2016, just before the start of the academic year, our librarians proudly showed us an “annotated photocopy” of the teaching material, extensively highlighted and bookmarked, which a former student had donated to the library, leaving an “inscription” on the first page for

the benefit and edification of future generations. The donor wished everyone the best of luck in “tackling” the subject, which after all was not “as hard as it seemed”; “it was actually easy”.

A couple of years ago, after publishing the final results, we were surprised that one of the students was extremely overjoyed, much more so than any of the others. He was not one of the most diligent or brilliant in that year’s cohort and it felt somehow odd to see him so happy about barely getting a passing grade. When asked why he was so pleased, he replied that he felt this was his own accomplishment due to his own efforts, which meant a lot to him and gave him a sense of achievement. He at the same time conceded that it had all been tough but rewarding, and (in his own words) the whole experience had equipped him with better job survival skills. For us, all of this meant that our job had been done too.

Another heart-warming episode came from talking to an international alumnus who had gone on to take up a position teaching English in Istanbul. Again, he was certainly not top of the History of English class, but he enthusiastically shared that, when his beginner students in Turkey asked him why the *a* sound was different in *take*, *small* and *glass*, this gave him an opportunity to tell them about the Great Vowel Shift and the historical basis of Modern English spelling. Apparently, this added some value to the students’ learning experience, boosted their confidence and helped them make better sense of the way English works. It is therefore our belief that old paradigms still retain their value, and history can equip us well for the future, producing better specialists and honing vital skills for almost any intellectual job or endeavour.

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ANALYSING TEXTBOOKS IN THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE: MOVEMENT TOWARDS GREATER ACCESSIBILITY AND BUILDING ANALYTICAL SKILLS¹

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1. INTRODUCTION

The present paper was prompted by my experience as an undergraduate student and discussions with colleagues on the mandatory course in the History of the English Language. It was generally thought not to have much practical value. To my mind, however, many students had misunderstood the objectives of and requirements for the course, which in most cases led to a misguided approach to learning and their subsequent dissatisfaction and frustration. What's more, students often dismiss disciplines with a prime focus on the diachronic study of language as impractical. This is because they do not think that they can learn specific skills which can later be applied in a working environment. Furthermore, students generally appear discouraged by the educational process itself, as they only see it in terms of the sheer volume of material, which they deem necessary to memorise, if desirable results are to be achieved. Established scholars in the field agree that such a task is impossible even for specialists (Minkova 2009: 897). It may very well be a requirement in the scope of a traditional educational system, where teaching is seen primarily as instruction and learning as acquiring factual knowledge. However, efforts are being made to change the approach to teaching in the field (see Hristov and Kovatcheva, this volume, and the references cited there), so that students benefit not only from expanding their knowledge, but also by developing important analytical skills. Such a direction has also been noted by Minkova (2009: 899). In this paper I trace how changes in the methodological approach are reflected in textbooks.

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The publications I have chosen to analyse show a noticeable shift in methodological practice in the last ten to twenty years – there is a clear tendency towards attempting to facilitate understanding, marked by presenting material in a much more explanatory and accessible manner. Promoting a better grasp of the material has also made possible the acquisition of transferrable skills. Such skills could benefit both future historical linguists in undertaking new approaches to the subject (Minkova 2009: 899), as well as students who pursue a career in business, media, translation or education. Moreover, one can also achieve a deeper understanding of a language by learning about its history and that of the peoples it is spoken by, and the most recent textbook publications make sure they give plenty of insights into the socio-historic background relevant for the linguistic changes discussed in them. This in turn reflects the more general “shift towards socialisation of the humanities” (Minkova 2009: 893).

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

My research is based on books appropriate for use with students at under-graduate and post-graduate level. I selected fifteen such publications available at the Resource Center for English and American Studies at Sofia University, a full list of which is available in the Appendix. It is important to note that some of these have more than one edition. This discussion is based on the editions listed in the Appendix only. All of the textbooks aim to cover the history of English from Old English (OE), through Middle English (ME) to Early Modern English (EModE), although some recent publications include chapters on Present Day English (PDE), the role of the language as a medium for international communication, and synchronic variation as well. With the exception of Otto Jespersen’s *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, all were published in the last sixty years. My analysis focused on the contents and a sample chapter from each and looked at their structure, organisation and presentation of material, complexity of language, explanations of terminology, and the activities included (if at all), with special attention paid to the last of these aspects. It is my belief that it is mainly the practical tasks that facilitate the acquisition and development of analytical skills. This paper presents a general outline of approaches adopted in the last sixty years and changes introduced in more recent publications. It also highlights how these could be beneficial for students, using examples from Laurel J. Brinton and Leslie K. Arnovick’s (2011) *The English Language: A Linguistic History* to illustrate the claims made where necessary.

3. TEXTBOOKS IN TERMS OF ORGANISATION

This section is primarily concerned with the organisation of material in the textbooks under consideration. While this may seem a trivial issue, organisation is important when dealing with such a vast subject, as it has some implications for how students process the information they are introduced to. At the very least, textbooks should be organised in such a way as to make drawing connections between each new piece of information possible – learners cannot begin their work by acquiring structural knowledge of each period in the history of the language and then be introduced to a general overview of common mechanisms of language change, for example. It is more expedient to first learn how language change operates in principle, so as to facilitate understanding the connection between different stages of the development of the language. The accepted manner of periodisation is a convention – there are no clear definite boundaries between what we label OE, ME or EModE. Ultimately, we are still studying the same language, despite the convenient names attributed to it, as it existed through history, so it would be much more useful to get a sense of how developments have implications for what it is today. For this purpose, one has to trace these developments, and to do so, one needs to understand and recognise general mechanisms of linguistic change. It is therefore not surprising that this is the approach adopted by most textbook authors – a discussion of principles of language change, followed by a much more detailed account of each period in turn, showing how they are manifested with concrete examples. By progressing through the subject area in this manner students also build up their analytical skills – they learn to recognise the instantiations of a particular model they have familiarised themselves with beforehand. Brinton and Arnovick (2011) also take this approach: the third chapter in their book is entirely devoted to introducing the reader to possible causes of change, the ways in which it operates on the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic levels, and finally how changes are identified. Only after this chapter do they introduce the reader to specific structural information about each period.

Similarly, having a general outline of the whole development of the language before tackling each stage in detail is useful. It creates an impression of the entire history of the language and expectations that make the material to be presented in further sections easier to process. This is done in Brinton and Arnovick's (2011) first chapter in the 'Linguistic change in English' subsection, which also includes textual samples from OE, ME, EModE, and PDE, as well as activities which involve comparing the passages given in order to help the student draw their

own conclusions about what happened in the history of the language. Should they complete these successfully, they will see their conclusions confirmed and explained in later chapters. This has the additional effect of increasing students' confidence and hence their motivation.

Equally important is the inclusion of a chapter giving a description of PDE. This is beneficial to those who wish to enhance their competence in the history of the language, but do not have structural knowledge of it and are not familiar with the linguistic terminology used to describe it. It makes the field accessible to readers from diverse educational backgrounds, unlike textbooks which neglect to incorporate a section introducing concepts relevant for the following discussion (see Minkova 2009: 896). Such a section may likewise prove an asset for those who have completed a course in linguistics, since revision invites making comparisons and contrasts between PDE and earlier 'Englishes' by drawing attention to the characteristics of both.

Brinton and Arnovick (2011) devote the final chapter of their book to PDE, there referred to as 'Modern English'. Modern English is introduced before proceeding to tackle the linguistic history of the language in the following books: Otto Jespersen's *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (1912), Baugh and Cable's *A History of the English Language* (1993), and John Algeo's *The Origins and Development of the English Language* (2009). This approach may not be an innovation, but it is likely to benefit students.

Barbara Strang's *A History of English* (1970) is interesting in this respect, as it does begin with an overview of PDE, but later continues with each period in *reverse* chronological order. Although the purpose of this was most likely to explain the current state of the language by tracing historical changes, I find it challenging to do so when information is organised in such a manner, as it is an unusual depiction of history, one to which the average reader may struggle to adapt. Historical developments are usually conceptualised and presented as successive occurrences in time from past to future. This is also a convention in the literature (Minkova 2009: 895). Therefore, Strang's work follows neither the conventions of historical narratives nor the traditional means of presentation, and this makes tracing the progression of English through time cumbersome. Another related issue is her use of deictic expressions to refer to previous or upcoming passages in her text, which could also be taken to refer, respectively, to moments in the future or past of the language's development from the point of view of the current discussion.

Another aspect of organising textbook material is whether to present discussions around the levels on which they occur, or by periods ordered chronologically. The approach taken by most authors, especially those of more recent publications, is the latter, and there is a reason for this choice as well. Discussing the developments in a language by isolating them depending on the level on which they occur obscures how changes at one may influence those on another and thus decreases the opportunity for students to see how seemingly unrelated phenomena are actually connected, as they are, ultimately, part of the same system. This manner of organisation also makes it more difficult to link historical events and socio-cultural developments to changes in the language within a given period. However, as Minkova (2009: 896) notes, chronological presentation according to successive periods “makes the continuity of the changes on the separate language levels less apparent”. *The English Language: A Linguistic History* balances the discussion of each level of linguistic analysis in detail and the effects changes on one level have on another within a period by subdividing each chapter into sections dealing with one subsystem in turn. Thus, two chapters are devoted to OE, ME, and EModE each, where the first introduces the historical context, focusing on socio-cultural phenomena relevant to changes in the language, and later discusses vocabulary and phonology. Grammar is dealt with in the following chapter, except where EModE is concerned. Here, a section on morphology is present in the first of the two chapters (Chapter 11).

4. CHAPTERS IN TERMS OF ORGANISATION

Some more recent textbooks, including *The English Language: A Linguistic History*, incorporate an overview of the material covered in each chapter and the expected learning outcomes. These help create expectations which aid information processing as well. They also have the additional benefit of drawing the reader's attention to key points in the following discussion and to what they should aim to focus on during study. In a way, the function of the ‘Overview and Objectives’ section is similar to that of chapter summaries used to help readers go back to the chapter they have completed in order to ensure a firmer grasp of the information and skills acquired. The only difference is that the sections at the beginning of chapters ensure effectiveness, while those at the end re-affirm it.

5. CHAPTERS IN TERMS OF PRESENTATION

Besides organisational features of a textbook, presentational ones also have a subtle effect on the degree of student comprehension and potential for skill-development. Whereas organisational features cover the order of information, presentational ones have to do with the manner in which this information is packaged and conveyed. The latter involve several parametres: layout, visual aids, practical tasks and questions for discussion, explanations, as well as the language used. These have changed for the better over time.

Related to chapter organisation are headings. Where older works are concerned, there is little or no overt marking separating distinct sections or subsections. More recent publications incorporate headings to delineate these – in this way the progression from one section to the next is made much more fluid and easier to keep track of, which in turn facilitates information processing. Furthermore, this mode of presentation has a function similar to that outlined in the previous section – creating expectations, which focus student attention. It also leaves more room to elaborate on each development and thus make the text more explanatory, rather than descriptive, as is often the case in older publications.

Another issue involves examples. Recent publications present them following discussion of the relevant changes, so that they might illustrate them better. In addition, entire passages of text, along with a gloss and/or a translation into PDE are included. This makes it easier for students to compare the two versions of a text and thus contrast them on their own: learners conduct independent analyses, the material much more engaging, as readers anchor their work to authentic texts. Where transcriptions are also present, this gives a better idea of what is accepted as the pronunciation at the time concerned.

A key aspect in developing analytical skills is the incorporation of questions and exercises following each chapter or, better still, each section. This is done in *The English Language: A Linguistic History*. Crucially, practice is most directly related to skill-building of all features I have dwelled on here. The way task instructions are presented clearly shows that they require the student to solve particular problems, rather than to reproduce material mechanically. Very often they put the student in the position of a linguist analysing language change and supply facts and instructions which assist in reaching a possible interpretation. This is very much in line with the movement in education from an objectivist to a constructivist methodology – one in which the educational materials help

students reach their own conclusions, rather than presenting them with ready-made solutions.

Of the textbooks analysed, those which incorporate activities and analytical assignments were published from the 1990's onwards. Bryant's *Modern English and Its Heritage* (1962) includes questions for class discussion and possible topics for research papers, though there are no exercises testing the understanding of concepts relating to language change.

Some further changes in textbooks over the years contribute to their accessibility. Such are the use of simpler language, the introduction of humour and anecdotes, the use of imperative forms and questions, which make the text more conversational and thus also more engaging, as well as the use of tables, charts, maps, photographs and illustrations, which facilitate tracing developments both linguistic and historical and have the additional benefit of making a textbook more visually appealing. The best example of these is *English: History, Diversity, and Change* (Graddol et al. 1996), where the text is interspersed with colloquial comments such as 'What counts as English?' (3), 'we must not forget those areas where the spread of English is bad news' (15), and 'No one is really sure what the "original" language of Britain was' (42). Here are two more examples from their discussions of orthography (in particular, the use of diacritics) and of the early history of English, respectively:

Figure 3 is from the title page of Richard Hodges' *English Primrose* (1644), an ingenious spelling book, for the use of his pupils, which carried this device to an extreme; it must have been a nightmare for printer and proofreader. (82)

It seems appropriate at this point to enquire into the beginnings of the story of English. How, or where, do we start this story? On the territory on which it was first spoken, or with which it came to be identified? With the people who first spoke it? Or is it possible to start with the language itself without making reference to the land or people? (99)

The series of rhetorical questions in the paragraph above both address the reader and introduce him or her to the subsequent discussion. As can be inferred from the former paragraph, there are a variety of visual aids in the book as well.

6. CHAPTERS IN TERMS OF MATERIAL

Where the material in question is concerned, there have been some shifts in terms of focus. Firstly, more recent publications draw attention to the relationship between language-external and language-internal phenomena. They also tend to give broader outlines of the historical context of each period. In addition, a fuller account of diachronic and synchronic variation along various axes – regional, social, and stylistic – is given, reflecting the interest in the social side of language. Increasingly, one can also notice discussions of American English, English as a global lingua franca, and World Englishes, a point also made by Minkova (2009: 905) and others. This is perhaps unsurprising, as these have only recently become research topics for linguists (see Dimova, this volume).

7. TACKLING TERMINOLOGY

Textbooks show a marked difference in the way they explain linguistic terminology. While authors of older publications do not find this necessary, those of textbooks published in the past twenty years do. In addition, these publications also provide exercises which require students to describe phenomena designated by relevant terms in their answers, or to come up with their own examples. In this way the comprehension of newly introduced concepts is tested. Moreover, a connection is thus made between students' experience as speakers and the material. Consequently, their understanding of it is strengthened. In the following excerpt from Brinton and Arnovick (2011: 187), students' knowledge of OE sound changes is tested by asking them to write down how some words altered from Proto-Germanic (PGmc) to OE. They have to name the relevant mechanisms and, rather than defining them, give concrete examples:

For each Proto-Germanic form, give the written form in Old English and name the sound change between that derives OE from PGmc.

Proto-Germanic	Old English	Sound Change
a. *dāljan 'to divide'	_____	_____
b. *mūsiz 'mice'	_____	_____
c. *erðe 'earth'	_____	_____
[...]		

Not introducing the reader to relevant terminology assumes prior knowledge. Even students of English at undergraduate level may not be sufficiently familiar with the field. Providing definitions and explanations facilitates the reading process and makes a book accessible to those without any formal background in linguistics.

Arguably, the best way to introduce potentially unfamiliar terms is in the body of the text itself, so that they are immediately illustrated by the phenomena they designate, as in the following extract from *The English Language: A Linguistic History*, where the authors discuss the differences between the aspectual systems of Proto-Indo-European (PIE) and PGmc:

The verbal system of PIE is based primarily on distinctions of *aspect*, which is an indication of whether an action is ongoing or completed. We can see an aspectual distinction in the ModE contrast between *He was writing a poem* (ongoing action) and *He wrote a poem* (completed action). (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 132)

Albeit rather simplified, the above definition does give a general idea of the concept and simultaneously relates it to the reader's general knowledge.

8. SKILL-BUILDING: CRITICAL THINKING

The preceding sections in the discussions deal with aspects of textbook organisation and presentation, which subtly contribute to making publications more accessible and comprehensible. They also provide information input in such a way as to draw parallels between related phenomena. It is the kinds of activities dwelt upon further that have a much more tangible impact on skill-building.

Of the textbooks analysed, only some published during the 1990's or after incorporate activities involving a form of analysis. Bryant's (1962) book *Modern English and Its Heritage* shows a tendency in this direction, as each section concludes with tasks related to the material and possible research paper topics. Consider the following example:

1. From this chapter select five general propositions concerning grammar (for example, no universal grammar) and substantiate or refute them from your knowledge of English and other languages. (Bryant 1962: 328)

Notice how the task does not require the provision of a standard definition, one which can easily be reproduced from the preceding section. Instead, it encourages the student to give an informed opinion on the issue. It prompts the student to draw a connection between prior knowledge and what they have learned in the process of reading. This helps them reevaluate new information in terms of what is already familiar and thus facilitates comprehension. It also explicitly requires evaluation on the part of the student and encourages a critical approach to ideas different from their own.

On the same page, we find another task eliciting examples of ‘non-sentences,’ a concept defined in the preceding chapter. This is a means of testing the student’s understanding of this concept by simultaneously practising how to generate examples and, as with the previous task, connecting a theoretical concept with their knowledge of linguistic usage.

More recent publications also place special emphasis on discussing various attitudes towards both language change and synchronic variation, and the effects these might have on the development of the language. These textbooks present the student with original texts by authors with distinct opinions and prejudices, offering discussions which refute these authors’ arguments. This can be seen in Chapter 11 of *The English Language: A Linguistic History* (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 379–401), a large part of which is devoted to eighteenth-century prescriptivism. This aids the student in understanding the logic and reasoning behind prescriptive norms. The lack of accuracy or substantial justification for some of these norms is also emphasised. Students can thus become more critical of received ideas in general. The relevant activities in the chapter require students to correct a set of sentences in line with the norms outlined previously, thereby testing their understanding of the logic behind each:

1. Decide whether the following examples contain any violations of prescriptive rules based on Authority, Etymology, Reason, or Latin Grammar. State the violation and write the relevant letter or letters next to it. If you decide there is no violation, write N for None. [...]
2. Using your general knowledge about formal written usage in Modern English, try to correct these sentences following a prescriptive rationale. [...] (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 393–394)

Another major transferrable skill is problem-solving, or the ability to arrive at reasonable solutions by applying relevant knowledge. Such activities usually

involve tracing the development of a linguistic item from one period to the next and explaining the changes which took place. In Chapter 10 of Brinton and Arnovick's (2011) book there are a lot of exercises of this kind, especially where words previously pronounced differently are synchronically homophones. Exercise 10.1 is a perfect example:

1. For the following Modern English words, indicate the Middle English pronunciation of the stressed long vowel. Use phonetic symbols. [...]
2. Using phonetic symbols, explain the pronunciations of the following homophonic pairs by showing the vowel changes from ME to ModE.
a. *see/sea* [...]
3. Explain why *sweet* and *sweat* do not rhyme.
4. What are two important consequences of the Great Vowel Shift?
5. Circle every word in the following passage which derives from a long vowel in Middle English. Then list **the Middle English vowel** and its **Modern English reflex**.

Example: We ME [ē] ModE [i]
[A short passage of text in Modern English follows.]
(Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 333–334)

This activity tests the student's detailed knowledge of the Great Vowel Shift without requiring from them an account of sound changes taken outside of context. Instead, they are asked to think about the noticeable consequences of the shift (task 4) and to determine the causes of synchronic irregularities.

9. SKILL-BUILDING: CREATIVITY

As noted above, exercises often focus on linguistic analysis. This is related to developing a degree of creativity in that it involves both inductive and deductive reasoning. The former is involved in learning how to generate relevant examples, which is akin to 'brainstorming', while the latter is the ability to identify patterns and apply them to concrete cases, akin to 'prototyping'. Both 'brainstorming' and 'prototyping' are considered creative skills.

Chapter 5 in Brinton and Arnovick's (2011) book is devoted to a discussion of PGmc. It traces its development from PIE, and accordingly gives an explanation of Grimm's Law and Verner's Law. In the corresponding exercise sections (Brinton

and Arnovick 2011: 142–143, 145, 148–149), students are required to determine the phonological form of words in the light of what they have learned. This is an instance of pattern-identification, since phonologically identical sounds change in the same way – following a specified pattern. For instance, exercise 5.5 asks students to reconstruct word forms, based on what they have learned about important sound changes in the transition from PIE to PGmc (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 148–149):

For each of the following samples indicate the probable Germanic or PIE form as indicated. Assume the operation of Grimm’s Law and vowel changes. There are no examples of Verner’s Law.

PIE	Gmc.
*k ^w rep- ‘body’	_____
*albho- ‘white’	_____
*kīgh- ‘fast’	_____
[...]	

Any exercise requiring the student to illustrate a concept by giving their own examples is an exercise in developing creativity. Such tasks can be found throughout *The English Language: A Linguistic History*. For instance, agreement is discussed in Chapter 7 in order to contrast OE and PDE. The relevant section ends with the following activity:

A. Agreement

1. There are only a few occasions in Modern English where agreement, or concord, occurs. Describe them and give examples of each. (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 215)

The ability to see relations between phenomena which at first glance appear unrelated is also an exercise of creative potential. Brinton and Arnovick (2011) make efforts to explicitly draw connections between different periods or varieties, especially where features remain in the language today. Activities which draw the student’s attention to such features appear as early as the discussion of Indo-European (IE) sound correspondences (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 132):

2. List the cognates in the five versions of the Lord's Prayer (given on pp. 130–131) for the following words. Don't worry about inflectional endings; cognates may not occur in all the languages in all instances.

	Lat.	Go.	OHG	OE	ME
a. father	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. name	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. heaven	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
[...]					

10. SKILL-BUILDING: RESEARCH

Even students determined to pursue a career in a completely unrelated area, such as media or translation, may indirectly benefit from activities such as the ones incorporated in some of the most recent textbook publications. For example, *The English Language: A Linguistic History* frequently makes use of questions which require the student to search for specific information in the preceding discussion, or synthesise various parts of it. Thus they learn to determine relevance, search for information, and pay attention to detail – all abilities relevant for information mining and conducting research. Examples of such activities (at a fairly basic level) can be found in Chapter 5 (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 131–132):

1.
 - a. What are the traditional dates for the Common Germanic period?
 - b. What geographical area is currently accepted as having been inhabited by Common Germanic speakers?
 - c. What happened to this group at the end of the Common Germanic period?
 - d. Give the line of descent for Old English, beginning with Proto-Indo-European.

11. SKILL-BUILDING: SYNCHRONIC IRREGULARITIES AND VARIATION

Brinton and Arnovick's (2011) book, among other more recent publications, attempts to foreground the relationship between language change and synchronic irregularities. Developments in the language's history are not dealt with exhaustively; rather, only those that have remnants in the language in its current state are dwelt upon in greater detail. For example, although we are not presented with a detailed discussion of the OE noun paradigm, the origins of regular and irregular plurals are explained in terms of their ancestral forms dating back to this period. This is an ideal introduction and gives students of English a deeper understanding of a language they already know. In this regard, the material is particularly beneficial for teachers, who, albeit unlikely to use this in their practice, also acquire a certain degree of confidence as regards their knowledge about the language.

Future teachers may also benefit from the study of language change in a different way – mechanisms such as analogy are often the source of language change, but also of student error (Danchev 2001: 94–95). Having an understanding of how speakers think about their own language makes easier the task of seeing how students approach the target language of the classroom, determining the cause of errors.

12. CONCLUSION

This paper set out to determine whether contemporary overviews of the history of the English language show a movement towards greater accessibility and reflect the shift in education from an objectivist to a constructivist perspective. This proves to be the case, at least as far as the textbooks analysed are concerned. Additionally, the paper focused on how changes to textbooks brought about by this methodological shift can aid the acquisition of transferrable skills. Both organisation and presentation, and especially the inclusion of exercises from the 1990's onwards, contribute to the development of skills beneficial for professions outside the field. Moreover, the activities incorporated draw a connection between prior knowledge and personal observations, thereby facilitating comprehension and long-term memory retention. Teaching students to solve tasks which promote independent reasoning has the additional benefit of increasing student confidence. By adhering to such an approach to introducing the relevant material,

authors of contemporary textbooks achieve a balance between teaching theory and practical skills.

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TEACHING ENGLISH INTONATION AT TERTIARY LEVEL

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INTONATION

It is a well-known fact that intonation constitutes an indispensable part of language. As such, it warrants due attention both theoretically and practically. Often, a marked divergence is witnessed in the theoretical and practical purposes of studying intonation. Another relevant dichotomy worth mentioning with reference to intonation is the paralinguistic versus linguistic divide. These dichotomies encompass the difficulties scholars have encountered when dealing with intonation.

Theoretically, intonation has been studied with the aim of incorporating it in different frameworks. The success of a given approach seems to have depended more or less on the popularity of the broader linguistic theory it was part of. There have been cases, of course, in which theorising was necessitated by purely practical demands. One of the clearest examples is the lack of a solid theory of intonation in Britain until the mid-twentieth century, which gave rise to the majority of studies within the classical British tradition – for example, Palmer (1922), Crystal (1969), Halliday (1970). Expectedly, old approaches have been replaced by new ones but there have also been competing approaches such as the American structuralist tradition and the classical British tradition. Their opposing views formed what is known in the literature as the levels versus configurations debate (see Bolinger 1972; Jones 1973).

Practically, the study of intonation has been geared to language teaching. Different approaches have been adopted with varying degrees of success. The point to emphasise, however, is that despite the relative success or failure the approaches have met with, the practical studies have further highlighted the significance of intonation. Still, the issue of offering a *supposedly* correct approach to intonation

and including it in a curriculum remains open. Part of this difficulty resides in the fact that intonation occupies an uneasy position between the paralinguistic and the linguistic.

This position of intonation boils down to the following question: which components of intonation are gradient and which categorical? A straightforward answer to such a question is difficult to provide, and different scholars have treated one and the same component differently. It is obvious that intonation is governed by speaker-specific factors, hence paralinguistic ones. On the other hand, however, many approaches to intonation, especially the autosegmental-metrical one – Liberman (1975), Pierrehumbert (1980) – assume that intonation has a phonological structure, which means that intonational phenomena can be analysed in terms of linguistically structured categories.

The paralinguistic versus linguistic divide implicitly raises the question of intonational meaning. That is, since intonation has linguistic components, what is the meaning assigned to these components? Further investigation is necessary for a better understanding of intonational meaning. What is clear is that intonational meaning lies at the heart of theoretical and practical issues concerning intonation and conditions the paralinguistic/linguistic treatment of intonational components.

1.2. RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

Teaching intonation at tertiary level seems to presuppose, but is not limited to, students with a background in linguistics. Such students are expected to reach a very high level of competence *in* the language they study as well as a wide knowledge *about* this language. This means that intonation has to be on the curriculum.

However, including intonation as a mandatory course is simply not enough. The two dichotomies sketched above – theoretical versus practical and paralinguistic versus linguistic – should be taken into account. Both oppositions raise issues of approach and extent.

The theoretical versus practical divide concerns in the first place how much theory and how much practice is to be taught. Since a wide knowledge on the part of the students is doubtless one of the objectives, then both theory and practice appear necessary. Obviously, the *right* balance between them is also part of the matter. Another aspect on which compatibility should be sought is the theoretical and practical approaches to be adopted. At a higher level, these approaches should

form a connection with the theoretical knowledge and practical skills already acquired by the students. Moreover, a connection with related subjects scheduled for the upcoming semesters is recommended.

The paralinguistic versus linguistic divide determines the number of linguistic categories in which the intonational phenomena will be organised and the way in which gradient distinctions will be expressed. The extent to which intonational components are paralinguistic or linguistic is dependent on the approach that will be adopted. This, in turn, will influence the relation between intonation and meaning.

It is clear that the two dichotomies are related. The theoretical stance determines what is paralinguistic and what is linguistic. Further, it could serve as a basis for the practical part of the course. Practically, the paralinguistic versus linguistic opposition is important insofar as students are able to associate intonational patterns with meanings. Again, it should be emphasised that the issue of intonational meaning is far from resolved. Still, meanings should be attached to contours so as to first facilitate students' efforts in distinguishing different melodic patterns, and second show that a given intonational pattern, no matter whether deliberately used or not, changes the meaning of the utterance.

Thus, intonation is important linguistically since it can be organised into abstract categories and is able to produce meaning. This means that intonation constitutes an interesting subject in both theoretical and applied linguistics. A student with a background in linguistics should then be equipped with theoretical and practical knowledge of intonation and try to make the practical aspect part of their linguistic repertoire.

1.3. APPROACHES TO INTONATION

Given the status of intonation presented above, it is not surprising that different approaches have been used to provide a proper account of intonational phenomena. The use of different criteria will naturally result in different classifications of the approaches. But for the sake of demonstrating the abundance of approaches with no claim to exhaustiveness, the following classification is employed: phonetic versus phonological, holistic versus compositional, and British tradition versus American tradition.

The phonetic versus phonological approaches place emphasis respectively on phonetic detail and phonological abstractions. As with segmental phonetics, both phonetic and phonological aspects seem to be relevant to the study of intonation.

A study would be incomplete if it adheres to phonetic facts alone without recourse to phonological information. Conversely, phonological categories are equally useless on their own. The fact that such approaches are termed phonetic or phonological definitely alludes to a connection with segmental phonetics/phonology.

The holistic versus compositional approaches treat the intonational contour either as a single unit – the holistic view, or as consisting of separate constituents – the compositional view. The holistic view is represented by the classical British tradition: starting with Palmer (1922) and continued quite conservatively by Kingdon (1958), Crystal (1969), Halliday (1970), O'Connor and Arnold (1973), as well as by the American structuralists: Pike (1945), Wells (1945), Trager and Smith (1951), who were all strongly influenced by the ideas of Bloomfield (1933). Further, it is worth adding the discourse approach of Brazil et al. (1980) and Brazil (1985). What is common to all these approaches is that the intonational contour is seen holistically, and meanings are generally attached to the whole contour rather than to its parts.

The compositional view has its roots in studies of African tone languages and was pioneered by Woo (1969), Leben (1973), and Goldsmith (1976). It emerged that this approach was suitable for describing pitch accent languages – Bruce's (1977) account of Swedish word accents – as well as intonation languages such as English – the first to adopt the new approach for English was Pierrehumbert (1980). Technically speaking, this is autosegmental phonology which dovetails nicely with rules of tune-text association provided by metrical phonology (see Liberman 1975, Liberman and Prince 1977). For the current paper, the most important insight offered by the compositional view is that the intonational contour can be decomposed into separate constituents, with each constituent having a defined position and role in the contour/tune. Similarly, the meaning of the contour can be seen as compositional (Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg 1990), that is, as the sum total of the meanings of the separate constituents.

The British versus American tradition can be effectively summarised through the levels versus configurations debate. The American structuralists analyse the intonational contour with the help of levels – for instance, rising intonation can be represented by combinations of levels such as 1-2-3 or 2-3-4. Usually, four levels are proposed, and whether 1 stands for the lowest level and 4 for the highest or vice versa is a matter of convention. In the level approach, intonation is phonemicised and morphemicised: for example, terms such as *pitch phonemes* are used extensively.

The British tradition, on the other hand, expressly rejects the level approach and works with the so-called configurations; that is, instead of describing the contour as 1-2-3 or 2-3-4, labels such as *low rise* or *high rise* are adopted. Criticism of the American approach is adamantly expressed by Jones (1973). Bolinger (1972), too, is on the British side and strongly disagrees with his compatriots. For Bolinger, pitch levels are indistinguishable, hence relative. Whether a contour is realised as 1-2-3 or 2-3-4 is immaterial, since the internal ratios remain unchanged. The levels versus configurations debate was central in the literature for about thirty years from the 1950s to the 1980s, but the advent of the autosegmental-metrical approach neutralised the theoretical dispute and opened new vistas for the study of intonation.

As for foreign language teaching, it seems that the approach should find a balance between phonetic and phonological information. Students need phonological abstractions of contours so that they can see the different basic forms of intonation; this should be combined with phonetic detail based on the competence of the students, the objectives of the course, target-language-specific prosodic features, etc. Also, it would be better for the approach to be holistic rather than compositional. Compositional approaches are highly appropriate for developing theoretical models and cross-language comparison but when it comes to direct application in the classroom, it would in fact be really difficult to ask the students to imitate pitch accents, phrase accents, and boundary tones *separately*, let alone phenomena such as downstep, upstep, or break indices. Thus, a holistic approach would eliminate at least these difficulties and offer the tune to be imitated in its entirety. Since the relative character of pitch levels can hardly be questioned, a British-style model seems the better option. In this way, students can see and probably imagine the form of the whole contour, and try to produce output as close to the original as possible.

2. INTONATION AT SOFIA UNIVERSITY

2.1. AVAILABLE MATERIALS AND CURRENT APPROACHES

The materials currently available at Sofia University can be grouped into theoretically oriented and practically oriented ones. The theoretically oriented ones are Brazil et al. (1980), Cruttenden (1986), and Ladd (1996). Brazil et al. (1980) started a new tradition which connects intonation and discourse. This discourse approach to intonation offers the speaker a set of three independent

systems – tone, key, and termination – from which they can choose different options bearing in mind the development of the discourse. No particular weight is attached to intonation phrase boundaries, and basically the speaker has to ask themselves two questions when selecting a tone for their utterance: first, is the information encoded in my utterance new to my interlocutor, and second, am I in a dominant position? The systems of key and termination provide further possibilities for expressing subtler nuances and for relating the utterance to the previous and the next utterance.

Cruttenden (1986) explores intonation with the intention of demonstrating some intonational universals. This book is useful as an introduction to the field of intonation. Ladd (1996) summarises works dealing with intonation from an autosegmental-metrical perspective. The discussion is not confined to English; numerous examples are provided from many other languages in order to prove the theoretical potential of the autosegmental-metrical principles and notation.

The practically oriented materials include O'Connor and Arnold (1973), Brazil (1994), Bradford (1988), and Wells (2006). O'Connor and Arnold (1973) follow the classical British tradition but add more subcategories of the division of the contour into prehead, head, nucleus, and tail. It is easily accessible in style, with terminology kept to a minimum. The following quote from the book illustrates clearly the practical importance of intonation:

English speakers are able to make a good deal of allowance for imperfect sound-making, but being for the most part unaware of the far-reaching effects of intonation in their own language, they are much less able to make the same allowance for mistakenly used tunes (O'Connor and Arnold 1973: 2).

Brazil (1994) is structured around the discourse-based intonation model proposed in Brazil et al. (1980) and Brazil (1985). Bradford (1988) follows the same tradition, though simplified in style and convention so as to suit the upper-intermediate student. Wells' (2006) is an approach to intonation very similar to that of Halliday but again it is simplified to facilitate the acquisition of intonation by the student. This is the textbook currently used in intonation classes at Sofia University.

Comparing the materials, it is fairly obvious that Brazil (1994) and Bradford (1988) are, as it were, the practical counterparts of Brazil et al. (1980). Ladd (1996) can be singled out as the only compositional approach. Cruttenden (1986)

deals with intonation in general whereas O'Connor and Arnold (1973) and Wells (2006) are practical courses on English intonation which clearly represent the British tradition. To summarise, in the materials available, intonation is approached phonologically both at sentence and discourse level, there is only one compositional approach, and the British tradition alone is represented.

The materials seem to be diverse enough in the context of the students' needs. Although they are definitely phonological in approach, phonetic detail is necessarily present. The fact that there is a compositional approach means that, first, an alternative to the holistic approaches is offered, and second, the American tradition is alluded to, since this approach can be viewed as a sequel to the level approach adopted by the American structuralists.

As mentioned above, the textbook currently used is Wells (2006). This means that the current approach is phonological, with abstract meanings of contours assigned at sentence level, holistic, and represents the classical British tradition. Presented in this way and based on the reasoning in Section 1.3, the approach seems appropriate for foreign language teaching in general and teaching intonation at tertiary level in particular; and it definitely is. Yet, modifications can be introduced so as to establish further relations with other courses on the curriculum.

2.2. PROPOSED APPROACH

At the Department of English and American Studies at Sofia University, students take the intonation course during the second semester of their second year. Phonetics and phonology are studied during the first three semesters; that is, up to but not including the semester during which intonation is studied. Syntax is scheduled for the second semester of the second year and for both semesters of the third year, and text linguistics for the third year. These are the courses that are most closely related to intonation and should be taken into account when the intonation course syllabus is built up.

As regards the interaction between phonology and intonation, students should be reminded that it is actually the highly sonorous sounds – sonorants and vowels – that are carriers of pitch, and hence intonation. The rest of the sounds, viz. obstruents, carry either a combination of pitch and noise or noise alone. Students also have a chance to practise the connected speech phenomena discussed in the phonology course: liaison, reduction, assimilation, elision, and isochrony.

Syntax can be added to the interaction between phonology and intonation. The textbook currently in use for the phonology course is Giegerich (1992); for the syntax course, different sources are used, for example Quirk et al. (1985), Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 2005). Chapters 6 and 7 in Giegerich (1992) introduce the syllable, the phenomenon of stress, and metrical phonology. During the syntax course, immediate constituent analysis and syntactic trees are necessarily introduced. In determining which words in a given utterance should be pitch accented, it is possible for students to combine metrical phonology and immediate constituent analysis in a single tree. This is illustrated in Figure 1, in which *S* stands for sentence, *w* and *s* denote weak-strong oppositions which are relative and relational, and *DTE* is the Designated Terminal Element (Lieberman 1975), or simply the nuclear pitch accent. Although this approach tends to place the nuclear stress on the last lexical item, its usefulness should be sought in the fact that it relates intonation, phonology, and syntax and invites the student to apply the knowledge acquired in one course to other courses.

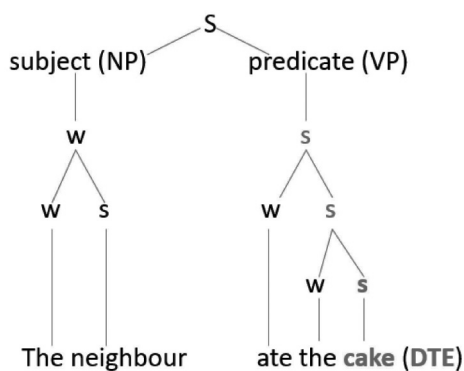


Figure 1. *The combination of metrical phonology and immediate constituent analysis*

Further, intonation is obviously related to text linguistics and discourse analysis. The textbook currently used for the text linguistics course is Beaugrande and Dressler (1981). Another classic – Halliday and Hasan (1976) – is recommended as additional reading. The two courses should be related via the notion of information structure, and more specifically the relation between focus and accent. In Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), informativity is seen as one of the seven standards of textuality; different degrees of informativity can be related to

different degrees of accenting, the basic opposition possibly being pitch accents versus nuclear pitch accents.

On the basis of the materials available and the above-mentioned relations between intonation, phonology, syntax, and text linguistics, the proposed modified approach to teaching intonation includes: a) emphasis on connected speech processes, b) combining metrical phonology and immediate constituent analysis, and c) relating intonation more closely to text and discourse. All three suggestions can be illustrated through the sentence in Figure 1.

The connected speech process most likely to occur seems to be the linking /r/ of *neighbour*. This, in turn, results in liaison – syllable restructuring whereby onsets are maximised, hence /r/ belongs to the following syllable. A glottal stop is also possible, the most obvious candidate being the /t/ in *ate*; the word-final /k/ in *cake* can also be glottalised. If the cake is considered a special one, then the definite article preceding it should not be subject to reduction and could even receive a pitch accent. As for the combination of metrical phonology and immediate constituent analysis, it appears that it has no direct application to improving one's intonational skills. Still, it shows how intonation, phonology and syntax are related, and if practised insufficiently, it could leave the student with the erroneous impression that no direct connection exists between phonology and syntax.

Relating intonation more closely to text and discourse presupposes a discourse-oriented approach to intonation such as the one proposed in Brazil (1994). With this approach, one of the possible analyses of the sentence in Figure 1 could be as follows: the first syllable of *neighbour* is the first accented syllable – it is the syllable from where on intonation matters, that is, it produces meaning. If, for example, the syllable is pronounced with high key – high relative to the speaker's pitch range – this would mean starting a new topic probably unrelated to what has been previously discussed in the interaction. A rising tone on the same syllable means that the neighbour is a person familiar to the listener. High termination – high relative to the speaker's pitch range – on the last accented syllable of *cake* would mean that more is about to be added on that particular issue. Mid termination implies that the hearer has a choice as to how to continue the conversation, and low termination signals the speaker's intention to bring this particular topic to an end.

3. CONCLUSION

The essence of this paper should be sought in the differences between the current approach and a modified version in connection with teaching English intonation at the Department of English and American Studies at Sofia University. The new approach draws upon establishing closer links between intonation, on the one hand, and phonology, syntax, and text linguistics, on the other. The most important modification that is proposed is a transition from a sentence-level approach to a discourse-level one. The textbook offered in this connection is Brazil (1994). Whether Wells (2006) should be *completely* replaced by Brazil (1994) is a matter that apparently warrants further discussion and reasoning based on an in-depth comparative analysis of the two textbooks in the context of the English and American Studies curriculum. Such an analysis falls outside the scope of this paper and deserves a separate discussion exclusively devoted to it. The least that is implied with the modifications of the current approach is that the student should be invited to read the utterance as part of a piece of discourse and to choose contours accordingly.

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USING ELECTRONIC LANGUAGE RESOURCES IN TEACHING AND ACADEMIC RESEARCH ON EPISTEMIC PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVES

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on teaching English epistemic predicative adjective constructions through electronic language resources, such as corpora and lexical semantic networks. It also touches upon the advantages of these resources in academic research, which enhances the students' awareness and understanding of linguistic phenomena.

2. EPISTEMIC PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVES – THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Modal predicative adjectives as linguistic markers of Epistemic Modality are on the syllabus of an elective course designed for 3rd year students in English Philology at Plovdiv University. The course is scheduled for the 5th semester and runs parallel with the core subject – *Morphology of the Contemporary English Language*. The title of the course is *Epistemic Modality in English and Bulgarian: A Cognitive-Pragmatic Perspective*. The main objective of the course is to introduce the students to the theoretical frameworks of cognitive linguistics and pragmatics and the ways they treat epistemic markers in English: modal auxiliaries, modal adverbs, modal predicative adjectives, and mental state predicates. The approaches are then applied to the respective epistemic markers in Bulgarian. The contrastive study is extended to an analysis of linguistic variation and similarity of usage of the markers in parallel corpora, based on authentic material excerpted from written language. Moreover, exploring source texts and target texts, the students raise their awareness of successful translation strategies.

The scope of this paper is limited only to modal predicative adjective constructions in English. They are discussed from the theoretical perspective of Jan Nuyts, presented in his book *Epistemic Modality, Language, and Conceptualization* (2001).

Nuyts (2001: 55) claims that modal predicative adjectives and modal adverbs are ‘the most precise and specific means available for marking the degree of likelihood’. Indeed, the positions modal predicative adjectives occupy on the epistemic scale vary as regards the strength of the epistemic evaluation they express. Thus, modal adjectives like *certain* and *sure* denote certainty; adjectives like *probable*, *possible* and *likely* denote probability/possibility; and adjectives like *unlikely* denote uncertainty.

The example sentences used in the course and included in this section are excerpted from electronic corpora, such as the British National Corpus (BNC),¹ the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA),² and the Bulgarian National Corpus (BulNC).³ The BNC is a collection of samples of written and spoken language from a varied range of sources. The corpus amounts to 100 million words and is designed to represent a wide cross-section of British English from the late twentieth century. The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), created by Mark Davies of Brigham Young University, is a large and balanced freely-available corpus of American English. The corpus contains more than 520 million words of text (20 million words each year 1990–2015) and it is equally divided among spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic texts. The Bulgarian National Corpus (Koeva et al. 2012a) contains a large variety of texts of different sizes, media types (written and spoken), styles, periods (in the range 1945–2015), and languages, the Bulgarian-English Parallel Corpus being only one section of it (Koeva et al. 2012b).

Students are taught how to use the respective corpus search engines to create precise queries and extract sample sentences with the specific syntactic patterns presented in the course, for example: *it* / PRON_{PERSONAL} + (*any form of the verb*) BE + ADJ + *that*.

This paper focuses only on the syntactic patterns with the copula verb *be* followed by an extraposed *that clause*. A distinction is drawn between impersonal (1) and personal predicative constructions (2).

¹ The corpus is freely available and searchable online at <http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/>.

² The corpus is freely available and searchable online at <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>.

³ The corpus is freely available and searchable online at <http://search.dcl.bas.bg/>.

- (1) ***It is possible that** juries would prefer to convict of murder in such cases so as to register their abhorrence of the defendant's activities in general.* (BNC)
- (2) *And **I am sure that** Alfred Nobel was part of the group, also.* (BNC).

Nuyts (2001: 66) argues that the impersonal syntactic pattern suggests '(inter) subjectively based modal evaluation'. The speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition is actually shared with many other people, and this accounts for the more frequent usage of the pattern in non-fiction genres – surveys, scientific reports, newspaper articles, business correspondence, legal English, etc.

- (3) *Our knowledge of this is patchy, and **it is certain that** the quantity of trade is not a precise reflection of the prosperity of English shipping, as many exports were carried in foreign vessels.* (BNC)
- (4) *Deferred tax should be accounted for to the extent that **it is probable that** an asset or liability will arise.* (BNC)

Nuyts (2001: 68) categorises personal predicative constructions as 'strongly idiomaticised constructions to express subjective evaluation'. The speaker makes a personal epistemic assessment of the potentiality of the states of affairs or the event's occurrence.

- (5) *I am quite safe and **I am certain that** I can escape unharmed whenever I wish.* (BNC)
- (6) ***I am sure** my real parents were rich, perhaps even of noble birth.* (COCA)

Performativity vs. descriptivity is another aspect handled by Nuyts. Undoubtedly, as he puts it, 'the performative uses are the default uses of the epistemic expressions' (Nuyts 2001: 72). He calls 'performative' the epistemic forms that express the speaker's current attitude towards the state of affairs and which involve his/her commitment to the qualification at the moment of speaking. As a marker of performative usage of epistemic expressions Nuyts considers not only the 1st person subject together with a present tense of the copula verb but also the present tense of the copula verb alone, as in the example *It is probable that they have run out of fuel* (Nuyts 2001: 55, 73).

- (7) ***I am certain that** many have sent spies to visit your family, trying to dig up any dirt they can.* (COCA).

- (8) *The experience for all participating was extremely positive and **it is sure that** many medal winners will go on to excel at Leinster and All-Ireland levels.* (BNC)

Example (7) illustrates both subjective evaluation and performative usage of the construction – the epistemic evaluation is speaker-oriented (the speaker makes a personal subjective assessment as regards a potential likelihood), and the performativity is signalled both by the present tense of the copula verb and the 1st person subject. Example (8) illustrates inter-subjective evaluation and performative usage of the construction – the speaker shares his/her epistemic assessment with other participants in the discourse, and the performativity is signalled by the present tense of the copula verb.

Nuyts (2001: 74) elaborates on descriptive modal adjective predicative constructions, stating that ‘the predicative adjectives are necessarily (structurally affected) by their subject and the tense of their copula.’ According to him, a past tense of the copula verb and a non-first person subject can change the reading of the adjectives to non-speaker oriented – thus indicating that the epistemic evaluation is descriptive.

- (9) ***He was sure that** she was animated by the same desire.* (BNC)

- (10) ***It was probable that** Bella wouldn’t bother to come there, and only Johnny was likely to discover her.* (BNC)

- (11) *Staff agreed that unless this was done **it was likely that** some areas would inevitably be overlooked.* (BNC)

- (12) ***I was sure that** she would see something in him that others couldn’t see. I kicked a piece of gravel at my feet.* (COCA)

Examples (9) to (12) illustrate the descriptive usage of modal adjective predicative constructions. However, they vary in the epistemic assessment of the speaker in terms of subjectivity or inter-subjectivity. The epistemic evaluation in examples (10) and (11) is inter-subjective, whereas in examples (9) and (12) it is subjective.

3. USING ELECTRONIC LANGUAGE RESOURCES IN TEACHING

Once the students have been introduced to Nuyts' theoretical approach, the journey can begin. The point of departure is the FrameNet (Fillmore and Baker 2001, 2010). It is presented to students as a lexical database of English that is both human- and machine-readable. FrameNet is based on annotated examples of how words are used in actual texts. Thus, it tries to capture human insight into how a word can be used and converts it into semantic knowledge that is machine-readable. FrameNet consists of *semantic frames* which are structures used to define the semantic meaning of a word. Each frame is made up of separate elements – *frame elements*, which might be core and non-core. A core element is one that 'instantiates a conceptually necessary component of a frame, while making the frame unique and different from other frames' (Rupenhofer et al. 2016: 23). Non-core frame elements introduce circumstances that are not essential to the main event.

Lexical units are seen as 'the pairing of a word with a meaning' (Rupenhofer et al. 2016: 7) and are therefore regarded as the words that evoke a particular frame. Thus, the epistemic predicative adjectives presented on the epistemic scale (*certainty; probability/possibility; uncertainty*) all evoke the *Frame of Likelihood* (see Fig. 1 below).⁴

⁴ Fig. 1 *Frame of Likelihood* has been generated with the FrameGrapher – a visualisation tool for viewing the relations between frames and their frame elements available at <https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/FrameGrapher>.

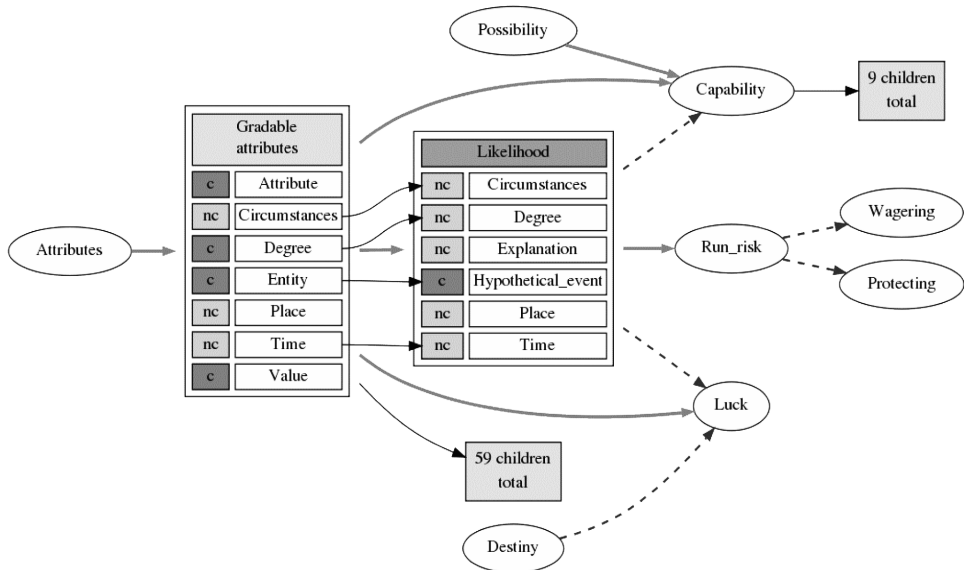


Figure 1. The Frame of Likelihood in the middle, with arrows showing the frame-frame relations – Inherits from: Gradable_attributes, Is Inherited by: Run_risk, and Is Used by: Capability, Luck

The *Frame of Likelihood* by definition is concerned with the likelihood of a *Hypothetical_event* occurring. The *Hypothetical_event* is its only core frame element.

(13) It is **LIKELY** *that he will arrive late*. (FrameNet)

In addition to specifying the modal adjective predicative construction (*it is likely that*) which introduces the hypothetical event (*his arriving late*), we point out that some non-core elements may also be overtly specified. The examples in (14) to (18) elaborate on these with elements in *italics* specifying respectively *Circumstances* (14), *Degree* (15), *Explanation* (16), *Place* (17), and *Time* (18).⁵

(14) It is **LIKELY** that he will arrive late *when his car is in repairs*.

(15) It is *quite* **LIKELY** that he will arrive late.

(16) It is **LIKELY** that he will arrive late *because of the heavy traffic*.

⁵ The specification of core and non-core elements listed in the examples follow the FrameNet classification.

(17) It is **LIKELY** that he will arrive late *at the city centre*.

(18) It is **LIKELY** that he will arrive late *today*.

However, we do not focus on these elements, as they do not uniquely characterise the frame. That is, they are peripheral in the frame and as such, they can appear in many other frames which are semantically similar.

The next step is to analyse sample FrameNet sentences (19) to (25) with the modal predicative adjectives *possible* and *certain* and categorise them following the criteria presented in the theoretical background:

- impersonal/personal constructions;
- subjective/inter-subjective epistemic evaluation;
- performative/descriptive usage of the constructions.

(19) *It is possible that* someone *may have half pulled* the jettison knob.

Categorisation: an impersonal construction; inter-subjective epistemic evaluation; performative usage of the construction + additional modal grammatical modification with a modal verb

(20) *It was just possible that* the kidnappers *might show* it to him.

Categorisation: an impersonal construction; inter-subjective epistemic evaluation; descriptive usage of the construction + additional modal grammatical modification by a modal verb

(21) Again, *if the above is not possible*, then choose a location next to the residential areas, for the same reason as above.

Categorisation: the adjective does not match the criteria, so it does not function as an epistemic predicative adjective. Though it is used predicatively, there isn't an extraposed *that* clause following it, hence there is not sufficient evidence to categorise the epistemic evaluation as subjective or inter-subjective, nor can the usage of the construction be categorised as performative or descriptive.

(22) *It is possible* he has unwittingly done something more subversive: totally demystified chess.

Categorisation: omission of *that* – ellipsis; an impersonal construction; inter-subjective epistemic evaluation; performative usage of the construction

(23) '*I suppose it is possible* he has formed affection for some boy,' she conceded.

Categorisation: ellipsis of *that*; an impersonal construction; inter-subjective epistemic evaluation + additional modal grammatical modification by a mental state predicate that expresses subjective evaluation as a first person subject is introduced (*I suppose*); performative usage of the construction

(24) No one, for example, *was quite certain* how diseases were disseminated.

Categorisation: a personal construction; inter-subjective modal evaluation + additional reinforcement by an adverb of degree (*quite*); descriptive usage of the construction

(25) *I am certain* that he didn't set out to mislead.

Categorisation: a personal construction; subjective modal evaluation; performative usage of the construction.

4. USING ELECTRONIC LANGUAGE RESOURCES IN ACADEMIC RESEARCH

Besides using electronic language resources in our research as academics, we also challenge students to harness their abilities in critical reading and analytical thinking. They are encouraged to write a short paper/presentation making use of the electronic language resources such as FrameNet (as presented above) and available electronic corpora such as the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), as well as the Bulgarian-English Parallel Corpus, which provides opportunities for contrastive studies both in theoretical linguistics and in translation practice.

Students are instructed to choose a case – a particular modal epistemic adjective or construction – and explore the available corpus data, selecting suitable examples and providing explanations in relation to the theoretical background they have internalised during the course. The best students are encouraged to present their research at the Sessions of the Linguistic Club and the Annual Student Conference of the University.

5. CONCLUSIONS

We have attempted to outline a possible use of electronic language resources both in teaching and academic research. Presenting the lexical-semantic database FrameNet at the beginning of the course has proved to be quite efficient. It provides a formal representation of the semantic structure of words and their use, and it proves to be a more straightforward and successful way of presenting newly encountered language phenomena to students, especially in relation to semantic structures and the syntax-semantics interface.

Electronic corpora undoubtedly have become indispensable tools, crucial in 21st century language studies. They allow for intelligent searches for particular language phenomena, i.e. search by (combinations of) word forms, grammatical tags, semantic relations, collocations, word and phrase frequencies, recent changes in the language, translation equivalents, etc. Moreover, electronic corpora largely facilitate the process of finding and analysing language data, and thus they have turned into essential resources in contemporary teaching and research.

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NEW PARADIGM, NEW HORIZONS: FROM SOCIOLINGUISTICS TO ECOLINGUISTICS

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1. INTRODUCTION

Ever since its beginnings, namely the 1920s and 1930s, American linguistics has been struggling to find a solution to one complex methodological controversy – the choice between a theoretical approach and an empirical, fieldwork-oriented approach to language variation. Descriptive and purely theoretical linguistics can be traced back to the studies of Leonard Bloomfield, considered as the father of the key sociolinguistic term ‘speech community’. When Edward Sapir conducted his syntactic analyses, he incorporated theoretical perception on the one hand, and empirical studies on the other. The same goes for Benjamin Lee Whorf, who was searching for universal models in language, but in the end, carried out his research on the basis of data on Native American languages (Whorf 1956).

The linguist who, although he specialised in Yiddish, can be considered the true inspirer of the study of multilingualism, i.e. the actual state of languages in America, is Uriel Weinreich. He handled various matters, including bilingualism, the language situation, the mechanisms of linguistic confusion and ambiguity and language contacts, all of which he had discussed for years with his students (Weinreich 1953). Thus he laid the ground for the development of a new research trend that combined sociological and linguistic methods. It is hence no coincidence that Joshua Fishman and William Labov, regarded as his successors and loyal students, stood out as some of the most resourceful pioneers in sociolinguistics.

2. NOTES ON THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC PARADIGM

Since its beginnings, Sociolinguistics has been identified as an empirical science that uses precise methods. Thus the findings of sociolinguists were mainly founded on taking a statistical approach to their research, performing the so called ‘drill’ procedures, widely used in sociology. However, Joshua Fishman referred to his

field of study as the *sociology of language* and it was he who became the initiator of the essential distinction between macro- and micro-sociolinguistics. Macro-sociolinguistics not only lays out the definition of the basic term *language situation*, but also puts its finger on the connection between language and policy, and thus turns *language planning* and *language policy* into the most crucial components of its field of study (Fishman 1977).

It can be stated that cultural diversity predetermines language diversity. This has led to *diversity* being studied as a comparative sociology of language planning, just as one would research and compare different instances of language standardisation and codification all around the globe. Alongside all the various volumes edited by Fishman, the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, established by him, discusses topics such as language and religion, language and nation, language and writing, language and mentality, language varieties, standard language and so on, by giving examples and producing tangible results that illustrate language diversity on a global scale.

In his article *Dialect, language, nation*, published in a collection of works, one of the most cited theoreticians of language planning, Einar Haugen, claimed that personal and local identity are based on *ego* that is superimposed on nation, whereas national identity is an ideal which hardly accepts/admits of the other (Haugen 1966 (1959): 928). He provided one of the first definitions of the term *language planning*: “an activity which aims at introducing a standardized spelling, grammar and vocabulary which could guide the residents of one inhomogeneous society to speak and write” (Haugen 1966 (1959): 673). Haugen is also recognised as the scholar who introduced the term *ecology of language* and various other key discussion points regarding “language as a matter that concerns the human being” (cf. Haugen 1972).

As a matter of fact, the idea of language planning as “a process of decision making and problem solving” was investigated as part of an international project dating from the 1960s, which was further developed at Stanford University under the guidance of Charles Ferguson and Joshua Fishman. Their values, according to the Stanford group, were determined by political, educational, economic and purely linguistic (in the sense of aesthetically pleasing) interests. Linguistic and political criteria, however, could hardly be associated in any way with interests: in their case, one could have idealistic, even utopian motivations in mind. After all, it is a known fact that language, and especially national language, is regarded as a national asset or priceless legacy, property that can become the basis for building

up identity and self-determination, but it is also a very sensitive issue similar to the national anthem or the national flag.

Even though among American sociolinguists, Dell Hymes is considered as an expert on American linguistic geography and ethnography, from a methodological point of view his work can be more closely associated with the European schools of linguistics. Hymes was very well acquainted with Roman Jakobson's communication model and with the Prague School's structuralism, and thus, while introducing several new elements in the popular 'sender-message-receiver' model, he extended the scope of the communicative situation.¹ A very important theoretical contribution that Hymes made was to reconcile Chomsky's theoretical or 'pure' linguistics with the empirical fieldwork-oriented approach most sociolinguists applied in their work. Hymes revised the meaning implied by the term 'linguistic competence', or the perfect knowledge of a language that was by default a crucial one to the generativists. He introduced the term 'communicative competence', which also bore in itself the notion of a community's cultural models in mastering social communication (Hymes 1971). As far as Hymes was concerned, there were no *perfect speakers* of a language, as communities were by default heterogeneous and linguists could not possibly overlook language variation (Hymes 1971: 7). Hymes, however, used to refer to his field of study as the *ethnography of speaking* and later switched to the term *ethnography of communication* in his attempt to adhere to the reconciliation achieved between Boas-Sapir-Whorf and the French school of linguistics (Saussure, Bourdieu, Lévi-Strauss).

The basic concept concerning *the coexistence of two or more language varieties* was featured in one of the most popular works of Charles Ferguson, *Diglossia* (1959). This piece of work provided the initial stimulus for Ferguson to conduct a whole series of research projects on the relation between dialects and standard languages in the complex scheme of implicit and explicit social control in linguistic communities. In his research conducted during the 1960s, Ferguson introduced some basic sociolinguistic terminology. The theoretical framework introduced by him has often been applied to various strands of research on language planning. According to him, as far as planning of the corpus of a given language was concerned, the different stages included would be as follows: graphisation, standardisation, modernisation (Ferguson 1977).

¹ Here I refer to the Organon Model by Karl Bühler that was later developed by Roman Jakobson as a six-element model, developed by Dell Hymes and mnemonically abbreviated to the acronym SPEAKING (Hymes 1974).

The scholar who inspired the application of mathematical-statistical practices and sociometry in the study of language variation was no other than William Labov. When he published his thesis in the late 1960s (Labov 1966), linguists at the time, as well as all humanists, including some psycholinguists (with Charles Osgood among them), were already anticipating the occurrence of an extraordinary ‘discovery’ that would be based on the gathering and processing of statistical data to do with societies, languages and sociolects. Correlations between social and linguistic patterns represented in diagrams and tables would reveal the so called sociolinguistic rules. The revelations of the two-factor statistical analysis in sociolinguistics and of the semantic differential, as well as cluster analysis in psycholinguistics (often of social relevance), were indeed considered ground-breaking, especially with regard to the methods they applied. However, even if they applied a different, experimental algorithm, those revelations confirmed the already existing conclusions drawn through the means of sociology and semiotics. Labov’s undeniable contribution to the humanities and social sciences had a revolutionary effect on linguistics, as it also helped build a bridge between stratification sociology and linguistics – an event which Saussure and the structuralists from the Prague School had only hypothetically envisaged.

John Gumperz, on the other hand, chose conversational interaction in speech communities as the main focus of his research (cf. Gumperz 1982). In his approach, all the processes occurring in a speech community or in various communicative situations serve as the basis of the so called *interactional sociolinguistics*, or *situational sociolinguistics*. Such a point of view bears certain resemblances to Michael Halliday’s social semiotics. Halliday stayed loyal to his London school of linguistics, however, and supported only the studies of Bronislaw Malinowski and John R. Firth.² However, with regard to the fields of social psychology, behaviourism, ethnomethodology, interactional analysis and Hymes’s ethnography of communication mentioned above, interactional sociolinguistics was in fact developed by the traditional American School. The contribution of John Gumperz, Dell Hymes and Susan Ervin-Tripp, known to have been working in collaboration on *code-switching and strategies of discourse use*, is undoubtedly significant and seminal in the history of sociolinguistics (cf. Gumperz and Hymes 1972, Eerdmans et al. 2003).

² Malinowski, Firth and even Halliday himself were probably influenced by Bakhtin’s formalism and Hjelmslev’s semiotics, especially with regard to the classification of communication genres.

3. CURRENT AREAS OF RESEARCH AND A MORE ACTIVE STANDPOINT WITH REGARD TO LINGUISTIC RIGHTS

Although some scholars like Peter Trudgill would vehemently argue that only politicians should be entrusted with *the matters of defining language status*, it seems that in general, and even more so in the past several decades, the distinction between scholars and policy makers has been on the verge of being totally obliterated (Trudgill 1984). On the other hand, distinguished experts like Ruth Wodak, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Miryam Yatako and Fernand de Varennes, among others, are prominent leaders of various non-governmental organisations, well-versed in matters of linguistic rights. Although Wodak gives numerous open lectures and participates in international forums, she prefers to confine herself to the areas of linguistics and academia. Other academics, however, actively participate in various foundation boards and act as their representatives.

If we remain within the realm of mainstream theories, we would come to notice that ever since the 1990s language policy and language planning have been united and established as an independent sociolinguistic sub-discipline (LPP).³ The keystones laid by traditional works on *status planning*, *corpus planning* and *acquisition planning* are pretty much still in place (cf. Baldauf 2004), and many more areas of research related to the subject are being added too: multilingualism, plurilingualism, language and education, endangered and extinct languages, language genocide, the protection of linguistic diversity, language-related racism and xenophobia issues, minority languages, endangered language communities, language and ecology (biodiversity and linguistic diversity), language and economy, cultural and linguistic globalisation.

All those areas of research, however, revolve around the same subject: *human linguistic rights*. Linguistic rights, *the rights of a human being and his/her language*, make up a crucial area of human rights, or, according to Scandinavian scholar Skutnabb-Kangas, even the most essential part of them (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). The new challenges language planning and language management (Nekvapil 2006) face today are related to new language acquisition trends, new media and new means of communication in cyberspace. Joshua Fishman kept track of time and expressed his views on language endangerment (Fishman 1991), human rights

³ There is now the series *Multilingual Matters*, edited by Richard Baldauf and Robert Kaplan. A large number of articles have also appeared in the journal *Language Problems and Language Planning*.

and the 'new linguistic order' (Fishman 1998). He also introduced the widely quoted *8-level Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* (GIDS), which assesses the gradual loss of one language's social functions and its eventual replacement by other linguistic means of communication (cf. Lewis and Simons 2009). Such unfavourable linguistic changes may also become the subject of interest for language planning with regard to promoting language revitalisation. Crucially, the lack of language planning in language policy might lead to xenophobia or discrimination.

New patterns of state organisation and renewed international conventions call for the introduction of new regulations to be offered to state and institutional authorities. Those regulations make provisions for universal language behaviour and educational standards but without undermining the dignity and infringing upon the diversity of cultural communities. Although nowadays a large number of conferences are organised and held in different parts of the world (cf. Kibbee 1998), communication is regarded as a complex sign system similar to natural human language, while legal theory handles mainly crime, where semiosis is of secondary importance, and thus it is highly unlikely for juridical wordings and behavioural stereotypes to find common ground.

4. NOTES ON THE ECOLINGUISTIC PARADIGM

The complexity of the study of the *human environment* is connected with the study of living organisms, as their natural surroundings, including animate and inanimate matter; this represents a localised geographic ecosystem. The cosmopolitan intellectual Jacob Johann von Uexküll should undoubtedly be counted as one of the founders of ecology, because he introduced the concept of ambient environment or living environment (Germ. *Umwelt*, Fr. *milieu*). The term *Umwelt*, even at the time of its inception, obviously had a deeper philosophical meaning because it refers not just to an *ecological niche* in which living organisms multiply and eat, but also to the outlook and opportunities for sensory perception and informational exchange of living organisms. In this semiotic paradigm, the place of the human is the most significant one, because his/her words can describe the past and the future, i.e. they could refer to a hypothetical, non-existent social experience.

Even in the nineteenth century, ecologically-minded anthropologists distinguished an eco-system from a techno-system and defined a possible combination as a techno-eco-system (Boas 1911, Moss 2006). In fact, a decisive

step was taken in the 1950s, when Gregory Bateson and colleagues from Paolo Alto, working on the relationship between human, environment and machine, started a discussion about artificial intelligence and thus came up with a clear pattern for a modern ecological anthropology. Cybernetic models featured core concepts like “environment”, “human consciousness” and “secondary consciousness” (machine), at first glance heterogeneous resources of knowledge in a complex system which soon built the paradigm of cognitive science (Bateson 1972, 1980).

The new paradigm of ecolinguistics is associated with the emergence of new social practices and a new study of linguistic behaviour in its ideological, social and biological terms. Classical structuralism examines language as a system of systems, i.e. phonemes, morphemes, gramemes, mythologemes and ideologemes. Including the small units in a bigger container on the principle of the telescope, the components enter in interrelated subsystems. So, one of the main methodological achievements of structuralism is modelling – the presentation of linguistic nature *as a formal miniature*, a scheme that repeats invisible processes in human consciousness and communication.

Ecolinguistics, as well as sociolinguistics, is primarily engaged with the macrostructures of language. Compared to traditional linguistics and dialectology, sociolinguistics gives a broader view of the function of language in human society and provides answers to many questions that were only hinted at in the earlier linguistic disciplines (cf. Videnov 1998). Just as ecology deals with the environment, building a complete science of life, so ecolinguistics breathes new life into the science of language, helping us better understand its dynamic nature (see Table 1).

It turns out that ecolinguistics has a long prehistory. Edward Sapir, in his talk entitled “Language and Environment”, delivered to the American Anthropological Association (Washington, D.C., 1911), described language as a combination of linguistic units that are embedded in the physical and geographical environment. The geographical and social context in which a person uses language is unique and represents a unique perspective on the individual, as well as on the whole of society. Each feature of the living environment (even the most ordinary one) influences language units and finds a place in grammatical constructions. Here we find the basic idea of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis: “If languages really segment reality differently, then every language community will have its own world” (Sapir 1912).

It seems that linguists later abandoned the biological environment and focused their interest on the social environment. However, Einar Haugen reminds

us of some of Sapir's fundamental postulates by giving one of the first definitions of ecolinguistics:

Language exists only in the minds of its users, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature, i.e. their social and natural environment. Part of its ecology is therefore psychological: its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers. Another part of its ecology is sociological: its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication. The ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others (Haugen 1972: 325).

After a hiatus of two decades, at the beginning of the 1990s, Bang and Door (1993) presented an interactive model of human language in a human environment. This model is based on a three-dimensional representation of social practices where the three levels – ideology, sociology and biology – are placed on an equal footing. The so-called ideological and social component represents the relations between individuals in a society, starting from the nuclear family to some larger social units (Bang and Door 1993). The collective biological factor is concerned with the relationship between humans and other biological species. In fact, there is a tension between the ideological component and the biological one, because purposeful human behaviour is informed by ideologies which are often in conflict with our instincts and biological needs.

Creating a complex pattern of life, ecology actually opposes reductionism in science and its greatest achievement is the establishment of a holistic method. This approach fits perfectly in Michael Halliday's systemic linguistics, where language has always been considered as a functional semiotic system. In his 1990 paper Halliday laid the foundations of ecolinguistics and drew a line of demarcation between the socio-ecology of languages (Bastardas 2002) and the overall semiotic interpretation of the relationship between human, language and environment.

Although Halliday talks about applied science, his work places emphasis on appreciating that the concept of the surrounding world can be reconsidered, and *Umwelt* could be redefined as a context of human communication. This sheds new light on the old statement that the overall knowledge of the world, filling our mental and verbal formulas, is actually a metaphor for existence (Halliday 1994, cf. Stibbe 2015).

What does ecolinguistics really comprise and to what extent do the new tasks and challenges posed by Halliday create knowledge? Does it give us innovative methods and a different perspective that comes from ecology as a universal science of life? Theoretical updates are dictated by a new set of ideas which appear in books on ecology: views that populations of species may be classified as having a pro-social, semi-social or highly-social organisation. Needless to say, here is where the Human, as a carrier and maybe a maker at the highest levels of social organisation, produces his/her semiotic and, in fact, parallel reality named culture – ideas developed in the early 20th century by the pioneers of anthropology and social biology (Boas 1911, Wundt 1912, Malinowski 1926).

The idea of the *biosphere*, according to which the ecosystem is a chain in which food, sun and air are the basis of life for living organisms, was actually developed by cyberneticists (Vernadsky 2012). The complex bio-semiosis in an ecosystem includes metabolism, but also exchange of energy and information (Yanakiev 1997). The spherical hierarchy (lithosphere, atmosphere, biosphere, technosphere) is defined by Vladimir Vernadsky, along with his idea of the noosphere (human thought). Mikhail Bakhtin and Roland Barthes worked, perhaps independently, on the idea of logosphere, and at the University of Tartu (to which Thomas Sebeok donated his library), Kalevi Kul works with the key concept of *semiosphere* (cf. Kul 1998).

5. CONCLUSION

A new field labelled *ecology of culture* is highly relevant to knowledge and language, because systems for conservation and exploitation work primarily with ideas – ideas about culture itself, about society, about the environment, about war and peace. Thus, all human knowledge turns out to be included in the value system of survival. On the other hand, to some critics of the eco-cultural approach, this main question – how to save our Planet and how to survive in our global world – looks exaggerated. The main argument of eco-critics is that this “green ideology” is a new *pantheism* and these champions of the environment suffer from modern reductionism. Such eco-criticism might in part be reasonable – how do eco-poets understand the semiotic and cognitive depth of various ecosystems? However, critics often condemn “green scientists”, calling them “eco-activists” or “followers of the green ideology”.

The tasks of ecolinguistics look practically oriented. Not accidentally does the *International Organisation for Applied Linguistics* have a scientific committee

on *Language and Ecology*. Besides the main issue of the relationship between the global ecosystem and language systems (which is rather theoretical), ecolinguistics feels the responsibility to answer the following questions:

- How does linguistic diversity correspond to biodiversity?
- How does the language system transmit environmental and non-environmental ideas?
- How do the issues of environment and ecological crises present themselves in various texts?
- How does language influence environmental literacy and intelligence?

A common thread runs through all these issues, which are widely discussed at conferences and scientific forums (cf. Feel 2001): nature is precious; it is endangered and must be protected from reckless behaviour; furthermore, technical progress threatens and contaminates the biological existence of plants, animals and humans. The key response was actually formulated by Franz Boas: human behaviour and its influences on the environment depend on *what the ideas are* and on their manifestations in phenomena like society, culture, war and peace, in human consciousness (Boas 1948).

Recently we have seen renewed activity in this respect, especially after Arran Stibbe's remarkable book (2015).⁴ When it comes to analysing texts related to global warming, the disappearance of species or the conservation of natural resources, ecolinguistic analyses provide metacognition for language, equivalent and methodologically very similar to *critical discourse analysis* – an area in which *ecocritical discourse analysis* emerged as a sub-field. Besides being tempted to deepen the archaeology of human consciousness and primitive societies, ecolinguists turn to future generations as true purists. They not only clean nature with current knowledge about the language but also wish to educate future generations in eco intelligibility (Bowers 2008, 2009, Goleman 2009).

⁴ The Ecolinguistics Association was established in 2004 as the Language and Ecology Research Forum (it changed its name in 2010). In May 2017, we have a new change of the name to the International Ecolinguistics Association. See <http://ecolinguistics-association> (accessed 20 May 2017).

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APPENDIX

Tabl. 1. A comparison between linguistic subfields

	Dialectology	Sociolinguistics	Ecolinguistics
Subject	• Dialects – full description • Standard language • Language territory	• Speech societies • sociolects • mezolects • professiolects • Language in its social contexts	• logosphere • Language in our human environment (<i>Umwelt</i>) • The bio-, socio-, thechnosystems interactions • Language in its global (and universal) context
Scope	• Historical development of the language • Territorial distribution of the dialects • Language contacts • Language change • Contrastive observations on phonology, grammar, lexicon	• Macro- and micro-sociolinguistics • linguistic variability • Linguistic markers and variables • language Planning • language Policy • Language and media • Language of the city	• Communication in the complex ecosystems (various networks of river streams, canals and infrastructure; a <i>complex</i> ecological terrain that includes the hydrologic, geologic, transportation, utility) • Relationships between global and local in language use (international contracts) • Language diversity • Endangered languages • Informational pollution • Virtual communication
Methods	• Descriptive • Language mapping • Historical phonological laws • Modeling grammatical rules • Vocabularies' collections	• Discovering diagnostic features • Quantitative (sociometric) studies • Statistic approaches and ANOVA • Contrastive sociolinguistic studies	• Zoomorphic metaphors • Modeling communication behavior in ecosystems • From language

INTERSECTIONS: TEACHING LITERATURE IN THE DIGITAL AGE

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1. INTRODUCTION

My combined interests in American literature and culture on the one hand, and digital culture, on the other, despite being so diverse as subjects, eventually blended in what I teach and in how I teach it, and became also the focus of my critical inquiry. Therefore, this paper is an outcome of the exploration of the intersections, transgressions and border crossings between the above two areas. Here I look for the possible answers to the question: *What are the boundaries of traditional literary study in the digital era, and what are the benefits of the digital tools in the teaching and studying of literature in higher education?*

My paper by necessity builds on a certain ideological position, which follows predictably from the state of the art of literature today, and from the state of literary teaching. The first question that I pose is that of content, especially in reference to selecting representative, if not canonical, works to be included in the university syllabus of a survey course in American literature. So in the first place, I would like to emphasise the multiplicity of themes and the varieties in genres displayed in literary texts within the last 15 to 20 years.

2. THE STATE OF THE ART: THEMES AND GENRES

To start with, terrorism as one mark of a globalising world, alongside the ever intensifying transnational and transcultural flows, has found diverse literary representations. The traumatic occurrence of 9/11 entailed a boom in literary reflections on the theme, and the rise of the genre of *the terrorist novel* in the U.S. Nowadays, it is considered a meta-genre, referring to works bound to each other by the theme of politically oriented violence. Dissimilar in style and technique, but pervasively dealing with acts of terror, terrorist novels encompass a wide range of texts: *American Pastoral* (1997) by Philip Roth, which takes us back to the

1960s, Ann Patchett's *Bel Canto* (2001), Lynne Sharon Schwartz's *The Writing on the Wall* (2004), Nicholson Baker's *Checkpoint* (2004), Nicholas Rinaldi's *Between Two Rivers* (2004), Jonathan Safran Foer's *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close* (2005), Reynold Price's *The Good Priest's Son* (2005), Claire Messud's *The Emperor's Children* (2006), Julia Glass's *The Whole World Over* (2006), Jess Walter's *The Zero* (2006), John Updike's *Terrorist* (2006), Ken Kalfus's *A Disorder Peculiar to the Country* (2006), Helen Schulman's *A Day at the Beach* (2007), Amy Waldman's *The Submission* (2011), Porochista Khakpour's *Sons and Other Flammable Objects* (2007), and her more recent *The Last Illusion* (2014), etc. In addition to those written by 'canonical' writers or awarded prestigious literary prizes, there are also many novels of popular fiction by Tom Clancy, Vince Flynn, Frederick Forsyth, and others, dealing with the same topic.

Previously designated as postcolonial, and nowadays described "as a world-wide network of Anglophone literatures and cultures with increasingly fuzzy edges" (Schulze-Engler 2009: x), transcultural writings have also been on the rise. These encompass the literary practice of writers who can no longer be related to one particular "national literary space" within the world-wide field of English-language literatures, leading to specific forms of communicative interaction and political conflict engendered by it (Schulze-Engler 2009: xvi). Overcoming the constraints of multicultural and ethnic writings, such transcultural texts open new possibilities for the examination of cross-cultural encounters and border crossings, incorporating self-reflexivity by examining the tensions between Self and Other.¹

Thirdly, a genre which continues to raise awareness about the threats of global warming and climate change in the present, and which is often considered as a subgenre of science fiction, is *cli-fi* – the short for climate fiction, sometimes also referred to as ecofiction or anthropofiction. Cli-fi has been defined as science fiction with a high reality content, referring to the present or the very near future and for this reason for some it is not science fiction at all. Such speculative narratives are usually based on scientific projections, and anticipation of catastrophes. T. Coraghessan Boyle's *A Friend of the Earth* (2001), the collection edited by Mark Martin, *I'm With the Bears. Short Stories from a Damaged Planet* (2011), Clara Hume's *Back to the Garden* (2013), Paolo Bacigalupi's *The Water Knife* (2015) are exemplary texts by American writers in the field. A further blurring of the lines,

¹ For more on this see Glavanakova, Alexandra. 2016. *Transcultural Imaginings: Translating the Other, Translating the Self in Narratives about Migration and Terrorism*. Sofia: Critique and Humanism Publishing House.

in this case between fantasy, science fiction, and supernatural horror genres, can be found in the category of literary works labeled the *New Weird*. Stories in this genre typically involve realistic versions of contemporary life that are mixed with paranormal and fantasy elements, as in China Miéville's *The Scar* (2002), Kristen Bishop's *The Etched City* (2004), and the two collections *The New Weird* (2008) and *The Weird: A Compendium of Strange and Dark Stories* (2012), both edited by Jeff VanderMeer and Ann VanderMeer.

Two other genres have mushroomed recently: *biofiction* – a literary work that names its protagonist after an actual biographical figure, and *autofiction* – metafictional memoirs. The latter seem to surmount the fact versus fiction dichotomy in favor of writing about *How Should a Person Be?* – to employ the title of Sheila Heti's text (2014). Indeed both biofiction and autofiction have been legitimate genres for a long time. However, as David Lodge claims:

The biographical novel – the novel which takes a real person and their real history as the subject matter for imaginative exploration, using the novel's techniques for representing subjectivity rather than the objective, evidence-based discourse of biography – has become a very fashionable form of literary fiction in the last decade or so. (2006: 8)

The same can be said about autofiction with equal validity.

Furthermore, I should emphasize that the rather schematic thematic subcategorisations and genre divisions briefly presented here are entirely constructed, as Nell Zink's novel *Wallcreeper* (2014) clearly reveals, by mixing and blurring the themes of eco-terrorism, expatriate experience and memoir into one novel. However, the logical question remains: What, if any, of all this diversity should or could be incorporated in the university syllabus of literature classes, which are often by necessity offered as obligatory survey courses and therefore exist under severe constraints?

3. THE STATE OF THE ART: FORM

The issue is further compounded by the enormous amount of structural and formal experimentation in literary texts today – an outcome of the dominance of digital media in our culture in the past 20 or so years. Again, there is an abundance of forms and varieties, hybridising and merging textuality with technology, by making use of the creative potential of the digital medium. "Literature in the

twenty-first century is computational,” Katherine Hayles claims in her publication in *New Literary History* (2007: 99). This is certainly true for electronic literature, which is “digital born, created on a computer and meant to be read on it” (Hayles 2007a: 99). Clearly, digitality is not only central to electronic literature, because “Almost all print books are digital files before they become book” (Hayles 2007a: 99). Digitality, therefore, is not peripheral today, but is at the core of contemporary literature. The examples abound.

The *satellite novel* is one such example, where GPS becomes part of the poetics of the narrative. Christoph Benda’s *Senghor on the Rocks* (2008), is the first full-length *geographical novel* consistently illustrated with Google Maps, which are not only part of the design and interface providing functionalities users/readers are already familiar with, but where the satellite view of locations becomes the actual means of exploring the text. *Where You Are* (2012) is both a book of maps and an online site, another curious illustration of the intersection between digitality and fictional text.² It comes in the form of a box with sixteen booklets, which double as maps. Another curious example (though perhaps less so in the wake of the 2016 presidential elections) is the appearance of *Twitter fiction* – David Mitchell’s story *The Right Sort* (2011). It consists of archived tweets, which were published in 2011, and can be still accessed today. It makes creative use of the “diabolical treble-strapped textual straitjacket” of Twitter in the words of its creator (Mitchell 2014: no page).

Digital poetry, used as the cover term for “the creative, experimental, playful, and also critical art involving programming, multimedia, animation, interactivity and net communication” (Brock et al. 2004: 13), is another form abounding in technical and formal innovations. Appearing in many varieties as “kinetic/animated poetry; code poetry; interactive poetry; digital sound poetry; digital ‘textscapes’ with poetry features; and poetry generators” (Strehovec 2003: no page), digital poetry derives from installations of interactive computer- and net-based art and explicitly from literary traditions (Brock et al. 2004: 15-17).

Finally, special mention should be made of textual experimentation in print, which is inspired by the digital. The digital medium has become intrinsic to print literature, allowing for playing around with the materiality of the text, thus foregrounding its physicality in ways that recall the radical experimentation of Modernism, but also in ways that are innovative. The number of these experimental print texts is steadily growing. Mark Danielewski’s *House of Leaves* (2000) is by now the classic example of ergodic literature (Espen Aarseth

² <<http://where-you-are.com/>>

1997) with its unconventional format, unusual structure and style. In a way, it is reminiscent of the experimentation with the printed book carried out by Raymond Federman's vision of *surfiction* in the 1970s, modeled on surrealism. Danielewski's subsequent book, *Only Revolutions* (2006), a 3D novel, continues to challenge the form of the codex book, alongside Jonathan Safran Foer's *Tree of Codes* (2010). Steve Tomasula's *TOC* takes experimentation one step further, offering a multimedia novel published on DVD and as an iPad application (2010). A collage of text, animation, music, and other art forms, *TOC* explores competing conceptions of time that shape human lives. It is a hybrid on many levels, being also a collaborative work by 15 artists, composers, musicians, and animators. *S*, written by Doug Dorst and conceived by J. J. Abrams (2013), is another revealing example: a "fake artefact," it represents the most intricately designed piece of fiction since Danielewski's books. The peculiar qualities of all these books can be attributed to the impact of the principles of digitality on the print text.

To sum up, the digital medium has become intrinsic to print literature and has opened new opportunities for exploration and experimentation. Once again, I pose the question: how much of this should, and could be incorporated into a literary curriculum at the level of university education?

4. DIGITAL DISRUPTIONS

Within the much larger matrix of questions concerning **what** to study in a literature class – bearing in mind the broad thematic and genre variety, and the wide-ranging formal experimentations of recent literary texts outlined above, the main issue remains of **how** to teach and study it? Which are the viable analytical approaches and interpretative tools? The question of **how** to teach is one of methodology, but not only. The possible answers follow from one's personal beliefs, and one's ideological standpoint about the role and function of literary studies, as will be further outlined. However, it is imperative that points of convergence emerge amongst academics in the effort to find the workable approaches and tools in the reading, teaching and writing about literature in the digitally saturated environment.

The realization of "the digital disruption" to traditional literary study (Gideon Burton 2011: no page) is what I wish to foreground. This disruption works on many levels, affecting notions and practices of literacy, textuality, narrative, authorship, agency, and the processes of writing, reading, teaching, studying, and critically analyzing literary texts. It is clear by now that a major cultural shift has taken place

that can be best formulated as a movement away from the print paradigm and into the digital one. Most students at university level gather information, communicate, read, study, or seek entertainment on a computer screen. Because of the nature of primary education, print-based skills and practices of reading and studying are not out-of-date yet, but neither can they be seen as universal and transhistorical. Even the most superficial glimpse at the history of writing and reading will reveal that texts have been and will continue to be transmitted through different media: print and digital. As print is no longer the default medium, the intersections between media – print and digital – will continue to develop in dynamic and complex ways, and with important implications for pedagogical practices, curriculum design and academic study.

Since digital technology is developing exponentially, the changes across generations of teachers and students will vary widely. It is clear that the true “digital natives” (Prensky 2001) – the millennials, will have the disposition towards surfing, multi-tasking, rapid attentional switching between different media, and the craving for even more intense bombardment by stimuli that their teachers do not have to the same degree, or not at all. Further, as Hayles has stated in her now seminal text “How We Read: Close, Hyper and Machine”: “people read less print, and they read print less well” (2012a: 56). One consequence, as Hayles sees it, is that our surrounding socio-technological environment systemically privileges hyper attention and leads to a significant shift in cognitive modes (2007b: no page). Owing to hyper attention, humans are capable of scanning large amounts of data and of identifying repetitive patterns. Hyper attention leads to flexibility in switching between different information streams, a quick grasp of the gist of material, rapid movement between texts. However, this type of attention usually requires instant gratification and is marked by a very small attention span (Hayles 2007b: no page). In contrast, deep attention involves a long-term engagement with a problem that may eventually lead to gaining expert knowledge, solving problems and dealing with issues of high complexity. Traditional methodologies used in the humanities play a significant part in fostering deep attention. Following the realisation of the pros and cons of both types of attention, the practices and methods of teaching, analysing and writing about literature should be correspondingly adjusted.

Indeed, new professional reading strategies have evolved in the digital age as new interpretative tools and analytical approaches. In addition to close reading and historical contextualisation, which have been established analytical tools for decades, *hyper reading* (James Sosnoski 1999; Katherine Hayles 2012),

social reading (Bob Stein), *distant reading* (Franco Moretti 2005, 2013), *surface reading* (Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus 2009), and even *machine reading* have been proposed and recently developed. In his essay “Hyper-Readers and Their Reading-Engines,” James J. Sosnoski defines hyper reading as “reader-directed, screen-based, computer-assisted reading” (1999: 167) and outlines eight hyper reading strategies: filtering, skimming, pecking, imposing, filming, trespassing, de-authorising, and fragmenting, and two further ones: juxtaposing, scanning, described by Hayles (2012a: 61). The term *surface reading* was introduced by Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus to name a reading strategy that focuses on the surfaces of texts. It is limited to:

What is evident, perceptible, apprehensible in texts; what is neither hidden nor hiding; what, in the geometrical sense, has length and breadth but no thickness, and therefore covers no depth. A surface is what insists on being looked at rather than what we must train ourselves to see through. (2009: 9)

Surface reading aims to study the materiality of texts, mostly on the medium used for carrying them and the significance of the medium in defining the work itself.

Social reading, as a collaborative online reading practice in which several users read the same text, comment and respond to it, is of greatest applicability in the teaching and study of literature. It overcomes solitary reading and turns online reading into a collaborative, interactive process, which involves the exchange of ideas. *The Golden Notebook Project* is a clear example of collaborative reading of Doris Lessing’s novel. It is “an experiment in close-reading in which seven women are reading the book and conducting a conversation in the margins,” which strives to “enable a culture of collaborative learning” (*Project*: no page).

Finally, the practice of distant reading, as defined by Moretti, involves the analysis of large corpora, regardless of whether they are done by human or machine (2013). Moretti aims at the bigger picture: the description of literary patterns and developments that connect hundreds, even thousands of literary texts over decades and beyond national borders. He presents this practice as a shift “From texts to models, then, and models drawn from three disciplines with which literary studies have had little or no interaction: graphs from quantitative history, maps from geography, and trees from evolutionary theory” (Moretti 2005: 1). In addition, Hayles insists on distinguishing yet another category: machine reading as “human-assisted computer reading where computer algorithms are used to analyse

patterns in large textual corpora” (2012a: 70). This approach allows researchers to understand a work within the larger literary and cultural tradition that it reinforces, or subverts and resists. Finding patterns in large amounts of data, which involves quantitative approaches to large corpora of literature, has started to gain ground.

Despite all these developments, “literary studies has been slow to address the interactions between print and digital literacies” (Hayles 2012a: 59). Academics working in the field are aware of the general fierce resistance to change, and a resolute entrenching in the print era in many humanities departments. At the same time, traditional period or genre specific categories, such as Modernist Poetry or The Postmodern Novel that still typically structure the literature syllabi in English and American Studies Departments, have become “unsustainable” (Hayles 2012b: no page). I tend to agree with Hayles that such classifications have ceased also to initiate critical inquiries and that they “function like fossils of a bygone era” (Hayles 2012b: no page).

What can be the possible solution to the problems outlined so far?

5. LITERACY RECALIBRATED

Since the medium of literacy and literature has changed drastically, so should the conditions of participation in the literary classroom. The digital age has led to a recalibration of our notion of literacy, as has been already suggested by Ken Robinson as far back as 1999. Literacy now incorporates many aspects, most notably visual and digital literacy, and even more skills – at least 50, according to Mark Prensky’s recent classification (2016). Most current interpretations of literacy build on UNESCO’s definition of the concept provided on the homepage of the organisation:

Beyond its conventional concept as a set of reading, writing and counting skills, literacy is now understood as a means of identification, understanding, interpretation, creation, and communication in an increasingly digital, text-mediated, information-rich and fast-changing world.

From a prescriptive point of view, the stress should be on creativity in the teaching and study of literature – an idea Robinson further develops in his recent book *Creative Schools* (2015). A similar argument lies at the heart of the growing *School in the Cloud* movement. This learning environment, first launched in India

by Sugata Mitra's pioneering "Hole in the Wall" experiments also dating from 1999, focuses on self-organising learning environments (SOLE) through the use of modern technology.³ Prensky, another visionary, who has consistently studied the impact of the digital revolution on education, has recently elaborated too on the role of real-world learning for the digital generation. In his book, *Education to Better Their World. Unleashing the Power of 21-st Century Kids* (2016), as well as in the plenary talk under the same title, delivered at the Sofia conference dedicated to the topic "Education for Professions of the Future" (April 12, 2017), he argues for an abandoning of traditional educational practices. He advises stepping away from content delivery and moving beyond the old paradigm rooted in teaching separate subjects. Prensky suggests, instead, leapfrogging into the future of education towards life-long skills acquisition through project solving. He calls for considering such reforms in education that would focus not on achievement (grades), but on real-life accomplishments related to the development and implementation of real projects that would lead to actual improvements in the world.

To put it very briefly, what all these innovators individually suggest amounts to the same key conclusions. Successful education in the age of the digital revolution is practice-oriented, skill-oriented, individual-oriented, creativity-oriented, and at its core should be project work.

6. DIGITAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Where does all this fit in the puzzle of literary education in the university classroom? How does this translate into the changed role of teacher and student? Teachers realise that "students read incessantly in digital media and write in it as well, but do so only infrequently in literary classes" (Hayles 2012a: 57), and that "the literary and the digital are two tracks, which run side by side, but messages from either track do not leap across to the other" (Hayles 2012a: 57). My argument is not for the replacement of traditional academic practices of close reading and deep attention, but rather for ensuring ways in which these can interact productively with hyper reading and social reading. Digital technology has a transformative potential, which can be realised in the process of learning, and in my view, efforts should be made to utilise it.

³ For more information on this see: <<https://www.theschoolinthecloud.org/about/>> and Mitra's inspirational 2013 *Build a School in the Cloud* TED talk, which earned him a prize award of 1 million US Dollars. <https://www.ted.com/talks/sugata_mitra_build_a_school_in_the_cloud>

I would advocate the development and application of strategies of imaginative interpretation and creative response to literary texts by students. My own experimental work builds on the premise that “Literary studies teaches literacies across a range of media forms, including print and digital, and focuses on interpretation and analysis of patterns, meaning, and context through close, hyper, and machine reading practices” (Hayles, 2012a 78-79). I am suggesting a stepping away from the print paradigm with its carefully formatted layout, structured argumentation and well-ordered discourse, most clearly illustrated in the genre of the academic essay.⁴ Interaction and creativity should take center stage in the literary seminar in the aftermath of the advent of the participatory web of social networks (Web 2.0) and multimedia applications. The distinctive properties of the digital medium: “interactivity, multimedia capabilities, volatility of inscription, and above all networking” (Ryan 2008: 251) can be utilised in the movement towards collaborative work, the repurposing and remediation of literary texts. This paradigm shift offers enormous freedom to the teacher and the learner in opposition to the traditional academic methods, which impose too many constraints. The movement away from the one-to-many system of teaching such as the traditional lecture seems to be the natural first step, followed by new forms of collaborative writing, social writing, and the development of creative projects. This paradigm shift in line with the argumentation outlined above, as I see it, involves the re-writing of canonical texts, the remediation of print-media texts and multimodal composing across media.

Here I would offer my observations on the implementation of such strategies in two literary courses I teach at the Department of English and American Studies at Sofia University: a survey course in American Literature at the BA level, and an MA course in Multimodal Writing. The first example in collaborative social interpretation is the writing assignment introduced in the survey course in American Literature: from Modernism to Postmodernism. This course is still taught in the traditional lecture-seminar model. The online assignment was offered in a forum in the educational platform Moodle. The students’ participation in these forums was entirely optional. They were set the following task:

See a Bulgarian performance of a play by an American playwright and present within 400 words your personal critical analysis of how *Americanness* is rendered on stage and what you would change, if

⁴ I initially came across this idea in Gideon Burton’s book *Writing About Literature in the Digital Age* (2011).

you were the director. You are free to use any sources (the more the better) as long as you identify them in accordance with the MLA academic writing standards: <http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/747/01/> Copy-and-paste submissions will not be awarded any points. A maximum of 10 points are awarded: 3 for content, 3 for organization, and 4 for originality.

Students were given an option to choose one out of five plays by American playwrights currently on stage in Bulgarian theaters in the 2015/2016 theatrical season: *The Glass Menagerie* by Tennessee Williams, *Long Day's Journey Into Night* by Eugene O'Neill, *Rabbit Hole* by David Lindsay-Abaire, *Beautiful Bodies* by Laura Cunningham, and *Red* by John Logan.

Out of the 56 students who had enrolled in the course in the Moodle platform two plays sparked a heated debate among them. There were 46 entries in the forum on *The Glass Menagerie* and 88 entries in the forum on *Long Day's Journey Into Night*. Their replies were remarkable not only in their quantity. Indeed, students reflected on each and every aspect of the play, and on the essential features of the performance itself. The topics discussed by them ranged from comments and analysis of the play itself in the wider U.S. literary and socio-historical context; the Bulgarian translation of the texts in terms of accuracy, appropriacy and literary quality⁵; issues of cultural translation and reception, based on linguistic dissimilarities and cultural differences, including self-perception; the decisions regarding casting, setting, lighting, costumes, and length of the performances. Most of the entries included reflections on the rhetorical effectiveness of the choices made by directors and actors.

In addition, involvement in the assignment allowed students to work on their writing skills in English and to participate in asynchronous online communication. I need to clarify that students could be awarded 10 points for their participation at the most, and this was regardless of the number of their entries in the forum. So they were not obliged to come back and respond, but they did come back, again and again. Significantly, students demonstrated great enthusiasm, quite the opposite to their reaction when they are given the opportunity, again optional,

⁵ Two facts were of special interest to the students: a. *The Glass Menagerie* has been translated by Evgenia Pancheva, the head of the Department and a distinguished translator of poetry, so they commented on her choices; b. the out-datedness of the translation of *Long Day's*, which they deemed to be not only archaic, but distorted for ideological reasons, as it had been done during the time of socialism.

to write a 1500-word academic essay for the same number of points on any topic related to their compulsory readings in the course.⁶

In the BA course in American Literature, the experiment in teaching involved putting aside the traditional academic essay and implementing forums and chat participations as part of the class activities. Forum participation allowed students to become collaborators, reviewers and critics of each other's writing, and got them personally involved in the writing act. This was process-oriented writing, rather than product-oriented. Further, it presupposed jazz-like variations and improvisations upon a theme. Students were thus allowed to explore their own ideas. By being given a license to freedom, they were provided with new opportunities for self-expression and self-representation.

The next example of personal engagement in the learning process, which became a source of motivation for active student participation, is the MA course Multimodal Writing, which I have developed and co-taught with my colleague, Georgi Niagolov. I use the concept of multimodality as defined by Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (2001), and especially in reference to composing, which "involves the conscious manipulation of the interaction among various sensory experiences – visual, textual, verbal, tactile and aural – used in the processes of producing and reading texts" (Tracy Bowen and Carl Whithaus 2013: 7). The aim of this course is to combine traditional literary training with creative project work. Close reading here is offered as only one among several methodologies of interpreting a literary text, alongside other methods, while acknowledging that all have certain advantages and limitations.

The inspiration for this course came from the realisation that digital and print literacies are not mutually exclusive, but can mutually reinforce and extend one another under the right conditions. The course was designed to be both theoretical and experiential, involving technology, media, social networking practices, thus stimulating creativity and out of the box thinking. Theoretically, the course builds on Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin's concept of *remediation*, which is an update for the digital age on Marshall McLuhan's findings – particularly his contention that "the 'content' of any medium is always another medium" (McLuhan 1994: 8). For Bolter and Grusin, media history is not a series of

⁶ An example of such a topic for an academic essay would be the following: *Toni Morrison wrote her master's thesis on William Faulkner and Virginia Woolf, and has said on numerous occasions that she was strongly influenced by Faulkner. In what ways can her novel, Beloved, be related to The Sound and the Fury?* At best, such an essay would be a heavily derivative text and stilted by the constraints of academic writing; at worst, it would be plagiarized.

displacements in which new media (for example, the internet) make old media (for example, the radio) obsolete. Instead, new media transform older media, retaining some of their features while discarding others. In their own words, remediation is “the way in which one medium is seen by our culture as reforming or improving upon another” (Bolter and Grusin 1999: 59).

Students started by choosing a literary work; did a close reading of the primary text both online and in class discussions; referred to a number of secondary critical texts; and then explored diverse remediations of the primary text through other media. The aim was to advance students’ visual and digital literacy skills by having them complete a significant number of assignments, both individually and collaboratively. As content creators, they not only mastered the use of certain digital tools, but also reflected continuously on the principles of rhetorical effectiveness, which guided them in the process of composing across media.

The creation of the multimodal project involved six consecutive steps:

1. Students read, analysed and critically explored a canonical written text of their own choice: in the first case, Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein*, and in the second, George Orwell’s *1984*, as well as critical commentaries on the primary text. Each student chose a group of semantically related key concepts, while working at a close reading of the text from that particular perspective, and reported his/her findings in class.

Key concepts in semantic clusters for the close reading of *Frankenstein*:

- a. knowledge, science, technology and nature, science fiction;
 - b. God, creativity, procreation, death;
 - c. monstrosity, horror, gothicism and the Romantic sublime;
 - d. writing and communication, storytelling.
2. Students conducted research and found their own examples of rewritings of the original text in different genres and through different media. These examples were shared via a Moodle forum or the Facebook page set up for the course and explored collaboratively with a special focus on rhetorical strategies. At this stage, students were encouraged to represent a literary text in different modes, for example, remediate a poem visually as a photograph, or remediate a scene from the novel through visualisation, or a short performance.

3. Out of this research and the in-class discussions evolved the students' own creative ideas about their projects. They prepared short abstracts of their project proposals, which were discussed in group format with peers and lecturers. I should emphasise that throughout the creative stages students met with experts and professionals in different media: a theater director, a movie director, an illustrator, a musician, to receive guidance in their project development and execution. At all stages the university professors aimed to work as moderators and mediators between students and the guests who came to classes pro bono. My reasoning was to invite specialists, alumni of the Department, who had branched out in different professional areas outside of language teaching and translation/interpretation. This was yet another way the course aimed to serve as a source of inspiration for personal growth.
4. Students developed and designed their own projects in the pre-production stage. They gathered, selected and created text, images, audio and video.
5. Students made a public presentation of their projects followed by a discussion. They graded each other's projects, based on the criteria the group had arrived at collaboratively.⁷

⁷ *Criteria for evaluating the multimodal project:*

Evaluate each project and respond briefly to each question.

1. Relevance to the objective of the course - maximum 10 points

Is the project relevant to the idea of multimodality? How?

2. Relevance to the base text for the course? – maximum 10 points

Is the project relevant to the themes and ideas of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*/ George Orwell's *1984*? How?

3. Text (Written or Spoken Language) - maximum 10 points

Is the textual part of the project readable and intelligible?

Is the layout appropriate for the medium?

4. Other Media (Images, Video, Drawings, Performance, Music) - maximum 10 points

What do images and other media contribute? Do they illustrate a concept? Highlight an important point? Show something that is difficult to describe in words alone?

5. Synergy Between Text and Other Media - maximum 10 points

Do the text and the other media complement each other?

Is the final product greater than the simple sum of its parts?

6. Overall Rhetorical Effect - maximum 10 points

Do you understand the message that the project communicates?

Does the project provoke you to look at something in a different way and/or to discover something new?

6. Students were asked to engage in reflection on all stages of the project. The creative tasks were accompanied by writing self-reflexive comments on the process, not as a paper, but in a diary, in a blog format, or in Facebook posts.

I should note that the sessions were attended even by people who were not MA students, and were not there for the credits but who just wanted to participate in the experiment. “Love Your Monster” and “Big Brother is Watching” respectively became the cover terms under which all unleashed their creativity. Essentially, if there is one phrase to summarize their attitude, it would be that the participants were ‘on fire’ about this assignment. They created deeply inspired artworks in the three years I have piloted the course ranging from poetry, photography, animation, through video, incorporating text, music, collage, and based on a variety of platforms, for example Windows Moviemaker or other web-based platforms, some of which they suggested, and which I had been unfamiliar with.⁸ One of the most moving aspects was the performance of the projects, where some of our students were joined by their own children who played musical instruments as an accompaniment and even more, the musicians had chosen and arranged the music so as to complement the meaning of the project in the best possible way.

In conclusion, I would advocate looking for creative methodologies, for expanding the students’ productive skills and knowledge, starting with practice-based research. A course such as the one in Multimodal Writing works precisely because:

[S]tudents are hungry for studio- or lab-style environments where they work shoulder-to-shoulder with humanities professors. In Literature+ courses, the main ‘content’ delivered is actually the role-model and working habits of an intellectual pursuing humane knowledge with all best passion, skill, and openness to collaboration with others, including students. (Alan Liu 2008: no page)⁹

⁸ See Appendix for examples of students’ projects.

⁹ Alan Liu has been an avant-garde experimenter in the use of digital tools in the study and teaching of literature. His courses serve as models of the involvement of literary teaching and learning with digital technology: “Literature + Cross-disciplinary Models of Literary Interpretation” (<<http://english149w2008.pbworks.com/w/page/19011309/FrontPage>>) and “Hacking Literary Interpretation. Using Digital Methods to Read Literature (A Collaborative Project Seminar)” (<<http://english197s2015.pbworks.com/w/page/93127947/FrontPage>>).

The literary classroom can be transformed into an explorative laboratory set up for creative experimentation. Lectures can be consulted online, while work in the 'lecture hall' can focus on innovative practices of interpretation through project work, the invention of artefacts with the aid of digital tools. This creative process can be so construed as to be deeply interwoven with theorising about the created objects and the acts of invention themselves, involving collaboration and calling for self-reflexivity. In my vision, the literary classroom has the potential to become a site for originality and inventiveness in the process of re-thinking what a literary text could be, so that the very conception of a literary work and how it can be read, written and interpreted are vigorously explored.

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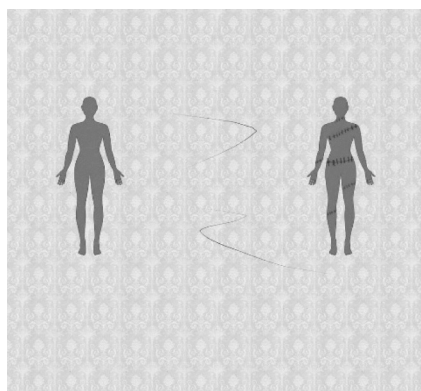
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APPENDIX. Snapshots of students' multimodal projects:

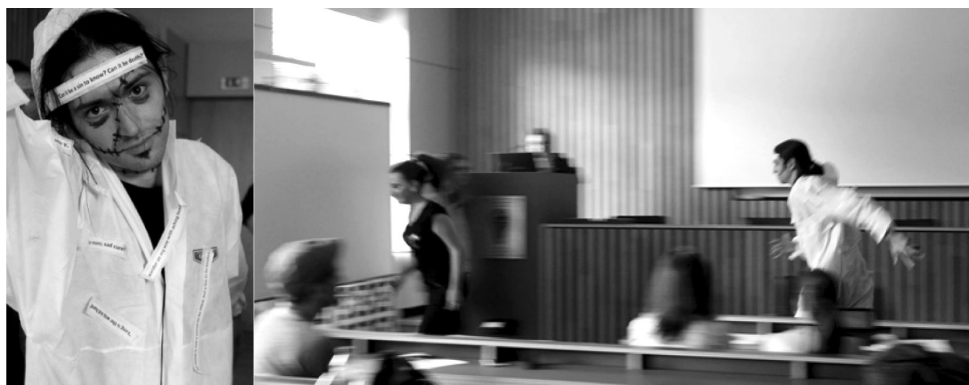
RAYNA ROSSENOVA. *THE PERFECT FEMALE*. TEXT AND IMAGE.



The project will deal with the theme of man as creator, or more particularly – of man as creator of female forms (such that are made of inanimate matter). The sources to be used as basis are the Pygmalion myth, as narrated in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Chapter 20 of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*. The text will be written in free verse and pertain to the content of the original text as much as possible.

It should be borne in mind that the choice of text and characters is not arbitrary. The narrative will present the well-known stories from the point of view of the women involved; that is, Pygmalion's statue, often referred to as Galatea, and the bride of Frankenstein's monster that, unlike Pygmalion's perfect ivory sculpture, is not only deformed but also never to be given the spark of life. Despite playing a significant role in the plot, both of them remain secondary characters, and their voice is never heard. Hence, the poem will be composed of two parts, each presenting the thoughts and feelings of each female. It is here that I shall grant myself the right to poetic license and build the personas of the two women in such a way that it serves the overall purpose of the poem: the two parts will be juxtaposed, thus creating a text which would lend itself to a feminist reading. In addition, the poem will be accompanied by photographs to emphasize the main idea.

HRISTO IVANOV. *THE BODY AS TEXT*, PERFORMANCE, BASED ON TEXTS REFERRED TO IN *FRANKENSTEIN*.



PHOTOS BY GEORGI NIAGOLOV

IVAN STOYANOV AND TANITA GENOVA. *MY NAME IS NEMO*. DRAWINGS, TEXT AND MUSIC.



PHOTOS: REPRINTED WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE AUTHORS

VERA MARKOVA. *TERRORISM AND FRANKENSTEIN*. VIDEO AND LIVE MUSIC.

Incorporating:

- Quotes from the original novel
- Quotes from Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.
- Images from graphic illustrations of the monster by Camille Feinberg and John Tice, as illustrated by the photo on the left below
- Short scenes from the movie *A Thousand Times Goodnight* (2013) dir. Erik Poppe, as illustrated by the photo on the right below
- Photographs from recent terrorist attacks in Europe
- Music: *Passacaglia* by Handel-Halvorsen – itself a re-writing



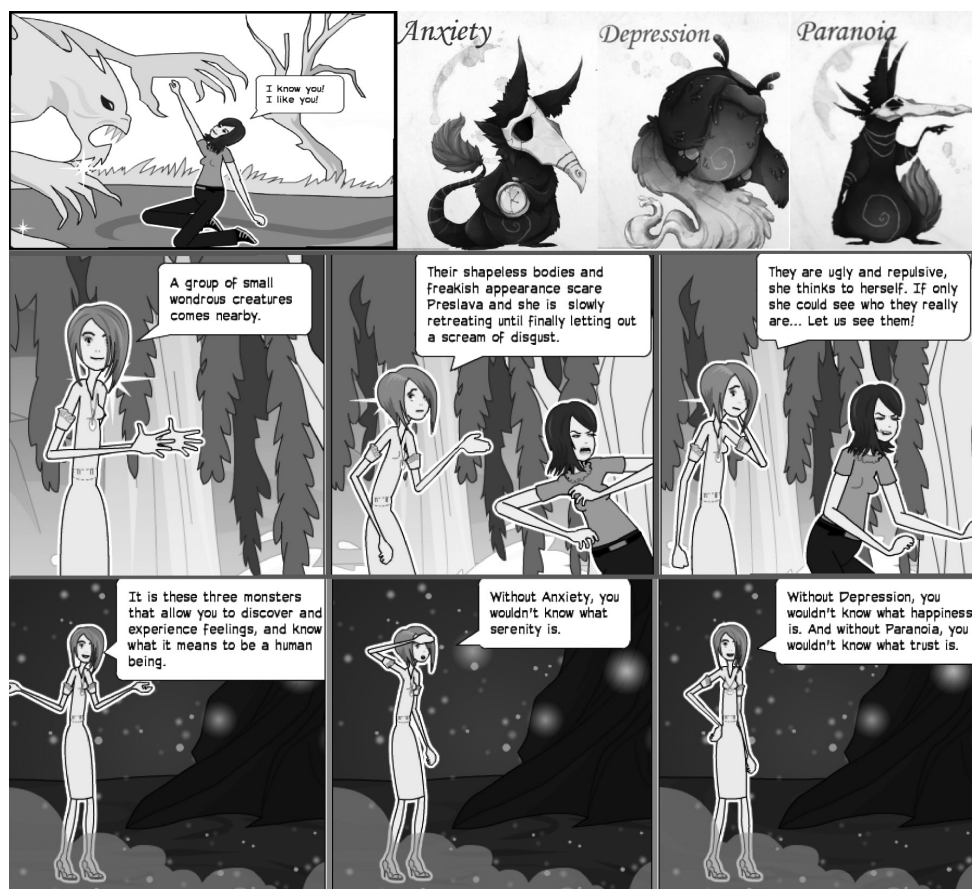
PHOTOS PERSONAL ARCHIVE

ILINA GADJEVA. *BIRTH AND MOSTROSITY*. VIDEO.



PHOTOS BY GEORGI NIAGOLOV

PRESLAVA PETROVSKA. *EMBRACE YOUR MONSTERS*. CARTOON.



PHOTOS: REPRINTED WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE AUTHOR

AFFECT, TEXT, AND CONTEXT IN THE TEACHING OF LITERATURE

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Before I shed some light on the specific meaning I attach to the terms in my title, I'd like to make a personal digression, which, hopefully, will prove relevant to what follows. In one of my recent lectures on the rise of the novel in 18th century England, I decided to draw a parallel between the prose of Marcel Proust and that of, say, Defoe or Richardson. I still have doubts about the pedagogical value of this decision, but that's not what concerns me here. What concerns me is the response of one of my students to the excerpt from *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu* which I put on the screen and read aloud. Here is the text from *Swann's Way*:

... I would turn to and fro between the prayer-desk and the stamped velvet armchairs, each one always draped in its crocheted antimacassar, while the fire, baking like a pie the appetising smells with which the air of the room was thickly clotted, which the dewy and sunny freshness of the morning had already 'raised' and started to 'set,' puffed them and glazed them and fluted them and swelled them into an invisible though not impalpable country cake, an immense puff-pastry, in which, barely waiting to savour the crustier, more delicate, more respectable, but also drier smells of the cupboard, the chest-of-drawers, and the patterned wall-paper I always returned with an unconfessed gluttony to bury myself in the nondescript, resinous, dull, indigestible, and fruity smell of the flowered quilt. (Proust 2002: 43)

After reading this lusciously sensuous description as expressively as I could, trying to highlight the complex interplay between movement and rest in this amazing piece of literary prose, I could feel the intense silence hanging in the classroom; I looked into a few students' eyes, and for a moment, I was convinced that I had pulled off that "gentle shock of mild surprise" from Wordsworth's *The Boy of Winander*. You probably remember that according to the optimistic

Wordsworthian scenario in that poem the shock “carries far into [the boy’s] heart/ the voice of mountain torrents” (Wordsworth 1994: 183). In brief, I felt that sweet triangular correspondence between the body of the text, the body of my voice, and the bodies of the audience.

What followed replicated Wordsworth’s narrative. The sobering anti-climax came in the voice of a boy who put up his hand, and categorically stated, “I don’t like it”. My almost instinctive question at this point reveals my presuppositions about my students’ presuppositions: “Why not? Is it too poetic?” I retorted. “No,” said the student, “It’s just that I like my poetry pure”. In other words, what triggered the student’s reaction of dislike was the alleged hybridity of the body of the text: my student responded to this as prose, posturing, as it were, as poetry. To me, the response is significant in many ways, but the key lesson it taught me is that I tend to dismiss all too easily my students’ frequent resistance to the texts on my syllabus as caused by a set of predictable textual and contextual biases: “why should I care about these obsolete texts”; “why should I know who the Dissenters were – I don’t give a fig about this religious hogwash”; “who are Descartes and Kant to me”; “what’s poetry, let alone Romantic poetry, got to do with me”. Such an assumption predetermines, to a great extent, the agenda of my pedagogy: it is aimed at challenging, and hopefully, overcoming these biases.

How do I do that? In three ways, mostly: by trying to infuse, so to speak, my enthusiasm about these texts into the environment (this works for some students and it does not work for others); also, I try to provide relevant contextual information in the hope that this broadened awareness will give the students access to the pleasure we sometimes experience at the identification of meanings available only to the illuminated (doing so I often use terminology that’s alien to them); finally, I try to engage my students in the labyrinthine games of close rhetorical reading.

The problem is that this approach is premised on a deficient assumption – the assumption that the students are filled with biases that prevent them from absorbing the knowledge I want to convey to them. What if instead of contending with these supposed biases, I, as a teacher of Eighteenth Century Literature and Romanticism, use them as an ally in my pedagogical endeavour? How would that be possible? Well, I have already referred to bodies in the classroom, and these references are related to the term ‘affect’ in my title.

What exactly do I mean by ‘affect’? A quick perusal of the plethora of academic books devoted to the emotions that have been published over the last decade will reveal the fuzziness of the term. In her seminal study, *Upheavals of Thought: The*

Intelligence of Emotions, Martha Nussbaum gives an insightful and informative overview of the contradictory uses of ‘affect’ and ‘affective’.¹ What brings together some influential accounts of the psychic content and manifestations of affect, however, is the anti-cognitivist slant. Thus, Charles Altieri sets out to challenge what he believes are the five topoi of “contemporary accounts of the emotions”: the attempt of cognitivist philosophers to bring to the fore the “intentional” component of the emotion”; the foregrounding of the “intentional perspective on the scene”; the tendency of representing “bodily states ... as accompanying and even complementing intentionality” but not “producing it”; concern with “complex philosophical questions about the nature of agency”; focus on the idea that since emotions depend on beliefs and generate appraisals of how action might be possible, they involve a kind of reasoning” (6-8). In opposition to the cognitivist representations of affectivity as secondary to and dependent on rationality, Altieri defines “affects” as “immediate modes of sensual responsiveness to the world characterised by an accompanying imaginative dimension” (2). In *Parables for the Virtual*, Brian Massumi’s anti-cognitivism is much more focused and much more radical. To elucidate his definition of affect as intensity, he resorts to a few empirical examples. One of them focuses on an experiment in which “volunteers ... monitored by an electroencealograph ... were asked to flex a finger at a moment of their choosing”. The moment of making the decision was registered with a clock and, interestingly, “the flexes came 0,2 seconds after [the subjects] clocked the decision”. Even more interestingly, “the EEG machine registered significant brain activity 0,3 seconds *before* [italics in the original] the decision” (Massumi 2002: 29). It is this lapse before the moment when intentionality takes over that Massumi envisages as the realm of intensity, or affect. To him, intensity is “the incipience of mutually exclusive pathways, all but one of which will be inhibited, prevented from actualising themselves completely” (Massumi 2002: 30). From this perspective, affect is an absent presence, i.e. a trace in the Derridean sense of the word.

My understanding of the term in this paper is partly informed by Massumi’s, but it rests more specifically on the Deleuzian reading of Spinoza’s *Ethics*. At the very beginning of his lecture of January 24, 1978, Deleuze expresses his regret that

¹ See for instance her footnote on Michael Stocker’s failure in his *Valuing Emotions* (1996) to contain affect within the confines of a non-cognitive theory of emotions. According to Nussbaum, Stocker’s fluctuating account leaves open questions like “Is [affect] a kind of psychic energy? But what kind? And is the kind specific to each emotion-type, or is it something that distinguishes all emotions from nonemotions?” (2001: 71).

the translators of Spinoza's work have failed to discriminate between the terms *affectus* and *affectio* in the Latin original. He then goes on to define each. On this definition, *affectus*, or affect, is different from an idea in that "affect is precisely a mode of thought which has no representational character" (Deleuze 1978: 2) and it is further, and more specifically, determined in terms of the 'variations' in our 'force of existing' (*vis existendi*) or our 'power of acting' (*potentia agendi*). In this economy, my existence involves meeting different bodies, and thus I travel, so to speak, between the different ideas that I have of these bodies. Here is Deleuze's example:

in the street I run into Pierre, for whom I feel hostility, I pass by and say hello to Pierre, or perhaps I am afraid of him, and then I suddenly see Paul who is very very charming, and I say hello to Paul reassuredly and contentedly ... What is it? In part, succession of two ideas, the idea of Pierre and the idea of Paul; but there is something else: a variation also operates in me. (Deleuze 1978: 3)

So one body, the first body in this opposition will subtract from my *vis existendi* whereas the second one will add to it. In Deleuze's words:

When I pass from the idea of Pierre to the idea of Paul, I say that my power of acting is increased; when I pass from the idea of Paul to the idea of Pierre, I say that my power of acting is diminished. (Deleuze 1978: 4)

Then there's also *affectio*, or affection. Unlike *affectus*, which is definitely not an idea, *affectio* (affection) is an idea (i.e. it has some representational content): "Affectio is a mixture of two bodies, one body which is said to act on another, and the other receives the trace of the first. Every mixture of bodies will be termed an affection" (Deleuze 1978: 4). Deleuze then makes it clear that for Spinoza "affection-ideas are representations of effects without their causes, and [thus they are] inadequate ideas. These are ideas of mixture separated from the causes of the mixture" (Deleuze 1978: 5).

How could all of this be applied to the situation of teaching literature? Well, one could say that there are three bodies in the literature classroom: the body of the literary text, the body of the instructor and the bodies of the students. Now we get to the meaning of the second term in my title: the text. In this paper, the

text is of interest to me as a body that can affect other bodies, or to transpose this into the vocabulary of the previous paragraph, it is a body that can mix with other bodies. According to Deleuze, for Spinoza a body is “when a certain composite or complex relation of movement and rest is preserved through all the changes which affect the parts of the body” (Deleuze 1978: 5). That’s what a text in the classroom is. It is, on the one hand, an affected body in that we, the other bodies in the room, subject its parts to change through our readings, and it is, on the other hand, an affecting body as long as through its rhythms, through its presences and absences, through its complex materiality, it leaves a trace in our bodies.

Now let me return to my example with the supposed coincidence after my reading of the Proust passage. It will have become clear from what I said previously that I cherish the hope that at this point affect was at work, and my voicing of the text produced a positive variation (actually, Spinoza associates this type of variation with joy) in the level of *vis existendi* of some of the bodies in the classroom. My hope is also that in this ‘chance encounter’ *affectus* will evolve into *affectio* and will thus result in a certain mixture of bodies. Let me emphasise that I believe there is no mysticism involved here. The way I see it, this is a purely materialistic moment where a body meets other bodies. It would also be legitimate to say, of course, that it is an a-historical moment, a moment permeated with ideology. Because of its tautological structure, “the body is a body is a body”, it could be perceived as a Lacanian *point de capiton* (a quilting point) at which the endless multiplication of metonymies stops and one ends up in a position dangerously close to the unsymbolisable, to the Real.² It is an illusory affective moment that brings to the fore that elusive aesthetic quality of the text which Peter de Bolla has defined as “the virtual effect of art, the sense we have that what is internal to our affective experience is a reflection of or response to what is “inside” the work” (De Bolla 2003: 26).

If we return to Lacan, it is a moment structured around the illusory *petit objet a*: the object cause of desire, i.e. the thing we think we have lost but we never had in the first place and which we can never have. It is indeed a moment filled with potentially reactionary, Coleridgean pathos, since it ensures an aesthetic safe haven away from the tribulations of history. In other words, it is a moment that revives the good old Romantic ideology. However, it could also be seen as a Benjamin-like moment where “thinking suddenly stops” and this results in a

² Along with the imaginary and the symbolic, the real is one of the three orders in Lacanian psychoanalysis. One way of defining the real would be to describe it as the wholeness/presence that lies beyond language.

certain rupture, in “a cessation of happening” (Benjamin 1970: 265). My hope is that this momentary “cessation of happening” could redeem the literature classroom from what Brian Massumi has dubbed the grid: “a repertoire of possible permutations on a limited set of predetermined terms” (Massumi 2002: 3). To translate this into humanese, let me give an example: an MA student, who wants me to supervise her MA thesis, recently told me that she was tired of the ubiquitous presence of terms like race and gender in the titles of dissertations, and that she wanted something else. It is this “something else” that, I believe, literary education might want to add to its agenda. What’s the content of the “something else”? I have no definitive answer to this question, of course, but I can say that it should critique and complement the discursive planes constituting what Alain Badiou refers to as ‘democratic materialism’. Famously, Badiou has reformulated what he assumes is the tenet of Foucauldian ‘democratic materialism’ – “there are only bodies and languages” – by making a crucial addition to it – “there are only bodies and languages, except that there are truths” (Badiou 2006: 4).

It is well known that for Badiou truth is always bound up with a situation – it is that excess which a situation cannot accommodate. In this sense, the affective moment that I have described could be said to have some truth content as long as it could be interpreted as a moment of rupture and excess. The truth that this moment asserts could be phrased as follows: “There is something about this text that makes bodies mix”. It is, if you wish, like the truth of the lover, who, in the act of falling in love, becomes one with another body. One last thing: I don’t think of this moment as transcending the boundaries of the text: it does not lie *hors du texte*, if we borrow the Derridean formula. Although there is an element of theatricality to its staging, and in this sense, there is a bit too much mimesis involved, the centre remains the body of the text.

What happens, pedagogically, after this moment of coincidence, though? This question is similar to “what happens after the day of the revolution or after the day one falls in love.” If we return to Spinoza’s terminology, what should happen at the next stage is an evolution from affection to notion ideas. If the former are focused on effects, and are thus confused and inadequate, the latter are focused on causes: “the notion is raised to the comprehension of the cause, that is if the mixture has such and such effect, this is by virtue of the nature of the relation of the two bodies considered and of the manner in which the relation of one of the bodies is combined with the relation of the other body” (Deleuze 1978: 9). So at this stage, the discussion in the classroom will centre on the question why our bodies have mixed or have refused to mix in this particular way with the

body of this particular text. In the course of the exploration of the causes of the “I like it” or “I don’t like it” statements, contextual knowledge could be more or less seamlessly incorporated. Thus, for instance, my student’s preference for “pure poetry” could lead to a discussion of the validity of this notion in the context of the many different types of poetry that exist. Thus some progress will be made to a more adequate notion. The discussion of the causes of students’ affective resistance to a text like *Tristram Shandy* (a body with very complex internal and external relations) could lead to a discussion of the linearity of narratives in the history of literature (an even more complex body). What matters is that in this process the instructor does not think of the student’s initial response as a dismissible bias, but as a legitimate affection idea.

As far as I’m concerned, the incorporation of affect in my pedagogical practice puts my teaching on a whole new plane. It helps me avoid the Scylla and Charybdis of two conventional, and still widely adopted, pedagogical paradigms. The first one rests on the good old Arnoldian assumption that literature is one of the redoubts in culture’s war against anarchy. The mantra, frequently revived when teachers of literature talk shop, that we are fighting a losing battle against a generation of non-readers is an articulation of this paradigm’s presuppositions. The second one, the paradigm of cultural studies, nails the bodies of literary texts and the bodies in literary texts to fixed positions/sites like gender and race. This, I believe (in a Massumian vein), precludes the possibility of inventive thinking in the literature classroom. In other words, the pedagogy that foregrounds the affective dimension of literary texts helps me shake off some of my elitist presuppositions and stops me from adopting all too easily a finite set of theoretical crutches. It enables me to make of my magisterial teacher’s body a body hoping to “meet a body coming through the rye.”

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“ISN’T IT THE TRUATH I’M TALLIN YE?” – STUDYING IRISH ENGLISH IN *FINNEGANS WAKE*

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1. INTRODUCTION

The following article is inspired by Loreto Todd’s 1989 study *The Language of Irish Literature* – a thorough and rich linguistic analysis of the phonological, grammatical and lexical features of English in predominantly 19th and early 20th century Irish literature. Certain linguistic features befitting Irish English identification are listed throughout my essay. Those concerning phonology are taken from *Irish English: History and Past and Present-Day Forms* by Raymond Hickey (2007), and research support concerning Irish English syntax is found in *The Grammar of Irish English: Language in a Hibernian Style* by Markku Filppula (1999). Their findings correspond heavily with one another and crossing over their analyses is useful in certain instances. I am using the “Irish English” in opposition to other terms classifying “English which is spoken in Ireland.” Prior to its usage, “Hiberno-English” (deriving from Hibernia, meaning “Ireland” in Latin), and “Anglo-Irish” had strong currency in linguistic research (Welch 1996: 244); however, both have been superseded by “Irish English” since roughly the year 2000, as their meanings have been refined by linguists to define smaller parts of Ireland, not the whole, also taking social issues and status into account (Hickey 2007: 25-27).

“Irish English” is the catch-all term for “English spoken in Ireland,” and it has a rich history of usage within Irish literature. *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature* (1996: 245-246) lists Jonathan Swift (in *A Dialogue in Hybernian Stile*), George Farquhar, Thomas Sheridan, Dion Boucicault, J. M. Synge, Sean O’Casey, Maria Edgeworth, William Carleton, and Somerville and Ross as authors who incorporate it into their works; however, this is only a paltry selection, acting as a poor indication of the true level of its “presence” and artistic legacy within Irish literature. In this article, I will solely analyse James Joyce’s final novel *Finnegans*

Wake in relation to the usage of “Irish English” with a case study of two of its minor characters: Kate, a female house cleaner from the rural west-coast regions of Ireland; and Matthew, an old historian, who hails from the northern province of Ulster on the island.

My reason for choosing Joyce, in general, associates with my wish to contribute to the academic debate with a fresh perspective. Surprisingly, Todd omits Joyce from her study of Irish literature in relation to Irish English linguistic features, compounding the general fact that scant research exists that seriously researches how his work relates to this variety of English in criticism (see Zingg 2005: 2). *Finnegans Wake* has received little in the way of linguistic analysis in relation to Joyce’s usage of Irish English in the speech of certain characters. This seems an obvious missed opportunity, particularly when we consider that the novel is specifically highlighted, along with the final chapter of *Ulysses* (“Penelope”), in the *Oxford Companion to Irish Literature* as a milestone in the field of its artistic representation: “In *Finnegans Wake* Hiberno-English is used as a major component in the conglomeration of linguistic forms that combine to produce a new language for prose fiction” (1996: 246). The novel brings Irish English to the international stage, arguably, for the first time exposing a continental European audience to its unique phonetic sounds and peculiar syntax.

Indeed, in Joyce’s final work, he adopted – largely without parodic intent – a style of writing strongly akin to Lady Augustus Gregory’s pioneering “Irish Literary Revival” works *Gods and Fighting Men* (Gregory 1905) and *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* (1902), whereupon, she writes in the note section of the former:

I have found it more natural to tell the [mythical] stories in the manner of the thatched cottages, where I have heard so many legends [...] rather than in the manner of the slated houses, where I have not heard them (Gregory 1902: 5942-5947).

However, Joyce enforces absolute phonological precision onto his words in *Finnegans Wake*. Lady Gregory’s “Kiltartanese” style of writing (essentially west-coast Irish English, named after the town of Kiltartan in County Galway) does not do so. Nor do the works of J.M Synge, who journeyed to the west-coast of Ireland with W.B Yeats, largely to research its native Irish English. In his “Preface” to *The Playboy of the Western World*, Synge states:

In writing [the play] I have used one or two words only that I have not heard among the country people of Ireland, or spoken in my own nursery before I could read the newspapers (in Synge 1976: 39).

However, no phonetic spellings specific to Irish English pronunciation are included in the play, essentially because the actor's performance fills them in. Indeed, it has proven sufficient for many writers to rely on the reader's imagination to *hear* Irish accents within dialogue, particularly within prose (Welch 1996: 246). Therefore, to an extent, *Finnegans Wake's* "phonetic" transcriptions have kinship with, for example, Irvine Welsh's "Scottish English" material in his Edinburgh-set novel *Trainspotting* (1993); however, Joyce is much more sparing in his employment of said style. For instance, only five *Finnegans Wake* characters speak uniformly in a form of Irish English that can be considered difficult for non-natives to understand.

Normally, a single page in *Finnegans Wake* can contain dozens of languages in total. For instance, in the "Buckey and the Russian General" section in Book II, chapter 3, the reader is faced with the intimidating presence of no less than thirty-five languages in continual flux, all of which appear within a baffling smoke of non-stop "code switching" and multi-layered, multilingual neologisms (McCreedy 2016: 56). Few other languages are incorporated into "Irish English" sections, which is a stylistic rarity. However, they offer formidable reading challenges, for example, in the subsequent excerpt from Book III chapter 3.

In this notoriously difficult section, character voices are indicated in a quotation dash format. However, no names are provided mid-text to tell us who is speaking. It is a genuine riddle and the only method there is to work it out involves a deep understanding of Irish English and its regional subdivisions. Dialogue in this chapter is "placed topographically" (McHugh: 96), meaning that we can work out who is speaking by determining the dialectal locale of a given dialogue. Unless we analyse phonological traits within the Irish English passages *very* carefully, "it is often hard to know which [speaker] is which" (McHugh 1976: 95). Only then can it be revealed that the speakers are in fact the characters Matthew, Mark, Luke and John – the figures known as the "Four Old Men" throughout *Finnegans Wake*. The section begins as follows:

- He's giving, the wee bairn. Yun has lived.
- Yerra, why dat, my leader?
- Wisha, is he boosed or what, alannah?

- Or his wind’s from the wrong cut, says Ned of the Hill.
- Lesten!
- Why so and speak up, do you hear me, you sir?
- Or he’s rehearsing somewan’s funeral.
- Whisht outathat! Hubba’s up! (FW 477).¹

I have constructed a table below which explicates the riddle. By translating the dialogue into Standard English one can approximate different types of Irish English dialects. The results generated are assisted by findings located in the *Finnegans Wake Extensible Elucidation Treasury* (FWEET), an online database which regularly updates and compiles all known *Finnegans Wake* academic material into one site. *Fweet* backs up my hypothesis that the above passage is a spirited talk between the “Four Old Men”: Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.² Elsewhere in *Finnegans Wake*, it is clearly detailed that each man hails from a different location on the island.

Original	Translation	Region of Ireland	Character
He’s giving, the wee bairn. Yun has lived.	He’s giving, the little child. Yawn ³ has lived.	Ulster	Matthew
Yerra, why dat, my leader?	O God really, why’s that, my leader?	Munster	Mark
Wisha, is he boosed or what, alannah?	Well, is he drunk or what, my darling?	Leinster	Luke
Or his wind’s from the wrong cut, says Ned of the Hill.	Or he’s farting, says Ned of the Hill.	Connaught	John
Lesten!	Listen!	Ulster	Matthew
Why so and speak up, do you hear me, you sir?	Why so and speak up, do you hear me, you sir?	Munster	Mark
Or he’s rehearsing somewan’s funeral.	Or he’s rehearsing someone’s funeral.	Leinster	Luke
Whisht outathat! Hubba’s up!	Silence out of that! The fish are here!	Connaught	John

¹ All *Finnegans Wake* page numbers will be preceded by the letters “FW”, as per convention within Joyce criticism.

² *Fweet* incorporates a complete and annotated version of *Finnegans Wake* into its program. Every “voice” in Book III chapter 3 is labelled for the reader’s convenience.

³ “Yawn” is a mysterious dream-like entity who is the topic of their talk.

In this specific essay, I will concentrate on studying the “voices” of two characters in *Finnegans Wake* who speak exclusively in Irish English. The first is the elderly household cleaner Kate, who was born on the rural west coast of the island near Galway. The second is Mark Gregory, who is a Belfast born historian and Christian evangelist. Both of them are supporting figures within the overall network of protagonists in *Finnegans Wake*. The approach which I employ is a hybrid of literary socio-linguistic research. It will analyse the phonology, lexis and syntax of selected Irish English sections in *Finnegans Wake* when Kate or Matthew speak. To assist my work, I refer exclusively to a series of phonological features in Raymond Hickey’s *Irish English: History and Present-Day Forms*. In the “A Summary of Historical Features” section, he provides us with a 21 point list, which is a useful and accurate summary of Irish English phonological features (2001: 302-303). 10 are present in total within Kate and Matthew’s speeches. I will introduce them below, quoting from Hickey’s text which illustrates each feature with one or more examples taken from an Irish literary work. I provide translations in brackets to add clarity to the more difficult ones.

Irish English historical features. A selection compiled from Hickey (2001: 302-303):

- **A-back raising**

“you do be mauke de Rauvish upon de young Womans” (You do make a ravish upon young women) (John Michelburne, *Ireland Preserved*, 1705).

- **Er – retraction**

“Worn’t his sons gintlemen no less?” (Weren’t his sons gentlemen no less?) (William Carleton, *The Tithe Proctor*, 1833)

- **I – A interchange**

“shit ub strait” (Sit up straight) (*The Pretender’s Exercise*, ?1727)

“Him that’s jist left ye, ma’am” (That man that’s just left you, ma’am) (Dion Boucicault, *The Colleen Bawn*, 1860)

- **Catch raising**

“you haven’t th’ guts to ketch a few o’ th’ things” (You haven’t the guts to catch a few of the things) (Sean O’Casey, *The Plough and the Stars*, 1926)

- **Long O-raising**

“.. that will never see you more on her flure ...” (...that will never see you more on her floor.) (William Carleton, *The Hedge School*, 1833)

- **Short E-raising**

“... the shadow of an illegant gintleman” (Dion Boucicault, *The Colleen Bawn*, 1860)

“...’tis a Profissor of Humanity itself, he is” (William Carleton, *The Hedge School*, 1833)

“divil” for “devil”, “togithir” for “together” (Dion Boucicault, *Arragh na Pogue*, 1864)

“riverince” for “reverence”, “niver” for “never” (Dion Boucicault, *The Colleen Bawn*, 1860)

- **Unraised long E**

“Merciful Jasus! what is it I see before me!” (Maria Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent*, 1801)

“spake” for “speak” (Dion Boucicault, *Arragh na Pogue*, *The Colleen Bawn*, *The Shaughbraun*)

“rade” for “read” (Dion Boucicault, *The Shaughbraun*, 1875)

“kape” for “keep” (Dion Boucicault, *Arragh na Pogue*, 1864)

- **OL-diphthongisation**

“it’s an ould thrick you have” (It’s an old trick you have) (John and Michael Banim, *Tales of the O’Hara Family*, 1825–6)

“the last of the Grameses sould the estate” (The last of the Grameses sold the estate.) (William Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, 1833)

- **S-palatisation**

“... for my shister’s afraid of ghosts” (...for my sister is afraid of ghosts) (Maria Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent*, 1801)

- **Post-sonorant stop deletion**

“he was bringin’ twenty poun’s a week into the house; his arm fell, accidental like, roun’ me waist” (He was bringing twenty pounds a week into the house; his arm fell, accidental like, around my waist) (Sean O’Casey, *Juno and the Paycock*, 1924).

2. KATE'S IRISH ENGLISH

Kate's regional Irish accent is "quaint" and homely, befitting her rural upbringing on the western-coast. *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literary* (246) states:

In prose fiction, Hiberno-English is generally used only when reporting the speech of peasants; Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* (1800) and the character of the servant Thady being a pioneering example.

On page 6, shades of Kate's Irish English speech enter into chapter 1's narrative, and a full range of mainly phonological features flood the text shortly after. Irish English is most intensely employed during the eighth and tenth pages, during Kate's "tour" of the so-called "Museyroom"; a geographically shifting dreamland realisation of the Battle of Waterloo museum which Joyce visited in 1926.

2.1 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF KATE'S IRISH ENGLISH

One of the first phrases Kate says in the novel is "I should shee!" (FW 6). Here, "see" is pronounced as "shee", which is *S-palatisation*. A cluster of three Irish English phonological features occurs later on the same page. The features of the *unraised long E*, *post-sonorant stop deletion* and *I – A interchange* are all introduced into *Finnegans Wake* in the following section:

'Twas he was the dacent gaylabouring youth. Sharpen his pillowscone, tap up his bier! E'rawhere in this whorl would ye hear sich a din again? (FW 6)

(He was a decent gay labouring youth. Sharpen his pillarstone, top up his beer! Where in the world would you hear such a din again?).

"Dacent" (meaning 'decent') is an example of an *unraised long E*.⁴ "Whorl" (for 'world') invokes *post-sonorant stop deletion*; in this case the [d] is not sounded. This is true of roughly half the instances of this feature in *Finnegans Wake*; while in

⁴ A classic example of the feature's usage in Irish English is when the religious oath "Jesus!" is pronounced as "Jaysus!" (Hickey 2007: 303), spoken by the Connaught-born "Johnny MacDougal" in Book III chapter 3: "Oh, Jeyses, fluid!" (480). This is a reference to "Jeyes Fluid"; an English brand of disinfectant, which is confusingly pronounced "Jays" (/dʒeɪz/).

the other half, [g] is the unsounded phone. One example includes: “and the jinnies is a ravin her hair” (meaning ‘raving’) (FW 10). Overall, it is a phonological feature rarely used by itself. Instead, it is combined with the following: the previously mentioned *unraised long E*, and two others which I will introduce in due course: namely, *Short E raising* and *OL-diphongisation*.

The final Irish English phonological feature in this sentence is the *I – A interchange*. Here, the word ‘such’ is spelled “sich”. Most of the most obvious examples are found in Kate’s dialogue in relation to the actions of the “Jinnies” – two young girls who are tormenting a lecherous old man with a blackmail letter. Two phrases, “This is jinnies rinning away” and “the rinnaway jinnies” use the *I – A interchange* since the verb ‘to run’ is being used in both cases.

The *ER-retraction* feature is occasionally used in Kate’s speech, despite its archaic nature – being in fact mid-19th century in origin (Hickey 2007: 304). This indicates that Kate is indeed from a part of Ireland that is rural and backward; arguably, a village on the west coast. In “his royal divorsion” (FW 9), the word is ‘diversion’. The phone /er/ is retracted. Although not *ER-retraction*, there is another interesting quote in Irish English pronunciation that bears a phonological kinship with this feature:

“This is the bog lipoleum mordering the lipoleum beg”
(This is the big Lipoleum murdering the small Lipoleum) (FW 9)⁵

Here, Kate pronounces the word ‘murdering’ with a strong Galway pronunciation.

Elsewhere in the novel, *ER-retraction* is spoken by the novel’s resident character from the province of Leinster. In Book III chapter 3, Luke Tarpey (one of the “Four”), complains loudly to “Yawn”, pronouncing “heard” as “hored” in his harsh Dublin accent:

“If you hored him outerly as we harum lubberintly” (FW 485).

Short E-raising is the most prevalent Irish English feature found in Kate’s speech, appearing at least ten times in the section. In the example already mentioned, “Jinnies” involves *short E-raising*. The word is in fact the “Jennies”, which denotes two girls who have the same name.

⁵ “Beg” derives from “Baeg”, meaning ‘small’ in Irish.

Another example of this feature is “the dooley boy and the hinnessy” (FW 11), which refers to a character on the side-lines of the battlefield called “Hennessy”.

Two additional “Kate-isms”, or Irish English phonological features associated with Kate, occur on pages subsequent to her “Museyroom” tour; specifically, *catch-raising* and *long O-raising*. They occur in the following sentences, spoken by the omniscient narrator in Book I Chapter 1:

“So true is it that therewhere’s a turnover the tay is wet too and when you think you ketch sight of a hind make sure but you’re cocked by a hin”.
(It is so true that when there’s a pastry, the tea is also ready, and when you think you catch sight of a hound, make sure that you’re caught by a hen) (12)

The second reads:

“Tristopher and Hilary, were kickaheeling their dummy on the oil cloth flure of his homerigh, castle and earthenhouse”.
(Tristopher and Hilary were tripping over their dummy⁶ on the waterproofed cloth floor within the castle of Batholomew Vanhomrigh) (21).

Firstly, the narrator’s pronunciation of the phrase “catch sight of” as “ketch sight of” is defined by Hickey as *catch-raising*. The first example also incorporates an *unraised long E* in the word “tea”, producing “tay” (a very common Irish English term), and *short E-raising* in “hin” (hen) – Kate’s animal companion and sometime alter-ego in the novel. A “turnover” is an Irish pastry with icing sugar and burnt jam on the top. It is often served with tea.

In the second example, *long O-raising* is observed in the narrator’s pronunciation of the word ‘floor’ as “flure”. Kate’s job as a house cleaner immediately identifies her with this term, and hence it is always associated with her thick Galway accent. During question 6 of the novel’s “Quiz” section (Book I chapter 6), Kate’s “voice” returns to answer first-hand a question concerning her profession as a cleaner in the Chapelizod bar where the chapter’s action is set:

⁶ This word is cryptic and difficult to translate within the context of the sentence. “Dummy” is most likely a child’s pacifier.

“And whowasit youwasit propped the pot in the yard and whatinthe nameofsen lukeareyou rubbinthe sideofthe flureofthe lobbywith. Shite! will you have a plateful?”

(Who broke the pot in the yard and what in the name of Saint Luke are you rubbing the side of the floor of the lobby with? Shit! Would you like some of this food?) (FW 142)

Long O-raising is again used, making the word “flure” appear in a rapid flurry of speech, represented by multiple words being amalgamated together. Indeed, Irish English is in general quite fast in its delivery, making this section an accurate reproduction of this linguistic trait.

On page 8, the “tour” of the museum begins with the utterance:

“Now yiz are in the Willingdone Museyroom”.

(Now you are in the Willingdone Museyroom) (FW 8)

“Yiz” is in fact Kate’s western Irish pronunciation of “you” (/jus/). This is an Irish English form indicating the second person plural ‘you’. Corrigan writes that this is typically used in Northern Ireland English and Ulster Scots (53-54). Kate pronounces the personal pronoun “you” as “yiz” because of her Galway accent. It is not an *I – A interchange*.

2.2. LEXICAL FEATURES OF KATE’S IRISH ENGLISH

In the next utterance, the word “orra” emphasises the Irish English tone since it is the shortened form of “Begorra” meaning ‘by God’:

“Macool, Macool, orra whyi deed ye diie?”

(Macool, Macool, oh why did you die?) (FW 6)

Words with Irish Gaelic origins including “craythur” (meaning ‘whiskey’, from *crétur* for “creature”) are used verbatim in *Finnegans Wake*, such as “Annie uggd the little craythur” (FW 4), where Annie onomatopoeically “uggs” the drink down her throat. Irish English’s abundant usage of diminutive adjectives – often in the form of “wee” – explains the use of “little” here, which emphasises the phrase’s regional linguistic colour.

Chapter 1 is rich with Irish English lexis, which requires a dictionary to explain. The trait whereupon the Irish frequently invoke religion and the word of God in short ejaculatory statements (Todd 1989: 160) begins here; the legacy of devout Catholicism and Protestantism in the country explaining the heavy prevalence of curses, religious oaths and prayers throughout the novel by multiple characters. “Bad scannt to me aunt Florenza” (FW 26) is the evil wish “Bad scan⁷ to you” (Joyce 1910: 317); and “Dibble a hayfork’s wrong with her” (FW 28) is a clumsy, rural themed version of the oath “Devil a hap’orth!” (or “A half-portion of the devil”). Non-religious, but native lexis to Ireland includes the verb “twig” (or ‘to understand, to discern, to catch the point’ (Joyce 1910: 343) – “Hairfluke, if he could bad twig her!” (FW 23) – and the noun “tilly”; ‘a small quantity of anything given over and above the quantity purchased’ (Joyce 1910: 341), which often refers to alcoholic drink. In this sentence, eggnog (“eggynaggy”) is the tippie in question: “You were the pale eggynaggy and a kis to tilly up” (FW 26); the drink being deemed “a term of abuse” to the addressee.

Other highly specific Irish English traits include the usage of the repetitive phrase “at all, all” – or “a toll, a toll” (FW 4)– which is defined by Hickey as a *sentence-final negator* (Hickey 2007: 138). Kate has a verbal tick concerning requests for “tips” and payment throughout *Finnegans Wake*, so a “toll” could also indicate the payment she wants for the many menial tasks she carries out.

The usage of the word “thon” multiple times as a distal demonstrative in the following passage is further evidence that Kate’s speech is of west-coast Irish origin. The identity of this individual is English pagan god “Thon”.

“Wail, ’tis well! She niver comes out when Thon’s on shower or when Thon’s flash with his Nixy girls or when Thon’s blowing toomcracks down the gael’s of Thon

(Well, all is well! She never comes there when he⁸ is raining down his water nymphs or when he is sending down flashes of lightning or when he blows thunder cracks down the valleys) (FW 11).

Hickey writes that this pronoun is native to Co. Donegal, for instance, in the village of Carndonagh, and it is also commonly used in the city of Londonderry. He writes that “[t]he demonstratives thon ‘yon’ and thunder ‘yonder’ are found as equivalents to the now obsolete distal deictic pronouns of English” (Hickey

⁷ This means ‘luck’ in Irish English.

⁸ The identity of this individual is English pagan god “Thon”.

2007: 109), indicating, as we have already surmised, that “Kate-like” Irish English is archaic in its construction.

2.3. SYNTACTICAL FEATURES OF KATE’S IRISH ENGLISH

One final point concerns Kate’s usage of the “For to + infinitive” as an Irish English syntactical construction (Filpulla 1999: 54, 185; Hickey 2007: 395-6), used twice during her tour of the “Museyroom”. Indeed, it links the two sentences in terms of structural design. Both closely follow each other within Kate’s narrative and retell the Jinnies’s fiendish machinations regarding their sexual blackmail of “Willingdone” – a Duke of Wellington avatar figure:

“That was the tictacs of the jinnies for to fontannoy the Willingdone”

(It was the Jinnies’s tactics to annoy Wellington) (FW 10)

“This is the jinnies’ hastings dispatch for to irrigate the Willingdone”

(This is the Jinnies’s hastily written letter to annoy Wellington) (FW 10)

In both instances, the “purposive” (Hickey 2007: 120) nature of the Jinnies’s actions is emphasised through the usage of the “for to + infinitive”. Filpulla states: “Like the Narrative Infinitive, the for to + infinitive construction has long been known to be part of HE⁹ grammar” (Filpulla 1999: 185; see also, Joyce 1910: 51). So, on page 4, this distinct Irish English syntactical feature is employed by the narrator (in the first of multiple occurrences in *Finnegans Wake*):

“one yeastyday he sternely struxk his tete in a tub for to watsch the future of his fates”

(One Easter day he forcefully struck his head on a tub to foresee the future) (FW 4)

Again, in this sentence, the *for to + infinitive* construction fulfils the role of emphasising the purpose of the action. Roughly “translated” into standard English, the narrator’s difficult Irish English dialect reads as: One yesterday he sternly struck his head in a tube in order to watch the future of his fates”. In *Finnegans Wake*, this

⁹ “HE” is the abbreviation for “Hiberno-English”. In the past ten years, the term has been superseded by that of “Irish English”. Hickey’s reasoning for using the term is that it is “neutral” and free from loaded meaning (see Hickey 2007: 4-5). This is an important factor since Ireland is very sensitive concerning the political “naming” of its regions.

construction is used solely to indicate this specific grammatical meaning. It can be speculated that Joyce equated it with west-coast Irish speech. Like the *Narrative Infinitive* (scarcely used in the novel) the *for to + infinitive* is considered archaic in present-day discourse (Filpulla 1999: 184-185). Filpulla considers two research points of view: one that the *for to + infinitive* is derived from Irish syntactical constructions, or, adversely, it is derived from “earlier English” (184, 185) – corroborating Hickey’s theory that it originates from Middle English and that, hypothetically, English settlers instigated its usage in the 12th century (Hickey 2007: 186, 187). P.W. Joyce (1911: 51) classifies it as being part of peasant speech.

3. MATTHEW’S IRISH ENGLISH

Matthew Gregory is the Ulsterman in the group of the “Four Old Men”. His home province is therefore in the north of the island, and Belfast is his home city. He is a Protestant Unionist, and staunchly loyal to its traditions. Indeed, in Book III, chapter 3, Matthew reveals his “Loyalist” political leanings by spouting the anti-Catholic phrase “Choke the pope!” (FW 500). At the time of writing *Finnegans Wake*, following Irish Independence in 1922, the province of Ulster was strategically partitioned to ensure that the country would be majority Protestant, with Catholic nationalists in the minority. Befitting links between Protestant Unionism and Scotland, Matthew mainly speaks “Ulster Scots”, which refers to “Scots as brought to Ulster primarily during the plantations of the first half of the seventeenth century” and is “found in the peripheral parts of counties of Ulster (north Down, Derry and to lesser extent Donegal)” (Hickey 2007: 5, 6). Matthew answers his “quiz” question in chapter 6 in a thick Belfast accent, the location of his speech being accentuated by his inclusion of “Belfast” and Unionist iconic imagery into his reply – for instance, the “orange garlands” (referencing the sashes worn by “Orange Men”) and proud references to the Belfast “Harland and Wolfe” ship building industry (the company which built the Titanic):

“And when ye’ll hear the gould hommers of my heart, my floxy loss, bingbanging again the ribs of yer resistance and the tenderbolts of my rivets working to your distraction ye’ll be sheverin wi’ all yer dinful sobs when we’ll go riding acope-acurly, you with yer orange garland and me with my conny cordial, down the greaseways of rollicking into the waters of wetted life”.

(And when you hear my heart's gold hammers, my beautiful lady, banging against the ribs of your resistance with my song's tender words mesmerising you, and you'll be shivering with sinful cries when we go riding head over heels, you wearing your orange garland and me with a tasty liqueur, making our rollicking and slippery journey into the waters of wedded life.) (FW 140)

3.1. PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF MATTHEW'S IRISH ENGLISH

Matthew's Irish English "voice" is one the most phonologically rich in *Finnegans Wake*, with at least eight features present; but its variety is augmented by the addition of "Scottish English" phonological features and lexis because, as previously mentioned, he speaks Ulster Scots. Matthew also introduces one more Irish English phonological feature listed by Hickey, not used by Kate: namely, *OL-diphthongisation*, which occurs in relation to the word "gould" (gold).

Present in the quote above, "sheverin" is a combination of an *unraised long E* and *post-sonorant stop deletion*, the word "shivering" being the word spoken by Matthew, and "hommers" is his Ulster Scots pronunciation of 'hammers'. Matthew's thick accent serves double-duty in the word "wetted life", where the [d] phone is replaced by [t]. His short speech, a romantic ode to a young maiden – albeit, one bizarrely preoccupied with the need to promote Ulster Protestant cultural identity – concludes with the desire to enter into a "rollicking" marriage, together with seductive "water" imagery, its sexual connotations clearly present. By pronouncing "wedded life" as "wetted life", this thematic concept is emphasised; although, this is arguably more noticeable when his words are transcribed into prose.

OL-diphthongisation is most commonly demonstrated with the change of "old" to "ould" in Irish English; for instance, in Book I, chapter 5, when the narrator requests "an ould cup on tay" (FW 117).

Matthew regularly uses Ulster Scots pronunciation in relation to the second person singular and plural pronoun 'you', most often represented as "ye", or "yer" if it is in the form of the possessive determiner (McColl 2007: 168). Examples include:

"Is there cold on ye, doraphobian?"
(Are you cold, doraphobic¹⁰ one?) (FW 478)

¹⁰ If one suffers from "doraphobia," they have a fear of touching either skin or fur.

“Ye” and “yer” variations, “yu” and “yur”, occur in the same chapter, when Matthew argues with and insults the character Yawn:

“D’yu mean to sett there where y’are now, coddlin your supernumerary leg, wi’ that bizar tongue in yur tolkshap, and your hindies and shindies, like a muck in a market, Sorley boy, repeating yursel, and tell me that?” (Do you mean to sit there where you are now, cuddling your extra-large leg, with that bizarre tongue in your cheek, and your lively parties, like a pig in a market, Sorley boy, repeating yourself, and tell me that?) (FW 499).

In addition, “sett” is the verb “sit” with an Irish English *unraised long E*. Another “Mathew-ism” concerns his pronunciation of “where” as “whure”:

Whur’s that inclining and talkin about the messiah so cloover? A true’s to your treffling! Whure yu!” (Who is that enthusiastically talking about the monsieur in such a clever way? I call a truce to your meddling! Who are you!) (FW 457)

This is close in kin to Hickey’s Irish English *ER-retraction* feature, as previous examples in this text demonstrate.

3.2. LEXICAL FEATURES OF MATTHEW’S IRISH ENGLISH

Matthew’s Ulster Scots voice is emphasised through the usage of Scottish lexis and expressions – for instance, “the wee bairn” (FW 477) (meaning ‘little child’), as well as the usage of the diminutive “wee”, which precedes a disproportionate number of nouns in “Scottish English” in regular speech. “Would ye ken” (Would you know?) (FW 482) is also uniquely Scottish.

3.3. SYNTACTICAL FEATURES OF MATTHEW’S IRISH ENGLISH

In addition, the syntax is specifically Irish English in regards to its usage of the preposition “on”. In this case, it is employed as a special means of indicating a “disadvantage of some kind” (Filpulla 1999: 219).

Lay yer lug till the groun”
(Put your ear to the ground) (FW 500).

4. ESTABLISHING THE CHARACTER AND IDENTITIES OF KATE AND MATTHEW WITH THEIR IRISH ENGLISH “VOICINGS”

The following section will discuss how we can understand a lot about both characters through a close interpretive analysis of our linguistic findings. In general, in *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce keeps to a consistent style whereupon his protagonists have easily identifiable verbal “quirks” or qualities. Everyone is unique in their speech patterns, which is used heavily for comedic and poetic purposes.

Our understanding regarding Kate’s identity relies heavily upon our listening to her voice. Since *Finnegans Wake* is not a realist novel, we rarely receive physical descriptions of her or are provided with any background biographical information. Instead, we have room for personal interpretation in relation to her character, which facilitates more freedom whilst reading. Since her speech indicates that she has a strong rural identity in the west coast of Ireland, certain aspects of her life story can be filled in by the reader. Certainly, by originating in this part of the island at this time in history, she comes from a farming background, has lived in a small white washed cottage, under cramped conditions, and has a large family. She is almost certainly a native Irish Roman Catholic and is quite likely to be a bilingual speaker of Irish and English. (This part of Ireland contains the majority of the countries’ Gaeltachts – the regions where Irish is spoken fluently in day to day life, even today). Kate’s English speech has a strong element of substratal influence from Irish language lexis and syntax, which is typical of Irish English in formally bilingual parts of the country. In terms of biography, we *do* know that Kate lives in Dublin and works as a cleaner for a family. Clearly she travelled to the city in search of work, as countless young women from the impoverished west coast did in the 19th and 20th centuries. Joyce presents her as an embodiment of the troubles which the Irish language faced at this time in its history. She is never given the opportunity to even code-switch with fellow Irish bilinguals in the novel. She no longer speaks Irish since Dublin was effectively an English speaking city, despite the efforts at reviving the language from a governmental and constitutional level following the establishment of Ireland as an independent country in 1921. Even the Irish lexis which she uses in the novel has undergone an irreversible process

of “Anglicisation”. Her L1 language is muffled and stifled by her L2 language in *Finnegans Wake*, which Joyce presents in a tragic yet sadly predictable manner.

Returning to how her language presents her personal character, Kate is by and large a homely and welcoming individual (albeit rather house-proud and slightly mean with money). She has made no attempt to modify her speech in any way, so her accent immediately betrays her humble peasant roots. Modern *Finnegans Wake* readers most often find her speech very endearing, since by and large we no longer hold hard prejudices that regional accents in the west of Ireland indicate a lack of education and backward-thinking in its people. During the time of Joyce’s composition of the novel, however, this was certainly not the case. Kate makes no attempt to modify her speech at any given time, to accommodate those whom she meets who are not acquainted with Irish English. Or at least, her language always remains very “broad” in its delivery. She may be oblivious to the stereotyping she may be subject to due to her accent, but it is more likely that she is much too busy in her life to be bothered by such concerns. In short, she is a down-to-earth figure whose rugged, unrefined yet melodic voice represents a wild and uncivilised world, in the eyes of the novel’s contemporary readers at least.

Contrarily, Matthew is a characteristically gruff working class Protestant from Belfast. He fits into a derogatory, yet highly amusing stereotype well known throughout Ireland, celebrated by Catholics. Multiple facets or tropes common to the “Loyalist” stereotype can be detected solely by listening to Matthew’s speech. The most obvious being the occasional intolerant exclamation about the Catholic faith and the native Irish. However, Matthew is not a villain in *Finnegans Wake*. He betrays xenophobic political views, but essentially his character is harmless and full of hot air. He behaves in this manner since *Finnegans Wake* was written in the period closely following the formation of Northern Ireland as a state. To Matthew, and all Protestants, it was a dangerous time when all of Ulster could have potentially left the United Kingdom and joined up with Éire (the Republic of Ireland) in 1921, making them a religious minority in the country as a whole. The Protestant people felt justifiably threatened in regards to where the borders of Ulster would be drawn.

Matthew’s speech is gruff and unrefined, befitting his job as a labourer in the Belfast ship yards. However, it is implied that beneath his tough exterior he has a gentler and sensitive side, shown within his romantic “ode” to the unnamed lady wearing the “orange garland”. However, his rough accent, off-putting masculine boasting and insensitive bluntness of speech demonstrate that a Belfast “shipyard” variety of English is not one suited to that of love poetry. We cannot fault his

passion and sincerity though, so it is amusing that Joyce presents his Irish English as a hindrance to his making his seduction of his beloved a success. The oft-told notion that Irish accents sound musical to the ear is hilariously shown to be a fallacy.

Matthew's identity as an Ulster Protestant is clearly presented by his language usage, which is Ulster Scots, a form of Irish English isolated to northern parts of Ireland, largely in the counties Down, Antrim and Londonderry. It is a dialect which originated in Ireland mainly during the seventeenth century plantation of Ireland when Scottish farmers came to the country to farm claim land. The presence of Scots Gaelic is strong in the speech of many in the aforementioned areas, and it is an important aspect of identity to many Ulster Protestants. These farmers are Matthew's ancestors. (Today, it is often present translated from English, alongside Irish, on signs in public buildings such as hospitals and on governmental administration forms). Matthew is a proud speaker of Ulster Scots, evident from his confident delivery and refusal to modify his speech into a standard form of Irish English known as Received Ulster. He is speaking it to affirm his identity as a Scot and to emphasise that Ulster Scots is "different" from Irish English dialects located on Catholic regions of the island of Ireland. These parts do not have Scottish lexis or syntax in their linguistic structures, and are hence less "Protestant". Patriotism and an affirmation of his religious identity underpin his language usage to an extent.

5. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the Irish Literary Revival ideology of using authentic "Irish" voices is not distant from Joyce's stylistic intentions within the dialogues in *Finnegans Wake*. Its Irish English is meticulously structured using a high attention to detail on all linguistic levels. A comprehensive list of features is used in the speeches of the characters Kate and Matthew, for instance. Additionally, Joyce's incorporation of Irish English is "topographical" in style owing to its unparalleled level of sociolinguistic precision. A character's home county can be identified by their speech alone. Their dialects also reveal facets of their backgrounds that remain unsaid otherwise; for instance, their social standing, religion, and even political affiliation. Sections of *Finnegans Wake* arguably equate to eavesdropping on authentic conversations. Therefore, to the reader not native to Ireland, a character's speech may be considered near unintelligible at times. However, the variety of English is perfectly understood between the characters as a group, identifying

it as a private language of sorts. Although this imbues a rich sense of authentic Irish speech into the novel, it does have the unavoidable consequence of alienating readers. (Unless one has experienced the linguistic idiosyncrasies of Irish English by having lived in Ireland for a time, it is arguably impossible to comprehend certain passages. Therefore, Joyce takes a brave artistic step in introducing this material into his novel).

In relation to *Finnegans Wake*, future analysis of the three remaining “Irish English” characters is imperative if one is to fully determine the linguistic nature and ultimate importance of this variety of English in the novel. Pertinent topics include research on Luke Tarpey – one of the “Four” – who is a Dubliner and whose character is representative of the eastern province of Leinster. His “voice” is tinged and coloured with Irish Gaelic lexis, more so than any other of the “Irish English” named in *Finnegans Wake*. Full research is also needed of “Mark Lyons’s speech”, who hails from the southern province of Munster. His voice is poetic, rural and lilting in its tone, in contrast to the brusque and blunt “big smoke” Belfast qualities found in Matthew’s speech. His home city being Cork – it would be interesting to find out why no Irish English phonological features appear whatsoever within his speech.

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LITERATURE AND ARCHITECTURE: THE WINDOW IN MID-VICTORIAN FICTION

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Until the late twentieth century, criticism of the Victorian novel treated its formal aspect lightly, if not with contempt. Too much plotting and too little of the inconsequentiality of real life, too much moral sentiment and too little emotional depth, too much autobiography and too little objective judgment of the complexity of human psychology – these, among others, kept analysis of form apart from that of content. Several important new perspectives and “turns”, however, worked towards a transformation of the earlier paradigm. Cultural historicism opened up the view towards the source and nature of Victorian realism. The narrative turn in the humanities and the social sciences eroded earlier preconceptions about the autonomy of literary criticism, while at the same time steering narratology out of its structuralist grip. Explorations in the Victorian visual imagination met with urban studies, the Bildungsroman with narrative and cognitive psychology. As a result, Victorian fiction has now become the subject of a truly interdisciplinary complex of interpretive frameworks in which the very conceptual node of narratology, including such primary givens as narrator, focalisation, voice and levels, has found its firm ground in the details of material reality in its often conflicting relation with human subjects. The present paper aims for precisely such an interdisciplinary exploration of one such detail that is so mundane that it has so far gone unnoticed – the window in its various roles as a realistic element of the fictional world but also as a perspectival source and as a mediator in the conflicts that shape the plots of the major novels of the period.

As a starting point, it is well to begin with two instances of apotheosis of this commonplace architectural detail. On May 1st, 1851, the very day when Queen Victoria ceremoniously opened the Great Exhibition, *The Times* published a *May Day Ode* celebrating the occasion and penned by none other than William Makepeace Thackeray, the most renowned English novelist at that time. Like many well-known public personalities and the millions of people who were to visit the Exhibition, Thackeray felt great pride and enthusiasm at the glorious display of

material progress and the triumph of British industrial power. Unsurprisingly and as if to prepare the future visitors for a unique experience, he began by extolling the splendour of the glazed pavilion which housed the exhibits and which had already become popularly known as the Crystal Palace. In the very first stanza he poured out his wonder and awe at this “blazing arch of lucid glass ... a palace as for fairy Prince” (Thackeray 1904: 60), to conclude with another reference to its transparency thanks to which “God’s peaceful sunlight’s beaming through,/ And shines o’er all” (Thackeray 1904: 63). Yet, even at the height of his elation, Thackeray could not prevent his other artistic self from springing into action. Less than a week earlier he had published in *Punch* a comic poem on the same topic entitled “Mr. Molony’s Account of the Crystal Palace.” Mr. Molony was an Irish persona Thackeray had specially devised for *Punch* and in this poem he used the conventional stereotype of the Comic Irishman to offer a complementary perspective through a different register and from a low-class standpoint. Though no less struck by the Crystal Palace than the applauding poet, Mr. Molony greets it as “that wondthrous thing/ The Palace made o’ windows” (Thackeray 1904: 158).

The play with mutually undercutting perspectives is, of course, the hallmark of Thackeray’s irony. Yet rather than opposing or trivialising the poet’s rapture in the *Ode*, Mr. Molony’s comically absurd formulation complements it. For both views of the magnificent glass structure speak from and to the day and time. At mid-nineteenth century, Britain had become acutely aware that the architecture and the construction of all buildings, including those meant as homes, serve not only as class and social emblems but they also determine the circumstances of individual life in its familial, private and purely physical aspects. In his proper person, Thackeray marvels at the aesthetic effect of the material and the architectural design to transform and elevate it into a glorification of the imperial might that made it possible. Mr. Molony’s perspective, which treats the hundreds of thousands of glass panes as so many windows, is topically utilitarian but it also echoes the terms of the current political and social discourses and debates on the built urban environment. Victorian cities, Asa Briggs famously stated, “were places where problems often overwhelmed people” (Briggs 1963: 22). In the effort to unravel this complexity, the Victorians for the first time put under scrutiny details that had hitherto been taken for granted and therefore rarely mentioned. As one of these details, the window acquired a significance reaching into broad nationwide concerns, most importantly about health and sanitation but also about new routines and mechanisms of personal action and interpersonal relations. The window’s importance in mid-Victorian Britain can thus be measured both by its

centrality in public discourses about urban planning with the resulting legislative action, and in narrative fiction, where it provides spaces for plot action and narrative progression indispensable for the plot and its ideological impact.

Indeed, Victorian novels abound in window moments and scenes that foreground a new interface between architecture, both urban and domestic, and literature. There are in these works houses with many windows and walls with none, glazed and stained glass windows and ones whose missing panes are replaced with old rags, windows used by characters to enter or exit rooms, windows that characters look or fail to look through. Even a statistical count of the occurrence of the word window shows its sudden and remarkable prominence in the fiction of the period. The figures are telling especially when compared to earlier novels of comparable length: for example, Fielding's *Tom Jones* contains 11 occurrences of the word while the equally long *Bleak House* has 202 and *Vanity Fair* 104; Jane Austen's *Emma* features 22 instances compared to *Henry Esmond* with 55. And while in his formidably long *Clarissa* Richardson mentions windows only 26 times, in the much shorter *Lady Audley's Secret* the word occurs in 108 places. It is as if their rhythmic occurrence literalises in a rather obvious manner Henry James's famous metaphor of fiction as "a house with a million windows" (James 1934: 46). Certainly, if the word window and ones related to it are rarely mentioned in the earlier novels, this does not mean that the referent itself is missing. Where there are houses, it can be logically assumed that there are also windows. Their absence is an instance of the "implicit texture" of the fictional worlds – that is, fictional facts which readers recover through "existential presupposition" and general commonsense knowledge (Doležel 1998: 175-6). But precisely because the window is an object whose existence is taken for granted, the frequency with which writers of the mid-Victorian period not only mention it but also give it such prominence can hardly be accidental. For the very conceptual framework for its evocation was at that time being continually constructed and modified by the changing material reality and the means of its production, control and consumption.

Along the lines charted by the emerging field of enquiry into the common meanings shared by literature and architecture, on the most obvious level windows, and architectural entities in general, can be analysed in their representational role. They provide the textual form of stable and significant elements of the external world that create the effect of verisimilitude. Yet on a deeper level, and especially within the Victorian period, buildings, the whole urban landscape and separate architectural elements do share what Walter Benjamin sees as the "latent

mythology” of an age (Benjamin 1999: 834). Recent interdisciplinary studies have enriched the critical field with investigations on the contestation inherent in the design not only of public buildings but also of the Victorian home and even its separate rooms and parts.¹ Such lines of inquiry show how almost every detail of Victorian architecture became politicised within the dominant ideology of bourgeois domesticity. In various fields of social discourse and practice the critical response to the problematic of house design reveals homologies between them and the literary discourse on the topic. Victorian fiction and architecture share the terms and the analogous nodes of meanings where health, history and home are conflated into a mythologised idea of a country in peace and incessant progress and are opposed to contagion, congestion, and class conflict. At the same time as the window, its presence or absence, its size, position and its glazing, if any, became a subject of public debate, the writers of the time instrumentalised it as a significant topos of their ideologically-loaded plots.

The public attention to windows indeed accompanied the rise of the Victorian novel as the housing conditions of the poor and especially the lack of light and air in their dwellings raised great concern and indignation among royal commissioners, philanthropists and social reformers. One cause for the horrible sanitary conditions in the new urban areas was the infamous Window Tax, popularly known as “the tax on light and air.” For over a century, the Window Tax had been regarded as a major source of national revenue but now its effects on human health and sanitation became visibly detrimental. For not only were existing windows bricked up but new buildings were constructed with only the bare minimum of them, if any (Glantz 2008, Oates & Schwab 2015). The practice resulted in the long rows of back-to-back houses with that have become the most horrible architectural emblem of the Victorian industrial landscape. Eventually and after a long and well-publicised campaign, the Window Tax was indeed repealed, two months after the opening of the Great Exhibition in 1851. In the meantime, the phenomenology of the window and especially its basic function to allow light in and ventilate the premises became infused with political and ethical significance captured not only by public officials and social investigators but also by most novelists of the period.

¹ The Victorian house has been the subject of a number of books by architects and cultural historians. Most relevant here is Judith Flanders’s *Inside the Victorian Home: A Portrait of Domestic Life in Victorian England*, published also under the title *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Deathbed* (2003). An interesting and well researched book is Bill Bryson’s *At Home: A Short History of Private Life* (2013). On the Victorian parlour, see Logan 2001.

But the window's role in Victorian fiction is determined by more than the novelists' realist platform and their critical and reformist agenda. The writers of the period also instrumentalise it in the interest of their narratives, focused as they are on the life of closely-knit communities in their domestic or quasi-domestic environments. The mid-Victorian period grappled with the problems of the city not only in terms of its materiality but also with regard to the disintegrative pressures of industrialism and urban life. "It is as if the fabrication of fiction were now constrained to gather sustenance systematically from the factories, houses, cities, monuments, and various other habitats that dotted an increasingly urbanised landscape of the real," Philippe Hamon writes (Hamon 1992: 6). And as Catherine Gallagher has shown, the metaphor that seemed to bring together disparate social groups or at least to reconcile the antagonistic interests at the time was that of the paternalistic family (Gallagher 1985: 113-127). Since the family is a historical construct, a community held together by a common past and a shared place, the window can thus be treated as an element of the communal place which Heidegger defines as the "dwelling" that enables the transformation of space into place and fosters a sense of community in history (Heidegger 1977: 334-335). Furthermore, it is a liminal place different from other such spaces as the door or the balcony because its position, size, material and frame affect its transitivity. In the context of the reconceptualisation of the abstraction of space into the lived-in and evaluated concreteness of place, the window is also "a pause in movement [which] makes it possible for location to be transformed into place" (Tuan 1977: 6). Indeed, in the context of visual action the window functions as a pause in the expanse of a wall or wall-like structural element, an interruption of the movement of the observing eye. In de Certeau's felicitous formulation, it is "a transparent caesura" in the two parallel historical aspects of the narrative progression – that of the observing character and of the surrounding world (de Certeau 1984: 112). And granted that it is focalisation that constructs the fictional world in the novel (Ronen 1994: 175-196), the window introduces a pause in the visual dynamics and therefore in the mental and physical processes constituting the narrative sequence.

In terms of its materiality, the window also adds to and modifies the intersubjective dynamics of plot action in the mid-Victorian novel. There is a homology between on the one hand the transitivity of glass and its opposite function as barrier, between the transparency of the window, glazed or unglazed but always framing, that is, limiting the view, and on the other the new dialectic of outside and inside brought about by urbanisation during the Victorian period.

Windows trope the new modes of urban living where the outside is antithetic to the domestic, fraught with danger which the inside is expected to contain but seldom does. As Isobel Armstrong points out, “at its intersection, trauma, crisis, and epiphany occur” (Armstrong 2008: 115). That is why the window often features in strategically positioned scenes, at the very beginning or at least in the early parts of the story, where it mimetically and tropologically sets the parameters of the conflict whose energy will pull the narrative forward. To give just a few notable examples: in Charlotte Brontë’s *Villette*, Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s *Lady Audley’s Secret* or Charlotte Yonge’s *The Heir of Redclyffe* windows are specifically mentioned in the introductory descriptions of the houses where the action is about to unfold and where the sight seen in or out through the windows triggers the plot of each work. Miss Jemima Pinkerton in Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair* looks down at the street from the window of her sister’s drawing-room and notices the arrival of the Sedleys’ lavishly decorated coach from which Becky will soon perform her first act of defiance of the respectable world. There is Gaskell’s seamstress Ruth in the so-named novel pressing her hot face against the cold window pane in an effort to relieve her exhaustion from the all-night work in the airless workroom. Very soon afterwards the heroine tries to escape by a liaison with an outsider to her world, the wealthy gentleman Henry Bellingham. And in Emily Brontë’s *Wuthering Heights* arguably the most uncanny moment is when in his hallucinatory dream during his first visit to the place Lockwood sees Cathy’s incubus trying to get in through the casement and rubs its wrist on the broken pane until it bleeds.

Windows in Dickens’s novels contain a vast repository of moments and episodes that are memorable for their recurrent impact. Thus *Oliver Twist* gets shut up in a series of windowless rooms – in the workhouse, at the undertaker’s and then by Fagin in several of his dens. By contrast, the respectable world grants him light, air and visual access to the natural world through the windows. However, later in the novel, while spending the summer at the country cottage with the Maylies, he gets woken up from his drowsy state by the horrifying voice and figure of Fagin at the open window, “with his eyes peering into the room, and meeting his” (Dickens 1998: 272). The latter scene provides an instance of the kind of scopic aggression through which a hostile outside superimposes its power on a seemingly secure inside. In the opening chapter of *David Copperfield* Dickens uses the window scene to ambiguate the figure of Miss Betsey, setting up a perspective that will be reversed when later the hero enters into a face-to-face relationship with her. David’s aunt, one of the many eccentric characters in the novel and David’s saviour from lifelong degradation, has come to preside at what she believes will

be the birth of a niece. Using David's mother as a focaliser and through a brilliant comic stroke, he has Miss Betsey not going straight at the door but "pressing the end of her nose against the glass to that extent, that my poor dear mother used to say it became perfectly flat and white in a moment" (Dickens 1999: 4). But scopic aggression through a window also allows its transitivity to establish the most serious and most important conflict in this work. David's first glimpse of Uriah Heep is of a "cadaverous face" looking out from the window of a ground-floor room (Dickens 1999: 213). Here, as elsewhere in Dickens, the phenomenality of the window thus interacts both with the setting, with the characters present and with the view without or within. Whether homo-or heterodiegetic, Dickens's narrators always project a knowledge of the world that is made "determinate" because of their emphatic perspectivism. That is why their function as focalisers gathers additional credibility that spreads to the world created by that function – the unique "Dickensian" fictional world.

As a liminal place of intersubjective practice the window thus allows for a number of actions and effects that have a bearing on the core elements of the narrative throughout its progression. In Charlotte Brontë the regime is chiefly inspectional, thus reflecting a typically Victorian approach to intersubjectivity.² Her last novel *Villette* grants the window a central role as a steady point of observation and surveillance – nearly everyone in the novel watches the others from a window which tropes the possibility of control and domination yet imposes barriers via the limitations set by the glass pane and the frame. Where the heroine Lucy is concerned, her gaze at the natural or urban scenery visible from a window allows for lengthy descriptions that function as metaphors of her troubled psychic condition. But the look outside also betrays the latent nostalgia for the past, the undying pastoral dream of rural Old England, the romantic yearning for a return of an imagined history. It is the same dream, the energy of a mythic content that imposed the most notable visual cultural practices in Victorian Britain, the ones that inspired the Gothic Revival in architecture and Ruskin's glorification of the stained glass window.

In his *Darwin and the Novelists* George Levine makes the important statement that "in the nineteenth-century realist narrative not only is observation the primary source of the materials of the story but the observer and the act of observation become increasingly the focus as much as the means of attention"

² On the role of the inspectional regime for the formation of Victorian visual practices and the creation of distinct epistemological models, see Chris Otter's *The Victorian Eye* and especially Chapter Three, "The Age of Inspectability: Vision, Space, and the Victorian City."

(Levine 1988: 15). Levine goes on to relate this specificity of the narrative form of the period to the accumulation of positivistic content in the notion of “experience,” which was believed to be based solely on disinterested observation and therefore leading to objective truth. But “disinterested” is itself a highly contested notion and the intentionality of the window scenes goes to prove this. The focalisation that shapes the fictional world as seen through or from the window always creates an emphatically subjective world, insufficiently known and therefore entailing conflicts with other perceptions, knowledge and decisions. A notable example is Anne Brontë’s novel *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*. The overall form of the novel is that of a series of letters sent by the protagonist Gilbert Markham to a friend. These letters include other letters as well as his wife’s diary, which covers her life prior to her arrival at Wildfell Hall, when she and Gilbert Markham meet and fall in love. Hers is an account of domestic abuse, alcoholism and Helen’s eventual perilous flight from her husband’s violence. Much of the energy propelling the framing love story derives from the incommensurability of the hero’s and the heroine’s knowledge about each other. This results in a highly tense plot fraught with misunderstandings and false moves. Markham knows nothing about Helen Huntington’s real identity and personal history; he does not even know that she is not the widow she presents herself to be but a married woman. Gilbert himself begins as a rather vain, self-confident young man. Only after he learns Helen’s history does he come to appreciate her independence and respect her dignity. She herself is unable to gauge the degree of his passion and to understand whether his feelings for her are sincere and lasting.

Both first-person narratives in *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* – in Gilbert’s letters and Helen’s diary – are interspersed with window scenes but these play a very different role in each. For Gilbert, the window is a permeable border in a very literal sense. When he visits Helen, he frequently looks out and comments negatively on the absence of comfort in the house. By contrast, Helen makes use of the window to comment on the beauty of her garden and the satisfaction she derives from it. For Gilbert the experience of the inside is founded on his conventional idea of the home and his role of master in it. Unsurprisingly, his view from the window, both looking out during his visits, or looking in on his spying missions, is always backgrounded by his awareness of his own bodily position that is highly gendered and class- and status-conscious. That is why his account of such scenes abounds in details concerning movement and visual perspective, as well as the action he plans based on what he sees. The first time he visits Helen alone he turns his eyes towards the window, where her gaze is also directed, but

this is not an act of communion. For when he sees a man's figure outside moving quickly and then disappearing, this is sufficient for him to deduce that she has a dark secret, possibly a lover. So instead of attempting to find the appropriate means of reaching into Helen's true self, he prefers to spy on her. This he does by looking in through her window from a concealed position outside the house. The window as barrier fosters a self-delusion: he pretends to himself that his action is prompted by sympathy and not by the "surplus of bodily and psychic longing that breaks against the boundary of the window" (Armstrong 2008: 122). The window becomes for him a liminal zone not only in space but also within him as he looks back through it "wondering what she was doing, thinking, or suffering now ... unable to resist the temptation of taking one glance through the window, just to see if she were more composed than when we parted" (Bronte 1996: 127). On the whole, Markham's courtship takes a false start, since his verbal and behavioural approaches to the woman he loves are underpinned by barely concealed suspicion about her integrity. And when his advances do not meet with the easy success he is used to, suspicion turns into blame.

Markham initially feels no doubt that the window's transitivity of sight is transitivity of truth. Discovering that the man he sees from the window is Lawrence, a young neighbour, he attacks his supposed rival on the road and leaves him badly wounded. It is this incident that leads to Helen handing him her diary from which he learns the truth – Lawrence is her brother. By contrast, for the heroine during her married life the window is a barrier from an outside where she longs to be, rather than a transparent medium to it. The interior of the house represents a hostile and even physically threatening world of male aggression, enforced by her husband and his friends. Initially troped as an opening towards a romantic relationship with Huntington among the natural setting of his country estate, gradually the window loses its power to liberate her. For instance, her husband and his mistress openly conduct their affair in her presence as she "was now standing at the window, watching the clouds, and struggling to suppress my wrath" (Bronte 1996: 315). Shortly afterwards, one of her husband's friends joins her at the window and begins to make love to her, which forces her to re-enter the hostile interior: "And immediately returning to the table, I employed myself in making the tea" (Bronte 1996: 315). Prompted by Huntington himself, one of his friends tries to seduce her and although she repulses his advances, he suddenly appears outside the open window with a flower in his hand. In a climactic moment, the same man physically holds her while trying to persuade her to become his mistress. To her horror, this is an act carefully prepared so that yet another of

the male guests can see and hear it from below the open window and report it to Helen's husband, thus providing the latter with justification for his adultery. In the Huntington's country home, therefore, the window loses its role as a "transparent caesura" and conversely, begins to participate in a visual and even physical regime of abuse through inspection, control and regulation of female behaviour. Yet this is very much what Gilbert Markham also initiates when he minutely observes Helen from and through her window. Not until she dissociates herself from this visual regime by going away and Gilbert learns to respect her freedom do the two manage to form a relationship where they are turned to each other – not only metaphorically but also literally so, as they finally declare their love, leaning on the opposite sides of the window of her new home.

The kinds of visual perception and human interaction that windows endorse and allow both in the real and in the fictional world are numerous – looking, glancing, observing, spying. As *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* and all other mid-Victorian novels show, each of these modes can be politically, morally and ethically loaded, controlled and restricted by the phenomenality of the window as a framed opening in the experiential and narrative continuum. To return to Benjamin's observation on the mythical underlay of architecture, to the mid-Victorian writer the window provides a permeable medium that reaches down to the dream of the free individual able to negotiate the dialectic of the inside and outside, to reach into a realm of desires fulfilled in spite of borders and barriers. Arguably, none of the writers believed that this was anything other than a fantasy. But as the fictional practice of the time required, the fantasy needed to be confirmed. Throughout each narrative the window metamorphoses from a topos of disunity into one of unity, from a problematic border into a conduit to a smooth and unproblematic domestic interior, where light and air are allowed, literally and figuratively, to circulate, revive and ennoble.

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TRANSNATIONAL PARADIGMS IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN STUDIES: THE ANXIETY OF INFLUENCE

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the 21st century knowledge production and its transmission have been defined by buzz words such as transnational, transcultural, translingual, transborder, and so on, replacing previous binary and post-figurations, and suggesting patterns of greater mobility and proximity. Yet, the deterritorialisation of knowledge and academic fields has raised serious questions: How to boost transculturality and interdisciplinarity in higher education, while simultaneously trying to stay rooted in national traditions and cultures? How far can the elastic expansion and mixing of academic disciplines go? Where to find new fruitful paradigms in the humanities to teach socially relevant content?

The present article is an attempt to trace the shifting paradigms in the teaching of English Studies during the last four decades, the (un)easy alliances that have emerged among disciplines, and the consequent effects for overall educational practices. More precisely, it will explore how the field of American studies has pushed for change from above and below as well as from inside and outside, triggering a sense of “anxiety of influence” – if we borrow Harold Bloom’s term about the history of poetic influence as tempered by ambivalence.¹ In what follows I will first look back at the tradition of English philology at Sofia University to trace how new academic fields (such as gender studies, cultural studies, and popular culture) were introduced in the 1990s through the paradigm of transnational American studies. Then I will analyse how these inter- and trans-disciplinary alliances have enriched and expanded the scope of English studies by providing fresh patterns of infusion, diffusion, and transfusion among disciplines

¹ Bloom’s term “the anxiety of influence,” the title of his critical study of the history of poetry, refers to the ambiguous relationship poets have with their precursors: the latter serving as a source of inspiration but also of pressure and anguish. Or as he says, “the history of fruitful poetic influence is a history of anxiety, of distortion and wilful revisionism” (1973: 30).

but also producing a disrupting 'anti-disciplinary' effect on traditional academic practices and methodologies.

2. AMERICAN STUDIES AS TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICE

Some of the first professors in English at Sofia University at the beginning of the 20th century were graduates of American higher education institutions, yet American studies did not exist as a legitimate field of study and research until the 1990s.² The first course in American literature was introduced in 1949 but it was as late as the 1990s when the field of American studies proper was established by going beyond the scope of American literary studies and severing the formal connection with English studies.³ The late development was the result of the traditional way of doing English studies at Sofia University, which followed the framework of the German philology model – i.e., along the two axes of linguistics and literature subjects.⁴ After the collapse of communism there followed a major re-structuring of area studies in Bulgarian academia, including English Studies. The compartmentalised model was no longer sustainable for at least three reasons: first, it was ideologically loaded; second, it was too stiff and narrow, incapable of fostering a culture of collaboration within and across academic disciplines; and third, it was not organised in a way to produce and deliver the knowledge needed in a drastically different social and economic setting (a democratic society, functioning in a market-oriented economy). In this context, one of the most urgent challenges facing universities in post-communist countries has been how to reintegrate the university as a site of learning and production of socially-relevant education.

The late arrival of American studies on the Bulgarian scene can be attributed not only to the ideological Marxist-Leninist paradigms dominating the social

² For example, Konstantin Stephanov and Maria Rankova were graduates of the American College in Samokov, and the former had a degree from Yale University, obtained in 1901. English philology was established as a separate discipline at Sofia University at the beginning of the 20th century but it was officially recognized as a department in 1946, headed by Professor Marco Mincoff. For the history of the discipline, see Surbanov and Stamenov (2000), Gupta (2010), Gupta and Katsarska (2009).

³ The earliest courses in History of American Literature were taught by Victor Sharenkoff, Pauline Pirinska, and Grigor Pavlov, further expanded by Natalia Klissourska and Boukitsa Grinberg.

⁴ For more details on the history of the discipline see Milena Katsarska (2010) and Natalia Klissourska (1991).

sciences in the Soviet bloc countries.⁵ In fact, American studies is a very modern discipline in comparison to English studies: it was established as a fully-fledged academic field only after World War II with the changing global role of the U.S., further accelerated by the political movements for social, racial, and gender equality in the 1960s and 1970s. This broad model of American studies, incorporating diverse disciplines such as American literature, culture, anthropology, history, ethnicity, gender, pop culture and so on was officially adopted at Sofia University in the mid-1990s (as signalled by the changed name of the department itself – Department of English and American Studies).

Let us trace some moments of convergence and divergence between the American and Bulgarian models of teaching American studies at the university level. For the purpose of such a broad and bold comparison I will rely on Donald Pease's recent timeline of the transformation of American Studies as transnational practice, where he delineates three major phases: the Cold War stage, the post-Cold War stage, and the post 9/11 stage. During the Cold War, he claims, American exceptionalism "produced an image of U.S. national unity in which gender, class, racial, and ethnic differences were massively downgraded" (Pease 2015: 51). Thus internal differences were seen as threatening the national unity and they were downplayed by legitimising assimilationist policies, and stressing unifying mythologies (such as the Frontier, the melting pot, the American dream, etc.). In the Soviet world, Cold War ideology also produced an internal paradigm of artificial unity through the master narrative of class unity and uniformity. Yet, the deliberate stress on the crisis of American capitalism, on class and racial inequality in the U.S. (a favourite mantra under communism), produced a rather different (pluralist) Sovietised canon of American literature, where abolitionist literature, social protest writing, and fiction by Black American and leftist Jewish American writers played a central role. For example, in the 1970s many courses at Sofia University were focused on African-American folklore, African-American literature, and slave narratives, in particular, whereas most M.A. and Ph.D. theses were in the field of African-American literature. Paradoxically, this trend (to a great extent the result of seeking a safe niche on the policed terrain of academic inquiry under communism) anticipated and preceded the flourishing of African-American studies in the U.S. in the 1990s. Despite the rigid indoctrination of the Sovietised model of doing American studies (especially its emphasis on the black-

⁵ Similar developments in Eastern Europe are discussed in Almira Ousmanova's article "On the Ruins of Orthodox Marxism: Gender and Cultural Studies in Eastern Europe," *Studies in East European Thought*, 55: 37-50, 2003.

red connection), these courses were the very first attempts at Sofia University to put cultural, religious, and ethnic differences on the educational agenda, paving the way to critical analysis along the categories of race, class, and gender – an unheard-of trinity of research under the dictate of Marxist-Leninist methodology.

The second, post-Cold War stage, in Pease's chronology of American studies, happened after the breakup of the Soviet system, when the United States "introduced a new world order whose rules and norms would be enforced by a transnational state of exception" (2015: 52). Once the American exception became the norm or the only viable model, all internal differences in American society, which had been suppressed or swept under the carpet during the Cold War era, became highly visible. In the early 1990s racial, ethnic, and gender minorities who felt excluded by the exceptionalist norms, exploded in the U.S., demanding visibility. This is when American studies was recast "as a plural project of multiple ethnic and racialized cultures" (Pease 2015: 53) – a process seen at a glance if we look at the contents page of the first three editions of the *Norton Anthology of American Literature* and the *Heath Anthology of American Literature*, published for the first time in 1990.⁶ A parallel process of dispersal and de-centring was observed in the Eastern bloc in the 1990s: the collapse of communism triggered an explosion of previously suppressed differences along all possible axes such as ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, gender, region, generation, religion, and so on. The opening up to differences brought about drastic changes in Bulgarian academia – both from inside and outside – in the teaching of the humanities in general, and American studies, in particular.

The post-9/11 stage of American studies was a reaction to the global state of exception that President George Bush instituted in 2001. In its turn, the new exceptionalist U.S. politics called for "an urgent need for post-exceptionalist transnational American studies" (Pease 2015: 53), demanding greater attention to U.S. colonialism and imperialism, diasporic communities, Third world immigrants, and the relationships between the global world and a multicultural America. Thus the shifting paradigms within American studies, strongly accelerated and disseminated by the new communication technologies and the Internet, created models and concepts of critical inquiry exportable to other disciplinary fields worldwide. In the Bulgarian academic context this latest paradigm was translated

⁶ *The Heath Anthology* includes for the first time an unprecedented number of writings by women and diverse ethnic groups, and presents the story of American culture as one of disunity, dispersal, and splintering; whereas the dominant until the 1990s *Norton Anthology* views it as a unified tradition, a harmonious representation of the classics and the established canon.

primarily as articulation of differences: i.e., a greater stress on multiculturalism, multilingualism, cultural diversity, multiplicity, interdisciplinarity, etc. For example, in the first decade of the 21st century a dozen of new interdisciplinary courses were offered at the Department of English and American studies such as Postmodern Culture, Cultural Diversity in American Drama, U.S. Politics and Popular Culture, Digital Culture, Ethnic Literatures in the U.S., American Drama into Film, etc., complemented by courses in Canadian and Australian studies (such as North American Popular culture, Multicultural Australia, Canada: Culture, Society, Politics, and others).

In addition to boosting the development of the nascent program in American Studies at Sofia University, the shifting paradigms in the field of American studies have gradually enriched and diversified the teaching of the humanities at the university as a whole as well as at other Bulgarian universities. For example, it brought about the shaking-up of the traditional paradigm of cultural studies. The traditional model of ‘culturology’ [kulturologia], based on a rather depoliticised, elitist, and homogeneous understanding of ‘Culture’ (seen as a spiritual culture par excellence, ignoring the material conditions of human life), gradually gave way to the Western model of cultural studies, which, as signalled by its name in the plural, turned focus on the plurality of cultures and multiplicity of studied practices (such as the materiality of everyday life, youth culture, identity, representation, post-colonialism, globalisation, etc.) as well as methodological pluralism. In addition to destabilising established disciplinary boundaries, the “anxiety of influence” triggered connections with other disciplines such as visual culture studies, performance studies, film studies, food studies, etc. Last but not least, it acted as a catalyst for entirely new disciplines to be introduced in Bulgarian academia – gender studies and popular culture being the most prominent among them.

3. THE BIRTH OF GENDER STUDIES AS AN (ANTI)-DISCIPLINE

Similar to most Central and Eastern European countries, the inception of gender studies in Bulgaria began *in/ as* translation of Western theories and academic practices in the early 1990s. The latter is not simply a metaphor: the process involved both translating major critical texts, theories, and concepts (including the key term ‘gender’) as well as cultural transfer of ideas and practices from predominantly Anglo-American contexts. Unlike the West, where women’s and gender studies grew out of the women’s movement of the 1960s and the 1970s,

when female students and faculty demanded greater visibility of their experience in the academic curricula, in the Bulgarian context of (pseudo) gender equality, inherited from the communist regime, there was no public recognition of the need for such a political and educational transformation. In fact, the inception of gender studies as an intellectual and academic project in Bulgaria was triggered by its intimate connection with the English language and Anglophone cultures as a whole, gaining later impulses through the process of European integration and globalisation.

In the early 1990s members of the English Department organised the first extra-curricular courses and interdisciplinary seminars for students from several faculties from the university, focusing on gender issues in media and cultural studies, literary and psychoanalytic theory, history, linguistics, and sociology. These first developments gained momentum through the support of various Western academic institutions: for example, the faculty exchange program between the English Departments at Sofia University and State University of New York at Albany facilitated the process of turning gender studies into a legitimate area of study and research. The first course in Feminist literary theory was taught by Susan Hawking in 1990, followed by "Introduction to Women's Studies in the U. S." (Francine Frank in 1993); "Women Playwrights" and "Feminist Literary Theory" (Judith Barlow in 1994); "Feminist Poetics" (Wendy Barker in 1999), and others. Thus, the American 'import' did not simply put gender issues on the Bulgarian educational map, but it also had larger local ramifications: first, the feminist revisions of Western canons of literature, culture, and history served as useful models to carry out revisions on local ground; second, the Anglo-American critical perspective stimulated Bulgarian educators to fight for infusing gender issues as an indispensable part of general knowledge.

Gender-oriented courses were gradually introduced in various literature and history departments at the B.A. and M.A. levels (e.g. "European Women's History," "History of Women in the Balkans," "Woman in the Bible," "Gender Awareness as a Cultural Factor," "Contemporary Women Writers," and many more). These courses, taught primarily in the Faculty of Classical and Modern Languages, Faculty of History, and the Faculty of Slavonic Studies, were the first attempts to move away from gender-blind, insensitive, and androcentric exclusionary norms which had dominated the Bulgarian educational system for years. In the history classroom, students and teachers questioned for the first time the socialist myths of gender neutrality and equality or the so called 'state patriarchy'; literature and language students attacked sexist language in public discourses and textbooks as

well as simplistic imagery and/or interpretations of women in Bulgarian media and culture. By the end of the 1990s Sofia University was turning into a site of transformation, where a new kind of knowledge was being produced in small but significant clusters. The infusion of gender elements into the content and methodology of traditional disciplines followed both 'anti-disciplinary' and interdisciplinary approaches: they worked against the grain of established academic fields by questioning their gender-blind generalisations, their homogenising and universalising methods, filling in the gaps, and questioning the systematic patterns of exclusion, erasure or misappropriation of women's or social issues from women's point of view.

The field of gender studies developed along two paths: as a stand-alone discipline and as integration of the discipline into other subjects in the humanities. The first strategy was adopted by the two M.A. Programmes set up at Sofia University: Gender Studies at the Faculty of Philosophy (2001) and MATILDA, the first European Master's Programme in Women's and Gender History (2008), a consortium of programs at five European universities. Parallel to the consolidation of gender studies as a separate disciplinary site, there followed a reverse process of infusing gender content and methodologies into other disciplines and acting upon them, i.e., building inter- and trans-disciplinary alliances on the basis of gender studies. The process of gender diffusion and dispersion has been most fruitful in the social sciences and area studies – especially British, American, and Canadian studies, because they are rooted in Western academic models and their respective canons, and they rely on teaching resources in English. A cursory look at the syllabi of some of the B.A. and M.A. courses offered at the Department of English and American studies shows that gender issues form a major cluster in courses as diverse as "British Culture and Society" (gender in youth culture), "English Literature from Victorianism to Modernism" (women writers, women and the avant-garde), "Cultural History of the US" (first and second wave feminism), "History of American Literature" (women writers, slavery and women), "Canadian Literature" (Native women writers), "Negotiating (with) Power" (sexism in language, stereotyping and hate speech), "Language and Culture" (gender and discourse), "Gender, Power and Communication" (normativity, camp talk), "Postmodern Culture" (the uneasy alliance between feminism and postmodernism), "Literary Theory" (*écriture féminine*, feminist psychoanalytic theory), "Identity and Culture" (feminist postcolonial critique, women and

the nation). Similar trends were quickly observed in Slavic studies, history, journalism, and media studies departments in other Bulgarian universities.

Thus the alliance between gender studies and area studies has acted as a model for analysing the experiences of the marginalised or the underrepresented, for questioning assumptions of dominance and subordination in the relationship between men and women, but also between coloniser and colonised, between oppressor and oppressed, master and slave – i.e., of any asymmetrical relation of power (a gap in Bulgarian education before 1989). In addition to transforming the content of education, gender studies triggered “an anxiety of influence” through its innovative approaches and methodologies. The best example is the method of intersectionality, a theoretical tool that came into being in Black feminist theory and was quickly ‘exported’ into the social sciences and the humanities.⁷ In the Bulgarian post-communist context, where differences along ideological, social, ethnic, class, racial, sexual or religious lines had not been acknowledged for decades on end, such tools for social analysis have been extremely significant. The insistence on multiplex epistemologies and multiple positioning is instrumental in overcoming binary and oppositional framing and thinking, but it also has practical implications in combatting practices of homophobia, racism, sexism, nationalism, and hate speech. As Rosi Braidotti argues, gender studies is a critical project not only in terms of “its revisions of how science perpetuates forms of women’s discrimination and exclusion,” but it is also “far more critical of ethnocentrism and nationalism than the official guidelines from the European Commission” (1998: 363).

4. INTER-DISCIPLINARY ALLIANCES: THE CASE OF POPULAR CULTURE

Like gender studies, popular culture was another non-existent and unacknowledged academic field under communism. The state apparatus rejected it because of its association with Western mass culture – seen as bourgeois ‘anti-culture’ of the masses, mass marketed and mass mediated, therefore stigmatised as decadent, unhealthy, and consumerist. The negative and condescending attitude to mass culture represented a major paradox in communist cultural policy, which was

⁷ The concept was introduced by Kimberle Crenshaw in 1989; it implies that gender positions – as any social positions – are always relational and gender works at the intersection with other categories of human difference such as race/ethnicity, class, age, nation, religion, and many more.

supposed to make the folk and popular cultures of the working class dominant, yet never accepted its “ordinariness” (if we paraphrase Raymond Williams’s definition of “culture as ordinary”). To a great extent this was due to the Cold War culture war, when culture was often the arena of ideological battles between the American way of life and the Soviet way of life. Ironically, the state encouraged high culture (the terrain of the bourgeoisie by definition) – the so called ‘serious literature,’ art films, classical music, and high-brow art, because they posed no threat to the official culture – unlike rock and jazz-music, hip-hop, punk or beat culture.⁸ The communist state accepted only proletarian culture and allowed no room for resistance (no subcultures or countercultures) – yet another reason to disqualify popular culture, which by definition is “the domain where the battle for or against the culture of those in power is waged” (Hall 1998: 6).⁹

In the 1990s global popular culture hit the shores of Eastern Europe like a tsunami, unleashing consumers’ dreams and desires that had been suppressed under the socialist economy of austerity and deficit. The global mediascape, dominated by Hollywood images and the decibels of rap music as well as the advent of Marlboroisation, Coca-Coloisation, Walt-Disneysation, and McDonaldisation, demanded urgent critical analysis. American popular culture was at the epicentre of significant processes related to globalisation, Westernisation, Americanisation or what Rob Kroes has called “creolisation” of cultures (2003: 322). Thus the field of American studies – through its intimate link with everyday life practices – turned out to be instrumental in providing relevant tools and concepts to analyse consumer culture, celebrity culture, and enterprise culture (non-existing pillars in socialist economy). After initial resistance to the discipline, at the end of the 1990s American popular culture became a legitimate field of study and research at the Department of English and American studies, further exporting the subject to the fields of British studies, Canadian studies, and Bulgarian culture studies.¹⁰

⁸ Yet another explanation can be found in the overall understanding of the term ‘culture’ under communism. Orthodox Marxism approached it rather ambiguously: either as synonymous with ‘superstructure,’ determined by economic and political structures or simply as synonymous with fine arts and/or classical arts.

⁹ Many left critics such as Michel de Certeau, Andre Lefevbre, Lawrence Grossberg, and Johh Fiske also stress the subversive and democratic potential of pop culture, as well as its natural connection to the working class.

¹⁰ For example, courses such as “Popular Culture in the US: Texts and Images,” “Popular Fiction on Page and Screen,” “North American Pop Culture,” “U.S. Politics and Popular Culture,” to mention but a few, were introduced.

By now it has become obvious that the discipline of American popular culture has had an invigorating role, producing a healthy dose of disruption in Bulgarian education. It has brought about greater pluralism, reciprocity, and complexity in academic inquiry. The cutting edge of the discipline is its subversive potential, which stimulates critique of power structures and dominant ideologies (be it global capitalism, neocolonialism, nationalism, communism or whatever). At the same time, it has had an anti-disciplinary effect on established theoretical frameworks in culturology and the social sciences, but has also introduced new issues and concepts, stimulating out-of-the box thinking and greater critical engagement. Popular culture has acted as a 'renovation miracle' in methodological terms as it has expanded the study of culture beyond the traditional 'literary' approach by adopting interdisciplinary perspectives from cultural history, literary and visual studies, media, film, and gender studies. In addition, it has played a significant role in Bulgarian academia as it has exploded the binary divisions between high and low culture, between the canonical and the popular – thus helping to diversify and decentre academic practices in the humanities. It has also helped bridge the huge gap between the highly theoretical and abstract nature of Bulgarian university education and life practices, linking academic issues with social activism and personal experience. Additionally, it has contributed to the teaching of socially relevant and topical issues (for example, globalisation and its effects on Bulgarian culture, the process of re-configuring and re-conceptualising social identities in Bulgaria at the turn of the 21st century, and others).

Yet another valuable asset that popular culture has brought into the education at Sofia University is its emphasis on cross-cultural interdisciplinarity. For example, the recently introduced course "Gendering Popular Culture: Perspectives from Eastern Europe and the West" not only brings together two disruptive academic fields but it also discusses cultural practices through the lens of different ideologies, histories, and politics of location. Working at the intersection of several disciplines, popular culture is discussed as a gendered terrain, where models of gendered subjectivity are simultaneously constructed and contested, where historical tensions between patriarchal traditionalism and current globalisation processes emerge, or where gender redefines genre and vice versa.

5. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it can be argued that many of the transformations in Bulgarian higher education around the turn of the 21st century have been closely linked to paradigm shifts in the transnational practices of American studies. As a modern discipline American studies has produced an effect of “anxiety of influence” on its precursor disciplines and traditions, both challenging and rewriting them, while gaining insight and inspiration from them. The complex web of extrinsic influences of American and English studies illustrate that they can breathe life into new academic fields, which in turn bring them back to life through productive cross-cultural connections and inter- and trans-disciplinary alliances.

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TEACHING MEDIA DISCOURSE STRATEGIES: *THE ECONOMIST*'S METAPHORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE EU

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is part of a broader research on the construction of the European Union's (EU) image in *The Economist* in the period 2002-2015.

The *objective* of the research is to identify the discourse patterns and strategies whereby the EU's image is metaphorically constructed, and the various linguistic signals that act as the building blocks of this cognitive construct. More importantly, it aims to examine the impact of the cognitive-pragmatic discourse analysis on academic training and instruction.

Hence the *research topic* is to examine the correlation between the presumably conventionalised discursive strategies of *The Economist* headlines, subheadings and cartoons whereby, in the tradition of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), the EU is conceptualised as a person and a family, and its implications in teaching university students whether in linguistics, mass media and communication or political science, to name just a few.

The research *methodology* is interdisciplinary and draws on the *theoretical premises* that span a number of areas of study, such as CMT, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) or the cognitive-pragmatic analysis of media discourse, political science, sociology, among other fields of scientific inquiry.

The *object of investigation* is *The Economist*'s narrative of the EU, encompassing its commentaries published in the Charlemagne section in the period 2002-2015. Out of the 600 articles addressing the EU, 9 were selected based on the criterion of the headlines' *allusions to culture-related phenomena*. These commentaries address

the challenges that the EU has been facing since 2002: ahead, during, and in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis and the sovereign debt crisis.

This paper holds the view that the cognitive-pragmatic analysis of media discourse plays a central role in boosting students' interdisciplinary knowledge and facilitating the acquisition of integrated skills by prompting them to engage in debates on controversial issues. More specifically, the three components of *The Economist's* discourse strategy serve as the interface between the cognitive-linguistic analysis and socio-political studies by monitoring and guiding the topic's interpretation on the part of its target readership. They facilitate foreign language learning in a number of ways, and help EFL learners cope with phenomena pertaining to semantics, pragmatics, and cognitive studies. On the other hand, they help students get insights about the discursive mechanisms of constructing images and identities in the paradigm of social constructivism, and positioning the actors in the system of international relations.

2. NEWSPAPER HEADLINES

Newspaper headlines have recently received increasing research attention from a variety of disciplines including pragmatics, sociolinguistics, journalism or experimental psychology. Therefore the literature on newspaper headlines covers a wide range of theoretical and empirical topics, from their grammar to their effects on news comprehension and recall, which is particularly relevant with regard to teaching. However, previous research has been focused mainly on news headlines rather than the headlines of editorials and commentaries.

The functions of newspaper headlines are generally assumed to be two major ones: *summarising* and *attention-grabbing*. Starting with the latter, we can say that the reader must be able to interpret the headline almost immediately, or if not, must be induced to read the article, intrigued by the puns on words, evocative power and connotations of the words, etc. The *summarising function* presupposes that headlines should more or less represent the relevant news stories. Yet their summarising function has been questioned, which is an assumption supported by both empirical observations and experiments. News headlines are rather taken to under-represent the relevant articles and to be *autonomous texts* which can be read on their own. Scholars have agreed that news headlines are an established sub-genre in media discourse, which can be read independently of the commentary or report.

The subheadings, for their part, summarise the message of the whole article and construct the image of the participants in the textual world.

There are several reasons that conditioned the choice of *The Economist* and the Charlemagne column. First, *The Economist* is a leading global, high-quality media and plays an extremely important role in shaping the public opinion on significant international issues, which is revealed by its high circulation and the profile of its readership (in ideographic rather than demographic terms). The weekly boasts undisputed leadership position in the fifth estate of power. Second, the genre of commentary is typically multimodal in character, and visualisation and imagery, among other things, are taken to be of paramount importance to holding a strong sway over a highly-educated readership worldwide for quite some time. *The Economist* achieves relevance optimisation (effective persuasion in terms of maximum contextual effects at the lowest possible processing effort on the part of the audience) by a complex *interplay of headline, lead-in, and pictures*. The discourse analysis of the pragmatics, semantics and semiotics of headlines, lead-ins, pictures and captions raises the audience's awareness of the subtle mechanisms of persuasion. Our personal teaching experience has shown that using *The Economist* has advantages both in terms of its language (figurative language and style) and content. Its thematic scope covers topical international issues. Furthermore, despite the contemporary trends of infotainment, *The Economist* has managed to preserve its character of a serious, quality-guarding edition. Its materials are based on checked facts and statistics, on the one hand, and offer a pluralism of opinions and different viewpoints in the assessment of a concrete event or issue, on the other.

The editorial philosophy of *The Economist* boils down to three key words: independence, objectivity and topicality.

Editorial independence lies at the heart of *The Economist*. The editor is appointed by trustees, who are independent of commercial, political and proprietorial influences. Because of their independence, *The Economist's* journalists enjoy access to political and business leaders who make the news and whose views can illuminate world events.

It is written *anonymously* because it is a paper whose collective voice and personality matter more than the identities of individual journalists. This ensures a continuity of tradition and consistency of view which few other publications can match.

Although *the Economist* is published weekly in magazine format, it is called a newspaper because it covers news as well as opinion and works to a newspaper deadline. Great care is taken to ensure its *topicality*, so much of its editorial is

rewritten up to the moment of going to press late on Thursday in Europe, Asia and the United States.

3. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK. CMT IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The role of metaphor in political discourse has been studied by a number of researchers of political communication. Classical rhetoric dates back to the time of Plato and Aristotle, who first identified the rhetorical devices and stylistic figures to achieve persuasiveness in public speech and communication. Many contemporary researchers build on Aristotle's concepts of *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos*. For instance, Charteris-Black (2005) argues that "ideology, myth and metaphor are similar in that they share a common discourse function of persuasion and the expressive potential for cognitive and emotional engagement" (Charteris-Black 2015: 13). What these have in common is that ideology appeals through *consciously* formed sets of beliefs, attitudes and values (*logos*), myth appeals to our emotions (or *pathos*) through unconsciously formed sets of beliefs, attitudes and values, while metaphor "mediates between these conscious and unconscious means of persuasion – between cognition and emotion – to create a moral perspective on life (or *ethos*)" (Charteris-Black 2015: 16). In media discourse, metaphors not only provide expressive and accessible means of explaining abstract notions, but are also used to convey a set of values held by the media, and influence the readership's interpretation of political issues.

CMT assumes that most international thinking is embedded in the metaphorical belief that STATES ARE PERSONS (small capitals are used as a conventional notation for conceptual metaphors throughout the text). Hence states have been conceptualised in terms of human bodies, reasoning, and health (Chilton, 1996; Chilton and Lakoff, 1995; Charteris-Black, 2005; Musolff, 2004). Chilton and Lakoff study the STATE AS A PERSON metaphor, saying that "states enter into social relationships with other states, which are typically seen as either friends, enemies, neighbours, neutral parties, clients or even pariahs" (Chilton, Lakoff 1995: 39). Furthermore they see states "as having personalities: they can be trustworthy or deceitful, aggressive or peace-loving, strong-or weak-willed, stable or paranoid, cooperative or intransigent, enterprising or not" (*ibid*: 39). Animal metaphors are also used: "Russia is presented as a bear, Great Britain – as a bulldog" (*ibid*: 40), the US – as the world sheriff or policeman.

The FAMILY concept as a model for the nation state can be traced back to the theories of the state developed in antiquity. As Musolff claims, conceptualisation of the state as a patriarchal family has been handed down over the centuries (Musolff, 2004: 13). This patriarchal version was contested by Hobbes and Locke with their model of political authority, and later on evolved into the fraternal one upheld by the French revolutionaries (Honohan, 2008: 73).

Musolff (2004) and Lakoff (2002) provide a detailed investigation into the NATION-AS-FAMILY metaphor. Lakoff concedes that the FAMILY conceptual metaphor stands at the heart of a system of conceptualisations of society in US politics. The politically significant aspect of this metaphor is that it has two competing versions: the STRICT FATHER model and the NURTURANT PARENT model, both of which concern parents' authority over their children and their exercise of punishment and care. Musolff argues that the two models "use one central element of the SD FAMILY in particular – i.e. that of the PARENT-CHILD relationship - to advance, buttress and defend contrasting worldviews, belief systems and attitudes" (Musolff, 2004: 6).

4. CDA AND A COGNITIVE-PRAGMATIC APPROACH TO MEDIA DISCOURSE

Many researchers define "discourse" within the specialised study of media discourse (Richardson 2007, Fowler 1991, Fairclough 1995, Van Dijk, 1991). Richardson determines the two major approaches to the definition of discourse: the formalist or structuralist one, which treats discourse as a unit of language 'above' the sentence and focuses on how this unit becomes unified and meaningful; and the functionalist approach, which takes into account the social ideas that largely determine the way we use and interpret language (Richardson, 2007: 22). As Richardson further argues, "to properly interpret, for example, a press release, or a newspaper report or an advert, we need to work out what the speaker or writer is doing through discourse and how this 'doing' is linked to wider interpersonal, institutional, socio-cultural and material contexts" (*ibid.*: 24). The second approach implies a dialectical relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them (*ibid.*: 28). Many of the aforementioned researchers have adopted the functionalist approach

to the study of media discourse by relating linguistic structure to contextual factors (Fowler 1991, Fairclough 1995, Van Dijk 1991). Such an approach reveals “the patterns of belief and value which are encoded in the language – and which are beyond the threshold of notice for anyone who accepts the discourse as “natural” (Fowler, 1991: 14). Fairclough says discourse analysis should encompass two types of discourse practices: text production by media institutions and their reception by audiences, on the one hand, and sociocultural practices, on the other, as the latter comprise three levels: situational (*the specific social goings-on the discourse is part of*); institutional (*the institutional frameworks within which the discourse occurs*); and societal (*the wider societal matrix of discourse*) (Fairclough, 1995: 12). As mentioned earlier, Van Dijk also stresses that discourse production and interpretation is a function of socially shared attitudes and ideologies, norms and values, and possibly other forms of social cognition, which has serious implications with regard to power relations and social inequality. He points out that in order to see how underlying meanings are related to a text, an analysis of the cognitive, social, political, and cultural context should be made (van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983).

5. ANALYSIS

As already stated, this paper aims to analyse the linguistic realizations of the abovementioned conceptual metaphors in the conventionalised discourse strategies of headlines and subheadings. This analysis gives useful insights into how *The Economist* metaphorically constructs the EU’s image. It may be assumed that the EU is conceptualised as a disintegrating community or family, considering that communal policies are increasingly difficult to pursue and national interests dominate, which was recently confirmed by the rising tide of nationalism and Brexit. The discourse of Euroscepticism prevails, outlining a union torn by contradictions and conflicts.

This paper will focus on nine articles, which were selected to show how the analysis works.

5.1. THEMATIC SCOPE

Considering the fuzzy boundaries between politics and economics, the specific topics listed hereinafter in practice unveil the fundamental tensions between national sovereignty and the union’s federation character, between deepening

versus broadening the political and economic integration. They outline the systemic crisis the EU is experiencing, due to the deficit of democracy: the supranational Eurocracy is breaking away from the agenda of the citizens of the EU member states. Furthermore, Europe is believed to show industrial inadequacy to face the globalisation pressure. The welfare state also has abdicated from its dual role of enhancing solidarity and ensuring citizen control (see Shishkova 2012: 13-14). They address the community's flaws, and specifically its isolation from its citizens and from once close strategic partners such as the United States. The topics are subdivided into the following groups: EU governance style and EU foreign policy. Each one is further subdivided into more specific topics. The letters with numbers (E1-E9) refer to the specific articles listed in the table in the Appendix.

5.1.1. *EU governance style*

A specific feature of EU's policy is its intended unintelligibility and obfuscation. **E1, The tower of babble**, holds the view that EU's linguistic diversity has brought about a deliberately sought unintelligibility, which in turn is contingent on the policy of the club of rich countries that is aimed to "exclude others." The headlined wordplay is based on the allusion to the etiological myth in the Book of Genesis of the Tanakh (the Tower of Babel) meant to explain the origin of different languages.¹

The major message is that unintelligibility is achieved by "generating baffling new jargon which only insiders can understand". This lack of transparency is most obvious with "acronyms, place names and numbers." EU acronyms "are put through a sort of linguistic Enigma machine, often using English acronyms in French documents and vice versa."

Another way of "keeping outsiders guessing" about meaning is by "naming jobs after long-gone civil servants." Matters are made even murkier by "resorting to numbers": the Article 133 Committee is named after Article 133 of the Amsterdam Treaty, which holds closed-door meetings every Friday to discuss trade policy, while the Article 36 Committee is accordingly named after Article 36 of the same treaty, and discusses issues related to justice and policing. The final paragraph reveals the message best:

¹ According to the story, a united humanity of the generations following the Great Flood, speaking a single language and migrating from the east, came to the land of Shinar. There they agreed to build a city and tower; seeing this, God confounded their speech so that they could no longer understand each other and scattered them around the world.

For all the talk of “getting closer to the people”, that is how many Brussels insiders like it. Like philatelists or train-spotters², the EU’s professional followers form a community bound by a shared interest in something that outsiders find both boring and baffling. If you enjoy long lunches discussing “the hierarchy of norms”, “the collapse of the pillar structure”, “the open method of co-ordination”, “the sole right of initiative” and the use of “vertical restraints”, then Brussels is the place for you.

The EU’s allegedly inefficient and inconsistent policy is exposed by the discrepancy between words and acts. **E2, Europe’s Cassandra complex**, addresses this topic. The term in the headline originates in Greek mythology³ and refers to the situation in which valid warnings or concerns are dismissed or disbelieved. The article calls into question the EU’s coherent global policy, arguing that the EU sees itself as a benign observer: “no less keen on universal ideals such as democracy and liberty than America, and more sensitive than America to things like development and poverty.” Ten years ago, the EU had no real foreign-policy involvement, except in trade. Now it has missions all over the world, though with a preference for soft power and mild assertions of influence. What it does not have is an active and coherent global policy.

To suggest this message, *The Economist* draws an analogy with Greek drama, arguing that what unites EU policymaking and Greek drama is inconsistency and ineffectiveness. The Greek chorus is governed by three basic rules: it may talk to the protagonists but cannot do much with the information it receives; it does not necessarily understand what is really going on; and it cannot affect the main action, no matter what it says or knows. By analogy, the EU does not have a true global policy and has little influence over those who do.

Furthermore, the EU displays behaviour of the hubris-nemesis type. **E3, For your eyes only**, elaborates upon this issue. This time the EU’s obfuscation is considered with reference to contemporary culture – the James Bond series. The article offers a critical examination of the EU leaders’ dangerous mindset which is

² A person who is obsessed with trivial details, especially of a subject generally considered uninteresting.

³ Cassandra is the daughter of King Priam of Troy. Struck by her beauty, Apollo endowed her with the gift of prophecy, but when Cassandra refused Apollo’s romantic advances, he placed a curse ensuring that nobody would believe her warnings. Cassandra was left with the knowledge of future events, but could neither alter these events nor convince others of the validity of her predictions.

the result of a “hubris-nemesis complex”: the combination of *hubris*⁴ and *nemesis*⁵. The “combination has strange dynamics” that may lead to destructive, high-risk behaviour.

The Economist suggests that obfuscation is at once disrespectful and hubristic. The closing paragraph sums up the analogy, saying:

Whenever the evil genius gloats “you have interfered with my plans for the last time, Mr Bond,” viewers know that a painful come-uppance⁶ is on its way. Filmgoers like hubris to be swiftly punished. EU leaders should take note.

5.1.2. *EU’s foreign policy*

The Euro-scepticism/Euro-optimism dichotomy is discussed in the context of other controversial issues, ever more relevant nowadays: the shift in the US-EU relations in the wake of the war in Iraq and Turkey’s possible accession to the EU.

The headlined rhetorical question in **E4 Divide and rule?** sets the stage for an investigation into a controversial question: the complicated relationships between the United States and the EU in the wake of the war in Iraq, and the US attempts at cherry-picking among the EU member states. The relations between the two superpowers is summed up by quoting G.W. Bush’s words: “when Europe grows in unity, Europe and America grow in security.”

The growing mutual suspicion, which reveals the ‘historic shift,’ is accounted for by two major arguments: “new militancy after 9/11 and a Bush administration” and the fact that “European integration has begun to touch on areas that are inevitably more sensitive for the United States than mere economics: in particular, defence and the idea of setting up a European military force.”

As the subheading in **E5 When to talk Turkey** suggests, the commentary discusses the challenges to the EU’s enlargement policy with regard to Turkey’s accession. The headlined idiom prepares the readership for a detailed analysis of both Turkey’s aspirations to EU membership, and the EU’s ambiguity and doubts, which are attributed to: Turkey’s voting weight and representation in the European Parliament; the EU’s significant aid to farming and poor regions; and the fact that

⁴ Hubris: a great or foolish amount of pride or confidence; a pretension toward an arrogant form of godliness.

⁵ the ancient Greek goddess of revenge, referring to the vengeful desire to confront, defeat, humiliate, and punish an adversary, especially one that can be accused of hubris.

⁶ Come-uppance: a deserved rebuke or penalty.

“were Turkish membership to be rejected, the EU’s existential problems would not disappear, but might get worse.”

The inefficiency of the EU’s foreign policy is another topic that is given due attention in the commentaries.

E6 Too many cooks discusses EU foreign policy within the context of the appointment of Baroness Ashton as the EU’s first foreign minister. Ironically, the focus of analysis is Ashton’s decision to retain her headquarters as EU Commissioner for Trade at the European Commission’s Berlaymont building. This decision serves as the grounds for reflections on the clash between the pomposity and grandeur of the Brussels buildings that house the EU institutions and the foreign policy issues that are tackled there. The paraphrased idiom in the headline highlights the futility of duplicating jobs and positions.

E7 Out of the limelight addresses the efficiency of the job of European High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy created by the Lisbon Treaty. Ironically, the foreign policy’s problems are connected to Ashton’s personal assets, who, as the cartoons make evident, shuns public attention. The specific event that prompted the article was her delayed reaction to the Arab spring in Tunisia, compared to the timely one of other top state officials. The paraphrased idiom in the headline relates to the importance of public figures and their personal qualities or deficiencies.

An important issue pertaining to European foreign policy is the Union’s strategic partners, the United Kingdom and Germany, and their relations with the EU.

The allusion to the idiom in **E6** is headlined in **E8, British cooks, European soup**. The commentary holds the view that Britain’s general election on 7th May 2015 “has a distinctly European flavour”, considering that it features:

A jumble of parties spanning a riotous spectrum of ideology from romantic nationalism to social democracy to parochial populism, thrown into the mix of an unpredictable campaign and none able to win a majority.

Furthermore,

it is ironic that Britain should learn the continental-style politics just as it appears to be drifting towards exit from the European Union.

In this context the article discusses the scenarios of EU-UK relations and possible Brexit under Conservative or Labour rule.

The headlined and paraphrased idiom again reaffirms the conclusion that “[t]oday’s political marketplace is messier, its outcomes harder to forecast. Many other European countries have made their peace with this sort of politics. Britain will have to do the same.”

As the subheading of *E9, Falling out of love*, suggests, the commentary attempts to explain the tensions between the two western powers, making a brief but substantive overview of the historical, cultural, and geopolitical factors determining the gradual transformation of a friendship into an alliance. The article explains why the Germans “will continue to love-hate America as they always have.” On the one hand:

The desirable America stood for blue jeans, chewing gum and Elvis in German eyes, but also for democracy, freedom and rule of law. American soldiers and bombs also meant protection against communism and other evils.

Yet

But Germans also shared the image of the ugly American. That America sprayed Agent Orange in Vietnam, water-boarded prisoners in the war on terror and now executes human beings by drone strike. Furthermore, its capitalism is ruthless, its demeanour toward allies arrogant.

The final paragraph exposes the dire consequences of the possible rift between the US and Germany:

Mrs Merkel, like most Germans, understands that her rage is largely impotent. If she “punished” America by suspending talks about a transatlantic free-trade area, she would punish Europe and Germany at least as much in lost jobs and prosperity. If she questioned America’s military aegis, she would expose German unwillingness to lead militarily or diplomatically. Worst of all, Vladimir Putin, the Russian president who is Mr Snowden’s host, would celebrate as he moved a step closer to his goal of driving a wedge between Western powers.

6. IMPLICATIONS FOR ACADEMIC TRAINING

The applied critical cognitive-pragmatic approach to discourse analysis suggests the identification of the overt and covert, verbal and non-verbal mechanisms of meaning construction. The proposed methodological and theoretical framework involves several **levels of analysis**:

6.1. LANGUAGE-ORIENTED ANALYSIS

6.1.1. Semantics and syntax: it suggests that meaning is investigated and word meanings and grammar categories are analysed:

- vocabulary choice, the use of figurative speech, stylistic devices: puns and proverbs
- the ideological implications of quasi-questions, nominalisations, transitivity, etc.

6.1.2. Pragmatics: the identification of pragmatic inferences in headings and subheadings:

- Speech acts and implicatures in headings (given their primary function of attention-grabbing and emotive power)
- entailments and presuppositions in subheadings (given their primary function of summarizing the overall message)

6.2. COGNITIVE ANALYSIS

This higher-level analysis exposes meaning construction at the textual/discourse level. It suggests that the **cognitive models** constructed by the semantic and pragmatic units should be identified to reveal how an entity's image is metaphorically constructed. Hence, this stage of cognitive analysis involves image construction. Cognitive models in general are powerful devices for attaining coherence at the narrative level.

- Determining the dominant **conceptual metaphors** such as THE STATE AS A PERSON.

Hence it ultimately suggests the analysis of image construction.

- Taking stock of the **metaphorical entailments** that create the image of the EU as the critical one.

THE EU IS A PERSON (in terms of style and behaviour)

This higher-order cognitive analysis of image construction provides the basis of the next one – of identity construction.

6.3. Critical analysis: The analysis involves meaning construction at the highest-order level of the narrative. In particular, it involves identity construction: drawing conclusions about the identity (basic beliefs, values, moral and ethical norms) of the generator of the discourse (and its presumed audience).

In this particular case, the ultimate goal of this approach should highlight the discursive mechanisms employed by *The Economist* to legitimise its attitude to, and stance on, the depicted events, actions and decisions in the string of commentaries examined as a coherent narrative. The employed discursive strategies of persuasion are an attempt on the part of the global non-state actor to construct a shared identity with its target readership.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The cognitive-pragmatic analysis of headlines and subheadings serves as a method of teaching the EU's metaphorical conceptualisation. As a *person*, the EU is conceptualised as employing an awkward, incoherent technical jargon to keep the ordinary citizenship at a distance and thus remain isolated from the rest of the world. It also shows strange behaviour, combining the destructive dynamics of hubris and nemesis, the Hercules and Bond-like superhero, thus again keeping citizenship at bay. It is also conceptualised as an ineffective and inconsistent person, showing a discrepancy between words and deeds and provoking a rift with former friends and strategic allies.

As a *family*, the EU is conceptualised as a disintegrating community showing aspirations to establish a strong federalist union while ignoring the tensions between the national and the supranational: the dichotomy between giving up

national sovereignty to abide by the rules of the game versus the promotion of national interests. The discourse of Euroscepticism prevails.

The cognitive-pragmatic analysis of headlines and subheadings is also useful as a method of teaching the linguistic mechanisms of persuasion and/or manipulation. Hence the relevance of the model of discourse analysis to a wide range of students in university – as it contributes to giving insight into the language-related mechanisms of persuasion or manipulation. It is specifically useful for students of English studies – among those majoring in literature and linguistics, and also for students majoring in journalism and most of the humanities and social sciences – as it casts light upon social constructivism, which is becoming ever more relevant nowadays in the era of trading accusations and mudslinging in global politics.

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APPENDIX

topic	article	Headlines and subheadings
EU governance style	<i>E1</i>	The tower of babble The curious cabalistic language of those who run the European Union, 31 July 2003, http://www.economist.com/node/1957021
	<i>E2</i>	Europe's Cassandra complex Like those ancient songsters, the European Union can warn and lament - but not act, 27 October 2005. http://www.economist.com/node/5084664
	<i>E3</i>	For your eyes only Why do so many European leaders favour unintelligibility? 9 August 2007. http://www.economist.com/node/9619050
EU foreign policy	<i>E4</i>	Divide and rule? The United States has unfamiliar doubts about the merit of European integration, 24 April 2003. http://www.economist.com/node/1731000/print
	<i>E5</i>	When to talk Turkey Wrangling over Turkey's entry talks reflects broader doubts about the European Union's direction, 15 September 2005. http://www.economist.com/node/4401043
	<i>E6</i>	Too many cooks Many people are trying to stick their hands into the new foreign-policy pot, 17 December 2009. http://www.economist.com/node/15127624
	<i>E7</i>	Out of the limelight Europe's new foreign-policy machinery faces its first test. Time for its boss to perform, 3 February 2011. http://www.economist.com/node/18061540
	<i>E8</i>	British cooks, European soup The general election on May 7th could decide Britain's place in Europe, 24 April 2015. http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21649474
	<i>E9</i>	Falling out of love Germany is disheartened by America, its one-time mentor, protector and role model, 9 November 2013. http://www.economist.com/node/21589460

THE MEDIA – A NEW PATCH IN THE QUILT OF ENGLISH STUDIES

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1. INTRODUCTION

At the opening of a new specialisation in communications at a Canadian University, the dean of the Faculty famously claimed that Media Studies was an interloper in academia in direct competition with his own discipline of English. Osler (2000) maintains that the order of occurrence of the two at Canadian universities was the reverse – communications studies came before English. Elsewhere, Media Studies are reported to have replaced English on the assumption that more often than not people read newspapers and not literary texts (Haig 2005). On a more commercial footing, many departments prefer to offer training in communications than in languages because of the greater interest from applicants. In Bulgaria students can only do English Studies, while Media Studies is not on offer as an academic subject. The result of this situation is that the graduates can mainly take up jobs as teachers or translators, and remain excluded from the broad spectrum of qualifications offered in the field of communications.

Apart from job prospects – which are not unimportant at all, the issue also exists about the curriculum. Most universities in Bulgaria recruit based on a high language proficiency in English – at least B2, or C1 by the Framework of Reference for languages developed by the Council of Europe. At the same time, the curricula in many specialised language schools include even teaching at C2 level, thus leaving a limited space for furthering language skills at university. Isolated attempts to open English Studies programmes to students who do not have a high level of language competence failed – probably due to the fact that students in Bulgaria generally graduate high school with their English at level B2, probably because obtaining proficiency in a language does not befit the award of a bachelor degree, or because the graduates face competition from the majority of students who started their studies with a high level of language proficiency

already. Whereby the question arises if students do not need language training, what is it that curricula should offer.

In both the USA and UK debates raged starting as early as the 1950s, calling English Studies a discipline in a state of crisis. The reasons for that varied slightly on the two continents. Academics in America raised the alarm about an imbalance between reading and writing in the syllabi. According to Bousquet (2004), most departments strive to teach writing skills, which inevitably come together with a subject matter such as literature, economics, journalism, etc. Thus, the part of English is a mere instrumentality serving an academic discipline, often far away from the range of the traditional Arts. In the UK, the argument is that an academic discipline should teach a subject matter plus the research methodology deployed to collect and organise it (Guy and Small 1993), whereas for English Studies even the selection of what to teach is more political than academic, thus rendering research methodology redundant and hard to present on academic courses. Therefore, the crisis of the Arts is establishing a subject matter that would not tease out ideological controversy and basing it on firm research principles.

For countries where English is a foreign language, such as Bulgaria, English is often an instrument for carrying out professional skills – e.g. the hospitality industries, diplomacy etc.; or the lingua franca for academic study carried out jointly with universities in other countries; or the language to be taught as a prospective career in itself. The latter is the case of English Studies in Bulgaria, which explains why language mastery is required at admission. At present, English Studies presents a syllabus which collates linguistics, cultural studies and literature, supplemented with courses towards obtaining teaching qualifications.

Theoretically, communication is a verbal activity where the main medium is language. Its split from language and research through means which have nothing to do with linguistic terms runs counter to the essence of the process itself. In view of the uses of language in non-English speaking countries outlined above, English can be seen as the medium in which many journalists work; the vehicle for co-ordinating curricula with international universities; and the tool for developing professional skills of writing and reading. Why is it then that English is divorced from communication and journalism?

One reason is institutional. Linguistics belongs traditionally to the domain of Arts and Humanities, designated as Domain 2 by the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science, while Communications is lodged within the Social Sciences, Domain 3, respectively (table 1.). The issue is non-negotiable and universities can train towards 2 or 3, but never both. The broadly advertised joint

degrees at the New Bulgarian University, where students can select subjects of their choice to make an academic programme tailored to their taste also have to focus on ONE field, because the Ministry only approves diplomas in one specific specialisation.

The Arts and Humanities	The Social Sciences
2.1. Philology 2.2. History and Archaeology 2.3. Philosophy 2.4. Religion and Theology	3.1. Sociology, Anthropology, and Culture Studies 3.2. Psychology 3.3. Political Science 3.4. Social Work 3.5. Mass Communications and Information Science 3.6. Law 3.7. Administration and Governance 3.8. Economics 3.9. Tourism

Table 1. *Classification of Academic Fields in Bulgaria*

On a practical level, the range of Humanities, according to the classification of the Bulgarian Ministry of Education, does not really translate into genuine professions, i.e. these are fundamental studies that would need a second step to lead to a professional qualification. The Social Sciences, for their part, can immediately be construed as professional qualifications, such as a sociologist, a political scientist, a journalist, a social worker, etc. Professionally, the graduates of the Arts and Humanities Departments can only hope to qualify as teachers – a low-paid job, of a low social status in many countries. Extensive literature exists on the issue of pragmatism in Arts and Humanities in modern time. Mulcahy (2010: 306) – to quote from one of the recent articles on the topic – doubts the place of these disciplines at a time when such a high premium is placed on costs and the more immediate appeal of practical knowledge. He argues for including practical skills, which he sees as little or not represented in the field of Arts and Humanities.

Technically, Media or Communication Studies do not exist as university or high school subjects in Bulgaria. The split between the qualifications – Humanitarian or Social Studies – does not allow universities to train towards or award blended degrees. The student needs to choose one or the other, thus closing the path of philologists to the spheres of Social Sciences, and specifically – that of Journalism. The marginal connection between languages and Journalism, especially when it comes to foreign languages and cultures, does not reflect positively on

the quality of journalism in Bulgaria. Numerous incidents reveal low levels of language skills in journalists, meagre knowledge of other countries and a lack of intercultural skills. The number of language errors in advertisements and publicity material is ever-increasing, and genuinely embarrassing for communication specialists. At the same time, the vast number of advertised journalistic vacancies pose the requirement of mastery of one or two foreign languages. In effect, very few graduates meet this condition by virtue of their training at the departments of journalism in Bulgaria. And the fault is in the system of education that divorces communication and journalism from language.

At the same time, the Social Sciences in Bulgaria are seen to be developing in isolation from world trends, in a paradigm that is parochial and in need to catch up with European disciplines (Gornev 2012:181). The very vehicle of innovation and new ideas remains encapsulated in the past and refuses to suggest ways of integrating into a fast progressing world. Thus, the lack of a *lingua franca* to facilitate co-ordinating international syllabi with Bulgarian counterparts is visibly missing.

In this article a review is given of the degrees of integration between the social sciences and humanities, with an emphasis on Media Studies and their connections to both Languages and Social Sciences. Towards this goal the scope of Media Studies as an academic subject is explored via research of the websites of leading UK and world universities. Secondly, we look at specific syllabi announced for the university courses in Media and Communication Studies. As a third objective, we try to answer the question of which departments teach Media Studies, with an eye on the role given to languages in this process.

2. MEDIA STUDIES AS AN ACADEMIC SUBJECT AT UNIVERSITY

The renowned founder of Communication/Media Studies in America Wilbur Schramm admits that schools of journalism provided teachers trained in the study of communication who were “social-science trained” (1997: 19). Thus communication was conceived as best investigated through empirical social research. Later, studies of audience reception were included in the subject matter, as well as strategies of presentation, social parameters of readerships, and the sociology of media production, dissemination and reception. The emphasis was clearly on the sociological factor, but specific psychological parameters were also incorporated, inasmuch as Schramm was a student of the experimental

psychologist Osgood. These research beginnings were supplemented with technical perspectives, presenting communication as a flowchart of transmission and reception with the respective participants and noise as intermediary (Shannon and Weaver 1949: 98). The object of investigation spread out to reach the reception of media by children, or the representation of various ethnic groups in society. A specific brand of research led to the term 'agenda-setting', which explores how public learning is influenced by mass media coverage (Cohen 1963).

In Canada, Osler (2000) testifies that the beginnings of Communication research were marked by a desire to split from history as such and instead research and present the past through narrative theory. The roots of the discipline spread as far back as ancient Greece to include classical rhetoric into the curricula, with the understanding that what media practitioners need is to persuade and convince. Approaches to this process were sought in the work of philosophers such as Plato. Modern offshoots propose research on the communicator as a lover (Darnell and Brockreide, 1976), developing further an idea suggested by Plato. Other theoretical inroads into communication were sought in Sociology and Political Science. Marshall McLuhan (1964), the famous Canadian philosopher, had a big impact with his interest in the medium, rather than the message.

In the UK, Media studies began with recognising journalistic texts as admissible in the classroom – since they were deemed popular culture, of lower quality and unfit for the lofty standards of education. The Newsom Report (1963) on education talked of the need for schools to provide a 'counterbalancing assistance' to popular culture. With time, however, researching media shifted focus to critical reading, establishing political agendas, and to the essence of the new media. As early as 1960 the first chair in Film Studies was established at a British University. Culturalist roots transpire in the first course in Media and Society taught at the Open University, where issues of identity, art and literacy formed the basis of the curriculum. Golay's *Introduction to the Language of Image and Sound* (1973), a seminal work on visual literacy, added valuable ideas to the emerging field of Media Studies. Critical distance and analytical skills are to this day a key feature of Media Studies courses in the UK. The Glasgow University Media Group's famous studies, *Bad News* (1976), created a storm of controversy through its exposure of bias in the mainstream media's reporting of industrial news. In 2012 the group celebrated the 30th anniversary of their *Bad News* series, critically evaluating media coverage of topical issues. Some claim that Media Studies are popular because they purportedly lead to more jobs, others attribute their popularity to the easier subject matter – Media Studies courses are famously

called 'Mickey Mouse Studies' in the prestigious *Times Educational Supplement* to reflect a general condescension to courses that deal with cartoons rather than with classical literature.

In a review of Media Studies in the UK Haig (2005: 2) writes:

At the undergraduate level alone, the register of courses compiled by the University and College Admissions Service lists 115 different institutions offering a total of 1000 bachelor degrees in media studies. One reason for the popularity of these courses is that, according to statistics from the Graduate Careers Advisory Service, media studies graduates are more likely to find jobs than those with social science or humanities degrees: nearly three-quarters of them obtain employment within six months of graduating, compared to the overall figure for UK graduates of two-thirds. This is in turn partly because the media industries in Britain are booming as a result of de-regulation, but also because media studies graduates are regarded favourably by employers who see them as being well-trained, flexible and equipped with useful transferable skills.

Three types of courses are established. Some are based in social science faculties, with the consequence that they tend to focus on the theory and criticism of media and may include no practical work at all. Other courses are based in arts faculties and are focused on creative and artistic work, including everything from ceramics and fashion design to film-making and drama. The third type of course is based on vocationally-oriented technical faculties, usually at less academically prestigious institutions, where the focus is on the practical training of media professionals (recording engineers, lighting and cameramen, website designers, journalists, advertising executives, etc.).

The Scandinavian countries followed suit by introducing Media Studies at their tertiary level of education (Nordenstreng 2007), borrowing richly from existing traditions. South African universities pride themselves on varied curricula of Media Studies (Fourie 2001). If there ever was a revolutionary movement in education to include new subjects in the 1960s and 1970s, it was Media Studies. Unfortunately, this trend never reached Bulgaria, which in those times was busy extolling the virtues of communism and turning a blind eye to everything that came from the West.

3. MEDIA STUDIES SYLLABI

Should a student in the UK desire to prepare for the job of a journalist, they would probably check options in an on-line guide published by the *Times Educational Supplement*, called the *Good University Guide*. It is one of the sources that provide information for prospective students. Inasmuch as it appears in a prestigious newspaper such as the *Times*, it would be considered very influential.

The first frustration is that it does not contain the rubric of Journalism. With reference to September 2016, top of the rank list for Linguistics is Oxford University, for Media and Communication – New Castle University, for English – St Andrews University in Scotland, and for Education – Cambridge University. The ranking is based on questionnaires with students and staff, on academic output and on job realisation. It is conducted year by year, so these data are relevant only for the date specified with the respective classification. Alternative assessors also have different rankings, depending on their specific methodologies.

On the website for prospective university applicants UCAS, courses for future journalists also tend to be titled 'Media' or 'Communication'. The term Journalism, non-existent in the *Good University Guide*, appears for courses offered regionally in Wales and Scotland. Also, it is used with modifying phrases naming specialised areas: Music Journalism, Fashion Journalism, Sports Journalism etc. With a view of the specific medium, Journalism is also modified by Multimedia Journalism, Broadcast Journalism, and so on.

UCAS also contains information concerning opportunities to combine subjects. For the subjects entitled 'English,' 49 courses are solely dedicated to English, while 52 are joint courses. Combinations are offered with Teaching, Business, Sociology, and Translation. No link is forged with Media, Culture or Communication. Media Studies, for their part, tend to be taught as single subjects (123 courses, as opposed to 88 for joint courses). Full time is the predominant mode, a fraction are advertised as 'sandwich,' i.e. including a work placement.

The range of subjects taught on the Media courses is enormous. Below is a brief selection, chosen to illustrate the variety:

- Film & Television Studies
- Music Industry Practice - Business & Innovation
- Digital Media
- Criminology
- Contemporary Media Cultures

Fashion Media Practice and Criticism
Fine Art
Media Communications
Advertising and Marketing Communications
Interactive Digital Technologies
Digital Production and Filmmaking
Sports Studies and Development
Computer Visualisation and Animation
Law

The list shows that practical considerations have suggested various aspects of Media Studies that require university training. Apart from the specifics of media, such as Film and Digital Media, we see spheres of life that journalists may need to be familiar with, in case they choose to cover. They range from fine art to criminology. A very special connection is forged with law as an object of coverage, but also as codes of practice.

The joint subject areas for the BA courses may be a mystery and invite speculation why these rather than others have been chosen:

Drama & Theatre Studies/History
Film & Television Studies/English Literature
Film & Television Studies/Fine Art
French/Film & Television Studies
Chinese /Creative Studies
German /Media Studies
Journalism/Media Studies
Creative Computing/Media Communications
Journalism /Public Relations
Language and/with Film/Media (French, German, Japanese, Portuguese, Spanish)
Fashion Branding/Communication
English/Communication at Work
Environment/Media Studies
American Studies/Media and Communications
Computing/Film, Radio & Television
Digital Media/Early Childhood Studies
Digital Media/English Literature
Digital Media/Events Planning

These combinations immediately answer a question posed with this research – what is the relevance of foreign languages to journalism and media? The answer favours a close association between the two, as the courses are offered in tandem, obviously recognising that knowledge of television as a medium is enhanced by mastery of a foreign language and familiarity with media broadcasts in this language.

The combinations Major – Minor also include foreign language courses with media:

- English Language with Media Studies
- French with Media Studies
- Law with Media Studies
- Media and Public Relations
- Communication (EFL) and Media Studies
- English Studies with Journalism
- International Relations with Journalism
- History with Journalism
- Public Relations with Politics

At this stage, a distinction needs to be made between programmes where English is taught as a mother tongue, or as a foreign language. English as a mother tongue leads to careers in writing, publishing, and obviously – in communications. Naturally, the language proficiency of the students is high, and other skills can be included in the curricula. English as a foreign language, for its part, relates to functioning in international settings, or teaching language or literature.

4. DEPARTMENTS ENGAGED WITH MEDIA STUDIES

The UCAS tables for 2013 (figure 1.) – selected here for the clarity of presentation – reveal in percentage the gains and losses in the number of applicants for each subject group. The UK universities were used for the study.

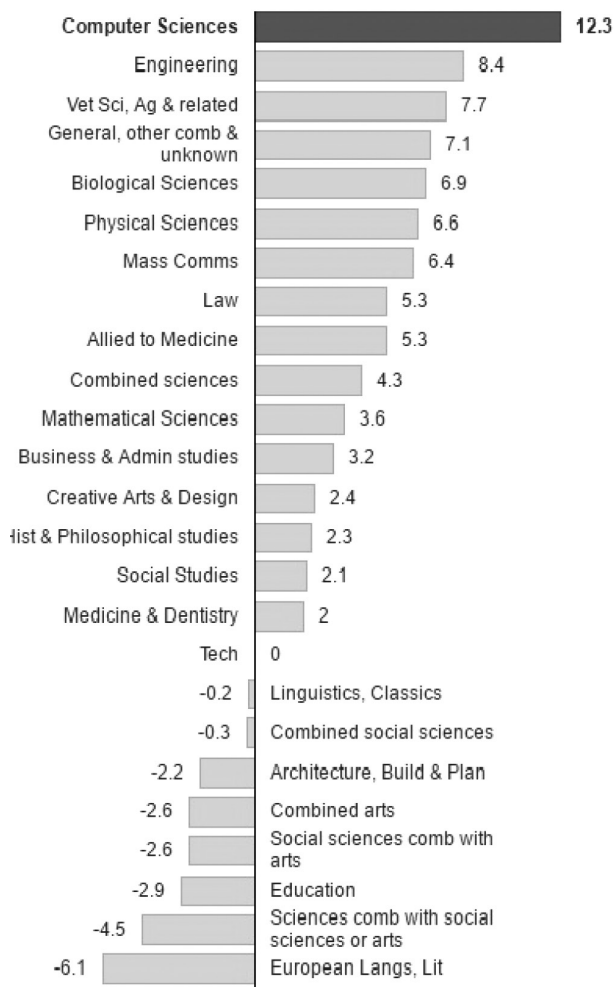


Figure 1. *Growth numbers by subject areas (in percentage)*

The greatest loser of applicants are European Languages and Literature. Linguistics lost less, but its collaboration with Social Sciences lost considerably more than Linguistics. At the same time, Mass communications was a significant winner with an increase of more than 6%, nearly the same amount that Literature lost. If Humanities departments were looking to enhance their appeal by teaming up with Social Sciences, they were wrong. The applicants called their bluff.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences also produced data that English language and literature, history, languages and literatures other than English,

linguistics, classical studies, and philosophy declined by 8.7 percent between 2012 and 2014, falling to the smallest number of degrees conferred since 2003 – 106,869 (Jaschik 2016). Thus, the conclusion that the interest in academic studies of Languages and Linguistics is a worldwide trend gets a powerful validation.

The situation calls for serious measures on the part of academia in the field of languages and linguistics. Rather than team up with more desirable subjects, the successful departments developed new specialities, borrowing from the subject matter of other areas.

A next step in the present study is to show which departments take part in training journalists and where Media Studies have found their home.

Arts Centre

Music Academy

The Department of Humanities and Social Sciences (Criminology)

Faculty of Arts, Law & Social Sciences

Department of English and Media

School of Media and Communication

School of Creative Industries

School of Humanities and Cultural Industries

Department of Film, Media and Cultural Studies

It is apparent that topic-related journalism is developed in departments specialised in the respective subject, e.g. Arts, Music etc. However, some Arts departments have changed their names to include Media, Film etc. Particularly coherent is the title bridging Media and Cultural Studies. Smaller universities seem unable to afford independent departments of Linguistics and go for a blend with the more desirable partner, Media and Communication. A major trend is merging Arts and Social Sciences – a step unthinkable under the Bulgarian System of Academic fields.

5. APPLICABILITY OF THE QUALIFICATIONS

A specialised advisory website (*Learn*) for university applicants explains what jobs graduates from Media Studies courses can expect:

A media studies major is one way to break into the television and film business as a writer, director or producer. Writers who work directly for television and film are called screenwriters or scriptwriters and can be hired as employees or independent contractors.

Another website, *Prospects*, specialising in the UK job market, summarises the jobs and agencies in table 2.

Typical employers	Jobs	
communications agencies; the Civil Service; further and higher education institutions, such as colleges and universities; local government; marketing organisations; media companies; the newspaper industry; PR consultancies; publishing companies; TV and radio companies.	Advertising account executive Broadcast journalist Editorial assistant Event organiser Information officer Magazine journalist Market researcher Writer	Media planner Multimedia specialist Programme researcher, broadcasting/film/video Public relations officer Runner, broadcasting/film/video Television/film/video producer

Table 2. *Employers and Jobs for Media Studies Graduates*

Some of the jobs promised to Media Studies graduates do not exist on the Bulgarian job market. Should universities campaign for improving the media by introducing new jobs, then their students will be facing very bright prospects to find working positions.

The top-ranking university for Media studies, Newcastle University, promises this type of realisation to its students:

You will study the generation, circulation and promotion of information, and explore the role the media plays in shaping culture, identity and interpersonal communications.

The professional qualifications offered with the educational degree are for the following fields:

- journalism
- public relations
- film-making
- marketing

The course would seem to combine a broad field and subjects that might appear incompatible, such as advertising and journalism. However, the department invested in more opportunities for the applicants rather than a narrow specialisation and consistency. This choice has seen the endorsement of candidates.

The entire make-up of the department puts together Humanities and Social Sciences:

Architecture, Planning and Landscape
Arts and Cultures
Business School
Combined Honours Centre
Education, Communication and Language Sciences
English Literature, Language and Linguistics
Geography, Politics and Sociology
History, Classics and Archaeology
Law School
Modern Languages

The curriculum for the study includes compulsory subjects which do not affiliate to one discipline, but hark to the newly established field:

Introduction to Media Studies
Introduction to Research Methods
Introduction to Social and Cultural Studies
Introduction to Multimedia Technologies for Media Studies

Interestingly, Cultural studies – a typical Humanities subject – is bundled together with a Social Science. In Bulgaria, it is a long tradition to present cultural

studies in tandem with literature and art, rather than with social trends. Probably this is down to the restrictions imposed on sociology under the authoritarian regime until 1989. Despite the apparent academic reason for matching culture and society, the inkling towards literature still lingers in Bulgarian academia.

The electives reveal an orientation either to popular culture, the sensationalist and high-circulation media in list B, or to the broadsheets appealing to more educated tastes:

List B	List A
Sex, Sexuality and Desire	Introduction to Public Relations
Visual Culture	Journalism Practice
Celebrity Culture	Media, Democracy and the Public Sphere
Broadcast Journalism 1 (Radio)	Gender, Media, Society
Advertising and Consumption	Case Studies in Practical Management
Television Studies	Practical Management Business Game
Marketing Strategy: Concepts and Applications	Career Development for Second Year Students
Human Resource Management	Career Management Module
	Developing Enterprise, Entrepreneurship and Employability

Table 3. *Elective courses for Media Studies*

Some of the options beg the question: why career management is combined with Media and Democracy, while celebrity culture with Human Resources. Yet, the orientation is clear.

6. WORLDWIDE

On the world stage, the website for university rankings *Top Universities* lists Media Studies as a Social Studies subject. Linguistics and Languages are classified with the humanities. According to their criteria, the rank list is as shown in Table 4.

Rank	University	Country
1	University of Southern California	USA
2	University of California, Berkeley	USA
3	London School of Economics and Political Science	UK
4	University of Wisconsin-Madison	USA
5	University of Texas at Austin	USA

6	University of Amsterdam	Holland
7	Stanford University	USA
8	University of Pennsylvania	USA
9	Michigan State University	USA
10	University of California, Los Angeles	USA

Table 4. *Top Universities for Media Studies worldwide.*

Clearly this evaluations system praises a school of business education as the best provider of Media Studies in the UK. This indicates that Media and Communication studies are construed away from the scope of arts and humanities.

The top university from this rank list, the University of Southern California, offers two strands:

- Communication (media and culture);
- Journalism (PR and journalism).

The purported aim is “to encourage students to think critically, write effectively and master the new and emerging technologies.” Despite the fact that writing and thinking cut across all disciplines and they are innate to language studies, no such courses are offered to the students. In effect, communication is linked to every other domain of social studies but languages in the range of subjects:

Communication and Social Science
Communication and Mass Media
Public Speaking
Communication Practicum
Communication and Culture
Communication and Media Economics
Entertainment, Communication and Society
Empirical Research in Communication
Persuasion
Learning from Case Studies in Communication

From these, Public Speaking, Persuasion and Interpersonal Communication have always been vested in the field of English Studies (Guy and Small 1993). Following from the argument for providing subject matter and method, found missing from the academic subject in the UK quoted above, we can clearly see that Media secures both. In addition, it also connects with Cultural Studies in its sociologically oriented perspective, also known as Area Studies – an indisputable necessity for foreign correspondents or international journalists.

7. CONCLUSION

Our exploratory study sought to establish whether integration exists between the social sciences and the humanities, with an emphasis on Media Studies and their connections to both Language and Social Sciences. The theoretical discourses about Media/Communication Studies and their beginnings appear to link Media to Languages and Social Sciences. Eventually, the subject matter dissolved the borderlines between the disciplines. The brief history of the subjects – presented in the limited space of this article - would suggest that Communications and Media came to upgrade the studies of language and culture, to enrich purely linguistic studies with social parameters, alongside the inevitable connection to the evolving and omnipresent knowledge of technology.

The curricula of Media programmes do include a number of innately linguistic subjects, such as Rhetoric, Interpersonal Communication, Persuasion, Writing, Critical Skills, etc. But the impact of non-linguistic subjects is also quite considerable. The review also showed that Communication and Media Studies have evolved as a stand-alone subject with its own introductions to an obviously consolidated theoretical field. The establishment of a new subject with its interdisciplinary makeup is also reinforced by the fact that overtly blended courses between social studies and humanities do not appeal to students.

In effect, Media Studies is a cross-disciplinary field with its own subject matter borrowed from both Languages and Social Sciences, but evolved in a specific subject. Its preferred denomination is with the latter – social sciences, but this is a matter of established practice in Bulgaria, not of the pragmatics that Social Science is more useful to journalism. If Linguistics were to evolve into its

own media strand, it would be no less valuable. With the purported isolation of Social Sciences in Bulgaria from world trends, Linguistics may be better capable of acting as the bridge with Media and turn into a promising academic discipline.

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ASSESSING QUALITY IN CONFERENCE INTERPRETING

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1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of the present paper is to discuss different approaches to the assessment of quality in conference interpreting. I will first look at the notion of quality and how quality criteria are defined by researchers, professional interpreters and users, and then address some of the methodologies applied to assess quality in different situations. In particular, I will focus on four studies featuring simultaneous interpretation: Zwischenberger and Pöchhacker (2010), Kopczynski (1994), Kurz (1989) and Collado Ais (1998/2002).

2. THE NOTION OF QUALITY IN CONFERENCE INTERPRETING

The nature of quality in conference interpreting has drawn the attention of researchers in recent years. One of the first attempts to define quality in conference interpreting was made by Bühler (1986). In her experiment, she identified sixteen linguistic and extra-linguistic criteria, among which sense consistency with the original, logical cohesion, correct terminology, correct grammar, fluency of delivery, pleasant voice, native accent, and asked professional interpreters, members of AIIC (the International Association of Conference Interpreters), to rate them in terms of their significance. Not surprisingly, sense consistency with the original was given the highest rating. Later on, other researchers (cf. Kurz 1989, Kurz 1993/2002, Zwischenberger and Pöchhacker 2010) replicated Bühler's experiment and largely confirmed her results. At the same time, it was recognised that a discussion of interpretation quality would be incomplete without considering users' perceptions. An important contribution in this direction was made by Kopczynski (1994) who surveyed the attitudes of conference participants from different professional fields.

Kopczynski's study is centred on the idea that quality is contextually determined. He argues that context introduces situational variables that might call

for different priorities in different situations. He discusses two aspects of quality: linguistic and pragmatic. The linguistic aspect relates to concepts like equivalence, congruence, correspondence between the source-language text and the target-language text. Kopczynski indicates that although these concepts are useful in establishing the fidelity of the translated text, they are not sufficient to account for the overall quality of interpretation. On the pragmatic side, there are context-dependent variables, which include the conference participants (speakers and audience, their status, intentions and attitudes), the existing norms of interaction and interpretation of a speech community and the setting and the form and content of the message. The list is not exhaustive, but all the above mentioned variables affect the process and product of interpretation. Other researchers have also taken on board the idea that the users' perspective should be brought to bear on the assessment of interpretation quality. (cf. Shlesinger 1994, Pöchhacker 1994, Kurz 1989, Amini et al. 2013). However, as argued by Kurz (2001), there is little comparability between different surveys. Moreover, users who have no understanding of the source language are poor judges of interpretation quality.

3. HOW IS INTERPRETATION QUALITY ASSESSED?

Williams and Chesterman (2002) talk about three types of translation quality assessment. The first one is source-oriented and equivalence-centred. Assessment methods are used to identify conformity with or deviance from the required equivalence. The difficulty in applying this method to simultaneous interpretation in particular is that it is a great burden for examiners to listen to the speaker and the interpreter at the same time and note down their observations. Even if the speech and its interpretation are recorded and played afterwards, the experience would lose its authenticity, as the relevant contextual variables would be missing. Another approach to translation assessment is target-language oriented. Here the goal is to assess differences between a certain translation and other comparable texts. What can be measured with this method is naturalness of the translation. With regard to conference interpreting, I would suggest that this method can be used to measure both content and form focusing on correct use of terminology and fluency of delivery. The third translation assessment method proposed by Williams and Chesterman is measuring translation effects on clients and users through published reviews, interviews, or comprehension tests. Clearly, this method is used in the assessment of interpreters' performance by asking conference participants to provide feedback on the interpretation they have received at the

end of an event. Sometimes a test is administered at the end of a training seminar to measure learning outcomes and since communication has been facilitated by the interpreters, an assessment of their performance comes in as a side benefit.

Comprehension tests are more challenging to administer compared to rating-scale questionnaires, and yet they can provide invaluable information about the success of interpretation. As already mentioned, such information sometimes comes as a byproduct of comprehension tests conducted as part of a training course. When done in a focused, quality-of-interpretation-oriented way, comprehension tests would contribute to a more objective assessment of the interpreters' performance. However, such tests cannot be the only instrument to rely on for evaluation. Apart from the logistics challenges, there are factors which can affect the reliability of comprehension tests: the difficulty of the subject matter, the background knowledge of the audience, the clarity of explanation and logical cohesion in the original speech, to name but a few.

Assessing interpreters' performance can be approached from the perspective of professional interpreters, users or clients. Judgement is always subjective because even if performance is assessed on the basis of 'objective' quality criteria or expectancy norms (Chesterman 1993), those criteria and norms do not universally apply in all situations. Variables that are external to the performance of interpreters such as cultural expectations and individual users' perceptions can assign different relative weight to each quality criterion and thus make them not equally significant.

4. THE INTERPRETERS' PERSPECTIVE

In 2008 a project was undertaken by Franz Pöchhacker and his team at the University of Vienna aiming to investigate interpretation quality standards and the role of the interpreter from the professionals' perspective as well as the impact of paralinguistic variables on audience comprehension. As part of the project, Zwischenberger and Pöchhacker (2010) replicated Bühler's study to find out about the interpreters' perspective on quality. Drawing upon the methodology for data collection used by Chiaro and Nocella (2004), they distributed a web-based questionnaire to over 2,500 AIIC members by e-mail and received a total of 704 responses. Respondents were asked to evaluate 11 criteria: fluency of delivery, correct terminology, correct grammar, sense consistency with the original, lively intonation, native accent, logical cohesion, pleasant voice, synchronicity, appropriate style and completeness. The researchers also wanted to see whether the

type of meeting influenced the quality criteria. Zwischenberger and Pöchhacker's methodological approach is interesting, because respondents were not just asked to give abstract ratings to the criteria. They were randomised in two groups and invited to listen to and rate a one-minute sample of professional simultaneous interpretation. One group of respondents listened to the sample delivered with lively intonation, and the other group were exposed to monotonous intonation. The results from the study largely confirmed Bühler's results, in particular with regard to the high priority given to the sense consistency with the original and logical cohesion. Synchronicity and lively intonation were not tested by Bühler. In Zwischenberger and Pöchhacker's study lively intonation was considered important among the delivery-related criteria, while synchronicity and native accent were given the lowest ranking. However, the results from the ratings of the audio sample demonstrate that intonation plays an important role in the overall assessment of the quality of interpretation. Another interesting finding in the study is that the relative importance of quality criteria varies in different types of meetings. For example, some respondents indicate that synchronicity becomes more important in the interpretation of jokes or speeches with lots of numerical data. To these I would add a situation with a quick change of speakers, since the closing words of a speech should not run over the beginning of a new one. Another situation in which synchronicity is crucial is when a speaker uses visual aids to illustrate the points made in the speech. Obviously, a mismatch between what is heard in the earpiece and what is seen on the screen would be very confusing for the audience. Yet another challenging situation is when a speaker interacts with the audience and expects quick responses to questions or instructions. In all those cases, lack of synchronicity can spoil the effect of the speech or even create misunderstanding or confusion. With regard to the types of meetings discussed in the study, synchronicity was considered of high importance by the respondents who mentioned media events in their comments.

How can Zwischenberger and Pöchhacker's survey inform other research experiments on the standards of quality in conference interpreting? First of all, this study and others as well (cf. Kurz 1989, 1993/2002) clearly show that Bühler's criteria can serve as a basis for other empirical research on the quality of interpretation. Furthermore, it can be seen that in their judgment of what should be expected of a professional performance interpreters give priority to content over form. However, delivery-related criteria such as intonation gain more importance when assessment is made after respondents have listened to a real interpretation. As Zwischenberger and Pöchhacker point out, intonation would become even

more important, if respondents were exposed to an audio sample of a longer duration. In any case, borrowing terminology from the financial sector, I would argue that an *ex-ante* evaluation of relevant quality standards should be followed by an *ex-post* assessment of an actual performance against the same standards. I would even go further and suggest that respondents can be asked first to give an overall assessment of the quality of an interpreter's performance and then identify the positive and negative aspects in order to motivate their decision. In this way they will be able to formulate some of the quality criteria they use in a real-life situation. In addition, if comparisons are to be made with the source text to evaluate an interpreter's performance against the expected quality standards, such as sense consistency with the original, terminological precision, completeness and synchronicity, it is necessary to provide the original speech and make sure respondents have the same working languages as those used in the experiment.

5. THE USERS' PERSPECTIVE

Despite the strong evidence which shows that professional interpreters assign top priority to sense consistency with the original, I would argue that listeners also rate highly voice quality, lively intonation and fluency of delivery, thus tipping the balance towards form. Therefore, exploring listeners' perceptions of interpreters' performance is a worthwhile endeavour. As mentioned, this is sometimes done as part of the general feedback forms that participants are asked to fill in, usually after training seminars. Ideally, feedback should be given after each speaker's intervention so that researchers can detect the dynamics of different quality criteria and whether their relative weight is influenced by the individual characteristics of each speaker and interpreter. However, this is very difficult, if not impossible, to administer at a real conference. One possible solution would be to conduct a controlled experiment by organising a mock conference with volunteer interpreters, speakers and audience at a university setting. Listeners can be asked first to assess each interpretation on a scale and then motivate their decision by identifying the positive and negative aspects of the performance. Thus the researcher would be able to investigate the users' perceptions and their criteria for what counts as a good interpretation and what does not.

As mentioned earlier, Kopczynski's survey addressed users' attitudes and perceptions. Respondents were asked to identify and then rate in terms of significance two sets of criteria: 'functions' and 'irritants'. The functions involved rendering the general and specific content of the source text, terminological

precision, style, grammatical correctness, fluency of delivery, diction and voice qualities. On the other hand, what caused irritation was incorrect terminology, ungrammatical sentences, stylistic mistakes, lack of fluency, poor diction, monotonous intonation, uneven speed of delivery, too general or too detailed rendition of content. Results show that the most significant functions are detailed rendition of the original text and terminological precision, while incorrect terminology is the most important irritant. These results should be considered in the light of the methodology of the experiment. As Kopczynski points out, the findings clearly demonstrate that respondents attach more importance to content than form. This is not surprising when we bring to light the fact that their opinions were surveyed to a large extent prospectively. In other words, the results from the experiment reveal what respondents expect or do not expect to hear in a good interpretation. What this methodology cannot help to reveal is what criteria of interpretation quality respondents actually apply at a real conference. While it is true that their judgment is largely based on the experience they already have as speakers or listeners, it is not certain whether their assessment of interpretation in a real-life event would have been the same.

In fact, such an experiment was carried out by Kurz (1989). The delegates at a medical conference with German and English as working languages were asked to rate the importance of eight out of the sixteen interpretation quality criteria previously identified by conference interpreters in Bühler's pilot study (1986): native accent, pleasant voice, fluency of delivery, logical cohesion, sense consistency, completeness, correct grammatical usage and correct terminology. Interestingly, this survey as well as a follow-up survey conducted in 1993 demonstrated that correct terminology, sense consistency and logical cohesion are in line with Bühler's findings. On the other hand, users gave lower ratings to voice qualities, accent and fluency of delivery, compared to the answers in Bühler's survey. After studying users' perceptions at the medical conference, Kurz conducted the experiment with delegates in a conference on quality control and participants in a Council of Europe meeting. The aim of those studies was to analyse the answers against those given by professional interpreters in Bühler's study. Additionally, Kurz aimed to compare the answers of different user groups. One interesting finding was that interpreters' expectations were higher than those of the users. The combined ratings of the criteria also showed that sense consistency with the original, logical cohesion and use of correct terminology were considered the most significant. Native accent was given the lowest rating followed by pleasant voice and correct grammatical usage. One difference between

user groups was that the participants in the Council of Europe meeting gave the highest priority to correct terminology. On the basis of these and other findings, Kurz argues that end users are an essential part of the communication process and that the situational context and type of communicative event also play a role in the perception of the quality of interpretation.

An innovative contribution in the exploration of the users' perspective on quality in conference interpreting was made by Collados Ais (1998/2002). Her methodology involved a number of controlled experiments which were intended first of all to determine the quality expectations of end users and professional interpreters and then to establish the effect of monotonous intonation on the perception of the quality of simultaneous interpreting by specialist users and professional interpreters. In addition, she set out to discover whether content errors would go unnoticed by both groups of subjects and whether this would have an impact on the evaluation of the interpretation.

In order to test the users' perspective on the above mentioned issues, Collados Ais made video recordings of three different versions of a simultaneous interpretation into Spanish of an original speech in German. The first version was recorded with monotonous intonation and without content errors; the second was delivered with lively intonation and was not fully consistent with the sense of the original; the third one was delivered with lively intonation and had no content errors.

Respondents had the task to rate the interpreter's performance in each case following the quality criteria which were initially tested to determine their expectations. Furthermore, respondents were asked to make an overall assessment of each interpretation, the original speech and the reliability and professionalism of the interpreter.

The results of the experiment clearly demonstrated that the users detected the monotonous intonation. The interpretation delivered with monotonous intonation was given the lowest overall rating. Although the difference between this video and the other two was not big and not even statistically significant with regard to the second one, Collados Ais argues that this shows a tendency that monotonous information has a negative effect on the overall evaluation of interpretation.

The experiment also demonstrated that users did not detect the content errors in the second video and that those errors did not have an effect on users' overall assessment of performance. At the same time, only a few respondents commented that they were not in a position to rate the criteria of sense consistency with the

original and completeness of the interpretation. Actually, the experiment was designed in such a way so that the subjects were not able to listen to the original speech and compare it to each of the three interpretations for sense consistency and completeness. Taking into consideration the fact that the majority of the respondents gave ratings to these criteria, Collados Ais concludes that they were not aware of those limitations and that their overall evaluations were based on their subjective impressions. However, it could be also argued that if the respondents were given the option not to rate certain criteria, they would have used it and not rated the interpretation for sense consistency with the original and completeness. In other words, it may be that the respondents thought that there was no possibility for them to opt out of the question.

Whatever the case might be, I agree with Collados Ais that there is a clear separation between expected quality and perceived quality of interpretation. The researcher further contends that “[t]he users are not good judges of quality, simply because they are not in a position to perform this task.” (Collados Ais 2002: 336). There may be various implications from this statement. In any case, this should not be taken to mean, I would argue, that since users cannot judge objectively about the quality of interpretation, their opinions should not be considered in the evaluation of interpreters’ performance. Their opinion matters because, after all, users/ clients hire interpreters and therefore are in a position to demand a certain quality based on their subjective judgement. That is why it would be logical to let users come up with quality criteria for interpretation. When testing the perceived quality of an interpreter’s performance, users may be asked open questions about the reasons why they evaluate an interpretation in a certain way. As suggested earlier, it may be worth asking users to name specific positive as well as negative aspects of the interpretation. Thus researchers will be able to explore users’ subjective impressions and identify at least some of the criteria users rely on in their judgment. At the same time, the rigorous quality standards, developed by professional interpreters, should remain the backbone of assessment. With this in mind, there are contextual, cultural and individual factors as a result of which all those criteria apply with different relative weight, or even sometimes do not apply at all, in different situations. Nevertheless, studies comparing expectations of users with those of professional interpreters like the ones discussed here have shown above all that both groups have corresponding expectations, although professional interpreters are more demanding. However, the discrepancy between expected quality and perceived quality is a fact. That is why it is essential to explore the users’ perspective and find out if certain criteria can be added to the

conceptualisation of quality in interpreting. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see if other criteria clash with quality expectancy norms and why.

6. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, and in line with previous research, I would argue that the concept of quality cannot be explained by a definite number of fixed criteria. The number and, more importantly, the relative weight of these criteria can vary according to the contextual and cultural characteristics of the situation in which interpretation takes place. The mode of interpretation, consecutive or simultaneous, plays an important role in this respect. More experimental research is needed to analyse the users' perception of quality against the quality standards defined by professional interpreters.

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TRANSLATION ETHICS AND THE LITERARY TRANSLATOR'S TRAINING

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I will start with a truism: the ultimate goal of literary translator training is to prepare competent professionals, fully equipped to perform their role of intercultural mediators. The difficulties start when we attempt to unpack the concept of *professional*, which seems to be invested with rather different meanings in different contexts: in an educational environment, in public space, or in the translator's own self-perceptions.

Inevitably, the academic setting leans towards an ideal image of professionalism, encompassing a broad spectrum of skills and competencies – linguistic, literary, and cultural. Unlike the more strictly defined knowledge and skill base of some other professions, that of a literary translator could not, realistically, be built through formal instruction and supervised practice alone. The success of the process depends on an already existing complex of aptitudes, habits and expertise, among which a solid grounding in stylistics, literary and cultural studies is of the essence. What is more, the process is never finished, hence the need for the educators to prioritise the development of skills and motivation for life-long learning and professional self-improvement.

The question of motivation brings us to the trainee translators' transition to their actual "being-in-the-world" and the impact of the prevailing culture of translation. I have only indirect knowledge of the situation in other countries, which is why my discussion is based on the current Bulgarian experience, particularly in translating literary fiction from English, which still heavily dominates this field. Beyond the classroom, the aspiring literary translator is likely to enter a professional environment which is at best unstable and unstimulating. He/she will face such obstacles as unrealistic deadlines, disproportionately low pay, lack of adequate editorial support, opportunistic competition, an atmosphere of low accountability, and widespread public ignorance of the nature of a literary translator's work.

There are hardly any mechanisms of self-regulation by the publishing industry and the translators' community itself. The occasional critical reviews and

surveys of translated fiction generally go unnoticed. As a result, carefully crafted, competent translations jostle on the bookstore shelves with clumsy amateurish creations, some of which at times garner unsubstantiated praise in the media and even get nominated for translation awards. Even translators with a long-established reputation for excellence are tempted to underperform. The whole field seems to be geared towards profit-maximising behaviours, with little concern for quality or responsibility to the reading public. In such an environment the concept of the professional translator acquires a predominantly quantitative character – as someone who makes a living in this way and who can boast a long enough list of translated titles, regardless of the quality of their output.

The discrepancy between academic, trade and public perceptions and standards can be very demoralising. Seen from the perspective of Self-Determination Theory – the branch of psychology that studies human motivation (Ryan and Deci 2000a) – such a sociocultural environment does not offer supportive conditions for the maintenance and enhancement of an aspiring translator's *intrinsic motivation*; neither does it offer positive enough values and behavioural regulations for internalisation and integration, i.e. *extrinsic motivation* (Ryan and Deci 2000a; 2000b, *passim*).

What are the implications for classroom practices? First and foremost, that all tasks and activities should proceed from the premise that what students need is not simply translation training but translation education – i.e., not just procedural knowledge and skills, but also the cultivation of professional values and ethical models of behaviour. I see the incorporation of ethics in the literary translation classroom as a crucial step towards resisting and eventually countervailing the unfavourable social trends. Teaching should be directed towards encouraging students to pursue *distal internally regulated goals* – i.e. “future self-development-oriented and socially oriented goals” (Fryer et al. 2016: 228, 237). In a public environment that tolerates an amateur, voluntaristic approach to the translation of literary fiction, the primary motivation for a pursuit of professional excellence can only come through self-regulation, making accountable behaviour and constant self-improvement an ethical imperative.

Translation ethics already has a respectable record as a scholarly field, especially as part of the Cultural Turn in Translation Studies (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990). Typically, however, ethical issues are addressed in a broader philosophical and theoretical context – for instance, Postcolonial translation, translation and alterity, domestication and foreignisation, etc. It was not until fairly recently that the pedagogical implications of such theoretical concerns started to be elaborated.

A 2011 article entitled „Bringing Ethics into Translator Training“ defines the overall goals of ethics training in the following way:

As far as translator programmes are concerned, the aim of the ethics training will be to enable translation students to *identify* the ethical issues as they arise in particular circumstances, to *analyze* how these issues should shape their actions, and thus to choose an action which constitutes an *effective response* in the situation faced. (Drugan and Megone 2011: 188, emphasis in original)

Recognising such needs, some translation programmes in the UK, for instance, include ethics as a separate discipline in their curricula. Various scholars and pedagogues, however, argue against this “bolt-on method” and its intellectual implications: “When separated off from other aspects of good professional judgement, ethics is not perceived as a core competence of a good translator” (Drugan and Megone 2011: 191). Instead, they advocate an integrated approach to the teaching of ethics.

Usually research in the field focuses on types of translation and interpreting in which morally insensitive or unconscientious behaviour can have immediate harmful or even dangerous consequences (for instance, the translation of legal and medical documentation, conference interpreting, mediation in high-conflict, politically controversial situations). The ethical aspects of literary translator education, though admittedly no less important, are rarely mentioned. Still, the existing scholarly work offers some general insights and practical approaches adaptable to the literary translation classroom.

In the first place, as suggested by Drugan and Megone, integration involves “an additional perspective to activities that are already being undertaken ... which has the intellectual benefit that students come to see that this is a general part of good professional judgement” (2011: 191). Thus, students’ translation choices will be discussed not simply in terms of how accurate or appropriate they are, but also in terms of their possible consequences: the stylistic and generic shifts they may entail and their likely impact on the reader and the reception of the source text and culture, or even the possible long-term effects on the image of the translation profession. Inevitably, that keeps the focus of classroom discussions on the translator as a social and cultural agent who wields power, and the need for that power to be exercised in an informed, accountable way. It highlights the tangled web of loyalties in which the translator is caught, the need to negotiate,

and compromise, and prioritise in each individual situation, thus reinforcing the awareness that in the absence of absolute rules and ready-made solutions, the burden of responsibility lies primarily with the translator. Also, it brings out into the open the processes through which students arrive at their decisions and the motives that dictate them – which reinforces the habit of continual self-reflexion. As Baker and Maier put it, “building ethics into the curriculum means opening up a space for critical reflection, training students to think through the consequences of their behaviour” (2011: 4).

Now I will consider some specific pedagogical tools conducive to education in ethics that are applicable in teaching literary translation and which I personally have been using in my teaching for some time.

One of them is *students’ portfolios* of their work during the semester, comprising all completed assignments in their initial version, the copy with the teacher’s corrections and remarks, the copy with the student’s notes taken during the respective class discussion and, finally, a revised version based on all the others and presented in a “ready-to-publish” manner. The portfolio is seen as an important tool in a social-constructivist approach to translation education in the pursuit of its primary goals of

raising students’ awareness of the factors involved in translation, helping them develop their own translator’s self-concept, and assisting in the collaborative construction of individually tailored tools that will allow every student to function within the language mediation community upon graduation. (Király 2014: 49)

The course portfolio is of particular value in literary translation classes where still inexperienced trainees tend to hold a view of literary language as necessarily florid, elevated and “poetic”, and of its translation – as a matter of purely intuitive, solipsistic interpretation and spontaneous self-expression. The portfolio, which remains as a record of their progress after the course is over, enhances students’ perceptions of translation as a collaborative process in which the interaction with informed others has had a positive impact on the final product. Furthermore, it reinforces the habit of critical self-examination and counters the impulse toward overconfidence and rashness in making one’s decisions.

Work on the portfolio also helps students to reassess the often unrealistic expectations of “labour division” in the literary translator’s job, i.e. the assumption that any linguistic blunders will be set right by an editor and that a “real” translator

is above such “trifles” as correct spelling, punctuation and layout – this should be the job of computer spell-checks and proofreaders. In the above-outlined Bulgarian situation, however, it is very likely for a rough translation draft to be published, with only ostensible intervention by an editor and/or a proofreader. Hence the need for students to internalise the ethical imperative of taking full responsibility for their work and striving to perfect it, to the best of their ability.

Time and circumstances allowing, the portfolio may include peer reviews and self-reflexive statements. Julie Johnson, for instance, suggests the following parameters for a student’s self-review:

Based on a review of all of your work to date, write a statement (approx. 2–5 pp.) discussing the following:

- How your knowledge and translation skills have evolved. Please provide concrete examples from your work.
- What you got out of the various assignments.
- What you need to work on.
- Any concerns you have.
- How you are feeling about translation as a profession; how this has evolved; directions you want to pursue. (Johnson 2003:103)

These points do not explicitly address issues of ethics but they clearly fit within the overall project of enhancing ethical awareness and ethical professional behaviour, with their focus on self-reflexion, active engagement and the responsibility for self-development.

Another pedagogical tool discussed in the literature on ethics in translator and interpreter training that can be tailored to the specific needs of literary translation education are *real-life case studies*. Their purpose is to help students “to develop an ‘eye’ for relevant ethical features, and also help them start to deploy analytical tools in responding effectively to the ethical challenges that translators face” (Drugan and Megone 2011: 193). Such discussions develop the skills of informed appreciation and constructive criticism grounded in theory – translation, linguistic, literary, cultural, as the case may be – rather than making impressionistic judgements. Discussions can focus on different nodes in the ethical relationships between the key agents of translation in such areas as the constraints on the translator’s freedom and creativity; the collaboration between translator

and editor; various publishing practices and malpractices; the translator's duty to the source and the receiving culture; the translator's visibility in public space, etc.

The current Bulgarian scene provides abundant material. I will give some examples of more broadly formulated topics, as well as concrete cases.

1. The already mentioned widespread practice of publishing houses to bring out unedited translations or to work with a "style editor" alone (i.e. without reference to the source text), which often results in texts with multiple issues, like gross mistranslations, stylistic deformations, random omissions of portions of the source text of varying length – from single clauses and sentences to whole pages, often destroying the coherence. What are the ethical implications for the translator, the image of the original, the reading public? Are the overall fluency of a translated text and the claim that the reader "won't know" what is missing, or has been arbitrarily changed, a valid defence of such a practice?

2. The publisher's role in matching translator and editor according to their strengths and weaknesses; the practical and ethical aspects of the collaboration between translator and editor, and the limits of mutual compromise. A very curious recent example is the Bulgarian rendition of Michael Frayn's novel *Headlong* (Фрейн 2016a; 2016b), which, because of irreconcilable differences in the translator's and editor's positions, appeared in two parallel versions, neither of which does credit to the source text. Furthermore, the simultaneous appearance of two hefty (and pricey) volumes confused the public and undermined its trust in the competence of the publishing industry. Introduced in the classroom, this unique case sparked off a lively discussion of a broad range of concerns, all hinging on questions of ethical professional behaviour.

3. The shared responsibility – and the shared kudos – between translator and editor. This is a particularly sensitive point when awards are concerned. A good example is Junot Diaz's novel *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*. In 2013 its translation by Vladimir Molev (Диаз 2013) received the highly prestigious Krastan Dyankov Award and this gave rise to some controversy in the translators' community, as the translation's merits apparently owe a lot to the editor, Neva Micheva. This raises the question of how the editor's work is acknowledged and rewarded. Similar case studies can heighten students' awareness of translation as a team effort in which what matters most is not petty disagreement over who did what, and not self-promotion, but the quality of the final product.

We can find a very positive example in the similar, though not quite identical sphere of the Man Booker International Prize where the £50,000 prize is divided equally between author and translator. This lends public visibility to the

translators' key role, boosts their morale and sense of belonging to a community. In Debora Smith's words, who shared the 2016 prize with Korean author Han Kang for her novel *The Vegetarian*, "As a translator, you're only ever as good as you're enabled and encouraged to be – by the brilliance of the original writing, by the opportunities given by agents and publishers, and by the support of your peers" (Smith 2016).

4. Other situations worth examining are the cases of plagiarism or partial appropriation of other translators' work – fortunately rare, but still not unheard of. Here a good case in point is Tolkien's *The Hobbit*. Two translated versions appeared, in close succession, in 1999 (Толкин 1999а; 1999б), issued by the same publishing house, in different covers and with different illustrations. The first one features Lyubomir Nikolov as translator; the second one – Krasimira Todorova as translator and Lyubomir Nikolov as editor and translator of the verses. The prose text of the two is practically identical and is actually a slightly revised version of Todorova's pioneering rendition of the book (Толкин 1975). Indeed, the verses are retranslated and the toponyms are substituted with Nikolov's coinages in his translation of *The Lord of the Rings* (Толкин 1990-1991). But the initial omission of Krasimira Todorova's name was a blatant infringement of copyright. Apparently, she remonstrated and in subsequent editions the claim that Lyubomir Nikolov is the sole translator of the 1999 version was dropped.

5. A related cluster of issues concerns new translations of classical works with a rich reception history. In the desire to produce a different and stylistically improved rendition of the source text, is it acceptable for the new translator to pay tribute to his/her predecessors by incorporating some particularly apt details of previous versions? And what are the ethical ways of doing so? One can find instances of unacknowledged appropriation in Hristo Kanev's 2006 translation of *Alice in Wonderland* (Капол 1999) who "borrowed" some of the pun renditions from an earlier translation by Svetlana Komogorova and Sylvia Valkova (Капол 1997) – which also happens to be a much more accomplished translation (cf. Пунева 2014: 182–3).

These are just some topical examples of the ways in which relevant case studies can be used for the purposes of an ethics-oriented translator education.

I will conclude with a loose analogy with Kazuo Ishiguro's protagonist in *The Remains of the Day*, ruminating on what makes a great, truly professional butler. In our case, the question would be, "What makes a good professional translator?" It is my conviction that a socially responsible educational environment should encourage aspiring literary translators to arrive at the following answer (not unlike

Stevens the butler): what is really essential and what one should “meaningfully strive for throughout one’s career”, is “dignity in keeping with [one’s] position” (Ishiguro 1993: 33). And what constitutes dignity is, above all, professional integrity – an ethical approach to the challenges of the translator’s daily work, and being in a position to take pride in the results of that work. The life-long honing of all other necessary skills and competencies is predicated upon that.

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SHIFTING PARADIGMS FOR PARADIGM SHIFTS

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With his path-breaking book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), Thomas S. Kuhn (1922–1996) brought the concept of *paradigm shift* into widespread use to describe fundamental changes in scientific thinking. Ever since the book's publication, there have been ongoing debates and reconsiderations about the concept's validity and particular applicability to the arts and humanities. Prompted by the title of this conference, "New Paradigms in English Studies," this article explores some of the shifting paradigms for paradigm shifts, paying particular attention to the use of the term by American historians in the second half of the twentieth century, and by a filmmaker and philosopher who was (briefly) one of Kuhn's graduate students in the early 1970s. During the course of a long academic career, Kuhn taught many graduate students at highly prestigious institutions, including Harvard University, the University of California at Berkeley, Princeton University, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where he served as professor of philosophy from 1979 until his retirement in 1991. Kuhn once termed himself "a corruptor of the mind" (Baltas et al. 2000: 323), but he is invariably and primarily linked with *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, his second book publication – his first being *The Copernican Revolution: Planetary Astronomy in the Development of Western Thought* (1957).

When Kuhn initially defines *paradigm* in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, he ascribes to the term two important characteristics. A paradigm describes an achievement that is not only "sufficiently unprecedented to attract an enduring group of adherents away from competing modes of scientific inquiry," but also is "sufficiently open-ended to leave all sorts of problems for the redefined group of practitioners to resolve" (Kuhn 1970: 10). Examples of paradigms in the history of science include Copernican astronomy, Newtonian dynamics, Franklinian electricity, and Einsteinian theories of relativity. According to Kuhn, a "full-scale paradigm shift" requires a radically different way of looking at the world, which is "not only incompatible but often actually incommensurable with that which has gone before" (Kuhn 1970: 103).

Of course, Kuhn did not invent the word *paradigm*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* traces the term to the ancient Greek παράδειγμα meaning pattern, example, or precedent. From there it moved to the Latin *paradigma* to mean an example or (from the late third century BCE) a technical term in rhetoric. The *OED* traces further usage of the word from 1483 through the twentieth century to mean a pattern or model. But it is only with the publication of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* that the *OED* ascribes the use of *paradigm* to mean “a conceptual or methodological model underlying the theories and practices of a science or discipline at a particular time; (hence) a generally accepted world view.” Likewise, the *OED* gives Kuhn credit for introducing in 1962 the term *paradigm shift* to mean “a conceptual or methodological change in the theory or practice of a particular science or discipline; (in extended sense) a major change in technology, outlook, etc.” (Oxford English Dictionary).

First published as a relatively slim, 172-page volume as part of the series “International Encyclopedia of Unified Science,” *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* was written primarily for historians of science – a relatively small group of scholars. But the book slowly attracted a wider body of readers outside its original intended audience. For instance, in September 1964 the *Boston Globe* listed it among half a dozen new paperback books in science and mathematics (Selected Paperbacks). In the following month, the respected anthropologist and philosopher Loren Eiseley noted (as an aside in reviewing a book by Arthur Koestler for the *New York Times*) that Kuhn’s work was an example of “concise, elegant professional competence in the presentation of new ideas” (Eiseley 1964: 41). Thanks to such notices, as well as many positive reviews in academic journals, the book’s second edition in 1970 expanded the text to 210 pages, and a third edition in 1996 reached 212 pages. By the time the book had reached its fiftieth anniversary in 2012, it had sold “well over a million copies” in more than a dozen languages (Devlin and Bokulich 2015: 1). It is “commonly called the most influential treatise ever written on how sciences does (or does not proceed) ... and it is still fundamental reading in courses on the history and philosophy of science” (Horgan 1991: 40).

In the process of the book reaching ever wider audiences, the idea of *paradigm shift* entered the realm of popular culture as early as 1974. In that year, a cartoon in the *New Yorker* depicted a woman telling a man, “Dynamite, Mr. Gerston! You’re the first person I ever heard use ‘paradigm’ in real life” (Horgan 1991: 49). A quarter-century later, another cartoon in the *New Yorker* showed a serious-looking doctor, staring at a clipboard and informing his patient, “I’m afraid you’ve

had a paradigm shift” (Duffy 2001). If you now type the words *paradigm shift* into an Internet search for images, the screen displays a variety of humorous memes, such as highway signs cautioning about “paradigm shift ahead” or “new paradigm ahead.” One popular variant plays on the expression “shit happens” by adding an *F* to the first word, sometimes with the qualifier of ‘paradigm’ to produce a new, telling axiom, “paradigm shifts happen.”

Nevertheless, the term’s adoption by popular culture did not negatively affect its embrace by academics. One of the most fertile applications of Kuhn’s ideas was in the field of historiography, which shifted the concept of *paradigm shift* from the history of science to the history of history. For instance, David W. Noble (b. 1925), a celebrated professor of history at the University of Minnesota from 1952 to 2009, recalls how Kuhn’s book transformed his thinking:

Published in 1962, it [*The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*] instantly became a major topic of discussion among many social scientists and humanists. I began to talk about it in my classes in the 1960s, and it has informed my subsequent writing. Unlike [Jean-François] Lyotard, Kuhn did not self-consciously place his narrative within a critique of the modern world. He was only presenting a critique of the way in which the history of science had been written. Implicit in his book, however, is a critique of what I have called the modern metaphor of two worlds. Although these transformations may occur gradually, Kuhn believes they are irreversible. Once a paradigm has shifted, there is no going back to the earlier perceptions of the world and of reality (Noble 2012: 98).

Noble applied Kuhn’s idea of paradigm shift to the ways in which historians perceived and wrote about the history of the United States. Specifically Noble posited that the paradigm used by progressive historians in the first half of the twentieth century, such as Charles and Mary Beard in their two-volume book *The Rise of American Civilization* (1927), was displaced around mid-century by a new paradigm known as the Counter-Progressive or Consensus school of historians. The younger historians maintained that Beard and “other Progressive historians had constructed a world of illusion that obscured the essential homogeneity of American culture in which democratic and capitalist values were complementary” (Noble 1985: 8). Noble belonged to the Consensus school, and thus was himself “a participant in the destruction of the paradigm used by the Beards in *The Rise of American Civilization*” (Noble 2012: 60). However, what Noble did not anticipate

at the time was how the older paradigm would try to resist its displacement by the new paradigm. As Noble recalled,

In the early 1960s several graduate students told me that one of these older colleagues had shown them a holster and pistol on his belt. He then informed them that one day he intended to shoot David Noble. I was shocked, but at that moment I was unable to understand why he was so angry with me. In retrospect I am shocked by my insensitivity toward my elders (Noble 2012: 60).

It was only after Noble had read Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, as well as *American Historical Explanations: A Strategy for Grounded Inquiry* (1973) by Gene Wise (1922–1986), that he understood and appreciated the dramatic forces behind shifting paradigms.

Borrowing from Kuhn's theories, Wise's book describes in detail the process by which one paradigm is replaced by another:

For Kuhn, a scientific community does not give off one paradigm and take up another merely because the facts of the world dictate it must... A few practicing scientists... perceive the situation otherwise. As anomaly piles upon anomaly, their commitments to the established paradigm will be put under increasing strain. Something appears wrong. And their community of scholarship has no way to explain it... At some point, someone (or ones) will then take such a leap of imagination and set forth a whole new way to cluster things together (this is what Kuhn calls "a change in visual gestalt"). Then a new candidate for paradigm gets launched. If this candidate is successful, the community will then set out to restructure its commitments, its procedures and apparatus for research, its textbooks, and so on. And that body of scientists will then enter a new reign of normality; what once was radical and suspect will now become conventional and seen by the community as simply "the way things are." Which means they will have settled into a new paradigm consensus. What Thomas Kuhn emphasizes is this: The revolution is in fact just that (Wise 1980: 130-31).

Wise describes a paradigm shift in terms that Noble may have felt instinctively, but did not fully understand, at the time:

We might now picture a scientific revolution as something like *an earthquake*... A massive upheaval takes place then, shattering the contours of everything around it. For a few moments, all is blind chaos and uproar. Nothing holds together. There are no patterns of predictable behaviors, no continuities or recognizable coherences. After a time, though, things begin to take on recognizable shape again, they settle down into more enduring alignments, and make fresh kinds of interconnections. New solidarities and new channels for handling potential stress get formed, and for a while they function to hold things together. Until, that is ... (Wise 1980: 131; final ellipsis in original).

At which point, the same earthquake-like shift begins again.

Of course, there were other scholars who were not as enthusiastic as Noble and Wise about Kuhn's theories. On the occasion of the book's fiftieth anniversary, the editors of a retrospective collection of essays observed,

Structure has certainly not been without its critics. Not long after its publication, it was beset with philosophical criticism; for example, Dudley Shapere, Israel Scheffler, and Karl Popper each maintained that Kuhn's account of scientific change entails that theory-choice is subjective and irrational. Furthermore, Shapere and Popper argued that by rejecting the claim that science operates under the notions of paradigms, revolutions, and incommensurability. Kuhn makes science relative (Devlin and Bokulich 2015: 4).

After several rounds of debate about *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Kuhn himself had grown so accustomed to criticism of his book that he adopted an attitude of resigned weariness. This attitude emerges clearly in a 1991 interview – five years before Kuhn's death – conducted by a reporter from *Scientific American*, perhaps the most popular magazine in the United States that covers science. The article begins with the reporter describing their interaction as follows:

"Look," Thomas Kuhn said. The word was weighted with weariness, as if Kuhn was resigned to the fact that I would misinterpret him, but he was still going to try – no doubt in vain – to make his point. Kuhn uttered the word often. 'Look,' he said again. He leaned his gangly frame and long face forward, and his big lower lip, which ordinarily curled up

amiably at the corners, sagged. “For Christ’s sake, if I had my choice of having written the book or not having written it, I would choose to have written it. But there have certainly been aspects involving considerable upset about the response to it” (Horgan 1991: 40).

None of this resigned weariness appears in what may be the most illuminating, as well as the most entertaining, critiques of Kuhn and *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* ever published: the five-part series appearing in March 2011 in the *New York Times* titled “The Ashtray.”¹ The series was written by Errol Morris (b. 1948), a celebrated maker of documentary films whom one journalist has termed “one of America’s most idiosyncratic, prolific and provocative public intellectuals” (Rosenbaum 2012). The five articles chronicle Morris’s brief career as a graduate student at Princeton University’s program in the history and philosophy of science, which Kuhn headed. Morris sets the scene in his opening paragraph:

It was April, 1972. The Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N. J. The home in the 1950s of Albert Einstein and Kurt Gödel. Thomas Kuhn, the author of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* and the father of the paradigm shift, threw an ashtray at my head (Morris 2011a).

Whereupon Morris goes back in time six months to recount how he happened to enroll at Princeton and then very quickly antagonised Kuhn:

I had written a paper on James Clerk Maxwell’s displacement current for Kuhn’s seminar on 19th century electricity and magnetism. The paper might have been 30 or so double-spaced pages. Kuhn’s reply, typed on unlined yellow paper, was 30 pages, single-spaced, with Courier marching all the way from the left to the right side of the paper. No margins. He was angry, really angry. He had written at the very end of his comments, “You have long since passed the end of the road on which you began” (Morris 2011a).

It was at this point that the “conversation took a turn for the ugly.” Morris asked Kuhn,

¹ An expanded version of Morris’s original five-part series is scheduled to be published in May 2018 by the University of Chicago Press as *The Ashtray: (Or the Man Who Denied Reality)*.

“If paradigms are really incommensurable, how is history of science possible? Wouldn’t we be merely interpreting the past in the light of the present? Wouldn’t the past be inaccessible to us? Wouldn’t it be ‘incommensurable?’” He [Kuhn] started moaning. He put his head in his hands and was muttering, “He’s trying to kill me. He’s trying to kill me.” And then I added, “except for someone who imagines himself to be God.” It was at this point that Kuhn threw the ashtray at me. And missed. I see the arc, the trajectory. As if the ashtray were its own separate solar system. With orbiting planets (butts), asteroids and interstellar gas (ash). I thought, “Wait a second. Einstein’s office is just around the corner. This is the Institute for Advanced Study!!” (Morris 2011a).

Morris concludes,

The end result was that Kuhn threw me out of Princeton. He had the power to do it, and he did it. God only knows what I might have said in my second or third year. At the time, I felt that he had destroyed my life. Now, I feel that he saved me from a career that I was probably not suited for (Morris 2011a).

The career path eventually taken by Morris has been as documentary filmmaker, which has thus far brought him one Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature: *The Fog of War: Eleven Lessons from the Life of Robert S. McNamara* (2003), and perhaps even more acclaim for *The Thin Blue Line* (1988). The latter film reconstructs the murder of a Dallas police officer and the bungled investigation that led to the wrongful conviction and imprisonment for twelve years of Randall Dale Adams. Thanks to Morris’s own search for truth, Adams was fully exonerated of the crime in 1989, one year after the film’s release.

Morris continued his search for ultimate truth in several of his subsequent films, including *Mr. Death: The Rise and Fall of Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.* (1999) about an engineer who in the process of seeking more humane execution devices became a Holocaust denier; *The Fog of War* (2003), which offers eleven lessons from the life of Robert S. McNamara, particularly his role as Secretary of Defense during the Vietnam War; and *The Unknown Known* (2013), based on interviews with Donald Rumsfeld, another former Secretary of Defense, who once maintained,

There are known knowns; there are things we know we know. We also know there are known unknowns; that is to say we know there are some

things we do not know. But there are also unknown unknowns—the ones we don't know we don't know (Graham 2014).

Rumsfeld's logic, which came in response to a reporter's question about evidence pointing to weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, is almost Kuhnian, and thus returns us to shifting paradigms and to Morris's disagreement with Kuhn's belief that what "emerges from a scientific revolution is not only incompatible but often actually incommensurable with that which has gone before" (Kuhn 1970: 103). Morris firmly rejects the Kuhnian notion of irreversibility, i.e., that once a paradigm has shifted, there is no going back to the earlier paradigm and how that paradigm's adherents formerly perceived the world. Similarly, Morris rejects the notion of incommensurability, i.e., that 'truth' depends on one's paradigm or shifting frame of reference. According to Morris,

If everything is incommensurable, then everything is seen through the lens of the present, the lens of now... . There is no history. There is no truth, just truth for the moment, contingent truth, relative truth. And who is to say which version of the truth is better than any other, if we can't look beyond the paradigm in which we find ourselves (Morris 2011c).

For Morris, a paradigm shift is neither incommensurable nor irreversible.

In his careers as both filmmaker and philosopher, Morris abhors any notions of 'relative truth,' which he associates with postmodernism, or "the idea that truth is culturally determined and depends on your 'frame of reference'" (Morris 2011b). What still disturbs Morris is that Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* "produced a cottage industry around itself. And became a kind of postmodernist Bible" (Morris 2011b). Which brings us back to the ashtray that Kuhn tossed at Morris's head in response to their difference of opinion.

In the twenty-first century, academic disciplines will continue to grow and evolve, if not also shift their paradigms. Intellectuals like Kuhn, Noble, Wise, Morris, and many others will continue to debate their differences of opinion. In 2016, Oxford Dictionaries selected *post-truth* as its "international word of the year," which it defined as "relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief" (Wang 2016). If we are now entering a period (if not perhaps also

a paradigm) of ‘post-truth,’ the ensuing debates are likely to add fire (if not also smoke and ashtrays) to our analysis and interpretation of these cultural shifts.

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Съставители

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