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USE OF ENGLISH
IN THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY IN FRANCE:
OBSTACLES AND STAKES

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Abstract. English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) has emerged as a way of referring to communication in English between speakers with different first languages. That is the reason why ELF is the language used in science. Yet language is not limited to communication; it is also tied to the creation of concepts. As English is developed and transformed by its non-native users into an international scientific communication language, there is a risk of developing an impoverished form of English. The use of English as a *lingua franca*, devoid of culture, and used in scientific discourse may affect the transmission and the production of scientific knowledge. We can wonder about the consequences of the development of English in the scientific academic community and scientific teaching and learning contexts as all French university curricula have integrated English. Thus, this paper examines the different representations of science and the English language used in science. In conclusion, we propose the development of research in English for science, teacher training, teaching English for science and science in English (Content and Language Integrated Learning; henceforth CLIL) to students in the language teaching sector for non-linguists (LANSAD in French).

Key words: representations, science, language, English as a *lingua franca*, knowledge, language teaching sector for non-linguists

INTRODUCTION

English has become the language of science. It is used and regarded as a *lingua franca* because everybody shares the conviction that science is universal (Lévy-Leblond, 2004: 104), so is its language. Despite being welcomed by some and deplored by others, it cannot be denied that English functions as a global *lingua franca*. In the last ten years, the term English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) has emerged as a way of referring to communication in English among speakers of different mother tongues and lingua-cultural backgrounds, including native speakers of English, who may use ELF as their additional language for aims of intercultural communication (Seidlhofer, 2005). What is distinctive about ELF is that, in most cases, it is 'a "contact language" between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication' (Firth, 1996: 240).

Most of the time, language is exclusively considered for communication. It has been forgotten that knowledge owes its existence to language and thus

creates the scientific product. The product has to be designed in the scientist's mother tongue since it will be better thought about and expressed. As English is developed and transformed by its non-native users into an international scientific communication language, there is a risk of developing a form of Globish which is an impoverished form of English that serves as a basic tool in international communication. Hence knowledge and science are in danger because language conceives knowledge (Nicolas, 2012: 112).

We can say that there are two main positions:

- language is (only) a means of communication;
- language is the material in which knowledge is developed and which is the scientific product (Trabant, 2011: 20).

These two positions are generally deemed as alternatives instead of being complementary. Yet a major issue should be taken into consideration. ELF is used in science not only to communicate but also to transmit and produce knowledge. Communicating is not sufficient; understanding is also a key feature. Unlike communication, which only deals with inputs and outputs between transmitters and receivers, understanding is necessarily a reflexive process and means understanding each other but also to understand oneself (Supiot, 2013). According to Lévy-Leblond (1996: 246), the production of knowledge not English is the problem.

This article examines a reflective question on the development of English in the scientific community with a specific concern for French higher education (teaching English in the French university science degrees – an educational sector of languages for non-linguists called *Langues pour Spécialistes d'Autres Disciplines* in French – LANSAD). Here it is hypothesized that serious consequences are expected for the production and transmission of scientific knowledge if ELF is used in the scientific community. The link between the issue and our research domain as a teacher of scientific English and researcher in English for science at the university level is specified. Once the consequences of using ELF both in the scientific community and in scientific higher education have been discussed it is possible to start defining teaching English for science efficiently at universities to thwart the development of an impoverished form of English in the scientific community. Finally, the development of research in English for science, teacher training, teaching English for science and science in English to students is proposed since all French university curricula have integrated English.

STATE OF THE ART

The question of languages in the different disciplines has been debated in the European community for a long time particularly in the dialogue at the conference *Science and Languages in Europe* held in Paris in 1994 and collected in the book by Roger Chartier and Pietro Corsi (1996). The book focuses on languages in science, from a diachronic perspective with the opposition of

vernacular languages and the universal language, then between natural languages and the perfect language with the search for the ideal language of science and finally, between vernacular languages and vehicular languages. This was the case with Latin as it is with English in the contemporary scientific community, for example, in the proceedings of the symposium held at the University of Quebec in Montreal in 1996 on *French and the scientific language of the future* with a focus on French, and more recently in the Franco-German journal *Trivium* in 2013 in the issue *Science thinks in several languages* in the case of cultural studies. This is not a problem that refers to linguistics only. The issue is much more a fundamental question: how do scientists from different linguistic and cultural areas communicate with each other, and most importantly, how do they produce knowledge together? This question refers to the more general problem of the relationship between language and knowledge, a question as old as that of science itself. Another article written by two Germans, Ralph Mocikat and Hermann Dieter in the French journal *Les langues modernes* in 2014 deals with the future of the German language in science and the consequences of English used in science in the production of knowledge.

CURRENT REPRESENTATIONS OF SCIENCE AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN SCIENCE

Before dealing with science and the language used in science, we consider the 'social representations' (Jodelet, 1997: 53) of science and the English language in science.

There are ideological arguments in favour of the English used in this context. In our era of globalization and internationalization we commonly hear that English has become the international language in many domains. The argument consists in saying that English is *the language of ...* – for example, THE language of science, finance, Europe, companies. But there is no reality to these *obvious facts* that refer to politics in the broadest sense (Truchot, 2008: 142). As a result English has become the international language of science and this is a fact. At the heart of these discussions is the role of English in international contexts (Bruhns and Nies, 2013).

English is not envisaged in its language dimension by scientists. Historians of science have often overlooked the impact and meaning of the language in science and seen its role as secondary. Scientists such as Galileo and Descartes helped shape an image of science which is fully independent of words (Beretta, 1996: 105). As Lévy-Leblond (1996: 238) underlined, a language is not limited to its lexicon and specialized vocabulary is only a very limited fraction of the speech which is mainly performed in common language. Crosland (2006) added that language is a significant part of science even though it is often neglected. Lévy-Leblond (1996: 228) asserted that 'science goes through language' and that science cannot do without language. A text about physics not only contains

mathematical equations as students seem to think but also chunks of sentences. In all sciences, scientific abstraction and rhetorical concepts exist because of language in the form of a natural language, that is to say, a language of culture. The formulation of hypotheses and the construction of theories are the most important parts of the process of the production of knowledge. The process is conducted thanks to language which is part of the argumentation and thus plays a major role. While the experiments and measurements which participate in the process are independent of language.

Before examining the reason for the universality of English in science, the universality of science should be analyzed. Fourez and Larochelle (2004: 56) investigated the origin of science – in terms of place and time: 'whose knowledge is science? […] Are sciences the same in Moscow, Beijing and London?' They finally wondered if science is universal, which means valid in all places and at all times. In the introduction of *Science of Science and Reflexivity*, Bourdieu (2004: 10) asked:

> How is it possible that a historical activity, inscribed in history as scientific activity, produces trans-historical truths, independent of history, detached from all ties with the place and the moment, so eternally and universally valid?

Fourez said that he was trained in a world that believed in the existence of an eternal science (Fourez and Larochelle, 2004: 11). Lévy-Leblond (2004: 112) replied that we have to admit that science is 'universalized' because of globalization which is the victory of some types of Western science, at first European and then the USA. Yet this universality is spatial (place) and not temporal. For Lévy-Leblond (2004: 111), there are diverse sciences but also and above all radically different modes of production according to places and times. Fourez (1996: 124) alternatively stated that science is universal in some aspects. It is partial, biased and *partisan*. The *objective* descriptions that we can have in Oslo or in Naples give the effect of a universal discourse.

As Fourez and Larochelle (2004: 62) said it, yes science is universal and so is the English language. They justify the universality of English with economic and political factors which are not due to the language itself. English has been imposed as an *international auxiliary language* (Eco, 1994; Levy-Leblond, 1996: 236) for science, *auxiliary* being referred to 'natural languages that have been chosen to aid communication within a special domain (e.g. the use of English or French at international conferences' (Crystal, 1997: 254). An international auxiliary language is considered as an *interlanguage* which is defined as a language meant for communication between people from different nations who do not share a common native language. English incorporates the chronological series of *lingua francas* (Greek, Latin, French). This is both the universal language of the educated technocracy and language market. Science can be called universal in the same way English has become universal, that is to say in favour of economic, political and military domination (Menahem, 1976).

In science, the language dimension is viewed as non-essential whereas this is not the case in humanities, which are situated in a historical and cultural background. In hard science, using one sole language does not pose any problems. This opinion relies on an objectivist point of view which believes in the existence of a unique, objective truth which is independent of languages and history (Mocikat and Dieter, 2014: 36).

BACK TO LATIN AS THE *LINGUA FRANCA* USED IN SCIENCE

The use of English in science as the only language of communication and even as the general language of production and teaching of science is often justified with reference to Latin which was the language of European science for centuries. The history of Latin in Europe from the Renaissance allows us to better understand the current role of English as the international language. It reminds us that an auxiliary language is indispensable for the circulation of ideas, especially scientific ideas. It can be obvious, but it is often forgotten. Yet the choice of a *lingua franca* is essentially determined by the economic or military power of the dominant country. In the case of Latin, the spiritual power of the Catholic Church was decisive. It turns out that English now holds that position, because of the economic and cultural domination of the United States (Frath, 2001). Latin that was the language of scientific communication experienced its decline from the 17th century. Its domination in the Middle-Ages and early modern times caused real scientific sclerosis. At that time, the age of Scholastics, novelty was hardly part of people's interest; it was much more a question of compiling established knowledge and affirming the permanence of indubitable truths that is to say, given as objectively true. Maybe this was possible with a single language. However, when repeating canonical knowledge was not at stake but for understanding nature, that is to say formulating new knowledge and new theoretical methods, the universal language was no longer enough and vernacular languages were the solutions. An unprecedented rise of empirical science took place precisely when Latin was abandoned and the desire for knowledge freed from the shackles of Latin. In fact, the decline of Latin and the rise of national and vernacular languages to the status of scientific languages have played a fundamental role in the development of science in Europe.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE USE OF ELF FOR SCIENCE

The problem is not the excessive use of English but bad English, which might damage real scientific communication and thinking. As Lévy-Leblond (1996: 246) said, language pulls science ('la langue tire la science'). And it can pull it forward or backward according to the periods of time. Aden and Peyrot (2009) asserted that *non-national* languages cannot be regarded as utility languages.

'This would be without counting the complexity of the languages that are (also) the expression of social forms of thought' (Aden and Peyrot, 2009: 18–19).

Using a *lingua franca* for science in professional usage can raise the question of limited language proficiency such as impoverished forms of language and an absence of cultural references. There is also the risk of developing uncertain norms (Narcy-Combes, 2005: 32) which will lead to less comprehensible input both in oral and written communication. The use of ELF, devoid of culture, and used in scientific discourse may affect the transmission and the production of scientific knowledge. Lévy-Leblond (1996: 23) recommended granting as much importance to understanding scientific knowledge as to its production, to its past as to its present. 'We cannot know what we have until we know what others had before us. We cannot seriously and honestly appreciate the advantages of our time as we do not know those of previous eras' (Lévy-Leblond, 1996: 23).

We will examine the consequences of the development of English in the scientific academic community and scientific teaching and learning contexts.

1 TRANSMISSION AND PRODUCTION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE IN THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY

In our era of globalization, international scientific communication has to be performed in English. Currently, non-native speakers are more numerous than natives and they usually communicate in ELF. Two fundamental issues at least can emerge from the situation: a broad public should understand the idea, but also the producer of the idea itself should understand it (Krämer, 2013).

When scientists use ELF in their professional activities 'how can we imagine that a conscious and determined language practice may become more critical and inventive at once, without deep roots expressed in the culture behind the language?' (Levy-Leblond, 1996: 245). Carter-Thomas (2005) pointed out that the essential content can be communicated with a minimum of words (700–1000 words) and in doing so the language may be depleted, which eventually can be dangerous for thought. As Louis de Broglie wrote in an article on *the French language as an expression of scientific thought* (1956), there is still the need to add language in physics, despite physics possessing the algebraic language since Descartes (1960: 391–401).

In the creative phase of the hypothesis formulation for example, it is necessary to use one's native language (when the user is not proficient in English), because it promotes the development of new ideas, and thus free access to knowledge (Mocikat and Dieter, 2014: 38). The message is first thought in the native language before being spoken so when a *lingua franca* is used in this case it loses its roots in the common cultural ground and is then deprived of a vital source. 'Science is done as it is spoken' (Levy-Leblond, 1996: 259–260).

When one uses a language, it means that they use a system of standards that shape thought and its relationship to the universe. Each language has a systemic

set of forms and categories which not only allow someone to communicate but also shape her/his analysis of reality, influence her/his reasoning (Leduc, 1996). Using French, English or any other language refers to a system of thought and culture that is specific to each linguistic group. The researcher's intuition opens with all its nuances and network of images at the heart of her/his mother tongue (Mocikat and Dieter, 2014: 38). A mother tongue is an engine for creativity of thought (Krämer, 2013); therefore, a *lingua franca* cannot generate thought. Thus it is no coincidence that the explosion of scientific discoveries at the end of the Renaissance coincided with the decline of Latin as the language of reflection in European nations. Galileo thought in Italian, and Kepler or Leibniz in German and Newton in English. Only the results of their reflections were published in Latin. 'Most people can think creatively in their native language, and if it excludes swathes of life and knowledge, then it is not possible to think out of the world in the mother tongue' (Krämer, 2013). In the words of Humboldt, researchers depend on their own language, which allows them to deploy all their intellectual abilities. What they have to say can only be expressed in their own language which is not universal.

Finally, Lévy-Leblond (1996: 246) concluded that English (no more than any other language) has a short-term chance of being sufficiently mastered by an international scientific community to become truly commonplace for communication and reflection.

2 TRANSMISSION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE IN SCIENTIFIC ACADEMIC TEACHING AND LEARNING CONTEXTS

The problem of transmission of scientific knowledge can be analyzed at two levels:

- in science courses taught in English by non-native science professors (based on a case study in a French scientific university (Chaplier, 2013)),
- in courses of scientific English by English teachers teaching in French scientific degrees (present situation and asking open questions).

2.1 SCIENCE COURSES IN ENGLISH TAUGHT BY NON-NATIVE SCIENCE PROFESSORS

Science professors teach courses of science in English more and more in French universities. In the case of Université Paul Sabatier (Chaplier, 2013), it is not the professor's concern to master language. Language gives way to the contents that are familiar to students and which are transmitted by the professors in a form of English they are not sure whether it is correct. Science professors have no teaching experience in a specialized scientific domain in English and no certification in English. They say they are not very comfortable linguistically even if they claim that language is not a barrier as they use it regularly. For them, the only subject of interest is the content.

Oral transmission of knowledge and oral interaction in class are issues of teaching science in English. Language skills mainly refer to the communicative competence or *ease factor* (Kurtàn, 2003: 147–150). The science professors speak of difficulties concerning fluency, clarity of expression, vocabulary and varied turns of phrases in order to reformulate what they have said. In general, they slow down the speed, avoid complex words and rely more on visual support (slides) than in native language (L1) (Flowerdew and Miller, 1996: 129–134). The phenomenon of *reduced personality syndrome* (the fact of not being able to speak in second language (L2) as well as in (L1)) can be evoked. They are not comfortable enough in English and sometimes maintain linguistic insecurity that will block their activity in the end. Long (1983) and Pica (1994) argued that comprehensible input (Krashen, 1982) is necessary for language learning. In this case, the very specific and new knowledge that teachers transmit to the students in English (the *input*) may not be really understandable as broad understanding is not the objective of master program's specialized courses.

The inverted situation may occur in the case of science courses in French. Non-native science professors may find it difficult to transmit their knowledge into their native language to their non-native students in class as they have read too many scientific articles in English. As they do not have the linguistic material to understand what they read in their native language, they may not be able to have the correct input to transmit in French. The input they have read in English may not be equal to the output they have expressed in French. The output in French will become the input to transmit.

Teaching means speaking about new topics whose understanding is arduous in our case (master's level). There are two dimensions, in language are both present: the semantic and pragmatic dimensions (Trabant, 2013). The semantic relation, that is to say the relationship to reality, is difficult to handle and above all in a foreign language. As teaching involves a relational dimension, the students can ask questions to clarify points on difficult subjects or ask for more details. Consequently the teacher has to know the nuances of the language to reply and to understand the underlying meaning of the student's question. The use of the *lingua franca* is problematic in this case.

The relevance of English for a science class taught in *lingua franca* can be raised when one knows that this language is devoid of any ethnic culture. Furthermore, there is another point to mention which concerns the curriculum taught in *lingua franca* when teachers and students are not English-speakers (Truchot, 2008: 125). These curricula are based on an *erroneous* estimate (ibid.) and therefore *aberrant* knowledge on language. The usefulness of obtaining such a degree, knowing that student mobility is increasingly widespread can also be questioned. Consequently, the validity of the English language has become an issue.

Beacco and Byram (2007) wondered what the consequences of the development of English as an international language in universities in most countries (Northern Europe) were. They recalled that the Action Plan 2004–2006

explicitly warned against 'unintended effects of this offer of English on the vitality of the national language', referring to

> The research that shows that if a language is no more than an expression of living science and modernity, its other societal functions can suffer from this loss of legitimacy: such dynamics may tend to create a situation of diglossia. (Truchot, 2008: 95)

For example, during an exchange among non-native scientists, a speech in genuine situations with a threshold of consistency will be performed. It will be done in an interlanguage. An interlanguage is an intermediary language which eases the communication among the persons who do not have a common language. The exchange of specialized content will cause a qualitative decline in form and backward linguistic development. There is a risk to 'build statements that juxtapose disciplinary concepts, such as labels, regardless of the L2 forms' (Narcy-Combes, 2005: 56). If the speaker is not a specialist in the field, he/she cannot 'build cohesion based on domain knowledge' (ibid.) and the interaction will prove to be difficult or impossible for the listener. In this case, it is even difficult to speak of language.

2.2 TEACHING SCIENTIFIC ENGLISH

The expression *scientific English* is used in the case of English teaching in French university science degrees. The questions of contents to be taught and of the competences of the English teachers in terms of specialized contents are raised.

Trouillon (2010: 100) asked a relevant question: 'Is scientific English an English apart?' Scientific English is a type of English as there are *Englishes* which are ' hybrids reflecting the complex process of loan word, combination and style with other language varieties (or discourses)' (Ricento, 2006: 4). Scientific English is therefore 'a particular variety of English in that it is very representative of a discourse community that does not need English as mother tongue [...]' (Trouillon, 2010: 100). It should be useful to distinguish between the English used by scientists (daily) from scientific English taught in class.

English teachers who teach scientific English in scientific degree programs think that they know their area of expertise: teaching and learning scientific English in an academic context for science students who are non-specialists of English. Yet they cannot integrate knowledge and expertise in scientific English in a professional context. However, it seems that the students must be placed in a context of action. They cannot either understand the scientific issues of their actions because they are not familiar with didactics of languages or of disciplines. In fact, teaching scientific English is based on teacher's personal knowledge. Currently there is no research object *English for science* which has been produced by researchers and therefore the knowledge taught at the university in our context is not based on any epistemological foundation except teacher's *practical epistemology* (Sensevy, 2007). Practical epistemology is a theory of knowledge that comes from practice and is constrained by the institution.

There is therefore a lack of teacher training in scientific English at universities. As a result, practical knowledge in English is taught without scientific knowledge, which could especially be damaging at the master's level. Without the knowledge of science, knowledge of practice remains less formalized therefore non-transferable (Dugal and Léziart, 2004: 37).

Although English teachers manage to create hybrid disciplinary knowledge, the question is to determine their degree of competence in specialized knowledge, being aware of the fact that learners position themselves as experts as they advance in their studies. As Dudley Evans and St John (1998: 188) noted, the teacher does not have to 'become a specialist discipline' or to replace her/his specialist colleagues (Dudley-Evans, 1993: 2).

PROPOSALS TO *RE-LEGITIMIZE* AND *RE-GIVE* CREDIBILITY TO ENGLISH USED IN SCIENCE

In France, the university training of teachers who will have to teach specialized English and in particular English for science remains very general. However, a specialized language cannot be seized without a real preliminary training, given its complexity. The question of the content of teaching and here specialized language is essential both in terms of credibility when facing the students, of legitimacy concerning the institution and recognition in terms of maintaining and renewing the teachers' commitment.

As the institution produces students who may have taken the above-mentioned courses and who will use the language that they have learned in the scientific workplace, we, as researchers and teachers, can play a role in designing English teacher training in the French university science degrees (language teaching sector for non-linguists called LANSAD in French): creating master's syllabi for teacher training, developing research in specialized English and didactics, reinforcing research-based courses in English (CLIL) and, finally, maybe, adopting a more structured linguistic policy in French universities.

We provide some proposals in order to *re-legitimize* and *re-give credibility* to courses of English for science and also re-motivate students and staff. As Chini (2010) suggested, we will refer to teaching language-culture for science at the university, culture being related to professional and subject dimensions (Taillefer, 2004), although teachers and researchers of scientific subjects say that English is a *lingua franca* in their subject teaching in English (Chaplier, 2013). A reflection should be started among both language and content teachers.

1 THE FRENCH SITUATION

Since 1988, the Bologna Process has pledged to transform and harmonize European universities so as to encourage mobility and student participation in the education process, foster the social conditions required to broaden the access to higher education, and promote employability.

1.1 THE FRENCH LANGUAGE TEACHING SECTOR FOR NON-LINGUISTS

Since the 1970s, all French university curricula have integrated language courses. Thus, a vast language training sector for non-linguists emerged called the LANSAD sector. It was faced with a high demand for English courses for non-specialists of English and many jobs were developed in universities to meet this demand. The 1989 reform restructured the French university degrees to make them compatible with European higher education courses. It contributed to introducing specialized content in language training. It also referred to a European dimension to the curriculum, which involves the question of the place of languages at universities. On-going globalization and increased trade have progressively highlighted the communicative dimension of language. Until the 2000s, the language teaching sector for non-linguists has grown rapidly and is characterized by its heterogeneity.

New educational needs have been identified. A new non-specialist English learner profile has emerged: a great number of students drawn from all academic disciplines, with heterogeneous levels in English and variable motivation with a limited number of hours for English courses. The workforce in this sector represents 90 percent of students enrolled in higher education (Causa and Derivry-Plard, 2013: 91).

1.2 THE POLITICAL DIMENSION OF ENGLISH LEARNING AND TEACHING

The political dimension of the issue of English learning and teaching in France cannot be underestimated. French was a language of international exchange and culture, and was spoken in many countries. The growing hegemony of English has generated many negative responses from policy-makers, institutions, the world of arts, and teachers. The latter deplore that globalization is gradually destroying whole swaths of culture, lesser-used languages, and even depriving English of its cultural dimension; hence the generalization of the word *Globish* refers to the reduction of a language to a *lingua franca* devoid of any traces of culture and languages (Forlot, 2010; Chini, 2010).

There is still no real language policy at universities that 'requires rethinking the ways of learning languages' (Rivens Mompean, 2013: 32), except at the European level (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages and European Language Portfolio).

2 REINTRODUCING THE LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS INTO ENGLISH FOR SCIENCE

In science, the language and cultural dimensions are not major concerns. However, language is essential in conceptualization and the historical and cultural background are key components in science which is also a social activity.

2.1 CULTURE IN SCIENCE

Culture is one of the most complicated words in the English language (Williams, 1975). Morin (1969) added that the concept of culture is unclear and complex in human sciences.

The cultural dimension in the use of English in scientific contexts is an issue. In English, the expression *scientific literacy* is used, which literally means 'the ability to write and read' science and in French *culture scientifique*. The question of culture in science is a controversial notion (Nicolas, 2012: 26). Matalon (1996: 9) stated that *culture in science* is generally either too far removed from culture (literature and art) or not widespread enough. Snow (1959) asserted that there is a *double culture*: it is a culture where scientists and literary-minded persons hardly communicate, where professional scientific practices and more personal reflections are totally separated. *Culture in science* should be reintegrated as a common culture even for non-specialists in science and in courses – in science or English.

Scientific discourse seems completely devoid of the rootedness of the particular speech of its villages and local cultural characteristics (Fourez, 1996: 124). It appears that scientific culture has been forgotten. Yet it is needed to understand a scientific description. Science forms a common language that provides benchmarks to scientists in the same way as local elements provided common benchmarks to all villagers. To realize the importance of this shared *culture in science*, one should try to read a *scientific* book from the 16th century: one will soon be convinced that common culture is necessary for the universality of scientific discourse to be operational (Fourez, 1996: 125).

Another type of culture which allows for appropriate scientific knowledge, through writing or oral forms should be evoked. Both are two different cultures (Trabant, 2013). Writing transmits rigor and oral performance belongs to another more open world with its own type of rigor and logic (Lévy-Leblond, 1996: 255).

2.2 LANGUAGE IN SCIENCE

The primary function of language is to communicate, and above all, it is a heuristic instrument. It has both an external communication function and an internal cognitive function. Language proficiency, if necessary, is not sufficient in a communication perspective. Rastier (2007: 1) pointed out that 'the mastery of a language engages as well the expression of the individual as social communication and cultural transmission'. Moreover, language shapes the thought of its speakers, but it is through language that culture is transmitted from generation to generation. As Galisson stated (1994), language and culture (concept of language-culture) cannot be separated. It is 'the unbreakable bond between language and culture' (Kramsch, 1993; Risager, 2006, 2007).

The complexity of the relationship between culture and language is best summarized by Levi-Strauss (1974: 84–85):

> First language can be treated as a product of culture: a language used in a society reflects the general culture of the people. But language is also part of culture and constitutes one of the elements among others [...] language can also be treated as a condition of culture, and for two reasons: the diachronic reason since it is mainly through language that a person acquires the culture of the group [...] language also appears as a condition of culture, insofar as the latter has a similar architecture to that language. The one and the other are built by means of correlations, i.e. logical relationships.

He added that both form the unity of the human mind. For Valdès (1985: 1), 'no one can feel emotion, and therefore genuinely think in an artificial language'.

Culture has been reintroduced not in language but in communication as a social act (cf. work of ethnography and anthropology of communication). According to Chini (2010), if a language is not recognized as the language of others, it is disconnected from its cultural dimension because no one identifies with it. Thus it is no longer expressive. It becomes a language-object which is not really a language (as it has been described).

2.3 COMPARING ENGLISH FOR SCIENCE AND ENGLISH FOR LAW

English for science can be compared to English for law in the teaching and learning context at universities. The latter is narrowly linked to the history of the systems and institutions that have developed their own unique legal concepts and principles. The language of science has always favoured the clarity of communication between researchers. In seeking common ground, it seems that scientists really sacrificed their own cultural background for a so-called universal language. According to some scholars, there is practically no language in mathematics classes taught in English, for example.

English for law has a high degree of cultural knowledge whereas English for science has a low cultural component. Yet this positioning has no scientific proof; it is more ideological and reports on current practices. English for law has a real existence in teaching contexts at universities compared to science in France because a distinction can be made between the French law system and the American and British systems. As some disciplines are stamped *Anglo-Saxon* like economics and law, English becomes a natural vehicle to thinking. In hard sciences, English has no cultural dimension, it is only vehicular. Therefore, Fourez (1996: 5) noted that scientific effort has been constantly traversed by historical projects and a cultural dimension. Scientific English does not take into account the cultural aspect at universities in France.

Language and culture are two factors to be deemed in the process of teaching and learning a foreign language. When learning a language, one not

only stores knowledge about the language, but one learns how to speak and to use it to communicate (M.-F. Narcy-Combes, 2005: 81). It is for this reason why integrating scientific culture in courses of English for science is essential.

3 PROPOSALS

We propose to develop research in English for science, teacher training, teaching English for science and science in English in the CLIL system to students since all French university curricula have integrated English

3.1 MASTER'S DEGREE FOR TEACHER TRAINING IN THE LANGUAGE TEACHING SECTOR FOR NON-LINGUISTS

The increasing demand to ensure courses in specialized English in the language teaching sector for non-linguists has not changed the training of future language teachers. Teaching in the teaching sector requires knowledge of specialized language that cannot be reduced solely to vocabulary. This language requires, however, a solid education which must integrate discursive, historical, cultural, professional and disciplinary dimensions. It is therefore necessary to train teachers, not to specialized English in general but to a specific variety of specialized English like English for science. Thus teachers will be operational in this sector where the demand is high. However, before developing training, research on the subject which starts with a description and a reflection in terms of the didactics system is essential. For any training, didactic transposition and references to *knowledge* (Chevallard, 1985) are needed and required.

If formal training in the subject specialization is difficult to design – linguistic training and non-linguistic discipline training at the university level – training in specialized languages of a specific specialization included in the linguist training should be envisaged. There is scarce training for teaching in specialized languages and specialized English in the classical path of Anglophone studies dedicated to teaching, but none are mandatory either before the competitive examinations (capes, agrégation), or even later. There are two master's degrees for *anglais de spécialité* (ASP, French conception of specialized English): one at the École Normale Supérieure in Cachan and one at the University in Le Havre. These courses specifically address the needs of qualitative language teaching sector for non-linguists in specialized English, but they remain below the quantitative requirements of the sector. Master DIDALAP (DIDActique des Langues étrangères utilisées dans les Activités Professionnelles/ *Didactics of Foreign Languages Used in Vocational Activities*) will be opened soon (in September 2016 in Toulouse) for students and teachers in the language teaching sector for non-linguists. The master's degree seeks to train for the teaching of languages used in professional activities notably in the language teaching sector for non-linguists (at university). It aims at developing the capacity to use language in action at the workplace and at combining field teaching skills and training in research of didactics.

3.2 RESEARCH IN SPECIALIZED LANGUAGES/ENGLISH

Even though numerous studies have been conducted on the *transversal* characteristics (e.g. speech, style) of specialized languages, the *vertical* studies on the same object – the intersection between language and specialty – remain rare (Van der Yeught, 2014). There is a real epistemological deficit in specialized languages (ibid.). This remains true for scientific English.

My own research on the elaboration of a concept called *English for science* illustrates the research in specialized English. Some elements of the epistemological reflection are given here. The first problem lies in the concept of science. Fourez and Larochelle (2004: 62) said that science is universal and consequently valid at all times and in all places. This statement is only partially true. In reality, science has a language, culture, territory and temporality (Pestre, 1995). Science is inherently a social activity. Even if an individual discovers new knowledge, it is not part of science unless the new knowledge is communicated and evaluated by others. And science requires collaboration, often with many people with diverse skills and knowledge.

While its transverse features (e.g. discourse, genre) have been widely investigated, scientific English still lacks a comprehensive approach pertaining to the multifaceted object at stake: (1) a scientific content, (2) expressed in a foreign language, (3) which needs to be appropriated by learners. *Weaving* together the three dimensions mentioned above and resorting to Piaget's 'internal epistemological critique' (1970), we will be able to elaborate a new concept, that of English for science instead of scientific English. Contrary to scientific English which usually erases the historical and genetic circumstances of scientific discourses in order to make them universal (Stengers, 1987), English for science, neither the juxtaposition of English and science nor its sum (Morin, 1982), will then transgress, combine and articulate the cultural, linguistic and didactical (Chevallard, 1994) dimensions of specialized English. Science is not only a matter of objectivity but also scientific practice as construction (Hacking, 1983). The aim is to reintegrate *scientific thinking* to the pragmatic aspect of the language of science (especially, English) through an interdisciplinary approach: history, sociology, and philosophy of science.

3.3 TEACHING WITH THE CONTENT AND LANGUAGE INTEGRATED LEARNING SYSTEM

Given the move towards English-taught programs in universities with the Anglo-Saxon conception of specialized English (English for Specific Purposes tradition), the roles of language and content merit further research, specifically their integration, and the courses which can be learnt from an English specialized perspective to adapt to this new situation.

CLIL, which has grown in Europe since the 1990s (Dalton-Puffer, 2007), has been defined as 'an educational approach where [content] subjects [...] are taught

through the medium of a foreign language' to students at all educational levels (Dalton-Puffer, Nikula, and Smit, 2010: 1). Some approaches highlight the dual integrative focus on content and language, taught by subject specialists or team teaching (Greere and Räsänen, 2008). There are different types of classification of CLIL courses ranging from the absence of the integration of language and content to full collaboration between language and discipline specialists. The cases for courses where the objective is both disciplinary and linguistic (Wolff, 2003: 37; Stoller and Grabe, 1997: 19–20) are 'rarer and more positive' (Taillefer, 2004: 111).

Science courses in English could be envisaged through the CLIL system with a partnership among field specialists in cooperation on the part of the teacher's investment – cooperation (being the lowest degree of teacher's investment), collaboration and team-teaching (Dudley-Evans, 2001). The aim here is to reinforce the language dimension in science courses in English which is often forgotten (cf. Chaplier, 2013). As Gajo (2009: 19) emphasized, there are language issues of the disciplines and disciplinary issues of languages. Sustained interaction between content and language lecturers is not common (Räisänen, 2009), probably due to a traditional lack of interaction between disciplines. This cooperation is obviously not simple to implement. It depends on the field situation: material/organizational issues, financial problems but also relationship problems and *risk taking* (Aden and Peyrot, 2009: 25). Relationship problems (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Barron, 2002) may be due to differences in personality, pedagogy and also subjects taught (especially science and language).

This approach can be implemented in the laboratory works (chemistry, biology, physics, etc.) in scientific universities which are often managed with two professors, one of them can be the English teacher. The latter will participate in the lab work in French by taking notes on the linguistic and pragmatic difficulties met by the students. He/she will take into account the academic input, the treatment of the contents in the reception and production phases and the interaction which are the main features of CLIL (Wolff, 2003). Finally both professors will conceive the lab work in English and the course of English for science will enrich the lab work.

With such collaboration the contents have a better chance to match those that are taught in the parallel curriculum so that the input is understandable, emotionally marked (Krashen, 1981) and correlated with the learners' acquisition level (Pienemann, 1984).

CONCLUSION

It is undeniable that a common language of communication is necessary in the scientific community to exchange knowledge. But it is essential to understand the relation between language and specialist domain, and the various communicative dimensions conveyed by language (Lévy-Leblond, 1994: 239). Many examples in written and oral scientific communication demonstrate

linguistic and cultural problems related to language. It is indeed necessary that a real political language in science (Levy-Leblond, 1996: 248) and at universities is implemented. Consequently it is essential to revisit the teaching of languages and English for science. In university education, the epistemic function of language is more important than its communicative function. Good teaching not only provides information but always tries to re-elaborate knowledge, thus engaging students to participate in the creative process of research. The epistemic function of language must be considered and that is what we have tried to do in our approach. Thus the language teaching sector for non-linguists would be better structured and will be a first step towards a linguistic policy within universities.

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COLLOCATIONS AND DISTINCTION OF SENSES IN PRINTED MONOLINGUAL LEARNERS' DICTIONARIES: THEORY AND PRACTICE

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Abstract. The paper discusses meaning presentation strategies in two general monolingual English learners' explanatory dictionaries against the background of the concept of meaning advocated in metalexicography. The analysis of theoretical views has revealed that the postulated primacy of context, and, more narrowly, of collocations, in defining meanings, backed by arguments from both linguistics and beyond, had an impact on processing word meanings, in terms of the resulting structure of dictionary entries. In the analysis of entries the texts of definitions have been juxtaposed to collocations given in the same entries in two editions of *Longman* and *COBUILD* dictionaries. Later editions not only provide considerably more collocations in both examples and definitions, but also more often split senses into subsenses, the decisive factor for splitting being different collocates of the head word, to the extent that definitions of some senses or subsenses are either identical or very similar. Meaning is seen as a fuzzy category with blurred and overlapping edges both in theory and in lexicographic practice.

Key words: meaning, context, collocations, monolingual learners' dictionaries, entry structure, number of senses, fuzzy categories

INTRODUCTION

The use of corpora made linguists at large, and lexicographers in particular, more alert to language in use, as opposed to the description of language units as isolated entities. One of the aspects of this new focus has been the search for words that, firstly, co-occur most frequently, and, secondly, for those patterns of co-occurrence which are not only regular, but to a large extent predictable (as in *commit + murder, crime*, plus a limited number of other noun collocates). The notion of collocation in both the first, i.e. the broad, and the second, i.e. the narrow, meaning of the term was increasingly in the centre of attention since mid-1980s at least. The 1990s were seen as the 'groundbreaking decade' in terms of 'attention to prefabricated chunks of language' (Fontenelle, 2002: 219). The impact of this shift was felt both in theoretical and applied linguistics, including language learning and lexicography. For lexicography this is a relatively recent development. Even though Saussure's view that syntax, or syntagmatic relations, are not part of the language system, but a feature of speech, had been

discarded long ago, it seems to have been implicitly followed by lexicographers for a long time (in this respect their reputation for disregard of developments in linguistic theory was justified). Thus, the recent decades of lexicographic theory focussing on collocations as patterns either mapped into meanings, or of meanings mapped into them, signified a turn of tide. The most obvious effect was the emergence of several dictionaries of collocations. First came the *BBI Combinatory Dictionary* and the *English Dictionary of English Word Combinations* (1986). This title was replaced by the *BBI Dictionary of English Word Combinations* in the revised edition in 1997, and in 2010 the expanded and updated version *BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English* came off print; its database used both the British National Corpus and Internet searches. The *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for students of English* was published in 2002, the second edition came off print in 2009. Both brands now have online downloadable versions. *Longman* and *Macmillan* later produced their own dictionaries of collocations. But perhaps less obviously, attention to collocations has also changed the approach to presenting and describing word senses in general explanatory monolingual English-English dictionaries, including learners' dictionaries. It is this change and, in particular, the very nature of theoretical arguments voiced soon after the 1990s in favour of the approach which made 'context' (or collocations) the decisive factor when grouping senses in explanatory dictionary entries, that will be discussed in the paper.

GOAL AND METHOD

The goal of the paper is twofold. Firstly, the shifting concept of word meaning as revealed in some discussions in theoretical, or meta-lexicography at the turn of the century, is analysed and summarised. The focus is on the range and nature of arguments put forward to substantiate the new theory of meaning, especially since the arguments come from both linguistics and other domains of knowledge. The second goal is to show the impact of the new concept of word meaning on practical lexicography in terms of how word senses and subsenses are distinguished in monolingual dictionary entries and on what grounds. For this purpose the diachronic comparison of the structure of the entries of two common polysemantic words has been made: *taut* in two editions of the *Longman Dictionary* [*LDOCE1* and 5] (1978 and 2009, i.e. some time before the extensive use of corpora in dictionary making and some time after the 'groundbreaking decade') and *calm* in two editions of *COBUILD* (1987 and 1995, to see if any dynamics can also be observed practically within the decade). This involves relating definitions of word meanings in the entries and collocations used as examples in the same entries to the number of senses in the entry. The small size of the sample makes it a purely qualitative study with a merely illustrative role. However, it is backed by relevant quantitative data based on a broader study of *LDOCE1* and 5 concerning the overall increase in the presence of collocations in entries, carried out in 2012 under my supervision (MA paper by

Kokareviča, 2012). In other words, the policies of splitting senses are revealed on the background of the analysis of theoretical views voiced by major lexicographers in the collection of papers *Lexicography and Natural Language Processing* (2002) which systematized the lexicographic experience of the 1990s and outlined its theoretical implications.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Until recently most research focussed on the role of collocations as examples in showing more patterns of word use than definitions can possibly do (see, e.g., Cowie's historical review of collocations used as 'skeleton examples' in English and French dictionaries (Cowie, 2002: 79–80). Referred to by this author also as 'lexical collocations' or 'minimal lexicalised patterns' (ibid.: 78), they consist of two or more open-class words in a specific syntactic pattern.

In the 1990s and early 2000s research was also devoted to the selection of collocations in monolingual dictionaries, and of the headwords under which they appear (the base/node or the collocate, or both). The issue of selection always involves the discussion of the concept of collocation as a type of conventionalised word combination/semi-preconstructed phrases distinct (not always clearly) from idioms/frozen/bound collocations (the terms vary for both categories) on the one hand, and free word combinations, on the other, as in (Heid, 1994: 226–257; Bentivogli and Pianta, 2000: 663–670). Another problem discussed at the turn of the centuries is the user's access to collocations, or the ways of presenting collocations in the microstructure of entries, as in (Heid, 1994: 240–241; Van Der Meer, 1998: 313–322; Heid, 2004: 729–739).

The interest in these issues was triggered by the steadily increasing presence of collocations in explanatory monolingual learners' dictionaries. A close-up on any major mainstream monolingual explanatory dictionary provides evidence of the increasing number of collocations in the overall structure of entries. E.g., the comparison of two editions of the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*: 1978 and 2009, analysing 50 random entries for nouns and adjectives, revealed a significant increase in the number collocations used both as part of definitions for word senses and subsenses, and in examples for these entries (Kokareviča, 2012). All in all, in the analysed sample *LDOCE5* (2009) contains 267 collocations in both noun and adjective entries, while *LDOCE1* (1978) contains twice less – 131 collocations (Kokareviča, 2012: 44). The number of entries containing no collocations at all decreased in *LDOCE5* twice as compared to the same sample in *LDOCE1* (6 vs. 13). Similarly, in the same sample the number of collocations in examples almost doubled in *LDOCE5* – from 123 to 232 (ibid.: 6). While in *LDOCE1* 'collocations can be found as senses or subsenses in bold 8 times in noun entries and zero times in adjective entries, in *LDOCE5* collocations can be found as senses or subsenses in bold 18 times in noun entries and 16 times in adjective entries (ibid.: 47). The example

below shows collocations of **tangent** used both in the definition (in bold) and as an example in *LDOCE5*, in contrast to *LDOCE1* where for the same sense of the word no example is given (ibid.: 48):

> *LDOCE1*
> **tangent 3 <u>go/fly off at a tangent</u>** *infml* to change suddenly from one course of action, thought, etc., to another.
> *LDOCE5*
> **tangent** [C] **1 <u>go off at a tangent</u>** *BrE*, <u>**go off on a tangent**</u> *AmE informal* to suddenly start thinking or talking about a subject that is only slightly related, or not related at all, to the original subject: *Let's stay with the topic and not <u>go off at a tangent</u>*.

The account above makes it obvious that in absolute numbers the bulk of the increase of the presence of collocations in explanatory dictionaries is due to collocations used as examples. However, increase in the sheer number of collocations, in the number of entries using collocations as part of definitions, as well as increase in the number of collocations per entry used as examples, is not as yet evidence of structural changes in dictionary entries; namely, of changes in the amount of senses and sub-senses seen by dictionary makers as worth distinguishing. The question is, are collocations increasingly sense discriminators in explanatory dictionary entries, or not: do they encourage splitting of senses and subsenses in dictionary entries? In other words, how are collocations and word meanings related in English explanatory dictionaries? At the turn of the centuries collocations were revisited in metalexicographic research largely with these questions in mind.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The collection of papers *Lexicography and Natural Language Processing* published by Euralex in 2002 can be viewed as one of the first consolidated reflections on the 1990s or the 'groundbreaking decade' in terms of attention of dictionary makers to collocations. Most of the authors of its contributions were involved in the 1990s in major lexicographic projects, which makes the book a broadly summarizing statement on both their actual dictionary making experience and on its theoretical implications projected, in their turn, on the future. Even though only one of the papers used the term 'collocation' in the title, and one – 'word groups', almost all papers had something to say on collocations. The most striking aspect of the book is the general overt scepticism voiced by major mainstream lexicographers about word meanings, or senses. The very existence of word senses (as existing prior to contexts) is problematised, challenged or even denied:

'Word meaning (if such a thing exists at all)…' (Rundell, 2002: 147). Discussing word sense disambiguations, the same author notes 'increasing doubts among lexicographers … as to whether there is anything to disambiguate' (ibid.). Atkins' statement 'I don't believe in word senses', voiced by her much earlier in

a discussion at 'The Future of the Dictionary' workshop in Uriage-les-Bains in 1994, which became part of lexicographic folklore, is referred to in the collection. It was also used by Kilgariff (one of the contributors to the collection) as the title of his later paper claiming that '…word senses are abstractions from clusters of corpus citations, in accordance with current lexicographic practice. The corpus citations, not the word senses, are the basic objects in the ontology' (Kilgariff, 2008: 20). Thus, '[…] "word sense" or "lexical unit" is not a basic unit. Rather, the basic units are occurrences of the word in context (operationalised as corpus citations' (ibid.). He suggests 'an alternative conception of the word sense, in which it corresponds to a cluster of citations for a word' (ibid.).

While not everybody subscribes to this radical stand and some believe that word senses do exist, they are seen as 'extremely vague and unstable' (Hanks, 2002:159), 'opaque', and 'the perceived meaning is private' (Hanks, 2002: 181). Again in the words of Kilgariff, 'most dictionaries encode a variety of relations in the grey area between "same sense" and "different sense" (Kilgariff, 2008: 11).

The arguments backing this scepticism are drawn from both within linguistics and beyond. The simplest and oldest linguistic one is that sense distinctions made by lexicographers are subjective. This idea is restated by Hanks a number of times, e.g.: 'A word may have about as many senses as a lexicographer cares to perceive … it is often impossible to map the semantic distinctions made by one dictionary onto those of another' (Hanks, 2002: 159). Context, on the contrary, is seen by him as objectively observable and measurable: '…syntagmatics requires working with palpable material, which can be measured and objectively evaluated' (ibid.: 181).

However, 'vagueness' or 'subjectivity' do not lead anywhere in terms of practical guidelines on how to tackle word senses in dictionary making. Thus, a more specific and potentially a more operational term has been suggested**.** Rundell discusses word meaning as 'the fuzziest category of all', fuzzy categories being those with blurred edges, or graded boundaries. The concept had been first introduced in 1965 in mathematics in the terms 'fuzzy sets', used by Lotfi A. Zadeh for sets whose elements have degrees of membership instead of either belonging or not belonging to a set, and 'fuzzy concepts' or 'fuzzy categories'. While fuzzy sets had been first studied in mathematics and logic, Rundell points out that fuzziness (also referred to as 'gradience') was recognized also in language studies as an 'endemic' feature for word-classes and for types of texts discussed in terms of modes of discourse (Rundell, 2002: 147). For example, some nouns are more central (or prototypical) than others (only countable nouns normally have grammatical number and case, while uncountables mostly have none); or online messages exchanged in real time admittedly have the features of both written and spoken communication modes. Rundell concludes: 'word meaning can be regarded as (at best) yet another form of prototype' (ibid.: 147). It should be noted that the idea of subjectivity of word meaning is implied by the very notion of fuzziness which in cognitive semantics presupposes that categories are learnt and rooted in experience, so meaning, also mostly learnt from experience, is not

an objective, but a subjective construct: '…"furniture" is a fuzzy category in that while "table" and "chair" are clearly members, some people judge artefacts such as "picture" and "carpet" as belonging to this category while for others such objects are better thought of as belonging to a related category such as "furnishings"' (Evans, 2007: 88).

The concept of fuzziness of meaning, according to Rundell, gets support not only from logic and mathematics, but also from natural sciences: parallels are drawn with the classification of species in the natural world. Thus, Rundell quotes the geneticist Jones' book *Almost Like a Whale: The Origin of Species*: 'species can […] no longer be seen as absolutes […] they are not fixed. Instead, their boundaries blend before our eyes […] differences blend into one another in an insensible series' (Jones, 1999, cited by Rundell, 2002: 147). Indeed, if birds are defined as having feathers, beaks and the ability to fly, then a nightingale will be a more 'prototypical' bird than, for example, a penguin which does not fly. These observations are seen by Rundell as a close parallel to features of meaning: '…it would be difficult to find a better description of how word meaning works' (ibid.: 147).

It should be noted that appeals of linguistics to arguments from natural sciences were quite common in the second half of the 19th century within the so-called biological paradigm in comparative-historical linguistics based on Darwin's evolution theory and on the then popular view that the study of language is, or should be, a natural science. It followed that its method was on the whole (or should be) the same as that of the other natural sciences. The reference to Jones with its title echoing Darwin's book is a telling one: for some time after the publication of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* in 1959 linguistics saw itself as a subfield of natural sciences.

The approach 'continued up to the end of the 19th century when it had been seriously called in question by Saussure (1857–1913), whose posthumously published *Cours de linguistique generale* (1916) launched 20th-century structuralism on its course' (Harris and Taylor, 2005: xix). Structuralism had various denominations, but they all shared the idea that language studies should not use analogies with other domains of knowledge or rely on arguments from them. It seems that the 21st century linguistics, following about a century of emancipation from the postulates of natural sciences, feels free again to revisit the biological paradigm, not putting the already firmly established autonomy of language studies at risk.

Since many explanatory monolingual dictionaries brand themselves as targeted at learners, the attack on meaning as a self-contained entity is also linked specifically to the perceptual perspective, relevant in language acquisition and language learning studies: 'Human beings have a natural tendency to define the context […] rather than focusing on particular contribution of the word to the contexts in which it occurs' (Hanks, 2002: 159). In a similar vein, Fontenelle claims that '[r]esearch in applied linguistics and language learning has shown that words are best learnt and retained if they are presented […] in context and

more specifically together with the other items with which they are most likely to appear' (Fontenelle, 2002: 219–220). To reformulate, the justification for the increased presence of context in entries and its role in staking out senses is dictionary users-learners' perceptual ease.

The arguments listed above resulted in methodological considerations on the desired sequence of analytical procedures when distinguishing senses in a dictionary entry. The idea is that corpus evidence for each word should be grouped by contexts, and only then sense distinctions can be deduced: '…the lexicographer must first group the corpus evidence for each word according to the contexts in which it occurs, and then decide to what extent it is possible to group different contexts together (on the grounds that they express essentially the same meaning), and to what extent it is necessary to make distinctions' (Hanks, 2002: 159). Summarising, Hanks writes: 'Lexicographers should think first in terms of syntax and context […] rather than directly in terms of semantics. They can thus approach meaning indirectly, through syntagmatic analysis' (Hanks, 2002: 159–160). Indeed, if context is observable and measurable, while meaning is not, the sequence of analysis becomes crucial: it is logical to proceed from the known to the unknown: from context to meaning, and not vice versa, for: 'If perceived meaning is the organizing principle of a dictionary, examples can be found to illustrate the perceptions of the writer, but that does not mean that the writer has achieved the appropriate level of generalization' (Hanks, 2002: 181). The resulting guidelines for dictionary makers are as follows: '… syntagmatics, rather than (or, rather, in tandem with) perceived meaning, should be the organizing principle of the dictionary entry' (Hanks, 2002: 181).

Is the acknowledgement of fuzziness of meaning and the priority of context (therefore, of collocations) which follows from it, reflected in any way in dictionary entries' structures? If so, what are these structures like? Fontenelle has predicted the emergence of 'a new generation of dictionaries which take the collocational dimension as a central axis.' (Fontenelle, 2002: 220).

The trend has an obvious impact on the handling of senses in explanatory monolingual dictionaries. Two headwords have been chosen to show it: *taut* and *calm* as common-core English words listed in all dictionaries, polysemantic, but with a relatively simple semantic structure. Entries of **taut** have been compared in *LDOCE1* and *LDOCE5* (1978 and 2009). Collocates are given below in bold italics.

> *LDOCE1*
> **taut1** tightly drawn; stretched tight: *Pull the **string** taut!| taut muscles*
> **2** showing signs of worry or anxiety: *a taut **expression** on her **face***
> *LDOCE5*
> **taut1** stretched tight *The **rope** was stretched taut.* **2** showing signs of worry, anger etc. and not relaxed | *a taut **smile** | Catherine looked upset, her **face** taut.* **3** having firm **muscles**: *her taut brown **body*** **4** a taut ***book, film, or play*** is exciting and does not have any unnecessary parts: *a taut thriller*

The *LDOCE5* entry has more examples (full sentences or collocations: 5 versus 3 in *LDOCE1*), but taking into account the definitions in *LDOCE5*, the number of collocations in its entry is 9. *LDOCE1* does not use collocations in definitions at all. More importantly, in *LDOCE5* the amount of senses of **taut** has doubled. Sense 1 of **taut** in *LDOCE1* is split into senses 1 and 3 in *LDOCE5* where sense 1 relates to an inanimate object – *rope*, while sense 3 – to the physical state of either *muscles* or, generally, of human *body* (undifferentiated in *LDOCE1*). Sense 2 has *face* and *smile* as collocates, sense 4 – *book, film, play, thriller* for texts or films. Collocate nouns in *LDOCE5* are decisive: they split one of the old senses and add one new sense. Each sense is matched with a set of collocations, the definitions of senses do not overlap in wording, even though the similarity of 'not relaxed' and 'firm' in senses 2 and 3 is evident. To generalise, the impact is the tendency to split senses more, the justification for splitting being different nouns collocating with the defined word.

An even more radical impact of the approach emerges in the *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary* (1995). The entry **calm** (adjective, verb and noun) has, all in all, 11 senses, only 4 of which are given below to illustrate the approach. Examples have been omitted here, since definitions always incorporate collocations (collocates are in bold italics).

> **5** If someone or something **calms** a ***situation***, they reduce the amount of trouble…
> **6** If a ***sea or lake*** is **calm**, the water is not moving…
> **7 Calm** ***weather*** is pleasant weather with little or no wind.
> **10** To **calm** ***a pain or an itch*** means to reduce it or to get rid of it.

Thus, **calm** as a verb is defined in both senses 5 and 10 by 'reduce' in identical syntactic frames (verb + direct object), the difference being only in the collocate noun naming the object. Senses 6 and 7 of **calm** as an adjective, while not defined by the same word, can be easily generalised as 'not moving', but the collocate nouns differ again. Obviously, also in this case it is the collocate nouns that determine the splitting of senses in the entry. In senses 6 and 7 *Cobuild* (1995) follows the tracks of its predecessor *COBUILD* (1987) where the number of senses differs from the later edition (only 6 senses for **calm** adjective, noun and verb), but the approach has been already shaped, e.g.:

> **3** A sea or lake that is **calm** does not have any waves because there is ***no strong wind***.
> **4** Weather that is **calm** is very still ***without any wind***.

The approach in *COBUILD* 1995 is more radical than in the later *LDOCE5* in one aspect at least: no effort is taken even to vary the wording of definitions: 'reduce' is used as the defining word for the verb **calm** with different collocates producing distinct senses. Otherwise, *LDOCE5* and *COBUILD* (1995) are similar in offering 'gradient' definitions for distinct senses of **taut** ('not relaxed' and 'firm') and of **calm** ('no strong wind' and 'without any wind'). This fits Rundell's idea of

'a mode where a word does not have separate meanings but rather a set of meaning potentials each of which may be activated in particular contexts' (Rundell, 2002: 147), also referred to by him as 'much fuzzier meaning – clusters, where a basic semantic core is elaborated, in real text, in a variety of ways.' (ibid.: 148).

CONCLUSIONS

The use of corpora in lexicography has highlighted the role of context, and, more narrowly, of collocations, in defining and distinguishing word senses in explanatory monolingual dictionary entries. The claim of the primacy of context in defining word senses leads to postulating a particular order of analytical procedures employed when constructing an entry: first contexts are grouped, and then word senses are deduced. Different collocational patterns justify the splitting of senses even when their definitions are identical or differ only in terms of gradience. The structure of dictionary entries, indeed, displays that meaning is treated as a category with blurred edges. Thus, collocations become the decisive factor in outlining sense distinctions. The advocates of the new hierarchy of context and meaning are the people directly involved in dictionary making – the authors cited above are all lexicographers who have to 'present' meanings to dictionary users. Faced with the enormous volume of observable quantifiable data, they felt compelled to revise the concept of meaning in favour of 'objective' (context) versus 'subjective' (word senses) factors, in order to make it operational for practical purposes. Thus, the pressure of raw data was the stimulus for redefining semantic analysis and the very concept of meaning for the needs of applied lexicographic description of language. The range of arguments supporting the revision of the concept of meaning is broad: from cognitive semantics (meanings are fuzzy concepts) to language acquisition studies (the perceptual perspective) within linguistics, and to natural sciences (classification of species in the natural world) beyond it.

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'HA-HA' AND 'REALLY?' OR ABOUT THE SERIOUS IN THE HUMOROUS IN THE TV COMEDY SHOW *MASTERS OF THE AIR*

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Abstract. In the paper a discourse analytic approach is used to analyze the humour in a Bulgarian TV show in its cognitive and social context. In the show, fragments from TV news programmes are incongruously recontextualized to expose, criticize and mock the follies of the powerful. Humour is also used for placing under scrutiny injustice, voicing a public opinion or expressing citizens' standpoint on important political and social issues. The communicative goal of the show in relation to viewers is not to believe politicians, public figures and TV news presenters blindly, but to critically scrutinize the news and form their own opinion. The humour in the show goes beyond entertainment: it laughs with the viewers at the powerful.

Key words: humour and entertainment, humour and satire, humour in spontaneous errors

INTRODUCTION

Humour or funniness does not reside in things *per se*, neither is it only a mental state: funniness resides in how a person relates to things, to other human beings and to herself/himself. In spite of the complexity of humour as the object of research, the tripartite division in the approaches to the study of funniness – superiority, incongruity and release – has been generally accepted. The Superiority Theory (Hobbes, [1651] 1968) concentrates on the motivation and the target of humour; the Release Theory (Freud, [1905] 1975) discusses humour from a psychoanalytic perspective; the Incongruity Theory (Suls, 1972, 1983; Schultz, 1976) focuses on the cognitive aspects of humour and there are two theories of humour – the Semantic Script Theory of Humour (Raskin, 1985) and the General Theory of Verbal Humour (Attardo and Raskin, 1991) that study humour from the linguistic point of view. Most humour research has been done in psychology, linguistics and comparative anthropology, compared to other fields.

The author holds the view that verbal humour has to be simultaneously analyzed from three different perspectives as a theoretical minimum: cognitive, social and linguistic – from the cognitive to the linguistic and then

to the social context (Genova, 2011). From a cognitive perspective, humour is analyzed through the concept of *incongruity* and by it is meant the clash of two incompatible perspectives on an object, situation or idea, a violation or divergence from expectation, or two alternative meanings that are forced together (Suls, 1972, 1983; Schultz, 1976). From a social point of view, humour is the result of the transgression of a social norm or convention (Kuipers, 2006) and sociological approaches to humour accentuate on the social consequences of humour and how humour influences interpersonal, in-group and out-group relations (Martineau, 1972; Zillmann, 1983). Humour is the result of an incongruity, transgression of a norm or the presence of both. Language is only the means to express humour, but not the cause for humour, word play included. As a form of communication, the humorous mode is grounded in the serious; the former constantly makes explicit and implicit references to the latter and in this respect the serious mode of communication is relatively more autonomous compared to the humorous mode. In the paper, the terms *humour*, *funniness* and *the humorous* are interchangeably used.

If one takes a look at humour research in Bulgaria, s/he is left with the impression that no unified terminology is followed which, in fact, is the case with researchers of humour elsewhere, although to a lesser degree. One such difference is in the use of *the humorous* and *the comic*. In contemporary humour research in English *the comic* is usually used by scholars in literary studies and also in sociological research on humour, for example, by Michael Billig (2005), where he juxtaposes it to 'the ultra-serious'. Sociologist Peter Berger (1997) also uses *the comic* in opposition to *the serious* and as a synonym to *the humorous, the laughable and the ludicrous*. For other researchers (Attardo, 1994), the comic is only a type of humour and *humour* is the generic term that encompasses all its positive and negative manifestations such as wit, pun, joke, tease, whim, mock, irony, sarcasm, etc. In *Humour: International Journal of Humour Research*, in print since 1988, issued by the International Society for Humour Research – a journal publishing research on humour from all over the world and from different fields, *humour* is also used as a generic term. In Bulgaria some researchers use *the comic* interchangeably with *the humorous*, but for others *the comic* is the narrower term. Also, traditionally *the comic* has been analyzed as an aesthetic category in opposition to *the tragic*. To avoid the ambiguity of *the comic*, the term *humorous* is used in the paper in opposition to *the serious* or in opposition between serious and non-serious discourse, having in mind that most of the humour research has focused on verbally expressed humour. It is also a fact that not every humour researcher in Bulgaria makes a distinction between *anecdote* and *joke*. An *anecdote* is a humorous story about a well-known real person, in which there might be more than one funny utterance and a *joke* is a fictitious story with a more complex structure in which there is only one humorous element in the punch line. Some humour researchers in Bulgaria, primarily in literary studies, focus on the analysis of laughter, but to analyze laughter without analyzing humour means to put the cart before the horse, since humour, as a cognitive process,

includes first a cognitive component or incongruity, followed by an emotional component, mirth, and laughter serves as an indicator of the understanding and the appreciation of humour. Laughter is the expected response by the recipient of humour, but it is not obligatory. Neither is humour the only reason for laughter: for example, one can laugh out of nervousness or embarrassment. In our culture there is also a laic understanding of satire, according to which the latter is not a species of humour, but coexists with it, that is, both are of the same order, as in the newspaper rubric *Humour, Satire and Entertainment*. In addition to the ambiguity of *the comic*, humour researchers have another difficulty to face – humour terms refer to categories that have fuzzy boundaries. To this one can add the limited explanatory tools available to dictionary makers for the explication of word meaning; for example, to explain *lampoon* through *ridicule* does not tell us much about the meaning of the two words (*lampoon*: 'a written attack ridiculing a person, group, or institution', *The Free Dictionary*). In the paper, *mock*, *ridicule*, *lampoon* and *satire* are interchangeably used as overlapping synonyms to mean 'laughing at' and not 'laughing with'.

In the paper, a discourse analytic approach is used in the analysis of humour in the TV show *Masters of the Air* with greater emphasis on meaning implicitly conveyed in addition to incongruity as a defining feature of humorous discourse.

HUMOUR IN *MASTERS OF THE AIR*

There is a fairly large number of entertainment and humorous TV shows in Bulgaria after the democratic changes in 1989: *The Coo Coo Show* and *The Street* at the beginning of the 90s, followed by *Canaletto*, *The Channel One Show*, *Masters of the Air*, *The Comedians*, *Absolute Madness*, *A la Minute*, etc. Some have been on air for years, such as *Masters of the Air*, *The Channel One Show* and *The Comedians*, while *Absolute Madness* and *A la Minute* had been on only for months. Most of the shows consist of funny sketches and routines that recreate recent and daily events, including sketches targeting politicians and other public personalities. Since the shows are meant for the mass viewer, the humour is far from being refined or intellectually challenging. For example, in *The Comedians* and *A la Minute* one often hears old jokes, frequently in the sketches there are coarse, if not vulgar, almost explicit references to sex; in *The Comedians* male actors impersonate women the way it was during the Bulgarian Revival in the 19th century when women were not allowed to act on stage. In *The Comedians* and *Masters of the Air* scantily-clad women (in the latter the women dancers are called 'adrenalin raisers') dance between the sketches or at the beginning or at the end of the show. Gypsies, old men and women and blondes are often the target in the sketches and because ambiguity is an inherent property of verbal humour, it is not always obvious whether the sketches reproduce or denounce the negative stereotypes associated with those groups, such as stupidity, inadequacy and sexual promiscuousness. In addition to the verbal, there is visual humour in the sketches, too: heavy make-up, exaggerated facial expressions and bodily movements.

Humour as a form of communication is used not only for entertainment, but also for voicing an opinion, a point of view or a citizen's position in *Masters of the Air* – a TV show whose producers define it as 'a comedy show'. The goal of a comedy show is, undoubtedly, to make the audience laugh. But can verbal humour be humour for humour's sake alone? The speaker in humorous discourse uses language to target an object, a person or situation from the three worlds we live in: real, social and private, and conveys a message – social or political or general. If this is not the case, the humorous remains on the level of tongue twisters, such as *She sells sea shells at the sea shore*, where the recipient laughs when the speaker fails to pronounce the twister correctly, i.e when s/he violates phonological rules, but there is no message.

Masters of the Air has been broadcast first on the TV channel 7 Days, then on the New Television channel, the bTV channel and since September 10, 2012 it has been broadcast again on the New Television channel. Designed at the beginning as an approximation of a journalist style programme with the goal to help solving various social problems, today *Masters of the Air* has its own recognizable presence: in it the humorous is cleverly used to ridicule institutions and public figures, to air investigative reporting of news and to voice a public opinion. The show differs from other humorous and entertainment TV programmes in the following:

- humour is not based on negative stereotypes of ethnic, gender and age minority groups;
- there is no use of props or costumes; only two actors present the show for a certain period of time and then they are replaced by other actors;
- humour in the show is not created by the presenters themselves, it is sought after in the political and social incongruities of everyday life.

Most of all, *Masters of the Air* is notable for its pronounced political and social engagement compared to other humorous shows. According to Judy Halvajan, the producer of the show, its goal is 'to ridicule injustice' and 'using the mechanisms of humour and satire to try to inculcate some justice in the country in situations where it is often lacking' (Online 1) – an understanding of humour that goes beyond mere amusement and entertainment. A frequent strategy in the show is to show flashes from news programmes in which the same politician says the opposite of what s/he had said before, for example, how Maya Manolova, deputy president of the 42nd National Assembly, denies in *Hullo Bulgaria*, on the New Television channel, what she had said before in *More of the Day* on the Bulgarian National Television channel, namely that Momchil Nekov's return to the European Parliament was a 'technical mistake' (Online 2). Such a strategy is not possible in a regular news programme, whose main goal is to inform, but not compare news fragments to put under scrutiny political and public life. When a humorous show targets the news, it enables the viewer to single out elements of what a politician says or does that depict him usually in a negative light, it looks for incongruities to provoke the viewer's critical thinking

and might further influence the viewer to change her/his opinion. Undoubtedly, in such a context humorous discourse fares better than serious discourse in maximizing implicitness; although implicit messages are indeterminate and their interpretation varies from recipient to recipient, they are often more important than explicit messages. Their interpretation demands a greater cognitive effort and as a result they are better remembered and have a more lasting effect. And, most importantly, in this context, implicitness serves the speaker's intention to ridicule.

Predictably, the episodes of *Masters of the Air* before and after parliamentary, presidential and European Parliament elections are among the most politically engaged ones. In the episodes there are humorous variations on the warning, by act of Parliament, that 'buying and selling votes are a crime' that appears on the TV screen at the end of each canvassing clip: 'The selling and buying of logs is with VAT' (Online 3), 'Cutting the carcass of a calf is not a crime' (Online 4), 'There is no doubt votes are bought and sold' (Online 5), 'Buying and selling votes continues' (Online 6); some of the variations make implicit references to events discrediting the party in power, while others explicitly state that votes are bought. Emblematic in this respect is the episode from November 18, 2013 (Online 7), most of which is a commentary on two party rallies that took place at the same time: one organized by the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms in support of the Oresharski government and the other by GERB (Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria, a centre right party) against the government. The episode unambiguously shows that in spite of diametrically opposed goals, the two rallies are very similar. Flashes show how buses and trains bring people from the provinces and how those interviewed have no idea which party has organized the rally, whether they have come to support a strike or a football match and how one of them does not even know who the Prime Minister of Bulgaria is. The interviewees are, of course, representatives of a certain ethnic minority group who, because of their political ignorance and social marginalization, are the voters most easily subjected to manipulation.

Incongruously, one hears the same phrases in the speeches of the leaders and party functionaries of both parties that are used to lampoon the other party: according to the Bulgarian Socialist Party, GERB's followers are 'criminals', while, according to GERB, the followers of the Bulgarian Socialist Party are 'mafia'. Each party calls the other a 'clique' and as one of the presenters of *Masters of the Air* wittily concludes, there are two cliques in Parliament. The episode accentuates on the public apology at the rally of the leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party to the leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms for the forceful conversion of Bulgarian ethnic Turks to Christianity back in the 80s of the last century (called by the Bulgarian Communist Party 'the process of revival'). Yet, flashes are shown to achieve an incongruous effect how MPs of the Bulgarian Socialist Party voted in Parliament in 2012 on the declaration of the Democrats-for-a-Strong-Bulgaria Party that denounced the conversion – 122 MPs voted for the declaration, but there were only 6 MPs of the Socialist Party present and 3 of 6 abstained from voting.

The target of humour in *Masters of the Air* is politicians, institutions and public figures and its recipients are citizens and the powerful. Its other target is blunders of TV news programmes presenters. When the target of the show are the actions or statements of politicians and public figures, the implicit messages of the show directed to viewers are not to believe them (and TV news presenters) blindly, but to critically scrutinize the news and form their own opinion. Often, whenever there is a drastic mismatch between the statements and deeds of politicians and institution officials, one hears the sceptical comment 'Really?' of one of the presenters of the show as a signal to distance and to think critically. Verbal humour as a communication tool can go beyond amusement and entertainment and can perform serious social and political functions: it can express disagreement, disapproval or critique on the powerful – the ultimate goal of *Masters of the Air* to be recognized by viewers.

In other episodes of the show something unimportant in the life of a politician is presented as something exceptionally important: what happens is a figure-ground reversal, one of the standard techniques used to achieve funniness in the punch line of jokes (Attardo et al., 2002). For example, the same flashes are shown several times how Boiko Borisov, the leader of GERB, the opposition party, insists that the Socialist Party, the then party in power, give him back a coffee percolator after they locked one of the rooms of Borisov's party in the Parliament building. The coffee percolator (not the same one, certainly), miraculously, is found by the President of the Republic in a park in Sofia where the President is picking litter, an annual spring initiative organized by the bTV channel.

Masters of the Air not only criticizes politicians and political parties, its other goal is to expose and solve social problems. In this respect the reporters' segment of the show deserves admiration. In the segment, a telephone number appears on the screen for viewers to use and indeed many do. Sometimes citizens ask the show for help when regular efforts have failed to resolve an issue. Frequently, a reporter exposes some social injustice, a fraud or a corruption scheme, for example, the embezzlement of European funds for the cultivation of agricultural land by two mayors. In another episode, a surveillance camera recording from a police station in Sofia is shown to refute the allegations of a policeman that a woman had torn the sleeve of his uniform in her unlawful behaviour. In a later episode (Online 8) a letter from the Ministry of Interior is read that informs of the inquiry completed at the police station proving that the policeman himself and not the woman has torn the sleeve. In such cases the presenters of the show voice their position as citizens (for example, in relation to taking off air the documentary *Uncle Tony, the three fools and the State Security Police*) (Online 9):

> Gladnishka: Regardless of the reason for taking off air this documentary, we from Masters of the Air think this is a case of censorship, unthinkable in the 21st century.
> Silvestrov: It's more than that. This is repression that reminds us of the times we've been trying to forget for the last 25 years.

> Gladnishka: We hope impartiality will prevail and the film will be given due attention at home and internationally (translation mine).

Often the reporter segment of the show is parodic, especially the one of Popolina Vox. She interviews people in the street on sensitive social issues such as corruption, cruelty to animals, the legalization of prostitution or how to win elections parodying existing negative conceptions of values not only of politicians but of regular citizens as well: for example, Popolina Vox tries to persuade citizens to vote for her *Party for Rapid Wealth and Personal Profit* on the election day for the European Parliament on May 25, 2014 (Online 10).

The humour in some segments, for example, *Kaleko Aleko*, *Three in Parliament* and *Our Big Brother* is based entirely on character impersonation. *Kaleko Aleko* ('kaleko' is a dialect word for 'uncle'), as the title suggests, is a modern version of Bai Ganyo, a character in a novel from 1895 in which the author pokes fun at the negative personality traits of Bulgarians that have turned into a kind of a negative national stereotype which is topical even today. Kaleko Aleko is ill-mannered, uneducated and insolent, yet at the same time he has a very high opinion of himself. He travels around the country and the world but instead of collecting wisdom, he spreads vulgarity.

It is worth noting that most of the humour in *Masters of the Air* is the result of an incongruous selection of flashes of news programmes already aired and in this sense the merit of the humour lies with the script writers and directors rather than the presenters' performance. The presenters play the role of announcers that weld together the segments of the show. Certainly, whenever necessary, they make comments and improvise: there are also elements of visual humour, such as exaggerated bodily movements and facial expressions typical of clowns – in other words, presenters alternate between serious comments and clownish behaviour. In their original context the flashes are not humorous but they become humorous when compared with other flashes, also taken out from their original context and assigned a new interpretation in the new context. Thus, what is said and done in serious discourse is transformed into an incongruity, into a deviation from a norm, in this case a moral one on the part of the powerful, in humorous discourse. To be precise, *Masters of the Air* not only exposes, but it criticizes the foibles of political and economic elites for their arrogance of power, incompetence and corruption and in this respect it alternates between satire and comedy: humour in it is both playful and allusively serious, entertaining and indirectly evaluative. Satire at its best is a form of social corrective (Billig, 2005), since the intention of satirists is to criticize negative aspects of political and social life and encourage a change for the better. As a form of humour, satire thrives in democratic societies, while underground political jokes thrive in authoritarian and totalitarian states and both types of humour stand closest to serious discourse in their function to directly and indirectly criticize the powerful: the former flourishes in political freedom and the latter in relative oppressiveness. Here is an example of a recontextualization

of what Antonia Parvanova said on TV channel 1 when she was running for the European Parliament (Online 11):

> Antonia Parvanova: What the state can do is guarantee markets, but not intervene on the market or employ a circle of privileged companies in state and public projects.
> Silvestrov (presenter): It's not a circle; it's a film in which we all have been acting minor parts for the last 25 years.
> Gladnishka (presenter): With the kind of directors we have, we have to wait long for a happy end. (translation mine)

In the episode, Parvanova makes a spontaneous error and says *filmi* (films) instead of *firmi* (companies) and the presenters' response is directed to the error. The first presenter, when saying *it's a film in which we all have been acting minor parts for the last 25 years*, implicitly expresses his disappointment with the inadequate reforms during the transition period after 1989. Again, the goal of incongruously comparing flashes already aired is to bring a change in the viewer's attitude and point of view or, minimally, to distance her/him from things and distancing from things is one of the ways in which humour works. The genre of *Masters of the Air*, a 'comedy show', itself is enough to prepare the viewer for a transition from a telic (goal-oriented) mental state to an atelic one (not goal-oriented) between which the mind alternates (Apter, 1989) and the latter state, as expected, facilitates the appreciation of humour. In addition to the visual humour in the form of exaggerated bodily movements and facial expressions of the show presenters that complements the humour of their comments or stands out for itself, flashes are shown of TV news programmes involving visual humour, too: for example, how the ex-Prime Minister Ivan Kostov trips and falls to the ground when leaving the Presidential Office Building or how a huge TV camera is about to fall on the head of a TV presenter.

Spontaneous errors are also the target of humour in *Masters of the Air*. In psycholinguistics such errors are viewed not only as indicators of the structure and organization of the mental lexicon but also of the stages in the production and understanding of utterances (Fromkin, 1971; Garrett, 1980). Spontaneous errors are of different types: sound, lexical, semantic and syntactic (Garman, 1990). They are unavoidable and normally the speaker makes several per week. They are made when the cognitive processes that underlie the functioning of the language system for some reason break down. Spontaneous errors are a deviation from linguistic norms and rules but not as spontaneous as they seem. Many errors are not nonsensical but meaningful words used in the wrong context and it is their wrong use that triggers humour. Here are some more examples: *upside up* (Bulg. *s glavata nagore*) instead of *upside down* (Bulg. *s glavata nadolu*), an error made by an interviewee on a TV channel (Online 12). Programme presenters, quite normally, also make errors not spared in *Masters of the Air*: for example, *warrant* (Bulg. *order*) instead of the intended word *medal* (Bulg. *orden*) made by the presenter of a news programme on TV channel 1 (Online 13) and

a programme presenter on the New Television channel says twice *entrance elections* (Bulg. *kandidatstudentski izbori*) instead of *entrance exams* (Bulg. *kandidatstudentski izpiti*) (Online 14). The show also targets malapropisms usually made by interviewees that show ignorance, for example, when a former MP of GERB says *let's finish with this fraud* (Bulg. *specula*) instead of *let's finish with this speculation* (Bulg. *spekulatsia*) (Online 15).

Spontaneous violation of language rules might also be viewed as incongruity, but it is not the same kind of incongruity one finds in the punch line of jokes. The basic difference is that with spontaneous errors the two interpretations – erroneous and a standard one – are simultaneously available to the listener. In contrast, in the joke, the punch line introduces an unexpected interpretation that leads to the reinterpretation of the set-up part of the joke. The humour in the joke is intentional and multi-sided: it has a cognitive, linguistic, social and cultural dimension, among others, while the humour in spontaneous errors comes down to the violation of rules of language.

Figure 1 summarizes the intentions of the humour initiator, the target and recipient of humour in the show, as well as its emotion and cognitive effects; the last two are not obligatory:
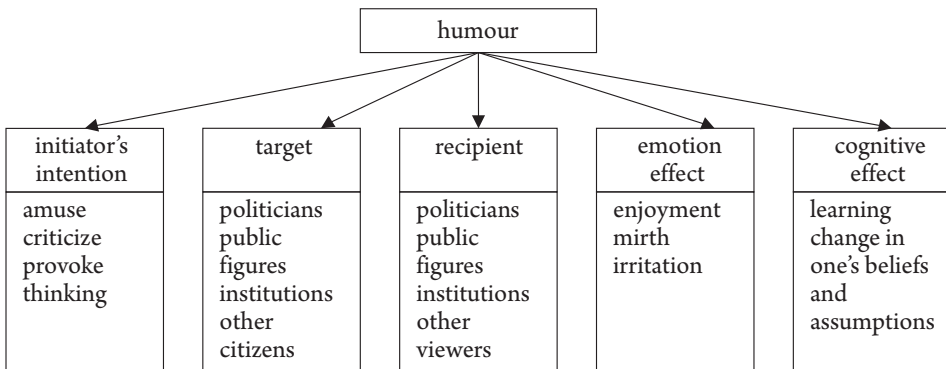
Figure 1 **Humour variables in *Masters of the Air***

Humour and entertainment are related, but the latter is a more general concept than the former and this could be one of the reasons for the fewer studies on entertainment compared to extensive research in the field of humour. In communication studies, entertainment has been understood as an experience or a response to a product (a book, a piece of music or a song, a film, a show, etc.) rather than as a feature of it (Zillmann and Bryant, 1994; cited by Vorderer et al., 2004: 390). It is a complex and dynamic experience which includes interrelated psychological, cognitive and affective components: an experience that exerts an impact on viewers and, more specifically, on the way they think, feel or act (Vorderer et al., 2004). *Mirth*, as mentioned at the beginning of the paper, is the emotion associated with humour and *enjoyment* is the positive response to

an entertainment product. Politicians and public figures as humour targets, most probably, will get irritated or annoyed, but their positive response to humour is not excluded.

A serious reason, I think, for *Masters of the Air* to be on air for such a long period of time – 12 years – is its design and, more specifically, the incongruous reinterpretation of fragments from news programmes and the presentation of social problems and their solution. Its conception is the result of the right judgment of the script writers and producers that it is this kind of comedy show viewers prefer to watch and not a comedy show like *Complete Madness*, where humour is based solely on the impersonation of character types. Shows like *Complete Madness* are more difficult to create, yet they are the type of show that bore viewers more easily.

CONCLUSIONS

The humour of *Masters of the Air* goes beyond the entertainment of the viewer: its primary goal is to expose and criticize the powerful for their corruption, incompetence and arrogance; its other goal is to expose and solve social problems. Humour in it is both playful and allusively serious, entertaining and indirectly evaluative and its messages are directed to citizens and to the powerful. There is satire and ridicule whose targets are: the mismatch between the words and actions of politicians, the inertness and ineffectiveness of institutions and the foibles of the powerful. There is mockery at the physical appearance and personality traits of politicians and public figures. Politicians, public figures and TV programme presenters are humoured for the spontaneous errors they make where humour is triggered by the violation of language rules; also, politicians and interviewees are mocked for malapropisms and, finally, there is visual humour that either complements verbal humour, or stands out for itself. The interpretation, appreciation or rejection of the humorous in the show is context dependent: on the sociopolitical context, on the beliefs and assumptions of both the initiator and the recipient of the humorous, on their ethnic, gender, professional and age group. In *Masters of the Air* humorous discourse fares better than serious discourse in conveying serious messages and having a persuasive effect. But it can have an opposite effect, too: instead of being critical, the viewer might let pass the serious aspect of what is said and seen on the TV screen. Yet, it is doubtful whether the most critical satire can initiate a political or social change: in favourable contexts it can only facilitate the possibility for change.

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE TESTING IN *MOODLE*: STEP TOWARDS UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA LANGUAGE POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

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Abstract. Along with globalisation, university internalisation has taken place, leading to the support for the national and foreign language policies in universities. This has resulted in the expansion of English as a *lingua franca* of academia. The aims of this study were to discuss the results of the focused descriptive study aimed at obtaining information on the *status quo* of the students' English language proficiency level at the University of Latvia (UL) and the feasibility of the introduction of an in-house *Moodle*-based testing introduction into the learning process at the UL. The piloted test results demonstrate that generally the students have an appropriate English language proficiency level for academic studies at the UL at all degree levels, although exhibiting limitations in writing and some limitations in listening skills. It has also been concluded that *Moodle*-based online language testing is helpful to meet the language policy goals set out at the University of Latvia.

Key words: English language testing, *Moodle*, University of Latvia, language policy, focused descriptive study

INTRODUCTION

The University of Latvia (UL) has joined the intra-European academic community and has, thus, committed itself to all EU education policy initiatives, for instance, the adoption of a degree system and a system of comparable degrees, the promotion of academic staff, researcher and student mobility, the implementation of quality assurance as well as the promotion of multilingualism (*Latvijas Universitātes Valodu politika*, 2010). The latter is in line with the White Paper on *Teaching and learning: towards the learning society* (1996), which states that each EU citizen should be competent in three official EU languages, that is, one must know two languages in addition to the mother tongue. The UL promotes the use and preservation of Latvian as the national language as well as supports a wider application of foreign languages in academia.

English has become the *lingua franca* of higher education (e.g. Brumfit, 2004), and its dominant role in the linguistic landscape of higher education has affected the language policy at universities, including the UL.

Since technological development is not only enabling new ways of communication, but also transforming the ways of language learning and testing in

higher education, the use of the English language as well as the application of technologies have become crucial in higher education.

Proficiency in English is a factor contributing to the implementation of language policy initiatives, and this calls for a potentially wide range of English language skills which arise out of various academic tasks which students of the UL may have to perform in English.

It is assumed that first year undergraduate students already have a certain English language level to be able to function in the academic context where English language skills are required. The Secondary Education Standards (*MK noteikumi,* 2013) state that level B2 or C1 (*Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, 2001 (henceforth the *CEFR*)) should be reached when leaving the secondary school. In order to implement the UL language policy in practice, it is of utmost importance that all level students have the expected English language proficiency to be able to carry out academic tasks in English as prescribed in their academic programmes and documented in UL order No 1/184 concerning foreign language studies at the UL. According to this order, students have to acquire an English for specific purposes course (three or six ECTS) and are encouraged to take additional English language proficiency development courses (*LU rīkojums 1/184*, 2015). Taking the above mentioned preconditions into account, it is expected that undergraduate students' language proficiency shall normally be B2 in each of the four skills (i.e. reading, writing, listening and speaking). The UL is obliged to propose study courses and study modules in English as well as promote them in all study programmes at all levels (*Latvijas Universitātes Valodu politika*, 2010). The key performance indicators in the UL Strategic Plan (2010–2020) determine that not less than 15 per cent of study courses should be delivered in a foreign language by 2016 and not less than 50 per cent – by 2020 respectively (*LU Stratēģiskais plāns* 2010–2020).

Therefore, this study pursues the following goals: the first one is to investigate the students' English language proficiency level at the UL, and the second – to explore the feasibility of the introduction of an in-house *Moodle* (Modular Object-Oriented Dynamic Learning Environment)-based test into the learning process at the UL.

In order to achieve the goals, a focused descriptive study has been conducted in order to obtain information about bachelor's, master's and doctoral students' English language proficiency level and pilot the English language proficiency test placed within the *Moodle* learning management system (LMS) from the *Pearson Test of English (General)* open access practice test paper collection.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Alongside with the increasing role of the English language proficiency in the promotion of academic staff, researcher and student mobility, scholars have brought out the growing significance of learning management systems (LMSs)

in foreign language teaching and testing (e.g. Koyama and Akiyama, 2009; Godwin-Jones, 2012).

LMS application was a novel practice for a range of tertiary institutions at the end of the 20th and even at the beginning of the 21st century when the most influential LMSs were two commercial applications *WebCT* and *Blackboard*. *WebCT* was used at the UL in 2002 within the framework of the E-University Project, the long-term goal of which was e-course creation to initiate blended studies. Meanwhile, open source LMSs (e.g. *Sakai*, *ATutor*) were developed among which *Moodle*, created by Martin Dougiamas in 2002, swiftly gained popularity (see Cole and Foster, 2007: 1–4). The main advantages of this cost-free LMS are summarised by Godwin-Jones (2012: 5) in his overview of LMS use in language teaching. In addition to Moodle technical advantages, Godwin-Jones explains that Moodle is based on modules or blocks that enable users to add any of the available resources and activities (e.g. assignments, forums, wikis) and tailor these arrangements according to particular language teaching needs.

The E-studies project group at the UL (see Voitkāns, 2008) had explored and summarised *Moodle* LMS application advantages and experience gained by other universities. Due to the Moodle advantages, all e-courses of the UL were transferred to this LMS five years after its *WebCT* application and the transition to *Moodle* was completed in 2008.

Topical issues of LMS application in language testing and the benefits of computer adaptive testing (CAT) in comparison with the conventional testing procedures have been discussed, for example by Brown and Dunkel. Brown (1997: 45) has emphasised several advantages of CAT: computers are more accurate at scoring selected response test items, reporting the scores and providing immediate feedback; different tests for each student can be used; students can work at their own pace and may consider that CATs are more friendly because the questions are presented one at a time on the screen, not as multiple test items in a booklet. On the other hand, Brown (ibid.) and Dunkel (1999: 87) have drawn attention to the issues that have to be considered in the case of CAT handling: the unreliability of computer equipment and possible computer and system capacity limitations (especially in the case of graphs and multimedia use that is also revealed by Alimin's (2014) *Moodle's* features assessment for delivering TOEFL based English course) as well as students' familiarity level variations with the testing system and anxiety about its use.

Moodle LMS modules have already been applied by researchers in CAT, for example by Koyama and Akiyama (2009). They have addressed the above-mentioned CAT application issues and reported on the piloting results of in-house English for specific purposes placement test in the *Moodle* LMS. The piloting revealed that the CAT module application could reduce work load required for the placement test.

The growing need for students' English language proficiency and in-house testing at the UL as well as the LMS global and UL institutional application

experience have urged *Moodle*-based English language proficiency test (according to the CEFR levels B2–C2) piloting and the involvement of students in skills-based self-assessment of their English language ability (according to the self-assessment types discussed by Edele et al. (2015)) to elicit the current state of students' language proficiency at the bachelor's, master's and doctoral levels and the students' attitude to taking the test in the *Moodle* module.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to achieve the goals set at the beginning of the research, a focused descriptive study was implemented with the research focus on the English language proficiency level measured by Pearson Test of English (PTE) General, following Larsen-Freeman and Long's (1991: 17) theoretical considerations. The research was based on multiple sources of evidence, including the review of theoretical literature, documentary analysis, language self-assessment, tests and interviews. It used both the direct (naturally occurring) data yielded from the analysis of 24 PTE tests completed in the *Moodle* LMS module and the indirect data obtained from the interviews conducted to come to the data which 'are essentially free-standing or independent of the (discourse of the) interviewer/moderator' (Litosseliti, 2010: 158). Thus, in order to ensure the reliability and validity of the research, the following validation strategies were undertaken:

1. Response validity as the results were obtained during the following response processes: the skills focused English language self-assessment and responses to items in English language tests.

2. Content-related validation, that is the tools were appropriate for the intended use, in particular, the assessment of the students' English language proficiency in accordance with the CEFR as well as the feasibility to introduce an in-house *Moodle*-based assessment.

3. Criterion-related validation, the extent to which the test results were related to the criterion measure.

4. Construct-related validation, that is the conformity of the research tools (tests and interviews) to the aim of the research manifested through (a) the implementation of the research design well established both in qualitative investigation in general and in applied linguistics in particular; (b) the logical flow between the stages of the research; (c) the establishment of the cause and effect relationships; (d) familiarity with the participants; (e) peer scrutiny (adapted from Shenton, 2004: 64–69).

According to the PTE General and PTE Academic Score Guides (2015: 43), well-established test item creation processes enable these test writers to achieve a high reliability coefficient from 0.91 to 0.97 within the score range of 53 to 79 points.

MATERIALS, PARTICIPANTS AND PROCEDURE

The items for the English language proficiency tests (A1–C2 levels according to the CEFR, 2001) were computerised from the open access practice test collection website *Pearson Test of English* (*General*) by placing the tests in the *Moodle* LMS module. This LMS was chosen because, as described in the theoretical background, *Moodle* has been applied at the UL since 2008 in a number of courses, including those oriented towards language studies,of the bachelor's level, master's level and doctoral level study programmes.

Each test placed in the *Moodle* LMS module is composed of relevant items for each of the four task types (see Table 1): (1) listening (three tasks: one multiple choice and two gap filling tasks); (2) listening and writing (a dictation); (3) reading (two tasks: one multiple choice and one answering questions); (4) writing (two tasks: writing of an email or a letter and the other task – an essay or an article, depending on the level of the test). The total score (100 points) is obtained from weighted raw scores for all the tasks as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 **Tasks and scores**

Task types	Tasks	Weighted raw scores
Listening 1	multiple choice	10
Listening 2	gap filling	10
Listening 3	gap filling	10
Listening and writing	dictation	10
Reading 1	multiple choice	10
Reading 2	answering questions	20
Writing 1	email or letter	15
Writing 2	essay or article	15

A total of 24 participants volunteered for the focused descriptive study – the English language proficiency test in the *Moodle* LMS. The participants were 8 bachelor's level and 7 master's level students in the humanities and 9 doctoral level students in the sciences. None of the participants was a native English language speaker or an English philology programme student.

Before the test, the participants had to self-assess their English language writing, listening and reading proficiency according to A1–C2 levels defined in the *CEFR* (2001). As a result, 6 bachelor's level students reported that they intended to take the B2, 1 student the C1 and one – the C2 level test. The master's level students' English language self-assessment revealed that 4 students intended to take the B2 level, and 3 students – the C1 level test. Three doctoral students reported that according to their self-assessment they intended to take the B2 and 6 students – the C1 level test.

As the participants were supposed to take their selected test level in the *Moodle* LMS, they were asked to report on their *Moodle* use experience

because it might affect the computer-assisted test taking procedure. Even though all the participants reported that they had experience in using the *Moodle* LMS, they were provided with the instructions how to access the *Moodle*-based test site and how to handle each task type. In addition, if required, test handling assistance was provided to the participants throughout the test. The time allotted varied depending on the level of the tests: 2 hours were allotted for the B2 level test, 2 hours and 30 minutes for the C1 test, whereas the C2 level student had 2 hours and 55 minutes to complete the test.

The tests were graded in the *Moodle* LMS. Automatic grading was applied to the multiple-choice tasks following the specifications; namely, 'items for assessing receptive skills are scored dichotomously; in other words, each answer will either be correct or incorrect with no half marks' (*The Revised Pearson Test of English General Brochure*: 9). However, manual verification was necessary in the listening and reading tasks, as various wording options in gap filling of the answering questions tasks were acceptable. Fully manual holistic grading was applied to both writing tasks. The reliability of the assessment of the writing test was ensured by 'means of analytical scales derived from scales within the CEF' and peer scrutiny (ibid.). The oral proficiency test was excluded from the study because of the limitations of the *Moodle* LMS.

RESULTS

The convenience of online testing in the *Moodle* LMS is the digital records of the scores. The B2 level participants obtained scores ranging from 39 to 64, and the mean score is 53. The C1 level participants' scores range from 36 to 66 with the mean score 56, whereas the C2 level participant gained 58 points (see Table 2).

Table 2 **Test takers scores according to levels (max. 100 points)**

B2	39	40	51	52	52	53	54	55	58	59	59	62	64	**53**
C1	36	49	53	55	57	57	61	62	65	66				**56**
C2	58													**58**

The mean indicates that the mark of 50 percent (50 points) was hard to achieve at all university degree and language proficiency levels, in particular at B2, although it is expected that, for example undergraduate students of the UL have at least B2 level upon their enrolment (The Secondary Education Standards (*MK noteikumi*, 2013)).

The CEFR B2 level descriptor for writing skills presupposes that students can communicate their and other's opinions effectively, whereas they are expected to express themselves 'with clarity and precision, relating to the addressee flexibly and effectively at level C1' (*CEFR*, 2001: 83). The writing tasks appeared to be

the most challenging for the students possibly due to the insufficient planning or deficient language proficiency resulting in the failure to complete one of the two tasks fully. The desired score of 50 percent was achieved only at level C2, which can be seen in Table 3 below. These results reveal that all B2 and C1 level participants' self-assessment of their writing proficiency disagrees with the obtained test results. It has to be noted that writing proficiency is of crucial importance for the doctoral programme students, since they are expected to publish their research results not only in Latvian, but also in a foreign language as part of their studies.

Table 3 **Writing mean (max. 30)**

	B2	**C1**	**C2**
Bachelor's level	11	5	17
Master's level	11.2	14.6	
Doctoral level	6.5	14.8	

The CEFR B2 level descriptor for listening presupposes that students can understand standard spoken language encountered in personal, social, academic or vocational settings as well as follow the essentials of propositionally and linguistically complex utterances, whereas they are expected to meet the above requirements with relative ease at C1 level (*CEFR*, 2001: 66–67). However, the doctoral students' level of achievement at B2 in this skill was the lowest, with the data at the other university degree and language proficiency levels only slightly exceeding it, as it is presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4 **Listening mean (max. 40)**

	B2	**C1**	**C2**
Bachelor's level	22.8	17	23
Master's level	22.7	25.3	
Doctoral level	19.5	24.8	

The results might mean that the sample students may not take full advantage of the international educational opportunities such as applying for international exchange programmes, listening to lectures in English and studying abroad due to their limited listening comprehension skills in social, professional or academic life.

The CEFR B2 level descriptor for reading implies that students' general reading comprehension skills are well developed 'with a broad active reading vocabulary, experiencing only some difficulty with low frequency idioms while reading with a large degree of independence, adapting style and speed of reading to different texts and purposes, and using appropriate reference sources selectively' (*CEFR*, 2001: 69). The same holds true for the CEFR

level C1, which highlights the ability to understand in detail lengthy, complex texts irrespective of the area of speciality. The tasks of reading skill test results demonstrated the highest value in comparison with the tasks devoted to writing and listening skills. The lowest result of a bachelor's level student was marked at C1, constituting 14 and, thus, not reaching the required 50 percent level. A more detailed result breakdown is seen in Table 5 below.

Table 5 **Reading mean (max. 30)**

	B2	**C1**	**C2**
Bachelor's level	22.1	14	22
Master's level	21	20.3	
Doctoral level	19.75	16.8	

These results and relatively high values in comparison with the other skills might be explained by the fact that the students at all degree levels are expected to work with theoretical literature in English and, hence, are exposed to extensive reading. Since the findings of this research are attributed to a relatively small number of participants, it can be considered a limitation related to external generalisability and iterative chain sampling might be suggested for further research activities.

In addition to the participants' test results, their feelings during the test in the *Moodle* LMS were explored in an interview as all of them were interviewed (8 bachelor students, 7 master students and 9 doctoral students). Interview moderation, as Dörnyei (2007: 144–145) explains, can trigger useful insights, which was vital in the study because all the participants had experienced the same technology-based task types, and, therefore, could arrive at useful conclusions about test-taking in the *Moodle* module.

The interview included 3 closed-ended and 3 open-ended questions that, as explained by Oppenheim (2001) and Dörnyei (2007), allow expressing one's own opinion and reflect on their attitude.

The answers to the question (*Did you experience any difficulties during the handling of test tasks in the Moodle LMS?*) revealed that the majority of the participants (18 of 24) had experienced test handling difficulties in the *Moodle* LMS. This question, therefore, was followed by one more question relating to the *Moodle* LMS (*What were the major difficulties during the Moodle-based test?*). The participants' discussion and responses confirmed that, irrespective of the fact that before the test the participants reported that they had used at least one *Moodle* e-course in their studies, they had experienced difficulties in locating the e-university site and also in managing the test formats normally available in *Moodle*. After the discussion of the *Moodle* LMS, the participants concluded that, alongside with the concise pre-test instructions, a special instruction seminar would be of great help to ensure a smooth test procedure.

The question: '*Does the initial self-assessment correspond with the results you had expected to obtain?*' revealed that the participants themselves were aware of the discrepancy with their self-assessment, namely, their expected results and the obtained test results. The discussion of the discrepancy reasons was continued and the question aimed at revealing the possible challenging tasks was asked (*Which of the tasks were more difficult than you had expected?*). It was surprising that they had initially expected more inspiring results in particular test sections, especially in writing tasks (see the results section of the article). The interviews uncovered that the participants had experienced self-assessment difficulties. Obviously, they therefore admitted during the interviews that it would be advisable to join a course and/or do practice tests.

The question: *Which of the tasks were the most/the least challenging?* aimed at finding out the tasks the participants considered to be more difficult to complete than the other tasks. The reflection confirmed that both the writing tasks of all three test levels appeared to be the most challenging ones. This discussion was continued by clarifying whether the participants had felt any time constraints (*Did you experience any time constraints during the test?*), which revealed that a noticeable part of the participants had experienced time constraints (12 of 24 participants) for the completion of both writing tasks. Moreover, 2 participants had not managed to complete one of their writing tasks. The interviews were concluded by asking whether there were any other issues that had not been discussed or would require a more detailed discussion.

CONCLUSIONS

The conducted study allows for drawing several conclusions on the students' English language proficiency level and the introduction of the in-house *Moodle*-based test at the UL.

Considering the external, content-related, criterion-related and construct-related types of test validation, the quality of the test version developed in *Moodle* is sufficient to meet the aims of the present research. The students' self-assessment and the piloted results demonstrate that their written proficiency (that includes writing, listening and reading skills) self-assessment tends to disagree with the test results. Even if the test results reveal that they are able to perform different tasks in English, the exhibited limitations in their language use in writing as well as listening skills might lead to hindering their academic and professional progress. Thus, this study has revealed that students tend to overestimate their written English language proficiency. In spite of the fact that most students passed the test quite successfully, the detailed result breakdown and the relatively low pass mean determine the necessity of further development of students' reading, listening and writing skills in the personal, social, academic and vocational setting. It might be suggested that B2 and higher English language proficiency requirements are set upon graduation from a bachelor's level programme, B2–C1 English language

proficiency requirements upon graduation from a master's level programme and C1 English language proficiency requirements upon completing doctoral studies respectively. It is also important that these English language proficiency levels are stipulated by the UL language policy document. The levels are to be confirmed by an examination in English for special purposes taken at the end of the course prescribed by each study programme.

The present study provides additional evidence with respect to the application of the *Moodle* LMS in the study process at the tertiary level. Test computerisation substantially relieves the manual grading, irrespective of the fact that some of the tasks (e.g. writing tasks) require fully manual grading, but some reading and listening tasks manual verification. Online testing provides digital records of the test results and promotes the students' digital literacy skills by practicing online test handling. Therefore, the piloting of the *Moodle*-based test and the obtained results show that further research should focus on the item bank enrichment and also the creation of items for an in-house test aligned with the CEFR levels and the piloting of the test to meet the language policy goals set out at the University of Latvia.

The current investigation was also limited by a small number of participants in the study. Therefore, caution must be applied to generalizing the findings, as they might not be transferable to all the students of the University of Latvia. It is recommended that further research be undertaken.

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'A STRICT JOURNAL OF ALL THE PASSAGES': JOHN LAWSON'S *NEW VOYAGE TO CAROLINA* AND THE IMPORTANCE OF MOBILITY

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Abstract. In colonial British America 'travel writing' found its way into many different literary genres: religious tracts, scientific accounts, and political or promotional writings, often written to make settlement attractive. Travel writing was also often devoted to mapping and describing landscapes for future travellers or settlers. Whatever its genre, however, early American travel writing is unquestionably a form that makes manifest by implication the actual mobility of the travellers themselves and the need for continued and future mobility. This paper will examine this issue in *A New Voyage to Carolina* (1709), by British travel writer John Lawson (1674–1711) as little attention has so far been paid to the rhetoric of his implicit assumptions about mobility and the importance of emigration. In this post-colonial context, then, this paper argues that *A New Voyage* stands as a substantial piece of colonial travel writing, one of whose basic, underlying themes is the importance of freedom of movement, both individual and collective. Lawson's own experience bears this out insofar as, in addition to his travels, he was himself instrumental in the founding of two early eighteenth-century towns in North Carolina, Bath and New Bern, the latter a community of about 300 Palatine and Swiss emigrants.

Key words: John Lawson, travel writing, Carolina, mobility, natural history

INTRODUCTION

Some of the most popular books published in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were accounts written by British-born explorers or travellers who described their experiences and observations of regions of the New World like John Josselyn's *New England's Rarities Discovered*, published in 1672, or Mark Catesby's *Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands*, published in instalments from 1731 through 1743. Even though one could thus argue that the New World was no longer entirely new to Europeans, 18th century readers were still eager to learn about the fauna and flora, the geography or the inhabitants of parts of the world most of them would never visit; the reports thus offered them opportunity to enjoy a form of vicarious mobility. John Lawson's *New Voyage to Carolina* (short title), initially published in London in 1709, after its author's first stay in America from late 1700 till 1708, is one of the most valuable books of this genre. It pertains both to the trend of natural history writing and to that of promotional writing. As a natural history book giving – at the time –

the most precise firsthand account of the indigenous inhabitants, the fauna and the flora of the Carolinas, more particularly of North Carolina, it stands as a very good example of mobility of knowledge, as John Lawson took advantage of his trip both to write a journal and to collect data, seeds and samples he then sent to his British correspondent, London apothecary James Petiver (1663–1718), Fellow of the Royal Society (founded in November 1660 and granted a charter by Charles II).

Necessary to such mobility of knowledge is, of course, personal mobility, as '[t]he ability to move easily and independently from place to place would seem to be the essential condition of travel' (Kuehn and Smethurst, 2015: 7). The man who will share knowledge and send seeds must himself be physically, literally mobile and it is this understanding of mobility that is the focus of this paper. Yet, what presents itself as a natural history book and a travel narrative works on other levels as well. Therefore, I argue that in order to promote emigration to the Carolinas, Lawson showcases his own mobility and also that, beyond different forms of spatial mobility, mobility in Lawson's text takes on a symbolic-temporal dimension as it refers to an edenic, pre-lapsarian state: that is, there is a simultaneous temporal mobility evident in his *New Voyage to Carolina*.

PHYSICAL MOBILITY

Little is known about John Lawson's early life. It is either generally assumed that he was born in 1674 in a Yorkshire landed family or, as Hugh Talmage Lefler argues, that he was from London and may have been the Lawson referred to in the Court Book of the London Society of Apothecaries under the date of February 1, 1675 and apprenticed to John Chandler (Lawson, 1967: XIV). This second hypothesis seems more convincing, especially given Lawson's later links with the aforementioned Petiver. Whatever his elusive origin may have been, Lawson seems to have come from a wealthy family, and his affluent background may account for his education and writing skills, and also for his ability to travel extensively without having to worry about his means of subsistence.

In the introduction to *A New Voyage*, he refers to his inclination to adventure and mobility in the broader context of the mass mobility of a pilgrimage to Rome for the Pope's Jubilee in 1700:

> my Intention, at that Time, being to travel, I accidentally met with a Gentleman, who had been Abroad, and was very well acquainted with the Ways of Living in both Indies; of whom, having made Enquiry concerning them, he assur'd me, that Carolina was the best Country I could go to. (Lawson, 1967: 6)

This 'mise en abîme', or self-reflexive embedding, of his own mobility fulfils multiple functions. First, from a socio-economic perspective, it confirms Lawson's place in a certain category, that of the people who could afford to travel

at will rather than because of the necessity of migrating. It also emphasizes his willingness to travel for the sake of discovering the natural environment of a little-documented colony and, thus, of furthering scientific knowledge, as he proposes to deal with 'the natural History of Carolina' (Lawson, 1709/2015: 9).

Last, this narrative device also testifies to his self-awareness, which he underlines in the Preface, when he denounces the lack of education of travellers to America who are unable to write about their own experiences there:

> It is a great Misfortune, that most of our Travellers, who go to this vast Continent in America, are Persons of the meaner Sort, and generally of a very slender Education; who being hired by the merchants, to trade amongst the Indians, in which Voyages they often spend several Years, are yet, at their Return, incapable of giving any reasonable Account of what they met withal in those remote Parts. (Lawson, 1709/2015: 4)

His account, then, implicitly purports to be informed and *reasonable*. As he discards the notion of 'amus(ing) my readers with the Encomium of Carolina' (Lawson, 1709/2015: 5), he asserts that his book won't be a grossly exaggerated promotional tract extolling the merits of the colony, but 'a faithful Account' written with 'Impartiality and Truth' (ibid.: 4). Additionally, this embedded reference to his status as a learned traveller legitimizes the firsthand description he is about to give while drawing attention to the defects of other accounts written before by people who had never set foot in Carolina, like Richard Hakluyt, Samuel Purchas or Robert Horne, who had published *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina* in 1666 at the request of the Lords Proprietors to encourage settlement.

> Carolina is a fair and spacious Province on the Continent of America: so called in honour of His Sacred Majesty that now is, Charles the Second, whom God preserve; and His Majesty hath been pleas'd to grant the same to certain Honourable Persons, who in order to the speedy planting of the same, have granted divers privileges and advantages to such as shall transport themselves and Servants in convenient time; This Province lying so neer Virginia, and yet more Southward, enjoys the fertility and advantages thereof; and yet is so far distant, as to be freed from the inconstancy of the Weather, which is a great cause of the unhealthfulness thereof. (Horne, 1666: 10)

From the very beginning, the reader is thus made to assume that Lawson, though neither a trained scientist nor an explorer commissioned by the British Crown, is more legitimate than any of his predecessors and that his observations will be more reliable. The absence of a formal training was at any rate quite common at the time: 'Little formal discipline or special training was required of those in the field' (Wilson, 1978: 7). The long and precise title, typical of the period, which aims at being an exhaustive description of the contents of the book, reinforces that impression of meticulousness and accuracy: *A New Voyage to Carolina; Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country: Together with the Present State Thereof. And a Journal of a Thousand Miles,*

Travel'd Thro' Several Nations of Indians. Giving a Particular Account of Their Customs, Manners, etc.

His mobility is here again given pride of place, with mentions of the 'voyage' and the distance – albeit exaggerated, as Lawson is more likely to have covered the 550 miles from Charleston to the Pamlico River – he has 'travel'd'.

Similarly, the way information is organized inside the book, starting with the journal of Lawson's journey in 1700–1701 and moving on to a minute description of the natural and human environment of Carolina divided into chapters such as 'Of the Corn of Carolina' (Lawson, 1709/2015: 65) or 'Fish of Carolina' (ibid.: 131) mixes the narrative of Lawson's adventures on his trek from South to North Carolina with data that may be useful for prospective settlers or curious readers alike. In addition, Lawson provides a map of the colony which, according to William P. Cumming, heavily relies on a previous map published by three London map makers in 1685 and is valuable essentially for its detailed rendering of the Pamlico region. Indeed, Lawson was instrumental in the founding and incorporating of the first town in North Carolina, Bath, in 1705 and he established himself there (Cumming, 1958: 178) after initially building a house a little further south, on the Neuse River, near the site of the future New Bern: 'I had built a House about half a Mile from an Indian Town, on the Fork of Neus-River' (Lawson, 1709/2015: 111). Even though Cumming essentially draws attention to the map's flaws, stating that 'It cannot be said that Lawson's map added much information of value, though it retained several old inaccuracies and included some new ones' (ibid.), its very presence in the book is interesting. In the context of the Enlightenment and of a growing interest for and consumption of knowledge, Lawson's choice of including a map – albeit an imperfect one – further emphasizes the educational impact his book may have while being a step ahead of others. In his paper *The Ambulatory Map: Commodity, Mobility and Visualcy in Eighteenth Century Colonial America*, Martin Brückner indeed writes that only 'by mid-century, maps were regularly tipped into bound volumes such as geography books, histories and travel narratives' (Brückner, 2011: 150).

The genre of the book, as a result, is hard to define but the reader is never allowed to lose sight of Lawson as its central character, as the one risking his comfort, or even his life, for the advancement of knowledge:

> With hard Rowing, we got two Leagues up the River, lying all Night in a swampy Piece of Ground, the Weather being so cold all that Time, we were almost frozen ere Morning, leaving the Impressions of our Bodies on the wet Ground. We set forward very early in the Morning, to seek some better Quarters. (Lawson, 1709/2015: 12)

So, it is precisely Lawson's mobility – both the fact of his crossing the Atlantic and of his trekking through the backwoods of the colony – that gives him scientific legitimacy. And, back in London in 1709 to attend to the publication of his book, he even concludes his narrative with the mention of his perceived didactic responsibility and his plans for future trips:

> I do intend (if God permit) by future Voyages (after my Arrival
> in Carolina) to pierce into the Body of the Continent, and what
> Discoveries and Observations I shall, at any time hereafter, make, will
> be communicated to my Correspondents in England to be publish'd.
> (Lawson, 1709/2015: 214)

In contrast to his own (literal) mobility and the potential mobility of would-
be European settlers, Lawson makes the effort to convince his readers of
the relative immobility of American Indians, but the least one can say is that his
position seems ambivalent. He does grant that some of the Indigenous peoples
he encounters in North Carolina seem, over generations, to have migrated great
distances:

> and it seems very probable, that these People might come from
> some Eastern Country; for when you ask them whence their Fore-
> Fathers came, that first inhabited the Country, they will point to
> the Westward and say, Where the Sun sleeps our Forefathers came
> thence, which, at that distance, may be reckon'd amongst the Eastern
> Parts of the World. (Lawson, 1709/2015: 180)

He also concedes that contemporary Native Americans do travel locally as
hunters and in several instances the verbs 'travel' and 'hunt' are found together:
'that they get in different Parts of the Country, where they hunt and travel' or 'In
Travelling and Hunting, they are very indefatigable' (ibid.: 165; 149).

Nevertheless, in the context of mobility for other purposes such as trade,
the Indians appear, in Lawson's view, extremely limited. His argument – at
odds with his general benevolent and open-minded attitude towards American-
Indians – is perhaps most notable in an early passage in his own travel account.
As he reports it, a group of Indians decide to build an ocean-worthy fleet of
canoes so that they can sail to, and thus trade directly with, merchants in
England. As 'some of the craftiest of them had observ'd, that the Ships came
always in at one Place, which made them very confident that Way was the exact
Road to England (ibid.: 14), they will thereby make some 'twenty times the Value
for every Pelt they sold Abroad, in Consideration of what Rates they sold for at
Home' (ibid.). After deciding to undertake such a voyage in the first place, they
divide the labour for building and provisioning a fleet of large canoes, and they set
out to cross the Atlantic. Lawson describes their attempt as naïf and ill-fated:

> The Wind presenting, they set up their Mat-Sails, and were scarce
> out of Sight, when there rose a Tempest, which, […] it is supposed,
> […] carried one Part of these Indian Merchants by Way of the other
> World, whilst the others were taken up at Sea, by an English Ship,
> and sold for Slaves to the Islands. The Remainder are better satisfied
> with their Imbecilities in such an Undertaking, nothing affronting
> them more than to rehearse their Voyage to England. (Lawson,
> 1709/2015: 14)

In short, nothing is more an affront to them now than the thought of making such an attempt again. The effect of this seemingly satirical description of the attempted voyage is to render the Indians naïf, certainly, but also to suggest that they are as incapable and as immobile as they are ignorant.

This particular passage stands of course in direct contrast to the narrator's representation of his own literal mobility, his 'thousand miles travel *among* the Indians', and it also stands in contrast to the potential mobility of European settlers. Immediately juxtaposed to the account of the Indians' failed undertaking is the account of the successful transplanting of a group of French settlers. About seventy French families, Lawson writes, have successfully emigrated and are 'living very conveniently […]; decently and happily' (Lawson, 1709/2015: 14)

> The French being a temperate industrious People, some of them bringing very little of Effects, yet, by their Endeavors and mutual Assistance, amongst themselves… have outstripped our English… Tis admirable to see what Time and Industry will (with God's Blessing) effect'. (Lawson, 1709/2015: 15)

By juxtaposing the accounts of Indians with those of the French emigrants, Lawson implies how far these European settlers have outstripped the American Indians, people who are unable to work for their own profit because they are unable to travel themselves. In this sense, mobility, literal mobility like Lawson's own, enables the settlers to 'arrive to very splendid Conditions' (ibid.), unattainable without such mobility and thus out of the reach of what he presents as imbecilic Indians. Furthermore, by presenting the Native Americans as naïf and lacking significant mobility, Lawson implies that the Indians pose no threat to 'mobile' settlers; they are essentially harmless, are often described as 'friendly' (ibid.: 74) or 'docile' (ibid.: 75) and pose neither threat nor impediment to European emigration and settlement. Lawson's rhetoric is perfectly logical and appropriate, given that one of the author's goals is to encourage emigration to North Carolina.

THE PROMOTION OF EMIGRATION TO NORTH CAROLINA

In Britain, after Cromwell's Commonwealth, Charles II took the throne in 1660. As a reward to those who had stayed loyal to him during his exile and as a way of repaying his debts, he granted land in America to eight noblemen, who had approached him for a grant. The first charter was issued on March 24, 1663 and granted them all the land between 31° and 36° N from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Two years later, the tract of land was further enlarged by the second charter to include the Albemarle region already settled by Virginians, as well as additional territory south into Florida, including the Spanish town of St. Augustine. Of course, as the width of North America was at the time

unknown, the Western boundaries of that huge territory remained purely theoretical. These eight men, who became known as the Lords Proprietors were William Berkeley (former governor of Virginia); John Colleton (a West Indies planter); Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon; George Monck, duke of Albemarle; William, Earl Craven; John, Lord Berkeley; Anthony Ashley Cooper; and Sir George Carteret. As the ruling landlords of the colony, they were anxious to attract more settlers in order to farm the land and secure it against possible encroachments from the Spaniards:

> settlers had already begun moving from Virginia into the area around Albermarle Sound, though settlement farther south had so far been inhibited by the threat of Spanish retaliation and the presence of numerous American Indian nations. (Middleton, 1996: 137)

Beside, the Privy Council had also decided that grants 'would lapse unless settlement was effected within a reasonable period' (Middleton, 1996: 138), which provided a further motive for encouraging emigration to the Carolinas. Emigration and settlement were still timid in the Northern part of the colony in spite of the publication of pamphlets such as Horne's, mentioned above. Besides, it must be noted that North Carolina did not exist at the time as a full-fledged political entity. It came into existence in 1729 when the proprietary colony was partitioned into two royal colonies. To inspect the land and promote settlement, the Proprietors appointed Lawson as deputy Surveyor in 1705, and then Surveyor General in 1708 – he worked with Edward Moseley – to survey the controversial boundary between Virginia and Carolina (Latham and Samford, 2011: 255), thereby granting an official function to his mobility. It is thus no surprise that he should frame the overall narrative of his explorations by referring to them at the beginning and the end. Indeed, his book is dedicated to them:

> I here present Your Lordships with a Description of your own Country, for the most part, in her Natural Dress, and therefore less vitiated with Fraud and Luxury. A Country, whose Inhabitants may enjoy a Life of the greatest Ease and Satisfaction, and pass away their Hours in solid Contentment. (Lawson, 1967: Dedication)

Their presence provides the narrative with a form of institutional structure. One of the primary assets of the colony, its religious freedom, is stressed from the start: 'It being the Lords Proprietors Intent, that the Inhabitants of Carolina should be as free from Oppression, as any in the Universe' (Lawson, 1709/2015: 7). Similarly, the auxiliary material that closes the book is the 2nd Charter, granted by Charles II to the Lords Proprietors in 1665. Emigration to the colony can thus take place under the benevolent gaze of the British Crown and the aristocracy.

In addition to the religious freedom granted by the Lords Proprietors and noted from the start as an incentive to emigration, Lawson repeatedly uses the personification of the colony and the description of nature, its resources and beauties to entice new settlers. In this sense, his account is very typical of other

such promotional tracts. Descriptions of the loveliness of the landscape pervade the whole narrative:

> most of the Plantations in Carolina naturally enjoy a noble Prospect of large and spacious Rivers, pleasant Savanna's, and fine Meadows, with their green Liveries, interwoven with beautiful Flowers, of most glorious Colours, which the several Seasons afford. (Lawson, 1709/2015: 55)

Similarly, the colony is presented as a land of plenty, as game is readily available: '[…] we were entertained with a fat, boil'd Goose, Venison, Racoon, and ground Nuts' (ibid.: 18) and the abundant cattle do not need fodder because the fields are 'green all the Year' (ibid.). This abundance is due to the climate of North Carolina being on the whole very mild: 'this happy Climate, visited by so mild Winters, is much warmer than the Northern Plantations' (ibid.: 142). Aware that many of the prospective settlers are farmers, Lawson also takes great pains to praise the quality of the soil, fertile 'beyond Expectation' (ibid.: 55) and whose yield is much greater than any European soil: 'producing every thing that was planted, to a prodigious Increase' (ibid.). In spite of his plea of impartiality, he even actually grossly exaggerates the quantities of wheat or Indian corn (maize) that can supposedly be expected by any moderately successful farmer: 'The Planters possessing all these Blessings, and the Produce of great Quantities of Wheat and Indian Corn, in which this Country is very fruitful' (ibid.: 55). As W. H. Lindgren III states, 'Lawson's agricultural statements seem to deserve considerable skepticism from the modern reader' (Lindgren, 1972: 334) since he systematically presents good land as 'normative' instead of 'possible' (ibid.: 339) and doubles the wildest possibilities of Indian corn production (ibid.: 337). This particular case seems to exemplify one of the problems posed by travel writing, i.e. its verisimilitude: 'The boundary between fact and fiction – that is, the travelogue's commitment to 'truth' while at the same time being 'entertaining' [or in Lawson's case, convincing] and thereby susceptible to embellishment – has always been a precarious one.' (Kuehn and Smethurst, 2015: 4). As if the beauty and fertility of North Carolina were not reason enough for settling, its subsoil is also potentially superlatively rich: lead, copper, and silver have been discovered and are very conveniently neglected by the Indians ('the Indians never look for any thing lower than the Superficies of the Earth', Lawson, 1709/2015: 141), and a whole host of other minerals are there, waiting to be dug out of the earth: 'the best of Minerals (which) are not Wanting in North Carolina' (ibid.: 72).

The hope for a social mobility resulting from this spatial, physical mobility is perceptible throughout the entire account, and Lawson makes it very explicit that because land can be purchased cheaply, in contrast to land in Britain or even elsewhere in America, anyone can thus become a landowner and reach a higher status:

> Land being sold at a much cheaper Rate there, than in any other Place in America, and may, as I suppose, be purchased of the Lords-

> Proprietors here in England, or of the Governor there for the time being, by any that shall have a mind to transport themselves to that Country. (Lawson, 1709/2015: 144)

The land is rich and available to anyone willing to transport himself, to anyone, that is, willing to make manifest his potential for mobility. Not only does Lawson praise the availability and relatively low price of land in North Carolina, he also repeatedly stresses its advantages compared even with Maryland and Virginia: the land is cheaper:

> […] in most Places in Virginia and Maryland, a thousand Acres of good Land, seated on a Navigable Water, will cost a thousand Pounds; whereas, with us, it is at present obtain'd for the fiftieth Part of the Money. (Lawson, 1709/2015: 144)

Moreover, and very important to traders, the mobility of goods and persons remains possible throughout winter and is impeded neither by climatic conditions nor excise duties:

> for we can go out with our Commodities, to any other Part of the West-Indies, or elsewhere, in the Depth of Winter; whereas, those in New-England, New-York, Pennsylvania, and the Colonies to the Northward of us, cannot stir for Ice, but are fast lock'd into their Harbours. Besides, we can trade with South-Carolina, and pay no Duties or Customs, no more than their own Vessels, both North and South being under the same Lords-Proprietors. (Lawson, 1709/2015: 142)

The inevitable conclusion is, of course, that travelling to and settling in North Carolina is the obvious thing to do, and Lawson appeals to people's reason:

> any rational Man that has a mind to purchase Land in the Plantations for a Settlement of himself and Family, will soon discover the Advantages that attend the Settlers and Purchasers of Land in Carolina, above all other Colonies in the English Dominions in America. (Lawson, 1709/2015: 144)

All these material arguments were enough for Lawson to persuade a group of Swiss and Palatine immigrants to move to North Carolina. This immigration plan was headed by Christoph Von Graffenried, a Swiss Baron who, with Lawson, co-founded the North Carolina town of New Bern, on the Neuse River in 1710. The Swiss immigrants were in search of a better life while the Germans were fleeing their war-torn country, especially during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). Lawson was convinced that 'as soon as any of those Parts are seated by the Switzers, a great many Britains will strive to live amongst them, for the Benefit of the sweet Air and healthful Climate, which that Country affords' (ibid.: 176).

But as appealing as Lawson's North Carolina is made to appear, there is more in Lawson's book than mere literal, material arguments for making the area attractive to settlers. Lawson recounts the land's symbolic appeals as well.

FIGURATIVE MOBILITY

Even though Roderick Nash asserts that wilderness 'was the basic ingredient of American civilization' (Nash, 1982: XI) and that 'the first white visitors (to America) regarded wilderness as a moral and physical wasteland fit only for conquest and fructification in the name of progress, civilization, and Christianity' (Nash, 1982: XII), the portrait Lawson makes of sparsely inhabited North Carolina certainly evokes different images. The colony he depicts is indeed not an awful, hostile wilderness peopled with wild human and non-human creatures. On his trek in the backcountry, the nature he describes is never 'a cursed land' (Nash, 1982: 14) but rather a land of plenty – with its promise of a readily-available and nearly inexhaustible abundance of resources. He does not hide the presence of dangerous species or of Indians, but even this does not seem to come in contradiction with the Garden of Eden he depicts. Indeed, the harmful species that take centre stage are snakes – he lists fifteen of them and gives pride of place to the rattle snake (Lawson, 1709/2015: 111–116) – and he repeatedly calls the Indians 'heathens' or 'savages' (for instance Lawson, 1709/2015: 164; 173; 4; 17; 44…), reinforcing the Judeo-Christian reading of his description, reminiscent of the land of plenty mentioned in the Book of Jeremiah, 2:7:

> […] such a Place lay fairly to be a *delicious* Country, being placed in that Girdle of the World which affords *Wine, Oil, Fruit, Grain, and Silk*, with other *rich Commodities*, besides *a sweet Air, moderate Climate, and fertile Soil*; these are the *Blessings* (under *Heaven's Protection*) that spin out the Thread of Life to its utmost Extent, and crown our Days with the *Sweets of Health and Plenty* […]. (Lawson, 1709/2015: 70, my emphasis)

His description corroborates Nash's assumption that the common feature of all paradises is 'a bountiful and beneficent natural setting in accord with the original meaning of the word in Persian-luxurious garden. A mild climate constantly prevailed. Ripe fruit drooped from every bough…' (Nash, 1982: 9). And indeed, Lawson's North Carolina seems to combine all the tropes of an earthly paradise. Even the name of the Cape Fear River that flows between what is now New Hanover and Brunswick counties is changed to Cape Fair, to enhance its beauty instead of its dangers… Not only is the land the author describes beautiful and fertile beyond belief, its abundance requires very little work, if any at all. Lawson mentions that the land 'with moderate Industry, will afford all the Necessaries of Life' (Lawson, 1709/2015: 70), but he soon discards the very notion of work, as if the earth were rich enough to take care of itself:

> The Planter sits contented at home, whilst his Oxen thrive and grow fat, and his Stocks daily increase; The fatted Porkets and Poultry are easily rais'd to his Table, and his Orchard affords him Liquor, so that he eats, and drinks away the Cares of the World, and desires no greater Happiness, than that which he daily enjoys. (Lawson, 1709/2015: 76)

In short, in Lawson's imagery, the earth is more nurturing mother than fierce wilderness. As a result, the greatest danger settlers face is not exhaustion from hard work, but succumbing to an easy, idle life, in which they could ultimately lose their manly virtues: 'The easy Way of living in that plentiful Country, makes a great many Planters very negligent' (Lawson, 1709/2015: 73).

In the meantime, their wives take over: 'The Women are the most industrious Sex in that Place, and, by their good Houswifry, make a great deal of Cloath of their own Cotton, Wool and Flax' (ibid.). In her paper entitled 'The Most Industrious Sex: John Lawson's Carolina Women Domesticate the Land', Kathy O. McGill argues that masculine indolence in America could be 'interpreted as effeminacy' (McGill, 2011: 281) and that there was a 'fear that gender roles might be subject to inversion in the colonies […]' (ibid.). Lawson's position, however, seems to be less contentious: while acknowledging that Carolina women are equal or perhaps even superior to men in terms of activity, his position is to be understood against the backdrop of Carolina as an edenic country. He indeed develops an analogy between the fertility of the land and women's fecundity: 'The Women are very fruitful; most Houses being full of Little Ones.' (Lawson, 1709/2015: 74) Lawson even insists that women who could not have children in Europe see their fecundity return once in North Carolina, as if the land could have an impact on their fecundity: 'It has been observ'd, that Women long marry'd, and without Children, in other Places, have remov'd to Carolina, and become joyful Mothers.' (Lawson, 1709/2015: 74) According to Lawson, they manage, just like Indian women, to give birth without experiencing the pain of labor: 'They have very easy Travail in their Child-bearing, in which they are so happy, as seldom to miscarry' (ibid.). These elements seem to indicate that women, in North Carolina, are no longer the fallen creatures of the post-lapsarian world, meant to experience pain in childbirth, as in Genesis 3:16: 'To the woman he said, "I will surely multiply your pain in childbearing; in pain you shall bring forth children (…)".' As McGill writes, '(woman) was an equal partner and helpmate, and a being whom God had created precisely because He considered her necessary to Adam's existence' (McGill, 2011: 295). Similarly, Southern men's indolence is attributable to the mild climate, so that they do not have to toil as Adam was made to after his eviction from the Garden of Eden ('In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread' Gen 3:19). The portrait of North Carolina that Lawson draws in some sections of his book is thus that of a promised land, 'an Eden so forgiving that no human foible can ruin it' (Thomson Shields, 2011: 85). By promoting a literal, spatial mobility to that supposedly edenic country, not only is he propounding access to wealth and upward social mobility, but also – and probably even more importantly in a still deeply-religious society – some form of temporal mobility, enabling a journey away from the Old (fallen) World and a return to a pre-lapsarian state where mankind was free from the burden of daily labour and where a form of gender equality could be achieved.

CONCLUSION

Mobility is of course a key notion to understand the building of colonial America, one without which – for better and for worse – the discovery, settlement and mapping of what was considered by Europeans as a virgin land would not have taken place. As such, mobility meant, and still means, power, especially power on one's environment. In its promise of the good life available to those mobile enough to take advantage of it, in his *New Voyage to Carolina*, John Lawson echoes previous writers such as Richard Hakluyt, who claims that Sir Walter Raleigh could not be taken away from the delights of Virginia (Kolodny, 1984: 3), and Samuel Purchas who promotes the settlement and the potential of a plentiful virgin land. At the same time, he anticipates later naturalist travel writers, like William Bartram, whose works also document the unique natural abundance evident in the American southeast. The mobility of European settlers came to be synonymous with the forced mobility and/or death of innumerable Indians, while Lawson himself met an untimely end at the hands of the Tuscaroras while on a trip up the Neuse River from New Bern in 1711. To thousands of European immigrants, however, mobility symbolized the hope for a better life. The truth concerning the hard work of farming in the New World might have proved startlingly more difficult than Lawson promises, but rhetorically speaking, North Carolina was easily 'the best Country [he] could go to.'

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BOOK ANALYZED

Lawson, J. (1709/2015) *A New Voyage to Carolina*. Middletown: Readaclassic.

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'SCHOLARS THESE DAYS ARE LIKE THE ERRANT KNIGHTS OF OLD': ARTHURIAN ALLUSIONS IN DAVID LODGE'S *SMALL WORLD*

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Abstract. David Lodge's novel *Small World* (1984) builds on a wide range of literary allusions, most notably on allusions to medieval and modern versions of the Grail quest and Arthurian literature. Using the methodology of historically informed literary criticism, the present paper showcases Lodge's employment of key medieval topoi, especially of the Grail quest, in portraying the academic community of *Small World*.

Key words: Arthurian literature, Grail quest, David Lodge, chivalry, academic community

David Lodge's *Small World* (1984), like many of his other novels, presents the reader with a wealth of literary allusions. In the 1989 interview with Raymond Thompson, when questioned about his use of allusion, Lodge states: 'I write to communicate, but like most literary writers I don't display all my goods on the counter. The books are written in a layered style so that they have coherence and comprehensibility on the surface' (Thompson, 1999). In *Small World,* the most notable allusions are to the Grail quest, with particular references to T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922) and Jessie Weston's *From Ritual to Romance* (1920).

The present paper examines Lodge's employment of medieval topoi, especially of the quest, in depicting the academic community of *Small World*. The discussion begins with issues of genre and community as a preliminary to exploring Lodge's representation of the Grail quest in *Small World*. It is argued that Lodge's Grail quest has multiple meanings: Lodge describes the quests pursued by individual characters, but he also presents the common goal of the entire academic community, that of finding a productive way to study literature and avoid the impasse of literary theory divorced from the enjoyment of literature itself. On a more general level, the Grail quest in *Small World* is associated with seeking the intensity of experience, a pursuit in which literature, and art itself, can help both academics and the general audience.

The discussion focuses on several episodes which are important in the characters' individual 'quests', notably Philip Swallow's 'story within a story'

and Persse McGarrigle's question at the MLA conference. Discussion of particular episodes showcases the similarities and differences between the medieval Grail quest as it appears, for instance, in the so-called Vulgate cycle of romances, also known as the *Lancelot-Grail cycle* (*Queste del Saint Graal*) and in Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur* ('Tale of the Sankgreal'), and the contemporary quests of the *Small World* characters. In fact, Lodge includes a variety of literary allusions in the novel, referring to medieval romances – Chrétien de Troyes's *Le Roman de Perceval, ou le Conte du Graal* and Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, among others – as well as post-medieval romances and literature that make use of Arthurian motifs, such as Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* and T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*. In an interview with R. Thompson, Lodge explains that *The Waste Land* and Jessie Weston's study *From Ritual to Romance*, used by Eliot for his poem, were his primary sources for the Grail quest motif in *Small World*. According to Lodge, he 'concentrated upon the Grail legend seen through the lens of Jessie Weston and T. S. Eliot' (Thompson, 1999). However, he acknowledges being familiar with medieval romances, such as *King Horn*, and with scholarly studies of romance, including Patricia Parker's *Inescapable Romance* (1979) and Northrop Frye's works, when writing *Small World* (Thompson, 1999). Lodge uses the Grail quest as a structural motif to convey his view of the global academic community in the 1980s, which, as Lodge remarks, represents society in microcosm: 'The university is a kind of microcosm of society at large, in which the principles, drives and conflicts that govern collective human life are displayed and may be studied in a clear light and on a manageable scale' (Lodge, 1986: 169). Indeed, his novel describes a quest for meaning; this quest is set in the context of literary studies, where the very idea of meaning is under threat from new literary theories, post-structuralism and deconstruction.

Small World, subtitled 'An Academic Romance', belongs to a hybrid genre: it is both a romance and a campus novel. Lodge explains that he decided to add the subtitle in order to prepare the reader for the (occasionally) unrealistic development of its plot (Vianu, 2006: 226). Accordingly, he states that *Small World* is 'a novel that consciously imitates the interlacing plots of chivalric romances, so there is an intertextual justification, too, for the multiplicity of coincidences in the story' (Lodge, 1992a: 152). Likewise, Rubin, reviewing the romance, notes Lodge's employment of 'traditional techniques and devices, familiar to readers of Ariosto, Boiardo, Tasso, and Spenser' (Rubin, 1985: 23). In fact, Lodge makes use of techniques that date back to medieval romance, including Malory's *Morte Darthur* and Malory's French source, the Vulgate cycle of romances.

Meanwhile, *Small World* is not only a romance but also a campus novel, usually classified, alongside *Changing Places* (1975) and *Nice Work* (1989), as part of Lodge's 'campus trilogy'. The reasons for grouping the three novels together include the continuity of setting (Rummidge, a fictional place, inspired by the city of Birmingham, where Lodge used to teach) and characters (most notably Morris Zapp and Philip Swallow). However, none of these novels is set

on a single campus. *Changing Places* is subtitled 'Tale of Two Campuses', and the action takes place simultaneously not only on two different campuses, but on two continents, at Rummidge in Britain and at Euphoria in the United States. In turn, *Nice Work* is built on the conflict between the factory and the university, between two cultures, industry and academe, with its main characters Vic Wilcox and Dr Robyn Penrose representing the respective milieus.

Small World can be called a campus novel in the sense that it is set in the world-wide space of a 'global campus'. Lodge draws attention to the global nature of contemporary academic life in the conversation between Morris Zapp and Hilary Swallow, Zapp highlighting that

> 'The day of the single, static campus is over.'
> 'And the single, static campus novel with it, I suppose?'
> 'Exactly! Even two campuses wouldn't be enough.' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 63)

Zapp also remarks 'The world is a global campus' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 64). Earlier in the novel, Zapp explains to Persse McGarrigle, who is a 'conference virgin' (ibid.: 18), that 'As long as you have access to a telephone, a Xerox machine, and a conference grant fund, you're OK, you're plugged into the only university that really matters – the global campus' (ibid.: 44).

In fact, somewhat qualifying Zapp's claim that the old-fashioned campus novel is no longer possible to write, *Small World* contains many features that relate it to classic representatives of the genre, as B. Bergonzi notes in commenting on Lodge's contribution to the campus novel tradition (Bergonzi, 1995: 14). Early in the text, Zapp quotes from one of the first campus narratives, F. M. Cornford's 1908 pamphlet on university politics, *Microcosmographia Academica* (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 42). Elsewhere, Lodge describes *Lucky Jim* as 'the first British campus novel', as different from the Varsity novel about the life of Oxford dons, to which genre Cornford's *Microcosmographia* belongs. Thus, in his 'Introduction' to Kingsley Amis's *Lucky Jim*, Lodge cites the main themes of 'most campus novels, British and American' as being 'academic politics in the broader sense, intellectual competition and intrigue, taboo sexual relations between staff and students, and the social and educational dynamics of the seminar and tutorial' (Lodge, 1992b: viii). Moreover, Lodge notes that the narrative interest of the campus novel derives either from the struggle for power or from amorous intrigue: 'Inside, as outside, the academy, the principal determinants of action are sex and the will to power, and a typology of campus fiction might be based on a consideration of the relative dominance of these two drives in the story' (Lodge, 1986: 170). In *Small World*, the two topics are present, so that individual characters are engaged in the pursuit of power, women or both: Persse's quest is for a girl, Angelica, and, later, Cheryl, while most of the other academics' quest is for the prestigious UNESCO chair of literary criticism. When Zapp quotes Cornford's *Microcosmographia*, he chooses a passage about 'young [men] in a hurry' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 44), a class of men who seem to be the academic

counterparts of the medieval 'young', that is, unmarried knights. Zapp postulates that 'In modern academic society they [young men in a hurry] take away your research grants. And your women, too, of course' (ibid.: 42). Lodge's explanation for the popularity of literary theory in American academic society is enlightening in respect of Zapp's mode of thinking:

> There is surely a hidden link between the professionalism of the American academic world and the eagerness with which it has devoured, domesticated and developed European theory. The very difficulty and esotericism of theory make it all the more effective for purposes of professional identification, apprenticeship and assessment. It sorts out the men from the boys or, to put it another way, speeds the tribal process by which boys become young men and push out the old men. (Lodge, 1990: 181)

As Lodge notes in his review of Imre Saluzinsky's book of interviews *Criticism in Society* (1987) 'The world of American academic criticism is a small, insulated one, but it mirrors the macro-society in being highly competitive. In both worlds it is possible to succeed spectacularly, because it is also possible to fail' (Lodge, 1990: 176). In another essay, Lodge argues that the campus novel represents society in miniature, so that the situations described in *Small World*, the struggles for power and success, apply not only to the 1980s academic community, but to the entire western society of the 1980s (Lodge, 1986: 169).

The world Lodge describes is dominated by the struggle for power in professional and erotic spheres. This struggle for power is one of the reasons for associating the *Small World* academic community with medieval chivalry, especially with King Arthur's Round Table. Lodge explains that he uses the motif of errant knights as a unifying metaphor for the novel and that he first conceived of the idea after watching the film *Excalibur* (Thompson, 1999; Lodge, 1986: 72–73). In fact, the film offers a stereotypic image of medieval violence, which does not correspond exactly to the tone of medieval romances, even to Malory's *Morte Darthur*, the violence of which has been studied in some detail by medievalists, notably A. Lynch, who comments that the romance 'consists mainly of descriptions of martial combat' (Lynch, 1997: 28). Moreover, Lynch highlights that the 'violence of war and other forms of fighting is a frequent feature of *Le Morte Darthur*' (Lynch, 2000: 24). In this respect, as in many others, Lodge's Grail owes more to Eliot's *The Waste Land* than to the film. Indeed, Lodge mentions that he reread Jessie Weston and decided to incorporate information on her and Eliot in the novel (Thompson, 1999). Only the comic medieval banquet episode, with 'lasses' in low-cut garments and obscene songs performed by a jester, reflects the popular stereotype of medieval England, stretched to the extreme:

> It was no great sacrifice to be on the margins of this particular feast. The mead tasted like tepid sugar-water, the medieval fare consisted of fried chicken and jacket potatoes eaten without the convenience

of knives and forks, and the wenches were the usual Martineau Hall waitresses who had been bribed or bullied into wearing long dresses with plunging necklines. (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 53)

The academic community is compared to Arthurian knighthood on two levels: comically, the academics in this scene become part of Arthur's retinue when they attend this down-market pastiche of a banquet and, on a more serious note, when they become engaged in their various quests.

The quest that most academics, except Persse, enter is for the UNESCO chair of literary criticism. This quest, remote as it may seem from the spiritual quest of the French *Queste* and Malory's 'Sankgreal', brings to mind these medieval texts, because the quest of Lodge's academics is instigated by discontent and by desire to gain fame in this world. Accordingly, as the UNESCO representative, Jacques Textel, observes, 'top academics are the least contented people in the world. They always think the grass is greener in the next field' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 163). His remark echoes the dream seen by one of the more worldly knights in the *Queste*, Sir Hector, in which bulls depart to seek richer pastures; the dream is interpreted by a hermit, who explains that the bulls represent Arthur's knights, dissatisfied with the glory available at the court and aspiring, vainly, to witness the Grail mysteries (Pauphilet, 1923: 149, 155–157). The quest of medieval worldly knights in the *Queste* and the 'Sankgreal' is doomed to failure because they are bent on increasing their social glory rather than on seeking salvation and the revelation of divine mysteries.

Likewise, the efforts of such high-profile academics as Morris Zapp, Rudyard Parkinson, Fulvia Morgana, Siegfrid von Turpitz, Michel Tardieu and Philip Swallow come to nothing because they want professional, worldly fame for themselves, rather than being concerned with the quest for truth. Presumably, the 'truth' of literary texts can never be established once and for all – not because, as Zapp intimates, 'it would have eventually put [them] all out of business' or because 'every decoding is another encoding' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 25), but because, if all the meanings of all literary texts *could* be explained, literature, as well as literary criticism, would be 'dead'. When Persse asks his apparently naïve question at the MLA conference, about what would happen if scholars agreed on a single theory of literary criticism, he strikes at the heart of the problem: no single theory can explain all possible implications of all literary texts. For Zapp, deconstruction is the theory most likely to bring about the débâcle of literary studies: 'It's kind of exciting – the last intellectual thrill left. Like sawing through the branch you're sitting on' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 118). However, Zapp becomes disillusioned with deconstruction after experiencing the threat of being 'deconstructed' by kidnappers. The question of literary theory is not resolved in a satisfactory way by the end of *Small World* – it manifestly cannot be – and in this respect the novel resembles the medieval Grail quest romances, where the Grail is taken from this world after the quest is accomplished, so that the reader remains ignorant of the mysteries the Grail contains.

In difference from medieval Grail quest romances, there is more than one Grail in Lodge's *Small World*. Different quests conducted by the characters in *Small World* indicate the complex nature of Lodge's body of academic 'chivalry' because the Grail each character pursues depends on his or her ambitions. Lodge himself stated in an interview that he uses the Arthurian framework as a metaphor for academic activity because of the similarity between contemporary academics venturing tirelessly to conferences, the modern equivalent of pilgrimages and quests, and medieval knights errant (Thompson, 1999). As a spiritual search, the Grail quest is of course similar to a pilgrimage, and, indeed, *Small World* begins with an allusion to Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*.

The parallel between academics and Arthurian knights is introduced overtly in the first part of the book by Morris Zapp in a conversation with Hilary Swallow: 'Scholars these days are like the errant knights of old, wandering the ways of the world in search of adventure and glory' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 63). In addition to Zapp's early reference to contemporary academics as errant knights, *Small World* includes comments which bring the Grail quest to the fore explicitly. In two conversations with Miss Maiden, Persse mentions his quest for Angelica, and these conversations establish a link between contemporary 'knights' and their various Grails – professional, personal and spiritual. Of all the *Small World* academics, Persse is the only one for whom the private Grail, his beloved Angelica, is more important than his professional career. Although Persse's attachment to the enigmatic and elusive Angelica is rash and immature, he makes a significant point when remarking in a conversation with Miss Maiden that the Grail is different for everyone: 'For Eliot it was religious faith, but for another it might be fame, or the love of a good woman' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 12). As is further shown at the end of the paper, Persse's ability to seek the private Grail of affection enables the attainment of the public Grail and restores the Waste Land of literary theory to fertility. Indeed, F. Holmes maintains that to the two different quests within the fictional framework of *Small World*, the quest for the UNESCO chair of literary criticism and Persse's quest for Angelica, there can be added a third quest, the quest of the reader trying to discover the novel's unifying principle (Holmes, 1990: 47–57).

Remarkably, the romantically-minded Persse is not the only character in *Small World* to make the connection between the pursuit of the Grail and the character's own experiences and aspirations. Philip Swallow, recollecting of the plane crash in which he could have died several years ago, makes several medieval allusions and comments, indirectly, on what the Grail quest means both for him and for the academic community in general. This episode sheds light on what exactly the Grail quest is for Lodge's academic 'knights' and how some characters in *Small World* identify their adventures with the adventures common in chivalric romance, thus contributing to the self-reflexive nature of Lodge's novel.

For Swallow, proximity to death increases the intensity of experience, though he appreciates it only when the actual danger to his life is removed: 'Intensity of

experience is what we're looking for, I think. […] I found it in America in '69 […] the mixture of pleasure and danger and freedom – and the sun' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 66). Swallow has experienced this intensity in the previous novel of the trilogy, *Changing Places*, in which he spends a term at the University of Euphoric State, coming to enjoy the American way of life, the atmosphere of upheaval at the university and the company of Zapp's wife, Desirée. Following the mock medieval banquet at the beginning of *Small World*, Swallow returns home dejected at the failure of his conference, and Zapp wonders if Swallow is 'always like this after a medieval banquet' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 66). It is possible that the evocation of King Arthur's Round Table and the contrast between genuine medieval romance and its clownish re-enactment by 'Ye Merrie Olde Round Table' team contributes to Swallow's depression. This contrast may remind him that his own life, the life of an obscure professor at a redbrick university, is closer to the farce of the cheapened inauthentic medieval banquet rather than to the glory of medieval romance, whereas earlier he *had* experienced adventures. These adventures, though not exactly heroic, were occasions which seemed briefly to approach the intensity of experience associated with chivalry, such as successive encounters with death on battle-field and with love in castles.

Thus, Swallow tells Zapp a story of what happened to him years ago, when he was only beginning to travel as a visiting lecturer on British Council tours. Flying back home, he and his neighbour notice that one of the plane's engines is on fire. The plane returns to the airport it left at Genoa and makes an emergency landing. Swallow telephones the British Council representative Simpson who takes Swallow to his house for the night. Swallow dines with Simpson and his wife, Joy, and, after Simpson leaves on a work trip, Swallow makes fervent love to Joy. The next morning he departs without having an opportunity to speak privately to Joy. Later, Swallow learns that the Simpsons died in a plane crash. The story is narrated in a rather literary manner, commented on by Zapp, and Swallow acknowledges that once he wrote it down for his 'own satisfaction' (ibid.: 72). Thus, the reader is aware that Swallow's story within the story lacks immediacy, because Swallow must have put much consideration into selecting and wording the relevant details, for instance, when he speaks of 'taking an irrevocable leap into moral space, pulling on the zip-tab at her throat like a parachute ripcord, and falling with her to the floor' (ibid.). In other words, the story renders not simply Swallow's experience but his understanding of this adventure and the way he wants to see himself within it. Indeed, the narrative is saturated with a flavour of medieval romance in its structure and in separate details. Like the romance knights errant, who enjoys the favours of a lady or damsel after a violent battle, Swallow feels an urge to make love to 'any woman' after his narrow escape (ibid.): 'It was as if, having passed through the shadow of death, I had suddenly recovered an appetite for life I thought I had lost for ever' (ibid.: 71). Later he explains that by making love to Joy, '[he] felt [he] was defying death, fucking [his] way out of the grave' (ibid.: 74). The episode can be explained, alternatively, in a more modern way, so that Swallow would appear not like a knight but like the hero

of an adventure story, an academic James Bond, who survives mortal danger and seduces his attractive hostess.

Early in his narrative, Swallow sees himself as a bold, self-possessed man, making a point of his English 'sangfroid' as opposed to the emotional response of the Italian passengers (ibid.: 70). However, the impression of Swallow as a brave knight is undermined, when he confesses to feeling a double unfairness in the episode of the emergency landing: it is unfair that he should die, and it is unfair that he is one of the last passengers to leave the plane (ibid.: 69, 70). When he comes to Simpson's flat, Swallow notices that his sensations have been exacerbated by the proximity of death. He feasts on Parma ham, cake and tea, as medieval knights feasted in a castle, prior to making love to his beautiful 'chatelaine': 'The food pierced me with its exquisite flavours, the tea was fragrant as ambrosia, and the woman sitting opposite to me seemed unbearably beautiful, all the more because she was totally unconscious of her attractions for me' (ibid.: 71). Indeed, Swallow's description of Joy echoes both medieval romance and its interpretation from James Frazer and Jessie Weston onwards as a fertility myth. Swallow explicitly associates Joy's long gown with a medieval dress (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 72) and Joy herself with a feminine deity, a life-giving principle: 'I was moaning and raving into her ear […] how I felt reconnected to the earth and the life force and all kinds of romantic nonsense' (ibid.: 73). Joy's name is of course symbolic, as, according to Swallow, she teaches him to enjoy life once more.

When Swallow meets Joy again, he tries to recreate the experience, despite Zapp's warning that habit would eventually destroy the excitement he felt. Swallow now has, less romantically, to choose between, on the one hand, breaking the rules of propriety by abandoning his wife and, on the other, succumbing to the ordinariness of his family routine, which would drag on to his eventual death. Before meeting Joy again, he muses on the sadness of finishing his life in retirement and impotence:

> Was it, perhaps, time to call a halt to his travels, abandon the quest for intensity of experience he had burbled on about to Morris Zapp, […] settle for routine and domesticity, for safe sex with Hilary and the familiar round of the Rummidge academic year, […] until it was time to retire, retire from both sex and work? Followed in due course by retirement from life. (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 212)

Like Arthur Kingfisher, whose belief in the connection between sexual and intellectual powers is discussed later on in the article, Swallow associates sex and career. Eventually, he acknowledges that he is not equal to the challenge of acting as a dashing knight and tireless lover, so he leaves Joy and returns to Hilary.

Commenting on Swallow's experience, Zapp suggests that the action of breaking away from habit is accountable for Swallow's 'intensity of experience'. Zapp quotes the Russian Formalist Viktor Shklovsky on the detrimental effects of routine: '*Habit devours objects, clothes, furniture, one's wife and the fear*

of war... Art exists to help us recover the sensation of life' (ibid.: 77). In fact, Zapp misquotes Shklovsky, because the first word of the quotation is 'habitualization' rather than 'habit': Lodge uses the same quotation to comment on the use of defamiliarization for describing execution in *The Modes of Modern Writing* (Lodge, 1977: 13). Habitualization drives Swallow and, possibly, other academics like Zapp, to their round-the-world errantry of conference-hopping and foreign lectures. Conference-going is supposedly an escape from the more dreary routine of teaching and administration, as conferences are associated with pleasure. However, conferences become a habit in themselves for Swallow, and, as he sets out for Turkey, he longs for the warmth of Hilary's embrace.

Ironically, Lodge's scholars of literature, a subject which, like all art, should 'help us recover the sensation of life' (ibid.: 13), are unaffected by the subject of their study. Swallow himself notes that the application of contemporary theory, structuralism and deconstruction in particular, destroys the enjoyment of great literary works and, hence, annihilates their value, an argument with which Lodge appears to sympathise. Literary theory as such may result in imaginative death when elaboration of theory hides from the critic and the reader art and life themselves, as structuralism and deconstruction or, indeed, any theory, might do when taken to an extreme. Accordingly, Lodge cites one of the most radical exponents of structuralism, Roland Barthes, for whom the critic's task 'lies not in the ability to *discover* the work under consideration but, on the contrary, to cover it as completely as possible with one's own language' (Barthes, 1964; cited by Lodge, 1977: 62). Lodge's implication in *Small World* seems to be that recent developments in criticism lead to non-existence, to death in life and that this failure to live authentically leads to stagnation and spiritual death.

At the most general level, *Small World* is about the redemption of humanity through art, in this case through literature and its critical reception and appreciation. This redemption is achieved through the offices of a particular family. Thus, *Small World* is comparable to the late medieval family romances, such as *King Horn*, which, among other themes, engage the issue of redemption. Thus, Lodge cites *King Horn* among the romances with which he was familiar at the time of writing *Small World* (Thompson, 1999). Likewise, in the medieval French *Queste del Saint Graal* and Thomas Malory's *remaniement* of the romance, 'The Tale of the Sankgreal', Galahad heals the ailing king who dies afterwards. In *Small World*, Persse's question at the MLA conference restores life and fertility simultaneously to Kingfisher and the entire critical and creative literary community gathered in New York, some of whose members (Arthur Kingfisher, Desirée Zapp and Raymond Frobisher) have been blocked creatively and made imaginatively sterile. Kingfisher's creative and physical impotence is a motif that could have been suggested to Lodge by the film *Excalibur*. However, the motif has roots in medieval Arthurian romance such as Chrétien's *Conte du Graal* and the anonymous French *Perlesvaus*. In the latter, it is King Arthur who suffers from a condition known as *acedia* or 'volonté délayante', sloth, which paralyses the life of Logres (Koroleva, 2008).

In an interview, Lodge explains that Arthur Kingfisher represents the Fisher King (Thompson, 1999; Bergonzi, 1995: 21). His full name suggests that Kingfisher blends the characters of the Fisher King *and* King Arthur, both of whom suffer from an illness that impedes their creativity and their community's productive functioning. Indeed, Zapp reminds Fulvia Morgana that Kingfisher is the man who personifies in some way the academic community, to which Fulvia replies, with justice, that the discipline must be 'in a very un'ealthy condition' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 119). As will be argued later in this article, Lodge fully shares Fulvia's view about the problems which literary criticism experienced at the time.

Lodge applies the metaphor of the Waste Land being restored to fertility by the Grail knight (Jessie Weston's theory) to Persse's question at the MLA conference, which 'saves' the universe of academic research from being taken over by a single critical theory, be it structuralism, deconstruction or Marxism. According to Lodge, the novel is about overcoming sterility, either intellectual or creative, an idea inspired by Eliot's *The Waste Land* and Weston's study rather than medieval Grail quest romances (Thompson, 1999). The impasse at which literary theory has arrived is metaphorically rendered as the desolation of Logres in Arthurian romance at the time of the Grail quest, but it is treated humorously in relation to several characters. Notably, the Australian scholar Rodney Wainwright becomes creatively blocked, unable to answer his own question 'how can literary criticism maintain its Arnoldian function of identifying the best which has been thought and said, when literary discourse itself has been decentred by deconstructing the traditional concept of the author, of authority?' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 84). The question, with which he struggles throughout the novel, remains unanswered, possibly because Lodge saw no succinct answer to it at the time.

In order to understand the myth of redemption presented by Lodge in *Small World*, it is instructive to consider his writings on the history of literature and criticism before and after the novel's publication. In 1977, Lodge published *The Modes of Modern Writing*, where, in the 'Preface', he confessed to be 'sufficiently conditioned by the Arnoldian tradition in English studies to feel that any critical method should be able to explain why literature is valued (in other words, what is special about it) as well as how it works' (Lodge: 1977, xii). This way Lodge embraces both the more innovative strands of criticism, studying the mechanics by which a text works, and more traditional criticism which leads to the establishment of literary canon. *The Modes of Modern Writing* begins, appropriately, with a chapter seeking to define literature, entitled 'What is Literature?', at the end of which Lodge concludes that any text can 'become literature by responding to a literary reading'. Lodge maintains that only literary texts, with 'the kind of internal foregrounding which makes all [their] components aesthetically relevant' can and should be subject to critical study (Lodge, 1977: 8). Later in the book, in the section 'Problems and Executions', Lodge describes the controversy of competing literary schools, which draw into its orbit authors and critics. Hence, Lodge suggests the need to find 'a single way

of talking about novels, a critical methodology, a poetics or aesthetics of fiction, which can embrace descriptively all the varieties of this kind of writing', which may not be the same as using a single theory to explain all literary texts (ibid.: 52). In *Small World,* the same conflict is presented in fictional terms and, at the end of the novel, an answer to this controversy is promised, but never made explicit, as an answer to Persse's naïve question.

In his collection of critical essays *After Bakhtin: Essays on Fiction and Criticism* (1990), published after *The Modes of Modern Writing*, Lodge appears to have found a theory which would enable the critic to consider the text *as* a heterogeneous construct. In the 'Introduction', Lodge explains that Bakhtin's theory is more adequate for the analysis of fiction, showing that 'there is no such thing as *the* style, *the* language of a novel, because a novel is a medley of many styles, many languages – or, if you like, voices' (Lodge, 1990: 6). The plurality of voices highlighted by Bakhtin's theory ensures the flexibility of critical approach, implying that there would be no single, rigid methodology with which everyone should agree – a problem raised by Persse's question 'What follows if everybody agrees with you?' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 319).

In Logres, war makes the land barren; similarly, in *Small World,* various critical theories are in conflict, and the result of this conflict is a shift of interest from the writing of literature, the object of literary study, to the sterility of literary theory barely comprehensible not only to the lay reader but to the majority of academics themselves. In his critical works, Lodge frequently comments on the trouble of literary theory becoming an elite intellectual game. In his essay 'The Novel Now: Theories and Practices', written three years after *Small World,* Lodge deplores the breakdown of communication between literary scholars and the 'practising writers, literary journalists and the educated common reader' (Lodge, 1990: 11–24). The words could have been uttered by Philip Swallow, who in a conversation with his publisher, Felix Skinner, comments bitterly on the non-academic media's sagging interest in 'lit. crit.':

> 'I'm afraid the Sundays and weeklies don't pay as much attention to lit. crit. as they used to.'
> 'That's because so much of it is unreadable,' said Philip Swallow. '*I* can't understand it, so how can you expect ordinary people to? I mean, that's what my book is *saying*. That's why I *wrote* it.' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 51)

In his critical writing, Lodge acknowledges his own difficulty, similar to Swallow's, in comprehending some of contemporary literary theory: for instance, he admits to finding Roland Barthes's *Elements of Semiology* 'almost incomprehensible' (Lodge, 1977: x). Elsewhere, Lodge reports Frank Kermode's confession of 'having read Derrida's *Grammatologie* with total bafflement only to discover some time later that his copy had many crucial pages missing' (Lodge, 1990: 183).

For Lodge, the exclusive, elitist discourse of literary studies, which is barely understandable to academics themselves, is erroneous and sterile because it

excludes the 'common educated reader' (Lodge, 1990: 24) whom the writer, in theory, is supposed to address and whom literary criticism should help to understand the writer's work. In the article *Structural Defects* for *The Observer* (1980), Lodge wryly comments that

> The exponents of post-structuralism do not even try to be lucid or intelligible. There seem to be two motives for this. The respectable reason is that these writers believe there is no single, simple 'meaning' to be grasped anywhere, at any time, and the experience of reading their books is designed to teach that uncomfortable lesson. The less respectable reason is that their command of a prestigious but impenetrable jargon constitutes power – the power to intimidate their professional peers. (Lodge, [1980] 1986: 114)

Lodge's attack on the elitism of literary studies reverses the traditional message of medieval Grail quest romances, where the Grail is available only to a restricted, hereditary group. Lodge's novel also differs from the medieval Grail quest romances, such as the *Queste* and the *Morte Darthur*, in their interpretation of what achieving the Grail actually means; in medieval romances, the attainment of the Grail leads to an enhanced understanding of divine mysteries, quite beyond the reach of ordinary people. In *Small World*, the idea of the Grail as a mystical union with God is never seriously invoked, and the word is used symbolically to signify one's aspirations. However, at a more general level, the Grail constitutes a redemptive force, which includes creativity and intensity of experience that can be achieved, among other things, through literature. This intensity of experience, which Swallow unsuccessfully seeks, constitutes one's ability to view things freshly, to appreciate the present moment and to live authentically.

It has been mentioned earlier in the article that, for Swallow, intensity of experience is often associated with sexual novelty, as in his sojourn at Euphoria with Desirée or his night in Genoa with Joy. As a result, it may appear that the revival of the Waste Land in *Small World* is connected primarily with sexuality. The sexual preferences and activities of the characters are candidly described, and Arthur Kingfisher himself conceives of intellectual productivity as being directly proportionate to sexual prowess. Nonetheless, the morality of *Small World* is more conventionally Christian and closer to the morality of medieval romance than the flamboyant, carnivalesque picture of sexual promiscuity it initially presents, demonstrating a striking contrast between unabashed reference to sexuality by academics and their innate shyness.

There is a contradiction between the ideology of sexual liberation professed in the academic world and its practice. The only character with integral moral convictions, discourse and practice is Persse, and he is genuinely shocked by the boldness of academic discourse. Persse's naïvety in matters of both literary theory and sexual practice enable him to act as a quester, because innocence is crucial in the Grail quest. Gross notes that Persse's naïvety and lack of experience

in matters of love and sex derives from his prototype, the Perceval of Chrétien de Troyes (Gross: 1985). Indeed, the redemption of the Waste Land achieved by Persse's question in the novel is connected primarily not with sexual, but with emotional and imaginative fertility. By asking the innocent question 'What follows if everyone agrees with you?' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 319), Persse challenges the sterile authority of various academic theories. He humanizes literary study, making it inclusive, open to those scholars who do not adhere to a particular theory and to non-academics, rather than exclusive and elitist.

The asking of the question restores creative capacity to the increasingly sterile academic community, and the change is signalled by a miraculous spell of warm weather in the middle of the bleak American winter, which Kingfisher calls 'halcyon days' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 321): 'The icy wind that had been blowing straight from the Arctic down the skyscraper canyons, numbing the faces and freezing the fingers of pedestrians and street vendors, suddenly dropped, and turned round into the gentlest warm southern breeze' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 320). A number of people at the MLA conference who had been rendered creatively sterile regain their powers to write. Accordingly, Desirée realizes that the book she is writing is not as bad as she feared, so she regains confidence in her creative capacity. Likewise, Frobisher discovers he can begin a novel, which he had been unable to do for years. Both associate their inspiration with the 'extraordinary spell of fine weather' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 330): for instance, Frobisher tells Persse how he 'was sitting in Washington Square […] and basking in this extraordinary sunshine, when suddenly the first sentence of a novel came into [his] head' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 330). Most importantly, Arthur Kingfisher, the leading authority in literary study, who had been unable to conceive a new, original idea, realizes he can work again and decides to take the UNESCO chair himself.

It seems that Persse's ability to experience and express innocent, some-what naïve but genuine affection restores vitality to the academic community. The subsequent sexual activities at the MLA conference are distinguished by their emotional dimension: for instance, Arthur Kingfisher not only regains his sexual prowess, but also becomes engaged to his assistant. The conference ends on a note of reconnection, openness and inclusiveness, while the quester himself, Persse, is about to continue with another quest, this time for the airport employee Cheryl Summerbee. As has already been mentioned, Lodge's novel is open-ended, in accordance with Angelica's theory about the romance being 'in principle endless' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 322): 'No sooner is one crisis in the fortunes of the hero averted than a new one presents itself; no sooner has one mystery been solved than another is raised; no sooner has one adventure been concluded than another begins' (Lodge, [1984] 1995: 322–323). According to this theory, a true quest can never achieve its goal, because achievement of the quest's object would remove the pleasure and vitality of life or, in Angelica's words, 'the satisfaction of [the reader's] need [to 'know'] brings pleasure to an end, just as in psychosexual life the possession of the Other kills Desire'

(Lodge, [1984] 1995: 322). Thus, medieval Grail quest romances, if they are finished, usually end with the quester and the Grail being taken to heaven: at the end of the *Queste* and the 'Sankgreal', the Grail is seized by angelic hands, Galahad and, eventually, also Perceval die, while Bors returns to King Arthur's court with news about the adventures. Such an ending would have hardly satisfied Lodge's modern readers and, in *Small World*, there is a very modern sense that the value of the quest is in the spiritual search itself.

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TEACHING GENRES TO ADVANCED LEARNERS

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Abstract. The paper reflects recent thinking and research on what genre is, what the purposes of teaching genres are, and how genres should be taught. The paper argues a case for the application of prototype theory to teaching genres, especially with a view of teaching genres to advanced learners. To align its method with the objective specified, the paper presents perception-based data from questionnaire responses provided by a study group of 100 University students. Results from a test on both the receptive and productive skills of the respondents in the group are discussed. Final Test results of the experimental group and a control group are contrasted. The general method applied is a quantitative one as it coheres with the basic postulates of Rosch's experimental prototype theory. The research method applied is experiment. The conclusions drawn from the study's data corroborate strongly the applicability of the notion of prototypes to genre teaching.

Key words: genres, genre teaching, prototypes, perception-based study, persuasive power

INTRODUCTION

The fact that the notion of genre has been around ever since ancient Greek literary times is generally accepted as one beyond contention (see e.g. Allen, 1989; Kennedy, 1998; Bawarshi and Reif, 2010). However, there is also little denying that the very term of *genre*, like so many humanities' terms, has not yet found its conclusive definition (see de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981; Hogan, 2003; Herman, 2009; Hyvärinen, 2012). Truly, *genre* is something most educated people are familiar with, i.e. have a working notion of. That, however, far from suffices in an academic effort to determine how the concept actually functions cognitively. Moreover, it far from suffices when the related issue of how to teach genres is concerned.

The present inquiry aims to combine the two investigative deficits into a single effort. The study presented here will, first, try and verify the assumption that genres are indeed perceived as functioning in accordance with the principles of Prototype theory. If that proves to be the case, the next step envisaged is to test whether teaching genres as prototypes could lead to better academic results for advanced students.

Consequently, the major research questions here will be:

1. From a perceptual viewpoint, do really University students see genres as functioning around prototypes, or is the prototype-centered perspective of genres only a theoretical analysts' academic-friendly abstraction?

2. Is a prototype-based approach really applicable to teaching genres, or are its possible advantages merely hypothesized?

The general method applied throughout the study reported here is a quantitative one as it coheres well with the basic postulates of Rosch's experimental Prototype theory. The research method applied is experiment.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1 THE NOTION OF GENRE

There can be generalized to exist two major types of approaches to *genre*, and, consequently, two types of definitions of *genre*. The first could be called 'conventional' due to their representing the kind of reasoning about genres which prevailed for centuries up until not so long ago (for a discussion see Allen, 1989). This first type focuses almost exclusively on the interconnection between text content/theme/topic on the one hand and text structure on the other. The second, more up-to-date kind of definitions are the 'broader' definitions which place heavy emphasis on the social aspect of genres and on the interpersonal function(s) genres perform. Martin, for example, argues that a genre is 'a staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture' (1984: 25). Swales, similarly, suggests a genre is 'a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes which are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community' (1990: 58). From a viewpoint not far removed from those two, Devitt maintains that genres are 'typical rhetorical ways of acting in different situations' (2009: 58). All prominent examples of this, second type, interpret genres as social actions and as artefacts by drawing connecting lines between social and rhetorical conventions (e.g. Miller, 1984/1994; Biber, 1989; Bawarshi, 2000).

However, placing genre more firmly and, at the same time, more broadly within its environment does not go without consequences. One of those consequences is the realization that, as society evolves, so must genres (Buckingham, 1993; Abercrombie, 1996). That evolution is forced by and takes place through the 'constant process of negotiation and change' enacted by discourse participants (Buckingham, 1993: 137). As a result, genre boundaries become blurred and genre cross-overs happen more easily (Abercrombie, 1996: 45).

Modern times especially have been placing more and more demands on people's general understanding of genre evolution, as that evolution happens more quickly and in more unguided ways than it has ever done before. At present, as Palmquist forcibly argues, '[w]riters are living, in the fullest sense of the ancient Chinese proverb, in interesting times. Not since the fifteenth century, when Gutenberg perfected a workable system of movable type, has there been such a change in how information and ideas are exchanged' (2005: 219).

Furthermore, 'the Internet, and in particular the World Wide Web, has had what appears to be a similar effect on the means through which we communicate with each other' (ibid.). As Palmquist then generalizes,

> the rules of writing have changed. Publication is no longer assumed to be linked to a printing press. Nor is it necessarily linked to *well-defined* print *genres*. As the Web has grown to encompass literally billions of sites and, despite the best efforts of Google and Yahoo! countless billions of pages, the range of expression has grown as well. (ibid.; emphasis mine)

Corroborating the extensive malleability of genres in modern times, Edwards and McKee (2005) also maintain that it would be highly unproductive to ignore the all-pervasive influence of the WWWeb – an influence which 'muddles' genre boundaries and which, practically, redefines what genres are. Abercrombie also expresses a form of this view on genre shifting and genre evolution, although his analyses are concerned with modern television, which he believes to be engaged in 'a steady dismantling of genre' (1995: 45). Despite this abundance of agreement among scholars, the questions of how exactly genres come to be 'dismantled', how they evolve and into what exactly they evolve, how the newly-devised genres relate to the previously-existing ones have not been answered in the literature so far.

From the perspective adopted here, the problem with all such investigations is that they tend to steer away from the notion of prototypes. A typical example would be Devitt's proposal that genres be analysed as sets of interactive types. A 'genre set', to her mind, will include all types of texts produced by a person in a particular work occupation (1991: 339). Bazerman likewise suggests members of a community employ a 'complex web of interrelated genres where each participant makes a recognizable act or move in some recognizable genre, which then may be followed by a certain range of appropriate generic responses by others" (1994: 96). That web is termed by him 'a genre system', which he defines as a system of 'interrelated genres that interact with each other in specific settings' (ibid.: 97). Spinuzzi, similarly, speaks of 'genre repertoires', which change over time due to the fact that newly-emergent genres rely on improvisation (2004: 4). What is left unanswered in such studies is how those sets, systems and repertoires operate cognitively. Can those sets, systems, repertoires, etc., not be internally arranged (as none of the approaches cited focuses strongly on internal organization)? Could those sets, systems, repertoires of genres really exist without any – internal or external – arrangement or organization? As everything human-conception-related is inevitably organized in a hierarchical manner (Пенчева, 1996, 1998), the question remains of how those sets, systems, repertoires of genres are really arranged. The answer, to me, lies in the Theory of prototypes, or Prototypology, which emerged in the works of Eleanor Rosch (1973, 1975), and to which the next section here is dedicated.

2 GENRES AND PROTOTYPES

A principle widely supported throughout the literature (see e.g. Berlin et al. 1973; Coleman and Kay, 1981; Lakoff, 1982; Feldman, 2006; Taylor, 2015) is the crucial importance of categorization to any study of linguistic phenomena. The reason for that importance is, probably, best summarized in Labov's claim that '[i]f linguistics can be said to be any one thing it is the study of categories: that is, the study of how language translates meaning into sound through the categorization of reality into discrete units and sets of units' (1973: 342). How to understand categorization, however, is not an issue enjoying similar universal agreement.

For thousands of years, category formation and the relationships between categories used to be considered in connection to either Dichotomy or Classical typology (for a discussion see, e.g. Taylor, 1995; Ungerer and Schmid, 1996; Tincheva, 2015). According to both approaches, every category member either unambiguously fits within clear-cut category boundaries or it does not. A man, as the textbook example goes, is either a bachelor, or he is not – a view which, nevertheless, could not account for the ambiguous status of the Pope (Rosch and Mervis, 1975; Ungerer and Schmid, 1996).

A second principle of Dichotomy and Classical typology associates with the fact that the two theories postulate every category as lying unambiguously disparate from others. In other words, a text would and should classify as belonging to and exemplifying features of one genre only. Transposed to the notion of genres, that would also mean that, for instance, a sermon and a lecture would never have anything in common. According to those two pre-Prototypology theories, on one's attending for the very first time a Steve Jobs' 'presentation', one is expected to recognize it immediately as belonging to the presentation genre, and not as having anything in common with a lecture or a sermon. Furthermore, both Dichotomy and Classical typology state that all classification should happen instantly and should display no perceptual specificities such as, for instance, hesitation pauses. In other words, one should immediately recognize every presentation as belonging to the genre and there would never be a presentation which would take a text receiver longer to classify.

In contrast to the Classical typology and Dichotomy theories, Prototypology rejects all the above principles. It follows Wittgenstein's (1953) break-through notions of blurred edges and family resemblances. It emphatically rejects the existence of clear-cut boundaries between categories (i.e. boundaries without border-line cases or fuzziness), shared properties (i.e. obligatory conditions for category membership), 'checklist' precepts, uniformity among all members of the category, inflexibility of category boundaries, objective conditions for category membership, etc. Instead, even the earliest experiments conducted by Rosch were designed to draw exclusively on perceptual statistical data obtained from real language users. Those experiments prove the decisive role of perception in determining category boundaries and internal category structure. Mental imagery, bodily experiences and socio-cultural factors, her studies reveal (1973, 1975),

is what actually controls human categorization. And it should be duly noted here that although the Theory originated in analysis of category formation and operation, it has now proven extremely operational in a multitude of spheres in the humanities. It has gradually broadened to include various linguistic phenomena, grammar and narrative included (Hyvärinen, 2012; Taylor, 2015).

Hence a crucial role in Prototype theory is played by the assumption that there exists culturally-conditioned and, consequently, statistically verifiable agreement among the members of a culture about what counts as the best example of a category, i.e. as a prototype. A prototype, consequently, is seen here as a very high frequency, socially and conventionally testable instantiation. The study reported follows closely these experimental, perception-defined principles. Its aim is to test statistically whether the respondents' understanding of genres operates in accordance with Classical typology or in accordance with Prototypology.

As far as the issue of genres and their connection to prototypes specifically is concerned, it needs to be acknowledged that applying prototypological principles to genre analysis is not exactly a new idea. The connection has been either explicitly formulated (see e.g. Herman, 2009; Hogan, 2011; Hyvärinen, 2012) or implied (e.g. Virtanen, 1992; Toledo, 2005) throughout a range of research. Swales, for instance, speaks directly of genres as 'fuzzy' categories (1990: 52) and Fowler argues that genres display prototype effects (1989: 215). Medway, too, discusses 'fuzzy genres' as, he hypothesizes, 'there are degrees of genreness' (2002: 141).

However, any literature review will also reveal there is a stark contrast between one of the most fundamental of premises of Prototype theory (the one stating that there needs to be perceptually-based and, therefore, statistically-verifiable confirmation for any analysts' conceptual claims) and Swales' and Medway's theoretical assumption that genres indeed operate prototypically. That assumption can be claimed to have remained within the boundaries of common-sense researchers' beliefs only, as it is extremely rarely (if ever) perceptually tested. As Buckingham summarizes, 'there has hardly been any empirical research on the ways in which real audiences might understand genre' (1993: 137). Hogan also supports the fact that, in thinking and talking about genres, 'our theorizations can diverge quite significantly from our tacit conceptual formations' (2011: 191). Thus, the first objective of the study presented here is for it to supply perceptual quantitative data on whether prototypes indeed are seen as the cognitive constructs (term as in Tincheva, 2012; 2015) controlling conceptualizations of genre differences.

3 TEACHING GENRES AND PROTOTYPOLOGY

The last point to clarify before moving on to reporting the actual data from the study is connected with those aspects of genres which relate to the perspective and purposes of teaching them.

Generally, ever since Hyon's influential 1996 publication, three main approaches to how (and if) genres should be taught have been consistently

delineated (see also Swales, 2012). Those approaches include: (a) the Australian Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) school (e.g. Martin, 1984; Hagan, 1994; Martin and Rose, 2008), which draws heavily on Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar, (b) the English for specific purposes one (ESP), among whose main proponents are, e.g. Swales (1990) and Hyland (2007, 2009), and (c) the North American New Rhetoric Studies (NRS), supported in the works of, e.g. Hyon (1996) and Johns (2002, 2008, 2013). What is of relevance here is not the dividing lines between the schools. The objective here is not to argue against weak points of any of the three. The aim is to select strong points which could be applied in a constructive manner to enhance the genre awareness (I use the term "genre awareness" as in Millar, 2011) of advanced (University) learners.

Generally, the questions which all three main schools focus on have to do with the issues of: (a) why there is a need to teach genres; (b) what the particular purpose of teaching genres is; (c) what the possible ways of teaching genres are. As far as (a) is concerned, the prevailing theoretical position is the one that seems to be least contended by any of the three schools. As that position has it, it is socio-cultural contextual factors which require specific text-related skills be acquired by future professionals or, generally, by members of a culture. In this respect, pedagogy-oriented research tends to rely on the 'broader' theories of genres which interpret them as social actions and artefacts (as already suggested in 1 above, for discussions see Miller, 1984/1994; Biber, 1989; Bawarshi, 2000). Thus, all of the three schools of teaching genres can safely be seen as striving to place genre production and reception within a contextually well-tuned environment.

That broader and broadening contextualization of genre, however, leads to pedagogic problems, or, at least, it is argued to do so by the proponents of NRS. In other words, not all three schools on genres agree genres should be part of classroom activities at all. Researchers from the NRS maintain genres cannot be taught for being too changeable and context-dependent. Johns (2008), for example, argues that any attempt to teach a genre outside its natural context is, practically, beyond reason. The present investigation adheres closely to the opposite claim – the one made by SFL and ESP proponents. The underlying rationale here is that if social needs do exist and social conventions could ever be discussed as separate categories, then teaching them would always be feasible. It is my deep conviction that perfect results may not be obtainable but students' imagination and ability for generalization will always play a crucial role in any learning environment, be it a classroom one or a real-life situation.

On the question of (b), there can be traced two major kinds of purposes in teaching genres. The first would see successful analysis of genre as an end in itself; this approach can also associate closely with writing purposes. The second kind would see teaching genre as part and parcel of ESL curricula. The present study, quite dissimilarly to that second kind, sees genre teaching as related to students' needs for philological professional qualification. In other words, the approach proposed here tries to enhance text production skills from a socio-cultural

perspective and not from the slightly narrower perspective of second language acquisition. That is not to suggest the two perspectives should be interpreted as mutually exclusive; on the contrary, they can parallel each other to a variety of benefits. But precisely due to the two perspectives' functioning as the two sides of the same coin, there is always the necessity of giving one preference over the other. In line with that kind of reasoning, the angle chosen here can be said to harmonize with the learner needs of the University students participating in the study. As they almost exclusively aim to/are expected to become journalists, writers, editors, etc., genre awareness and genre-related skills (both productive and receptive) are not only of special significance here; by necessity, they draw the present investigation closer to the principles of teaching genre for writing purposes rather than to ESL principles only.

As far as consideration (c) is in question, a second major general objection to the very notion of teaching genres is the belief that it can only happen prescriptively and through reinforcing a formulaic view on them. However, as Devitt herself convincingly argues, genre teaching

> …can indeed be formulaic and constraining, if genres are taught as forms without social or cultural meaning. Genre teaching can also be enlightening and freeing, if genres are taught as part of a larger critical awareness. I argue […] for a genre pedagogy that recognizes the limitations of explicit genre teaching and exploits the ideological nature of genre to enable students' critical understanding. Genres will impact students as they read, write, and move about their worlds. Teaching critical genre awareness will help students perceive that impact and make deliberate generic choices. (2009: 337)

The present viewpoint also combines a belief in a degree of explicit genre teaching with some implicit techniques. It follows Freedman (1999) in assuming that effective genre, and especially effective writing instruction, should combine exposure to authentic texts with immersion in real-life contexts. Generally, the present viewpoint may be seen as lying closest to ESP methods, teaching activities and techniques.

How (and if ever) genre teaching resorts to the achievements of research in Prototypology is another issue that calls for comment. Even the briefest survey will show that a connection between the two is extremely rarely sought (see e.g. Martin, 1984; Biber, 1989; Paltridge, 1996, 2013). Kettemann and Marko (2002) and Montgomery et al. (2000) would be, perhaps, the most notable exceptions. What is more, for the last two decades, the interconnection between the notions of genre and cognition could be summarized to have taken a predominantly literary turn, as most evident in the research of the Cognitive Poetics School (Gavins, 2007; Herman, 2009; Semino, 2010; Giovanalli, 2013). In other words, Applied Linguistics has steered considerably away from the realm of prototypological investigations. The study reported here aims to provide a step in the direction of remedying that discrepancy.

THE STUDY

1 BASIC CHARACTERISTICS

In the Study, the pool of respondents represented no significant differences in terms of age, educational status, learning achievement, or previous professional experience of the participants. That pool consisted of 100 third-year Bachelor's degree students at the Department of British and American Studies at Sofia University. Out of the pool of respondents, two groups were formed – one experimental group and one control group. Each group consisted of 50 students. The members of the groups were chosen at random out of the larger body of students; no parameters such as, e.g. academic achievement, age, nationality, previous professional experience, etc. were taken into consideration, when the groups were formed.

In terms of experiment procedures, the experimental group followed all the steps envisaged for the study, namely:

1. Filling a questionnaire,
2. Participating in subsequent in-class discussions of the (results obtained from the) questionnaire, and
3. Taking a Final Test.

The students in the control group participated only in the final stage – the Final Test. They did not take the questionnaire in stage 1 and they did not participate in the subsequent discussions, i.e. stage 2.

Filling in the questionnaire, the respondents from the experimental group were asked to evaluate a set of genres. In doing that, they were expected to:

1. Identify themselves with the text producer,
2. Provide evaluations in terms of their personal preferences,
3. Provide information based only on their immediate responses, and
4. Not supply information on what they might perceive as 'general', or 'universal', 'objective' evaluations.

The genre alternatives offered as possible responses to the questions in the questionnaire were selected on the basis of their appearing with highest frequency throughout research on genre (e.g. Swales, 1980, 2001; Gamson, 1992; Ochs, 1997; van Dijk, 1997; Obeng, 1997; Eggins and Martin, 1997). The list was also meant to cohere well with Hyland's (2003) 'core set of general school genres, or macro-genres' and with John's 'key genres', which are argued to be highly efficient as 'beginning, stepping stones for preparedness' (2008: 245).

The interpersonal functions chosen as parameters in the questions were selected following Trosborg's theory of text functions. According to that theory, all texts should be seen as multifunctional. The theory, however, also assumes that normally one function will be identifiable as dominant for each text (1997: 16).

That claim is also echoed by Werlich (1976), Virtanen (1992), and Hatim and Mason (1990). Such an approach to text function is also preferred for the present study as, although it does not overtly incorporate the term 'prototype', it is highly compatible with the basic principles of Prototypology.

2 STAGE 1: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The first task in the questionnaire required the respondents to specify:

> 1a) which genre they would use, if they needed to (1) inform (2) one person (3) on a general issue;

and then to broaden their answers to addressing:

> 1b) which genre they would choose, if they needed to (1) inform (2) a considerable number of people simultaneously (3) on a general issue.

The resulting responds fan out as follows (the numbers presented are in terms of net total of answers):

> 1a)
> speech – 32; dialogue/dispute – 8; poem – 3; advertisement/commercial – 2; novel – 0; interview – 0; newscast – 0; undecided – 5
> 1b)
> newscast – 22; speech – 20; advertisement/commercial – 4; dialogue/dispute – 2; poem – 1; interview – 1; novel – 0; undecided – 0

Two points in the responses call for attention even as early as this point. The first, and crucial one, is that the results prove that no unanimous agreement as to genres and their utilization exists. In other words, as there is not one single, 'correct' answer around which all respondents unite, even preliminary results as the ones here can be argued to prove Classical Typology (as discussed in (2) above) does not hold when genres are concerned. In contrast, prototypes prove to exist as the answers reveal significant density as to two central members (i.e. speech in (1a) and newscast in (1b)) and a periphery (i.e. low-percentage uses such as dialogue and poem in (1a), and advertisement/ commercial and dispute in (1b)).

Additionally, genres prove to operate more potently in cases when no face-to-face or one-to-one interaction is necessarily required. In other words, the need to inform one person only has encouraged a total of 5 respondents to stand undecided, while the requirement for informing a multitude triggers no such undecidedness. Moreover, it should be noted that the answers concerning informing many people vary significantly more than the ones concerning persuading one person only: in (1b), newscast and speech stand on almost equal footing. Both facts (the number of the undecided and the more 'scattered' decisions as to (1b)) prove that persuading many people simultaneously allows for greater flexibility as to genre choices.

Furthermore, as would be expected, in the answers to Question 1a, monologic types rank better than dialogic ones – an assumption confirmed by the highest percentage of the speech genre. However, the novel and the newscast rank lowest and do that along the interview, the latter being the only 'natural' low for its being dialogic in form. As both expected and later confirmed in an in-class discussion, the newscast was dis-preferred because of specificities of the parameter of 'audience' – the newscast is perceived as normally employed to inform a number of people instead of one person. The novel, in its turn, was dis-preferred for two reasons: first, because of its length, and, second, for achieving its communicative goal through artistic means, or, in the students' words, for being 'more artistic rather than informative'.

The option of the dispute, on the other hand, turns out to be systematically related to the 'truth factor'. One of the students perceived herself as gradually reaching a clarification of her own opinion by arguing. The second one reported to have chosen this genre as 'bringing out the best' in him, since a dispute would allow him to present the information he has topically and in a well-structured manner. The poem was chosen as a suitable means of informing one's love of his/her feelings. The form of an advertisement/ commercial was intended to be imitated in recommending somebody something, for example a book.

Therefore, it can be argued that the prototypical genre to use in informing one person (or a small number of people) on a general issue is (a) monological, and (b) of medium length. The closest instantiation of the prototype in communicative situations defined by the above parameters is the speech.

In the answers to Question 1b, the percentage of the newscast, if compared to (1a), displays a radical increase, displaying the highest figures as to this genre across all the questions. This proves that newscasts, contrary to investigations in modern research on discourse (e.g. van Dijk, 1997, 2009, 2014) and in Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Fairclough, 1995, 2003, 2006; van Dijk, 2008), are thought to be strictly informative and not persuasive – they are not considered to present a personal point of view but objective reports (the popular misconception of newscasts belies their manipulative power).

The answers to Question 1b also display one of the two lowest numbers as to the speech, although it is again a top preference in comparison to the other genres. Text length is the possible decisive factor here – in a speech, there is more time to expound one's information fully; in a newscast, this possibility is more restricted. In the subsequent discussion, some students argued a newscast does not allow for explanations but simply states facts, which, they thought, often 'cripples' the information itself. This opinion actually contradicts what the students gave as reasons for their choice – speeches were ranked as a top informative genre, at the same time, they were chosen for their 'explanatory' potential. Additionally, and this is an important observation as to the speech genre in general, a speech is used for seemingly informative purposes but, in actuality, it proves to present a personal viewpoint manipulatively concealed as

reporting. Basically, the respondents tend to view speeches as a genre explaining an objective situation, which is a contradiction in itself.

Finally, it should be noted that one student a-typically preferred the poem genre. It was the same student as in Question 1a; the choice was again probably dictated by personal preferences and strong general interest in the genre. Alternatively, it was dictated by current-context bound factors.

Therefore, it can be argued that the prototypical genre to use in informing a number of people on a general issue is (a) monological, and (b) of medium or short length. The closest instantiation of the prototype in communicative situations defined by the above parameters is again the speech.

The second task in the questionnaire required the respondents to answer which genre they would use, if they:

> 2a) had to (1) persuade (2) one person (3) on a general issue, and
> 2b) had to (1) persuade (2) a considerable number of people simultaneously (3) on a general issue.

The same response alternatives as in the first task were offered.

The respondents' answers fan out as follows:

> 2a)
> speech – 24; dialogue/dispute – 21; advertisement/commercial – 3; poem – 2; novel – 0; interview – 0; newscast – 0; undecided – 0
> 2b)
> speech – 32; advertisement/commercial – 14; dialogue/dispute – 2; novel – 2; poem – 0; interview – 0; newscast – 0; undecided – 0

In the answers to 2a, the percentage of the speech rose again as the critical change in requirement parameter is the one from 'inform' to 'persuade'. The newscast numbers fell again, most likely for the same reason – newscasts are not believed to be a persuasive but an informative genre.

The genre whose numbers rose in correspondence to the change of the parameter in the question this time was the dialogue/ dispute. However, the speech again ranked highest, suggesting that when people try to persuade somebody, they treat objections on the opposite communicative end as running contrary to their overall communicative goal. Persuasion, prototypically, proves not to equal overthrowing others' objections and clearing differences in opinion. It proves to be seen as listeners' accepting the speakers' point of view without modifying it. That is why dialogic forms are taken to reflect disagreement, unlike monologic ones.

The poem again was preferred by a small number of students. The reasons are the same as discussed above. The novel and the other dialogic genres were ranked as in the answers to Questions 1a and 1b.

Therefore, it can be argued that the prototypical genre to use in persuading one person (or a small number of people) on a general issue is (a) monological,

and (b) of medium length. The closest instantiation of the prototype in communicative situations defined by the above parameters is again the speech.

In the answers to Question 2b, the speech was again preferred overwhelmingly. The advertisement/commercial also ranks high. As the students commented later, advertisements/ commercials often result in change of people's behavior and thus seem more forcefully persuasive. The newscast fell to 0%, again due to being perceived as objective reporting.

Therefore, it can be argued that the prototypical genre to use in persuading a number of people on a general issue is (a) monological, and (b) of medium length. The closest instantiation of the prototype in communicative situations defined by the above parameters is again the speech.

In task number 3, another parameter was tested. The parameter relates to the experimental niche of providing data on if the social sphere in which a genre is produced plays significant part in genre perception. The type of discourse chosen (randomly) was 'political discourse'. The respondents were asked to answer which genre they would use, if they:

> 3a) had to (1) persuade (2) into action (3) a number of people simultaneously.
> Here, the same response alternatives as in the first question were offered; and
> 3b) had to (1) persuade (2) into action (3) a number of people simultaneously.
> Here, the response alternatives offered belonged to political discourse only.

The responses fan out as follows:

> 3a)
> speech – 24; dialogue/dispute – 18; advertisement/commercial – 3; poem – 2; newscast – 1; novel – 0; interview – 0; undecided – 2
> 3b)
> political speech – 34; political advertisement/commercial – 8; political dialogue/dispute – 4; political poem – 2; political newscast – 1; political novel – 0; political interview – 0; undecided – 2

The answers as to 3a do not differ significantly from those in 2b. In other words, persuading a multitude of people and persuading a multitude of people into proactive behavior are not seen as crucially diverging activities.

Therefore, it can be argued that the prototypical genre to use in persuading into action a number of people is (a) monological, and (b) of medium length. The closest instantiation of the prototype in communicative situations defined by the above parameters is again the speech.

The answers as to 3b, however, do provide some significant differences. First, they reveal that specifying the social context as political allows for more genres to be employed than the domain of general communication does. No other question

has triggered such a variety of genre choices. Second, political discourse proves to be perceived as prototypically more monological than general discourses. In other words, in political genres, the speaker is expected to tell the listener(s) what they should do and, critically, that social perception is accepted as normal.

Therefore, it can be argued that, within political discourse, the prototypical genre to use in persuading into action a number of people is (a) monological, and (b) of medium length. The closest instantiation of the prototype in communicative situations defined by the above parameters is the political speech.

In sum, on account of the fact that no single answer to the questionnaire proves to attract 100 per cent/all choices, the results from stage 1 of the study reported here can be claimed to demonstrate the relevance of a prototype-based approach to perceptions of genre and discourse. Moreover, the questionnaire also demonstrates how the notion of prototypes opens up a possibility for introducing social function and social and individual cognitive psychology into foreign language teaching. Further support for both those claims, and especially for the latter one, comes from the next stage in the study: the one dedicated to discussions with the students.

3 STAGE 2: IN-CLASS AND OUT-OF-CLASS ACTIVITIES

Subsequent discussions with the participants in the experimental group confirm the hypothesis that teaching genres as prototypes is not only feasible but it can be also a powerful means of enhancing the active role of the learner(s).

The discussions associated with stage 2 of the study repeatedly point to the fact that explicitly working with and within any conceptual category (e.g. a genre) does allow students to engage more actively in learning activities. Importantly, the discussions with the members of the experimental group confirm applying a prototypical approach indeed frees students' performance from the pressure of sanctioning linguistic choices as 'right' or 'wrong'. Instead, it helps them evaluate their own as well as their fellow-students' performances along a scale of 'better' and 'worse' strategic communicative choices. In addition, consciously dealing with prototypes and gradience techniques, students more easily come to terms with related issues such as context, register, appropriacy, etc.

In actuality, the first step in the discussion stage was an exploration of students' general knowledge of the social sphere in which the particular type of discourse functions. After having thus outlined the relevant common beliefs and stereotypes, the next step was to communicate and systematize peculiarities of individual students' perceptions. That step emerged as especially fruitful as it not only allowed for the advancement of students' oral skills (related to the particular social area); the prototype-based discussion on the particular genres raised students' awareness of their own personal specificities and helped them improve their negotiating skills in competition with those of their peers.

Next, building on the results from the questionnaire from the previous stage, in which the participants in the experimental group were asked to pick only

one genre out of the list, now the respondents were asked to rank all the genres from the list in accordance with each question. Aside from yielding valuable experimental data, performing this activity acted as a set-up for the next task, which was to isolate individual genres' features and to differentiate between better and worse examples of the same genre.

The next step – step 3 – was a discussion of the results from the previous exercise. The group established a statistically-based, shared understanding of the prototype and arranged all political discourse genres according to their proximity and distance from the core of the prototype category. This step also aimed to help develop students' oral skills in the particular social area and to aid their pinpointing personal perception differences, their negotiating those and their understanding the relationship between language use and statistical frequencies. The step also provides valuable data on individual features of genres. Importantly, it facilitates all later exercises on discriminating between better and worse examples of a genre.

Since the series of discussions relied on prototypology as their basis, teaching genres also seemed to need to follow a line of progression from prototypical to non-prototypical genres. This served to establish a continuation between genres and motivated the overall course progression. It also made it more palatable for students in learning 'difficult', non-prototypical genres which, as reported by the participants in the experimental group, are often 'incomprehensible' to them. Most students, the discussions in this stage affirm, when faced with such incomprehensibility, do not aim at achieving productive skills but set their goals as low as simply learning how to cope in the role of text receivers. Progressing from prototypically central genres to peripheral ones, on the contrary, allows students a sense of achievement even in the early stages of the course and motivates them to cope with more difficult, non-prototypical uses.

4 STAGE 3: FINAL TEST

The applicability of the prototype approach to genres established, now let us turn to the issue of whether the approach is indeed efficient in teaching genres. To resolve that issue, instead of following the experimental group through those stages, a control group was simultaneously taught genres the classical prescriptive way – through clear-cut genre categories, structural rules and requirements (as discussed in 1 and 3 above). The group did not study theoretically prototype theory, nor did it employ it in any in-class activities. It proceeded directly to the final stage 3 of the study.

That final stage consisted in a test, which, in its turn, consisted of two tasks. The first task required skills in text comprehension of the genres listed in the questionnaire, the second required skills in the text production of the same genres. The specific texts and topics chosen for both tasks were identical for the two groups of respondents. All tasks required both knowledge of contexts and knowledge of text structure.

The first task in stage 3 was further subdivided into evaluating comparatively (a) two political speeches and (b) two political campaign advertisements. The respondents were asked to evaluate the speeches in accordance with the following set of requirements:

1. Achievement of the current communicative purpose
2. Mastery of discursive practices
3. Command of genre structure
4. Use of genre-specific vocabulary

The evaluations were supposed to employ a marking scale from 2.00 (i.e. 'poor', or a 'fail', grade) to 6.00 (i.e. an 'excellent' grade).

Next, the respondents' evaluations were themselves evaluated by the lecturers. The responses were again graded in accordance with the marking scale from 2.00 (i.e. 'poor', or a 'fail', grade) to 6.00 (i.e. an 'excellent' grade). Both the experimental group and the control group were given grades as those would serve as data for comparing the final results.

The first sub-task was to evaluate two actually delivered speeches. The texts the students had to analyze were:

1) President Reagan's 1964 speech '*A Time for Choosing*' which appears in all major compilations and analysis of the genre as '*The Speech*', and
2) John Major's Farewell Address of 1997.

The first was selected due to its being generally seen as being of extremely good quality (i.e. present in almost all anthologies of political speeches); the second was chosen randomly. The respondents were expected to be able to make a clear distinction between the quality of the two. The results are systematized as follows:
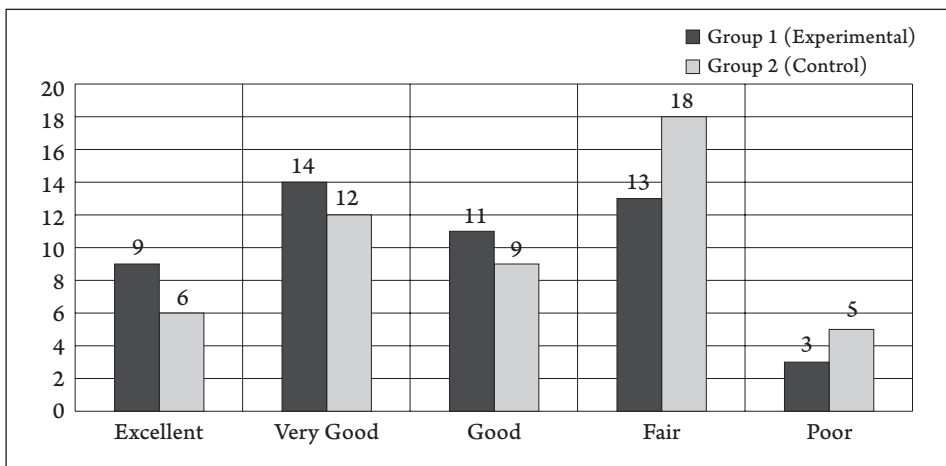

Figure 1 **Task 1a results**

The second sub-task was to evaluate which political campaign advertisement out of the two actually used ones is more persuasive. The two texts the students had to analyze were:

1) *'In a Box'* from the 2014 campaign of Darius Foster (a Republican running for the Alabama State House), and

2) *'Emergency Response'* from the 2014 campaign of Arkansas Sen. Mark Pryor.

The two genre samples were selected as they were voted on the Internet as an extremely good one (i.e. persuasive as to contents and form) and an extremely bad one (i.e. not persuasive due to poor quality of contents and form). The results are systematized as follows:
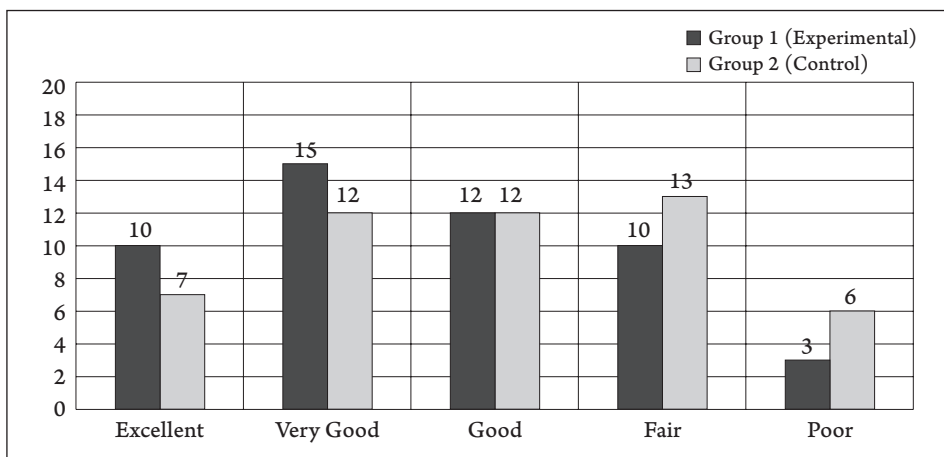

Figure 2 **Task 1b results**

The second task in stage 2 was writing a political speech on a selected topic. The topic given to the students was the one of 'Global Warming', which was chosen as it is both one of (relatively) general knowledge and could also be employed for political speech purposes. The students were provided with a data file on the topic of climate deterioration, so those of them who chose could include those data in their speech. The control group and the experimental one were given the same data files. The speeches produced were later assessed (each by two independent evaluators) on the basis of overall persuasive power, content and text structure. The results are systematized as follows:
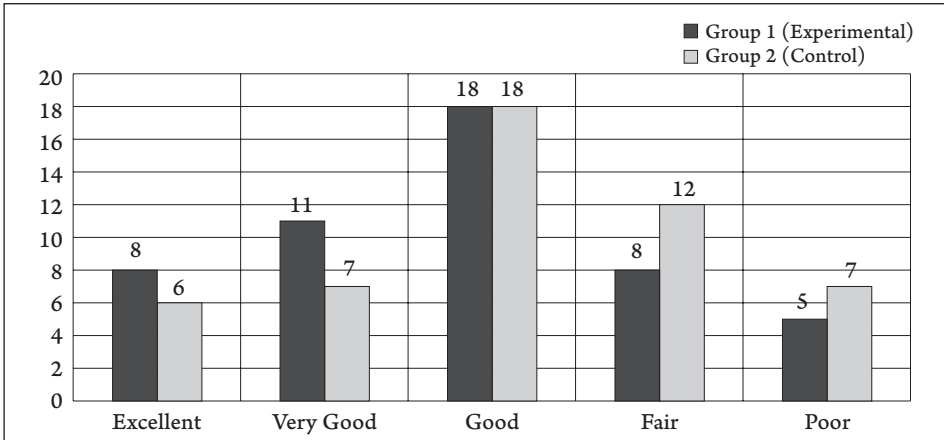
Figure 3 **Task 2 results**

Finally, Figure 4 presented below displays comparatively the average grade results of the experimental and the control groups from each task:
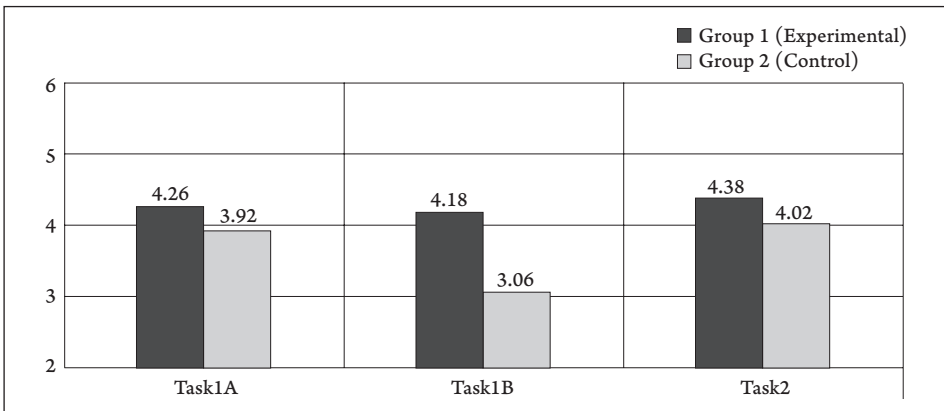
Figure 4 **Average grades of the two groups according to Test tasks completion**

As all the data included in all the tables above without an exception confirm that the experimental group provided consistently better test results, it seems safe to conclude that teaching Prototypology and employing in-class activities based on the notion of prototypes indeed proves to enhance students' ability to produce better-quality texts pertaining to a genre.

CONCLUSION

By way of a conclusion, let us return to the major research questions formulated at the beginning. As the inquiry presented here argues, and confirms, the prototype-centered perspective of genres is not only a theoretical analysts' academic-friendly abstraction. Data unambiguously prove it is highly operational in actual language-users' perspectives.

Next, a prototype-based approach can safely be claimed to be not only applicable but also efficient in teaching genres. As the test result data reported here demonstrate conclusively, the advantages of employing prototypes to teaching genres is far from simply a hypothesis. A prototype approach, for instance, can serve better the purpose of developing students' productive skills (e.g. text production in accordance with genres) which should ultimately be the goal of all (professional) University education.

The pedagogical implications drawn from the findings of the study are in line with the assumption that prototype-based knowledge of genre can work as a powerful pedagogical tool. Raising students' awareness of genres as prototypes develops students' clarity about discursive practices and communicative purposes. More specifically, through a prototype-based teaching perspective, learners achieve better awareness of text receiver expectations. Their raised awareness of genre also helps students to be clear about text structure. Overall, it can be argued that a prototype-based approach to teaching genre develops advanced learners' holistic view of textual practices.

However, it should all the same be noted that a study relying on a random selection of a somewhat narrow-profile group of students (i.e. one of considerable homogeneity) should not be generalized too broadly. The results presented here may be perfectly valid, if not conclusive; nevertheless, they were meant only as preliminary data on which future research could step and rely. Future efforts in the direction of studying the efficiency of teaching genre through prototypology, it seems safe to argue, would need to provide more varied tasks presented to more varied experiment groups.

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DOES INTERNATIONALIZATION PROMOTE MULTILINGUALISM? A DUTCH UNIVERSITY STUDY

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Abstract. Internationalization has been a central concept in university strategic policy for several decades. Internationalization is often a key factor in both university rankings and accreditation processes. Many universities have recruited extensively students and staff globally as well as offering an international dimension within programmes. The upshot is that many university campuses are both multilingual and multicultural. However, policies to promote internationalization may lead to a context where the instructional language is English only. It is instructive to investigate how key actors perceive internationalization and its effects. Do they think it promotes monolingualism or multilingualism? This paper reports on a study into the attitudes of key staff in two faculties at a Dutch university as well as members of the central administration towards internationalization and language use. The results show that while most see internationalization as an unavoidable necessity, they subtly distance themselves from institutional policy and practice, implying a discrepancy between private and public attitudes. The internationalization policy does not stimulate multilingualism, but strengthens monolingualism. The study concludes that the educational system is missing out on the rich heteroglossic and cultural context afforded by internationalization, and suggests that a looser language policy may yield more elaborated learning outcomes.

Key words: internationalization, multilingualism, language policies in universities, global English, language in tertiary education

INTRODUCTION

Internationalization has long been a core concept in the strategic planning of universities, even if it has not always been clearly specified. It is in the nature of university scholars to communicate and collaborate with others in different countries, and of the institutions themselves to stimulate students to gather experience abroad. Over the past two or three decades internationalization has become a necessary component of university strategic policy, not least because of its inclusion in accreditation processes and university rankings (Altbach and Teichler, 2001; Qiang, 2003; Knight, 2008; Stromquist, 2007). Universities across the world have established internationalization policies (Callan, 2000; Bartell, 2003; Ritzen, 2004), some more elaborate than others. In her analysis of institutional internationalization policies, Knight (2008) notes that the policies may range from narrow (related to explicit statements of mission, purpose, values

and functions) to broad, which would include all statements and documents addressing 'the implications *for* or *from* internationalization' (ibid.: 36; Knight's emphasis). In this approach, internationalization would permeate policy covering all aspects of the institution's activities, such as quality assurance, recruitment, funding, admission, curriculum, research, student support, and many more.

An institution that takes a broader approach will inevitably encounter students and staff who speak languages other than the domestic language. In this case the domestic language may be taken to refer to the natural language that the institution uses for teaching and for its administration; in many cases, this will be the national language. It follows that decisions need to be made about the languages in which the teaching, including examinations, and administration may be conducted. Many universities have established language policies, which may be fairly brief or very extensive (e.g. Universitat Jaume I, Castellón, Spain), in order to regulate the functioning of the institution. There are a number of what we may call 'natural' bilingual or multilingual universities, where two or more languages co-exist in the local environment (e.g. the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, with German and French; the University of Bolzano, Italy, with Italian and German; or the University of the Basque Country, Spain, with Spanish and Basque). On the other hand, there are many other universities which provide many degree programmes not just in the local language but also in a language of wider dissemination, English, not to mention the conduct of research through English. Such institutions may also be termed 'bilingual', and the institution may or may not decide to educate students to become bilingual in both languages. The study of interest in this paper concerns a context where the institution defines itself as bilingual in that two languages function as instructional languages, and languages of administration, but where students are not being trained to be bilingual. As a whole, the study investigates perceptions of the terms 'bilingual' and 'international' and perceptions of language use in two faculties and in the central administration of a Dutch university. The design of the study and parts of the results were the subject of an earlier paper (Wilkinson, 2014), to which the present paper is complementary. This paper explores attitudes to 'internationalization' and 'multilingualism' under the research question: Does internationalization promote multilingualism?

BACKGROUND

Universities are not merely influenced by the processes of globalization but are also key protagonists in these same processes. Globalization is concerned with factors such as mobility, trade, migration, harmonization of rules, and rankings. Marginson (2009: 297) highlights five facets that characterize universities and their environments: mobility of people, ideas, messages, money and technologies; new forms of delivery; new strategies to secure global and local advantage; an 'arms race' in investments in innovation; and changes in student enrolments and research. At the same time, universities are driven to seek new sources of

funding as central state funding increasingly has limits. Moreover, they have to be accountable not just to the government and its ministries but also to the local and national community. Universities have become more competitive as they seek to attract new groups of students, typically from abroad, and talented academic staff worldwide. These factors and trends suggest that a university education is now a commodity, no different from any other economic activity (Teixeira, 2009).

Partly as a consequence of the changed socio-economic environment in higher education, universities have, in the past quarter of a century, embarked on an overt policy of internationalization, and begun offering programmes in languages other than the local languages, most commonly in English. This provision and the influx of students and staff from other countries have led universities to establish language policies, whether formal or tacit. The reasons for establishing the policies are various. While there are undoubtedly educational reasons too for establishing a language policy, for example examination regulation, it seems that non-educational reasons often predominate. Reasons may be economic (with respect to employability, cost-saving), political (concerning university profile and ranking), or socio-geographic (notably the university location, and migration, transient or otherwise). However, conflict avoidance and resolution may be a dominant reason especially in situations of multilingualism, via the regulation of multiple language use. If there is no language policy, then the resolution of language use may lead to the more powerful dominating, i.e. in simplistic terms languages with the 'bigger army' pushing out less powerful languages (cf. Phillipson, 2015; but compare Mufwene, 2005).

Internationalization at its simplest implies some kind of relation or link between two or more nations (Marginson, 2009). Knight (2008), most notably, has commented at length on internationalization and sees differences between how internationalization has been interpreted in higher education over the past 50–60 years. In the first decade of the 21st century, she observes three groups of factors being prominent in higher education institutions: mobility of students, research, programmes, and providers across borders; commercial and market-driven activities; and the growth of international academic networks (ibid.: 3) (see also the volume edited by Hultgren, Gregerson and Thørgersen, 2014). In addition, Knight (2008) summarizes other dominant characteristics of internationalization: courses and programmes that emphasize comparative and international themes; the development of intercultural and global competencies; extracurricular activities with an international or multicultural component; dedicated recruitment of foreign students and staff; the provision of joint or double degrees; the expansion of partnerships and franchises. Further, Marginson and Van der Wende (2007) detail how the universities have become the 'agents' of globalization. The authors restrict the connotation of 'internationalization' to exchanges between two or more units, where the fundamental national systems do not essentially change. 'Globalization' on the other hand covers a meshing of influences from many sources by which the national system is transformed.

There are many conflicting definitions of multilingualism. It may refer to the individual or the societal level. Individual multilingualism is linked to concepts of language and identity (Aronin and Singleton, 2012). The individual may be rated in terms of competence levels in his or her specific languages (e.g. via the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, Council of Europe, 2001). However, individual multilingual use tends to be pragmatic and it is result of an interaction between the user, the environment, and the languages. Aronin (2006) has referred to the concept of 'dominant language constellation', which has the role of meeting the communication and identity needs of the individual where languages are viewed as being inextricably linked and practically inseparable. Thus the multilingual individual freely 'code-meshes' (Canagarajah, 2006: 598) all the languages possessed without necessarily having to make distinctions between them; the languages merge as it were. In contrast, multilingualism may be seen at the societal level of the institution or the community. In this interpretation, many languages may be spoken, but only a limited number may be shared, but perhaps not by all members of the institution or community. The European Union distinguishes between multilingualism and plurilingualism, whereby the former refers to the societal level and the latter to the individual. With the aim of stimulating every European citizen to acquire 'meaningful competence' in two languages in addition to his or her mother tongue, the EU instigated an Action Plan (Holdsworth, 2004). However, such a stimulation to create a plurilingual Europe is not without criticism: Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2011) have concluded that the EU language and multilingual policy aiming at an additive approach has failed to address the implications and perceptions of multilingualism. Canagarajah (2009) focuses on an integrated approach to plurilingualism. Language competences do not reside in one language, in that proficiency is not conceptualized individually by language. Rather one should look at the complete repertoire of language in the individual; different languages together constitute an integrated competence (see also Wang et al., 2014).

At the institutional level, there are many forces affecting multilingualism in the university, some positively, other negatively. The transient migration of international students and the mix of other cultures and other languages ought to have a positive effect on university multilingualism, but the very transient nature of much mobility may conversely have a negative impact as it can stimulate a monolingual learning context, and even a monolingual social context, as students communicate in the language they share. The university's environment may also have promoting effects, depending on regional and national policies that stimulate mobility and inward investment from international firms. However, as with student mobility, so inward investment and recruitment may lead to functioning in a shared language, typically a widely spoken language like English. The make-up and balance of ethnicities in the local community could also be a positive force for multilingualism. However, prevailing attitudes may lead to the potential for multilingualism being ignored. Thus, despite there being many

factors of internationalization within the institution and the local community that could promote multilingualism, in practice the use of one language may appear to simplify internationalization. A single common language, such as English, can therefore become attractive for a university, and the use of other languages can be downplayed. It would seem to a potential scenario for many areas in Europe, such as the Baltic region.

In theory, a multicultural, multilingual university would, from an educational perspective, offer programmes in several languages and provide conditions for learning in different academic cultures. In practice, such a university is likely to opt for control of potential conflict and offer programmes in only the dominant local language and/or a language of wider dissemination, English. One single academic culture will dominate, usually the local one. Thus, from a politico-economic perspective, multilingual opportunities may be spurned.

However, the notion of a single dominant language – and culture – hides what may actually happen in practice (cf. Cornips, 2013a). Actors in communicative encounters may use a variety of languages and dialects depending on participants. The language used may depend on what Van Parijs (2002, 2004) has called the 'maximin' principle. Linguistic asymmetry affects the language used in multilingual contexts. The starting point is unequal linguistic endowment, which makes it easier or more difficult for someone to acquire one or more languages or variants. Somewhat simplified, it might 'cost' a speaker of French more to speak Dutch than English, and similarly for a speaker of Dutch to speak French rather than English, even if both speakers can speak the other person's language. Thus they choose English in their encounter. The larger the group of speakers, the greater the possibilities for variation in language use, but the greater the chance speakers opt for the least worst common language. In Van Parijs's terms, learning a language involves opportunity costs. For some speakers, the benefits are greater than for others, and the costs may be higher or lower. The linguistic costs are less for a speaker of a 'dominant' language (e.g. English) than for a speaker of a 'dominated' one. The imbalance between the current globally dominant language, English, and other languages, which are dominated, is seen by many as a real problem of 'inequality of power' (Van Hoorde, 2014: 10–11; see also Phillipson, 2003).

From a theoretical perspective, then, we may see internationalization as a process that may promote or hinder multilingualism. An institutional language policy, as an element in internationalization, will regulate language use. In an earlier paper Wilkinson (2014) noted ambivalence in the perception of language policy. It was largely seen as a top-down process, which actors in the institution were obliged to implement, but they could not be considered as having bought into the process or implementation. This paper looks at perceptions of internationalization and multilingualism at a Dutch university with a view to elucidating whether respondents perceive internationalization as promoting or hindering multilingualism.

METHOD

The study investigated perceptions related to internationalization and language use (multilingualism) at a Dutch university, Maastricht University that has officially adopted an institutional bilingual policy. The study was qualitative and comprised interviews with selected matched respondents from two faculties, the Medical School (MS) and the School of Business and Economics (SBE), in addition to three members of the central university administration including a member of the Executive Board. The faculties were selected as representing principally Dutch-medium education (MS) and English-medium (SBE). In effect, the faculties represent the two ends of a continuum of Dutch- and English-medium instruction at the university.

Four participants from the faculties were carefully selected to ensure balanced representation: the faculty director or dean, a senior teacher, an educationalist, and a student officer of the relevant study association. They were approached via email or telephone and asked for their willingness to participate in the interviews. In addition, three officers of the university's central administration were interviewed, a member of the Executive Board, an officer in charge of internationalization policy, and an officer in charge of human resources policy. Six respondents were female. All participants except the students had at least 15 years of experience in higher education, with one member of the central administration having slightly fewer years of experience. Each had held their jobs for a considerable time, the faculty director, dean, and Executive Board member for at least two years, the two central officers for at least six years, the educationalists for at least 15, and the senior teachers (a physiologist and an economist) for at least eight years. The student participants were in their third or fourth year. Eight of the interviewees spoke Dutch as their first language, and the others German. It is assumed that the matched respondents approach enabled a representative balance to be achieved in the small groups of respondents that it was feasible to interview. All respondents consented to the study in the knowledge that information given in the interviews may be disclosed in publications on condition of anonymity. For this reason further demographic details may not be disclosed.

The study adopted a qualitative design (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011), using semi-structured interviews, and has been described elsewhere (Wilkinson, 2014). The approach was similar to that used by Studer, Kreiselmaier and Flubacher (2010). However, while they concentrated on the analysis of the attitudes of European Union policy-makers to language policy by analysing in 'detail' two extracts as examples of 'typical policy-making behaviour' (Studer et al., 2010: 261), this paper focuses on gathering a broader spectrum of opinion from the participants. In brief, the participants were interviewed following a semi-structured interview protocol. Each interview lasted between 30 minutes and one hour, and was subsequently transcribed similarly to conventions in Studer et al. (see Appendix). The questions required the interviewees to respond to questions under six topic

areas: bilingualism/multilingualism and internationalization, language policy, strategic policy, language use, quality of education, and personal perceptions. The protocol for the interviews allowed the order of questions to be changed so that a normal conversation could ensue as far as possible, enabling additional follow-up questions to be asked if necessary. All interviews were conducted in English. This paper reports on responses to questions under 'internationalization' and 'language use (multilingualism)' and contrasts teacher and student responses with those of the Executive Board. As such, it forms a parallel study to that reported in Wilkinson (2014).

RESULTS

1 INTERNATIONALIZATION

The interviewees characterized internationalization at the university by highlighting different aspects. The view from the management (Executive Board, MS dean and SBE faculty director) emphasizes concepts that chime with those mentioned by Marginson and Van der Wende (2007) and Knight (2008): 'an international classroom', 'different nationalities different backgrounds different cultures different religions', 'also different languages', 'international staff', 'native speakers of English' (Respondent 1, see Appendix for elucidation of respondents' positions), 'an international perspective in research and education', 'international partners' (4) 'an international community', 'preparing for an international career' (8). The teaching staff see internationalization rather differently. The MS teacher is more practical: 'how to deal with people from other nationalities, so more intercultural aspects and knowledge about international health care systems' (6), while the SBE teacher does not react favourably: 'it's part of the order of the institution's policy but it's not something that rings any particular positive bell' (10). The MS educationalist emphasizes the usefulness of the resources: 'all kinds of cases literature or inside information about certain regions in the world' (5). Internationalization thus conveys for the respondents a range of concepts as well as practices.

Respondents in management positions identified themselves closely with the policy of the university. This is most noticeable in their use of 'we' or 'I'. This suggests that the management feels ownership of the policy, such as the representative of the Executive Board:

> [...] we strive to create a university with an international classroom [...] consist[ing] of students from different nationalities, different backgrounds, different cultures, different religions, if you want to, and also different languages. And that's especially in a system of problem-based learning that they can put in all their own experiences and ideas how to solve problems, with their own cultural or other background, which is in my opinion very useful in our system. (1)

Both the MS dean and the SBE faculty director choose 'we': 'we deal with problems that are global' (4). While these respondents occasionally use 'you' in a more general, formulaic way, it is very noticeable that the teaching staff hold divergent perceptions. The SBE senior teacher feels forced into internationalization:

> Personally I am the exact opposite of being international. I'm a provincialist. [...] My role in this whole thing is a bit like that of a teetotaller who under pressure of the social services has to work in a bar. (10)

Similarly, the MS teacher comments on the implementation of internationalization in the Medical School: 'that's a painful topic for some. [...] it caused a lot of resistance, [...] it came to us from top-down' (6). It is clear that these respondents feel that their opinions (and perhaps that of their colleagues too) have not been taken into account in the internationalization. Indeed, the SBE teacher goes on to claim: 'this whole idea that international mindset thing we have to think about [...] this is complete nonsense. We are talking about principles here which are not in any way dependent on nationality' (10). What is striking is the difference in the use of 'we' in this instance. The respondent is signalling that the group of teachers share a similar view. This can be seen as a 'we' of resistance, in contrast to the 'we' of ownership among the management respondents. Despite the longevity of internationalization in the SBE, the policy seems interpreted very much as imposed, just as in the MS. However, the MS teacher does recognize that being international entails more than simply presenting 'the Dutch side of the medical systems', and that it requires training the medical students how to deal with people of different nationalities.

The student respondents seem more pragmatic. The MS student perceives the current medical programme as not international, 'it's bilingual but it's not international' (7). The SBE student similarly expects an international university to be one where 'I can meet people from all over the world' (11), but, despite the university's claims, 'forty percent will be Germans, forty percent will be Dutch and twenty percent from another country French Belgian [...] very few will come from really abroad' (11). In the eyes of the students there is a mismatch between the university's external presentation and their experiential perception.

If this sample is representative, it shows that the internationalization policy does not attune with the attitudes of many of the university actors. There is a degree of reluctant commitment but it is accompanied by passive resistance. Students would like clarity.

2 LANGUAGE USE: MULTILINGUALISM

From the management perspective, the policy is bilingual, Dutch and English: 'We use both languages' (1), but the Executive Board representative interprets this at an institutional level. He rejects the idea that students should be competent in Dutch and English, thus excluding the promotion of individual bilingualism among the students as a goal of the educational programmes. Somewhat

similarly, the MS dean argues in favour of having two separate tracks in medicine (in Dutch and in English). He sees it as 'on the one hand our chance for survival, on the other hand our chance to develop a truly unique profile' (4). Although he welcomes a degree of switching between the programmes, it is not an explicit goal that students should become bilingual. It is noticeable that the respondents do not address the fact that many students will have to be functionally competent already in two or more languages (Dutch, English and their mother tongue if it is not either of these). Instead, the SBE faculty director notes a community-building effect of using a single common language, English:

> I think it's very convenient to have English as a common language where […] almost everyone has difficulties to communicate in, and ok that's also a kind of binding factor I guess. It's difficult for the Germans, but also for the French, and also for the Dutch, but ok that the leverage [*sic*] playing field for everybody. (8)

She comments further that the gradual expansion of EMI programmes led to 'a whole stage of implementation that forced us into, well, have an English organization', that is 'an organization where English was also the language of instruction and communication' (8). Thus, the EMI programmes have engendered a largely monolingual faculty.

The SBE teacher is more forthright on this process and emphasizes how the faculty's English monolingualism obliges the staff to be bilingual:

> We're no longer bilingual now. We only use English, which means that the institution is monolingual or whatever it might be called, er, and since most employees are obviously not native speakers, the mono-linguality of the institution requires bilingualism on the side of the staff members. (10)

Little overt attempt is made to access the knowledge that staff members possess of or in other languages. 'In such conditions the Dutch are, well, quite easy to abandon the use of the Dutch language and, well, of necessity use English' (10).

The MS teacher similarly sees her faculty as monolingual, in this case in Dutch: 'I would think that we are not bilingual, we don't we don't present it like that to the students. Bilingual means that you use two languages' (6). Moreover, she hopes the school will remain monolingual in Dutch: 'I don't think that we will change into an English school' (6).

The students take a more pragmatic view of language usage in and around their studies. For the medical student, it is not practical to have more of the programme in English since medical students in practice and doctors have to communicate mainly in Dutch. Even if all the information is in English, 'you have to explain it in Dutch, so I don't think it's really possible to have more English.' (7) The SBE student, however, recognizes problems among the different language groups in his faculty, and would like to see more mixing, socially as well as professionally:

> One of the basic problems that happen everywhere you go that people of the same language stick together, the Dutch stick together, the Germans stick together, the Francophone people stick together, and a few internationals stick together, so it's quite quite tricky to mix those groups which what would be really beneficial for everyone. (11)

He notes that many students prefer to improve their French or their Spanish, rather than learn Dutch. He regrets the negligible attention paid to other languages than English.

Assuming the sample is representative, the study shows that the institution which has an official bilingual policy does not in fact stimulate multilingualism under its internationalization process. The role for language is not foremost in the thinking. The perception is that if a programme is in Dutch, then students will naturally develop their Dutch, although in general most students would be considered native speakers of Dutch or the equivalent. Similarly, if a programme is in English, everything would be expected to be managed in English, and the use of other languages is scarcely taken into account. In the SBE, strong efforts encourage 'maintaining English as the lingua franca in and around the classroom' (Swaan, 2014). This effectively discourages the use of other languages even if it has the laudable goal of preventing the social exclusion of students who do not come from the principal language groups represented in the school. According to its strategic plan, the SBE does oblige most students to spend a semester abroad where they would encounter the opportunity to develop other language skills (Online 1).

Nevertheless, as Cornips (2013b) has noted, there is widespread recognition that people do speak other languages in many practical contexts, including the local dialect (see also Lasagabaster, 2015a). What speakers say they do or would like to do in different contexts may differ from what they actually do in practice. Despite English being perceived as level playing field (according to the SBE director, 8), each participant in the educational encounter will have made different investments, more or less costly, and the costs could be higher for speakers from minoritized groups (Van Parijs, 2004).

DISCUSSION

The respondents in this study reveal differing opinions about internationalization. The management takes ownership of the process and sees it as a necessity for the ongoing development of the university, even for survival reasons (Wilkinson, 2013), while the academic staff interviewed are more circumspect. There is a feeling of coercion into an internationalization policy that they see the merits of, but they do not feel fully consulted about what is to them a top-down decision. Students on the other hand would like to see a more international university. The external presentation of the university as international generates a more intercultural and more multilingual picture than is the case in reality.

The internationalization policy does not promote bilingualism or multilingualism among staff or students, even though in practice both groups may be obliged to function in what is to them a second or additional language, English. There seems to be an inherent risk in an internationalization policy that does not have the full commitment of the staff and students.

The language policy of the university (Maastricht University, 2013), as part of its internationalization strategy, does not aim to develop multilingual competences among the staff and students. It does advocate though that where appropriate, students should have access to training in other languages, in particular in preparation for traineeships. However, as Cornips (2013b) has mentioned, people use the language they feel most suitable for the situation. They may well, albeit without being fully aware of it, assess the context using some approximation of Van Parijs's (2004) 'maximin' principle, and moreover are highly prone to engaging in 'code-meshing'. While institutional language policies may be necessary for regulating certain administrative functions of the university, the language of examination or the linguistic competences specified in recruitment, it seems that too rigidly elaborating a policy may instead preclude actors in the institutional environment from making the best use of their available linguistic resources. Language policies may indeed not take account of the practicalities of day-to-day language use (Kuteeva and Airey, 2014). A flexible approach to practical language use accords with the opinion voiced in Van Hoorde (2014) about the Dutch stance towards languages, especially in higher education. The Dutch on the whole have a relaxed attitude to the dominant use of English, and do not see it as threatening the position of Dutch. However, there is concern about the potential effect of 'English only' (Phillipson, 2003), and that a policy of multiple language use, plurilingualism, is preferred by the Nederlands Taalunie (Dutch Language Union) (Van Hoorde, 2014). The Nederlands Taalunie recommends a policy of language complementarity, Dutch and English, in higher education, where 'no language, not even English, is entitled to replace all other languages in all possible communicative situations' (Van Hoorde, 2015: 255). Nevertheless, detailed institutional language policies may have a similar perverse effect to the European Union's Erasmus programme or the Bologna process in that they all reinforce the strength of a dominant language. They do little to address the inequities of power in communicative transactions. In contrast, it may be more beneficial to view language competences from a broader perspective as being comprised of a plurilingual mesh of all the languages a speaker possesses (cf. Canaragarah, 2009). With such an approach, institutional language policy could be 'loose', to the extent that considerable freedom may be permitted in the languages each participant chooses to use, enabling teaching and learning to evolve in heteroglossic multilingualism (Lasagabaster, 2015b). It may be that heteroglossic multilingualism could stimulate more elaborated learning outcomes, although such a hypothesis requires investigation.

In some respects, the university has recognized aspects of inequity in the present language use in its educational context. For several years the institution

has offered basic Dutch to all incoming full-time bachelor's students for free (Online 2). However, questions have been raised about discrimination against Dutch students who make up about half the university's student population. There has been no equivalent language offer to the local students. Now the Executive Board has authorized the provision of free German courses for Dutch students (L. Soete, personal communication, 2 November 2015; Online 2), and the provision may be extended to other languages. Nevertheless, such a policy does not address the fundamental inequities in a context where English is the principal medium of instruction. If the introduction of 'free Dutch' was intended as a proactive policy to encourage at least some of the incoming students from abroad to seek employment in the Netherlands (a kind of 'brain gain', Stark, Helmenstein and Prskawetz, 1997), the policy of 'free German' may, conceivably, be construed as an incentive to stimulate Dutch students to migrate to Germany, or at least to work with German firms. Unlike the case with the Dutch provision, the level at which free German courses are given is 'advanced', which is clearly aimed at enhancing the chances of employment in a specific discipline in that language. Further free provision of German, and potentially other languages, may be at a low level ('basic'). Although English may be accepted as a necessary competence for not only international but also national employment today, and thus a higher education institution could be considered as remiss if it failed to enhance its graduates' employability, that same institution would also be remiss if it provided its education only in English and failed to open up insights into challenges the world faces that derive from the perceptions of these challenges through other languages and cultures.

This study is naturally subject to limitations in that it comprises a small qualitative survey. Generalizations therefore can only be drawn advisedly. Nevertheless, the implications may well have relevance in other institutions including those in regions like the Baltic. Secondly, it concerns only two faculties, albeit one being largely Dutch-medium, the other almost completely English-medium. It would be interesting to investigate other faculties, especially those with a mix of Dutch- and English-medium programmes. Similarly, it would be instructive to investigate the perceptions of the concepts among staff and students at other institutions. Thirdly, the interviews were conducted in English. It would be enlightening to see if different outcomes ensued if interviews were conducted under a heteroglossic multilingual approach.

CONCLUSIONS

This interview study shows that an internationalization policy leading to the use of a single dominant language does not carry the support of all members at the Dutch university under study. While the academic staff acquiesce to the use of the dominant language, English, and indeed recognize the value of teaching through English, the conclusion is that not everything need be conducted through that language, just as in Dutch programmes not everything is carried out

in Dutch. This presents a dilemma for policymakers regarding the extent to which it is feasible to specify language policy in practice. Hence, this paper concludes with a preference for a 'loose' language policy. It is likely that other institutions in other countries which face similar challenges of internationalization are confronted with the same dilemma.

Yet, if internationalization is limited only to non-transformative exchanges between a university and entities outside, then a rigid bilingual or multilingual language policy may suffice. Essentially the institutional system engages with the international, but it does not undergo any transformative change. If on the other hand the institutional system opts to entertain globalization and is willing to undertake any changes that ensue in its desire to extract benefits from globalization, then that should include a willingness to take a less rigid approach to its linguistic environment. This means that it should be ready to accommodate the diversity of languages and cultures that will come, and dispense with a policy of English-only.

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APPENDIX

TRANSCRIPTION GUIDELINES

Spelling:	UK spelling (Oxford)
Punctuation:	Full stops/periods inserted where an utterance marks a sentence end. Commas inserted for reading ease if necessary.
Q	Interviewer
A	Interviewee
(…)	Brief hesitations or silences
[…]	Text omission
[word]	Addition for clarity
([Number])	Interviewee identifier

1 Executive Board
2 Central University Officer
3 Central University Officer
4 Medical School Dean
5 Medical School Educationalist
6 Medical School Teacher
7 Medical School Student Representative
8 School of Business & Economics Director
9 School of Business & Economics Educationalist
10 School of Business & Economics Teacher
11 School of Business & Economics Student Representative

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TRANSLATIONS, TRANSLATORS AND TRANSLATION CRITICISM IN LATVIA BETWEEN THE WARS (1918–1940)

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Abstract. Latvia's brief period of independence (1918/20–1940) saw book publishing on a massive scale. The range of source languages was growing, with English slightly ahead of German in the pre-war years (German was also the main intermediary language), and French and Russian following. The literature translated was also extremely varied, as was quality. The choice of works to be translated was very much in the hands of translators and publishers, who in turn thought of marketing interests. With the advent of cheap books, print runs grew longer and high-quality literature became accessible to a broader public. The authoritarian system since 1934 gently pushed the media in the direction of more substantial and classical values. Print runs were not very long: averaging around 2000. The percentage of translations seems to fluctuate widely, but in the domain of novels, translations always numerically surpassed native production. A large number of translators were also writers in their native Latvian, many were highly notable ones, but members of other professions frequently produced specialised translations as well. Gradually some individuals became professional translators from the favourite source languages. Translator visibility grew over time and depended on the status of the work translated. Visibility was high for high-quality texts and lower for the lower end. Translation criticism, however, remained very limited, mainly focusing on the quality of the Latvian, and lambasting pulp-literature translation in general.

Key words: translation, Latvian, source language distribution, translators, publishers, criticism, visibility

INTRODUCTION

The translation scene during the independence period (1918/20–1940) is an almost untouched area in Latvian translation history, although the Baltic, Swedish and German literary contacts have been studied (Stepiņš, 1983; Kalnačs, 2005; *Latvieši*, 2008). There are some general studies of the literary scene in Latvia in this period, mostly statistical and focusing on original literature created and published during the independence years, and on publishers (Grāmata, 1999). It must be pointed out that the translation issues of the independence period were generally ignored during the Soviet period. Thus, Karulis's serious and comprehensive Soviet-period study of Latvian publishing paid little, and mostly critical, attention to these processes (Karulis, 1967).

Latvian national identity, which is language-centred, the literary polysystem and even the written language itself are all the result of translation. Translations have always constituted the majority of serious literary texts. Translation played an exceptionally important, even pivotal, role in the beginnings of written Latvian in the 16th–18th centuries. Translators (native German speakers) shaped, codified and modified written Latvian. Religious translations applied an approach of rigorous fidelity. Secular translations were localisations of easy-reading, sentimental German stories. Parallel to the rise of native literature in the 19th century, the main approach gradually shifted from adaptation and domestication to foreignisation and fidelity. More ambitious translations of Western classics started, usually done by distinguished Latvian writers. Alongside the traditional, faithful translations, some were freely shortened and otherwise modified. After independence in the early 20th century, the volume of translation grew, and literature from more exotic sources was also translated.

Secular vernacular translation has often helped to initiate national literary traditions and even nation-building (Chernetsky, 2011: 34; Kumar, 2013). The Latvian nation emerged late in the 19th century and did so as a cultural nation: the aim of national liberation was to develop the language and culture (Levits, 2012: 73–74). Latvian national identity is therefore very language-centred. This has already been emphasised by other researchers: 'Latvian is the basic element of national identity' (Bušmane, 2009: 160), 'the Latvian language is undeniably an element of national identity; not the only one, but the most significant one' (Druviete, 2012: 97). Many aspects of Latvian national identity have arisen and developed in contact with other languages and cultures. Many national traditions and artefacts were in fact creatively borrowed from other nations (song festivals, for example, were borrowed from the Germans). Because nation-building began late, various elements deemed necessary for nationhood had to be imported, adapted and modified. Thus, two attitudes could be seen working in combination: the *defective* stance against the alien (absorbing everything that is missing) and the *defensive* one (defending and absorbing through transformation) (Robyns, 1994). Usually this was done through the translation and dissemination of new ideas. Translation was used as a way of influencing the target culture and furthering literary, political and personal interests. The various people involved in this process can be viewed as *agents of translation* (Milton, 2009). Among them were Latvian writers and poets, most of whom were prolific translators in addition to writing their own works. Generally, they started with translations, where they looked for ideas, for trends to be replicated and adapted to the Latvian scene and necessities of the period. Thus, paradoxically, Latvian identity and language formation have translations at their very core (Veisbergs, 2012). With the establishment of the new state, these processes acquired new depth and intensity.

1 PUBLISHING IN GENERAL

Before the First World War, publishing in Latvia had developed fast, reaching 869 titles with a sizeable average print run of 3300 in 1913 (Karulis, 1967: 140). Publishing went into a sharp decline when war broke out, aggravated by censorship, the evacuation of printing houses and a shortage of paper. The German-Russian front crept towards Latvian territory: part of Latvia (Kurzeme, Zemgale) came under the German occupation in 1915, followed by Riga in 1917 and the rest of Latvia in 1918. As a result, the number of books published fell below 300 in 1914 and 100 in 1915. These were mostly small propaganda brochures. In 1916 most publishing is of political propaganda by the various sides, along with calendars and religious literature (some translated). In 1917 and 1918, also, around 200 titles were published each year. In 1919 there was a brief period of Soviet rule, during which publishers were nationalised and most publications were propaganda.

Once *de facto* independence was established and warfare ceased, publishing picked up: 70 titles in 1919 (Karulis, 1991, 2: 89). Pre-censorship was abolished, although the authoritarian regime reinstated it for a short period from 1934. Post-censorship was liberal, focusing mostly on moral issues, for example banning sales of D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Extremist literature was banned as well, but was still imported by Soviet or Nazi bootleggers.

A considerable number of original Latvian books were published in 1919: mostly patriotic literature, celebrating and boosting national feelings, as well as various translations and plays. In the post-war years paper quality was poor, the books were mostly small-print brochures, people had little money to spare and print runs were short. Translations were few but very varied: five works by Marx and Kautsky from the brief Soviet period, some German and French plays and operas (Baadsgaard, 1919; Heijermans, 1919; Werharns, 1919; Glass 1919; Tanheizers, 1919) and a volume of stories by H. G. Wells (*Angļu rakstneeka Uelsa noweles*, 1919) surprisingly adorned with a picture of the first Latvian head of government, Ulmanis. 1920 saw already around 750 books, 93 per cent in Latvian among them 194 calendars! (Karulis, 1991, 3: 90).

In 1921, 719 titles were published and by 1924 the number had doubled to 1536. Works of Shakespeare, Tagore, Wilde, Kipling, Conan Doyle, Wells, Heine, Kleist, Goethe, Maupassant etc. were published. The early 1920s were to a large extent the heyday of pulp literature, both translated and local. The *Old Wawerli* (1923–1925) dime novels about an American trapper (110 in total) were extremely popular, reaching 10,000 copies. Some quotes and expressions from them have entered the language even though hardly anyone has read them today. They had no connection to the novels of Walter Scott or Cooper's novels but came from the German series (*Heftroman*) *Der Neue Lederstrumpf* published by Dresdner Roman Verlag in 1912–25. No translator was mentioned. *Tarzan* sequels (22 volumes) appeared in the same year (Burroughs, 1923) with the translator mentioned. Some other popular series in the same years were

pirate stories (Sem, 1924) in 22 volumes, Frank Allan detective stories (Franks, 1923–1924) in six volumes, the German *Harry Piel* detective stories (*Harijs Pīls*, 1923) in 20 volumes; and the German Robert Kraft *Detektiv Nobody* adventure stories in eight volumes (Krafts, 1923–24) with the translator named as Pastarits (the nickname of Kārlis Dzelsskalns/Dzelzkalns/Dzelzkalējs). Eight volumes of Sherlock Holmes stories (*Šerloka Holmsa sērija*, 1923) were also translated by Pastarīts. Later, Allan Pinkerton's detective adventures were published (Pinkertons, 1928–1930).

Similar local production developed in parallel with these as a result of culture transfer: 40 volumes of true crime stories (*Bandīta Kraupēna noziegumi*, 1926–27), another series of 42 volumes (*Bandītu karālis*, 1926–27), 12 volumes of detective stories (*Pats Dāvuss,* 1925–27), 21 volumes of adventure stories set in the foreign legion (Vanags, 1934), 20 volumes (*Kapteinis Tālivaldis*, 1926–27) about the adventures of a Latvian boy on far-off seas. Interestingly, all of these publications were included in a list of 'pulp and obscene literature dangerous to youth' that was regularly updated and published in the government newspaper.

Some state-sponsored activities involving the Ministry of Education and Leta (the State Telegraph Agency) helped foster the recovery. The Culture Foundation subsidised some publishing and book acquisition by libraries. State involvement grew after the authoritarian regime was established in 1934. Though state support mainly went to original Latvian writing and reference literature, some serious translations were also involved, such as *La Divina Commedia* (Dante, 1921a), the Estonian epic *Kalevipoeg* (*Kalevipoegs,* 1929) and works of Thucydides (Tūcidids, 1930).

A total of 1918 titles was published in 1925 and this figure held steady until the world crisis which hit publishing severely. In 1925, translations nominally constituted around 15 per cent of titles published, among them serious works by Poe, Shaw, Tammsaare, Hamsun, Plato, Wilde, Scott (*Ivanhoe*), Swift (*Gulliver's Travels*), but also adaptations of foreign works, such as a popular introduction to the Theory of Relativity by Liberts 'reproduced according to Schmidt' (*Relativitates teorijas*, 1925). The original German version *Das Weltbild der Relativitätstheorie: Allgemeinverständliche Einführung in die Einsteinsche Lehre von Raum und Zeit* was published in 1922 by Harry Schmidt, and was popular. Some translations were done via intermediary languages, for example the *Decameron* by Boccaccio was 'compiled from German and Russian translations by Diženajo' (Bokatschio 1925).

A new marketing product, one-lats books, appeared in the mid-1920s (in fact a similar venture can be seen in Ansis Gulbis' *Universālā bibliotēka* launched in 1911). This new mode was introduced by the enterprising young Rudzītis, who established the company Grāmatu Draugs in 1926. These were substantial, often classical or modern books all costing one lats each, including home delivery (advertised as books for free, you pay only for P&P). The scheme turned out to be very successful: Rudzītis had calculated he needed to sell 5000 copies to make profit since the low price (a third or a fifth of standard levels) would be

offset by the high sales. A total of 24 such titles were produced in the first year: Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Balzac, Strindberg, Maupassant, Zola and Kellermann, reaching 18,000 copies. Latvia fell into a reading frenzy. At first, almost all books were translations: of the first 24 books only four were Latvian originals. Latvia had not joined the Berne Convention, so there were no royalty costs until 1938. The necessity to produce so many books within a short time meant translators had to work fast, and sometimes a single title was split between several translators to speed things up. For example, a book on Nordic exploration was translated by three people (Andrē, 1931), as was *Buddenbrooks* (see below). Rudzītis also expanded into publishing books in Estonian, Russian and Polish and was looking to the German publisher Ullstein for inspiration and new ideas. He published collected works by Nordic writers, encyclopaedias on accessible subjects (health, history of art, geography and travel, a youth encyclopaedia, practical tips) and other reference literature. His early success led him to establish his own print shop. Within a short period, the new paradigm spread: other companies (such as A. Gulbis) followed. They were less successful, but competition served to drive quality up. In two years from 1926, 34 publishers produced 444 cheap titles, of which Grāmatu Draugs had 101 and Gulbis 62 (Galdiņš, 1928: 386). Though there was much criticism of these new developments, objectively speaking these one-lats books filled the broad expanse between the pulp literature and elitist, classical literature and broke down the obvious border between these extremes.

The economic crisis hit publishing hard, the number of titles fell to 1513 in 1930, and still further to 797 in 1932. Translations of cheap literature saw growth. After the crisis, the situation stabilised and print runs grew to 2500–3000. Apart from quality literature, popular literature translations were also done (56 Edgar Wallace crime novels translated from English, and 106 titles by Hedwig Courths-Mahler translated from German in the interwar period (Karulis, 1997: 10)), frequently annotated as 'free reproductions'.

In the late 1930s, Latvia ranked second in Europe after Denmark in titles published per 100,000 inhabitants (Denmark: 86, Latvia: 82). Altogether 27,000 titles were published during the period of independence, and the average print run was 2500–2800 (Zanders, 2013: 337). The largest print runs were for schoolbooks, calendars and translated fiction, often in the high 10,000s. A total of 83 per cent of titles were in Latvian, and print runs and book sizes were growing (Skujenieks, 1938).

The publishing industry in the 1920s and 1930s is characterised by several large companies with different agendas and specialisations (political, artistic, volume, quality) as well as a multitude of small publishers and individual, haphazard publishers. Thus, there were 479 publishers in 1939, among them around 200 occasional publishers (Ķiploks, 1942: 145; Karulis, 1967: 183).

Various literary journals and magazines, *Latvju Grāmata* (1922–1931), *Sējējs, Burtnieks, Daugava, Ritums, Domas, Trauksme, Grāmatnieks, Ilustrēts žurnāls*, etc. discussed literary issues, problems and quality, but the focus was on native literature and news from abroad (see under Translation Criticism).

The largest publishers were:

- Valters un Rapa, who published around 3500 titles, mostly original Latvian works, schoolbooks, popular science

- Ansis Gulbis produced around 2000 titles, mostly Latvian literature and encyclopaedias, including the exhaustive general encyclopaedia *Latviešu konversācijas vārdnīca* (21 volumes), which remained unfinished due to the Soviet occupation. The latter was the result of work by the new Latvian intellectual elite and no doubt was much based on translated reference literature. He also published a History of the World Literature in 4 volumes that apart from descriptions had numerous translated samples of writing (Egle un Upīts, 1930–1934)

- Jānis Roze produced around 750 titles, mostly original Latvian literature

- Grāmatu Draugs (see below) produced 890 titles. This new publisher started as a business venture, in the beginning it mainly produced translations, but it later turned to original and quality literature, collected works of Nordic literature, encyclopaedic works (involving translations), the big Animal World encyclopaedia (see below), etc.

- Jessens produced over 350 titles, mainly small-scale editions for children, including two abridged versions of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe,* as well as Lofting, Swift, Hauff, Hedin, Brehm, Lagerlöf, Kipling, Twain, the Brothers Grimm and quite a range of Russian translations, among them Turgenev, Mamin-Sibiryak, Bianki

- The left-wing Kultūras Balss (under 200 books) offered socio-political literature: Russian and German socialist literature, some nonfiction (Faraday, Ostwald), as well as translations of Voynich, Strindberg, Tolstoy, Sinclair, Hašek, France. This publisher was very productive in the early years and the left-wing writer Jānis Grots who translated Hašek, Wells, Sinclair, Yesenin and Blok often published here

- Zelta Ābele, set up in the mid-1930s, specialised in quality prints: 48 quality titles with pictures were produced, also translations of Hoffmann, Lagerlöf, Poe, France, Musset, Wilde, Rilke, Kuprin, Pushkin, etc.

- Orients published fewer than 200 titles, almost exclusively translations and mostly easy-reading literature, including most Courths-Mahler novels

- Atis Freinats, a one-man publisher and book vendor (colporteur), produced over 50 books, among them translations of London (collected works 14 volumes), Ballantyne, Scott, Hamsun, Twain, Tolstoy, Pushkin, Gogol, Verne and De Coster, in addition to Latvian texts.

2 TRANSLATIONS

The literature translated was extremely varied, as was translation quality (Veisbergs, 2014a,b). The print runs were not very long: 2793 in 1938, when 1601

titles were produced. Translations fluctuated between 10 and 20 per cent of all publications, for example, they stood at 17.8 per cent in 1938 (Karulis, 1967: 143). Though translations nominally never surpassed the original books in total numbers, the figures show a different picture when subtypes of works are viewed. A rough estimate in a study of the early 1930s shows translations accounting for about 40 per cent of belles-lettres over a five-year period but, when print runs and volumes are taken into account, the figures turn in favour of translations. In novels, the proportion is 60 to 40 in favour of imported goods. Only in poetry is Latvian in the lead, by 90 to 10. The statistical study then becomes more biased and subdivides novel translations into welcome classical works (13), modern classics (around 60) and around 200 'modern kiosk belles-lettres boulevard novels'. Translations are often the work of unqualified or even unskilled people (*Literāriskais imports,* 1931: 481–483). Regrettably, the study does not subdivide native works, implying that they are all considered high-quality. A more detailed review in the late 1930s entitled '163 novels' informs us that the yearly output of novels consisted of 61 translated novels published as books, 38 novels translated in instalments in newspapers, 35 in collections. The figures for Latvian novels are 24 in book form and 39 in instalment or collections. Thus, the proportion has not changed. The author regrets that Latvian writers do not produce adventure novels (Erss, 1939). R. Egle has calculated that in the period between 1918 and 1938 1999 original writing publications and 1907 translations were done, among them 273 original novels versus 1070 translated novels (Egle R., 1989).

Latvia joined the Berne Convention in May 1938 (*Likums,* 1936). Until then translation was open to anyone, without permission or royalties or even any need to point out that the text was a translation. This certainly made translation publishing an attractive line of business.

The range of source languages was gradually growing. While German was the main source and intermediate language after the First World War, two decades later English was slightly ahead of German with the Russian, French and the Scandinavian languages following. This was a change from the total dominance of German as source and intermediary language until the end of the 19th century (and even after the National Awakening in the mid-19th century, whose ideology was to a large extent anti-German). The 1920s saw an expansion beyond the traditional big quartet of source languages (German, Russian, English and French). Interest turned to the neighbouring literatures of Lithuania, Estonia and Scandinavia. Baltic cooperation, partly supported by governments, created a large turnover of these translations. These new trends are exemplified by the translation of the Estonian classic, Anton Tammsaare's monumental '*Tõde ja õigus*' (Truth and Justice) by the Latvian writer and translator Elīna Zālīte (see below). The book was a bestseller: it ran to 5000 copies in 1936, with a second impression of another 5000 in 1937 (total sales exceeded those in Estonian).

It should be noted that the vast majority of translations were fiction, biography and history books; the rest were religious books, popular science and practical advice books. The technical sector was covered by original Latvian

books, many of which were covert translations and adaptations. One should remember that professionals and most educated people could read German and Russian in the original. Encyclopaedic works naturally involved much browsing and translating on the part of the authors as well (see below). Apart from book format, there were many translations in newspapers and magazines. For example, the most popular Latvian tabloid *Jaunākās Ziņas* often had one or two translated novel instalments a third of a page long in every paper, mostly entertaining or romantic pulp literature by now forgotten authors (Max du Veuzit and Franke Sander in 1936, Dekobra in 1937, Frank Packard in 1938, Zsolt Harsányi, Stella Richards, etc. in 1939). Another popular tabloid, *Brīvā zeme,* though giving preference to serialisations of Latvian literature, published the popular novel *Vientuļās debesis* (*Einsamer Himmel)* by German-American author Katrin Holland (pseudonym of Martha Albrand)*,* in 1939, the year after it was published. In 1937, *Brīvā zeme* serialised *Kalnu klusajā ielejā* by the Swiss novelist Ernst Zahn; in 1939, his novel *Bez ceļa* is serialised in *Kurzemes vārds*. The newspapers do not mention the translators. Some of these translations were also published in book form, and occasionally the author's name was Latvianised inconsistently: *Max du Veuzit* is *Vezī* in the newspaper but *Wesi* in the book (Wesi di 1936).

A new translation of the New Testament was published in 1937 after a special emendation commission was established in 1928. Eleven translators translated it from the original Greek. It was printed in the new orthography, the print run was 25,000 copies and it sold out within a year and a half. Another edition of 25,000 followed in 1939. The New Testament thus became Latvia's bestseller.

3 CHOICE OF TRANSLATION

The choice of what to translate was in the hands of the publishers. While some were investing in classics and serious books, others went for profit and published pulp paperbacks, still others tried to find middle road. Translators were often better informed about the current literary situation than publishers, and Germany often served as a model: what was translated there was soon translated into Latvian. Rudzītis started his new venture with one single translator, Kārkliņš, and at first they decided what to translate for themselves. Later, other translators brought ideas and manuscripts. As publishing only took a month and there was no editing or proofreading at first, standards were sometimes poor, witness the fact they were edited by a third party. Thus, a novel by Sudermann (Zudermans, 1927) is subtitled 'translation edited by Pāvils Rozītis' (Rozītis was a writer himself and did some occasional translations). Most likely the translator had totally failed and an editor was needed to save the book in time for the deadline. We do not know who the translator was. The system was later improved and expanded and a sound team of expert translators and editors selected. When the publishers felt there was interest and they had prepared the ground, they issued a major series of translations, for example, of Nordic (Hamsun 15 volumes, Lagerlöf 15 volumes, Undset 16 volumes) and Russian authors (Dostoyevsky 16 volumes).

Some other publishers were very selective, for example, Gulbis and Zelta Ābele mostly published quality literature. Orients, on the other hand, published mostly pulp literature

4 TRANSLATION SOURCE LANGUAGES

The proportion of translations from various languages changed over the two decades under consideration.

German literature translations totaled around 700 (including Austrian and Swiss authors) and retained their lead in the total count of the two decades of Latvian independence. They were, however, surpassed numerically by English in the second half of the 1930s. In addition, much translation from less-known languages was done via German. During and immediately after the war, there were hardly any translations, but their number picked up in 1922 and 1923. Classics such as Goethe and the Grimms' fairy tales were staples, and Kleist, Heine, Schnitzler, Heinrich and Thomas Mann were popular. Later attention shifted to more contemporary German literature (Kalnačs, 2005: 627). The late 1920s saw a whole series of Kellermann and Sudermann (collected works). Kästner was popular in the 1930s, and Remarque attracted much interest. Top of the German list, however, was Hedwig Courths-Mahler with 106 titles in the mid-thirties (Karulis, 1997: 10), peaking at 34 titles published in 1934 alone. These translations were frequently annotated as 'free reproductions'. They constituted about a fifth of German translations, ensuring its dominance over English. There were also serious translations, for example Nietzsche's *Thus spoke Zarathustra*, translated by the outstanding Latvian poet Plūdons (Nīcše, 1939). It is interesting that Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* was translated by a team of translators: Lizete Skalbe, (writer turned translator) Kārlis Štrāls, Zelma Kroder (Manns, 1930) with Štrāls harmonising their styles (Rudzītis, 1997: 91).

English (around 650 translations) was a rare source language in the early days: in 1915 there was only a translation of Conan Doyle stories, in 1919 a translation of H. G. Wells. Later, 1920 and 1921 saw a couple of translations, including some technical military texts, and 1923 saw a rapid growth. In the later 1920s there were around ten translations per year, works by Shakespeare, Kipling and very numerous translations of Oscar Wilde. It is worth remembering that the first English-Latvian dictionary was published only in 1924. Later the number of English translations overtook that of German, and works by Maugham, Cronin, Milne, Lofting, Walpole, Twain (collected works), Poe, Dreiser, London (two editions of collected works in 14 and 30 volumes), Mayne Reid (10 volumes), and Galsworthy (7 titles) were popular. Some Shakespeare's plays were published and an academic edition of his complete works was started, but only the first volume (5 plays) was published before the Soviet occupation (*Viljama Šekspīra darbi*, 1938). The English thriller writer Wallace had 56 books translated in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Russian translations (around 350) picked up in the mid-1920s and focused on Russian classics. There were many translations of Chekhov, Turgenev (collected works), Tolstoy (collected works), children's tales and Dostoyevsky in the second half of the 1920s. After that, Russian translations declined in number and apart from classics (Dostoyevsky collected works in 16 volumes) focused mostly on Russian past or adventure, crime and occult stories involving émigrés, for example, nine novels by Olga Bebutova and nearly 20 novels by Vera Krizhanovskaya (Крыжановская, Вера Ивановна, pseudonym Rochester) were published in the 1930s (Krischanowska, 1932). Russian was also the second most frequent intermediary language for translations from less known languages. Some schoolbooks and medical texts were translated from Russian in the early 1920s.

French translations sustained a steep climb and then declined: translations per year averaged above 15 in the 1920s but below 10 in the 1930s. All in all over 240 titles were translated over the two decades, giving a good coverage of French literature both classical and modern. Maupassant was the most widely translated author, clocking up 38 books by 1933 (he was also the first to have his collected works translated), Dumas had 20, Rolland 17, Dekobra (a very popular subversive writer of the interwar period, now totally forgotten) 15, Verne 12, Zola 8, France 7, Balzac 4, Flaubert 4, Molière 3. A record of sorts was set when 12 volumes of Allain and Souvestre's *Fantômas* were published in a single year, 1933. The most frequent translators were Kroders, Ezeriņš, Upīts and Virza (the last three being notable writers in their own right). Of these, Virza produced the most congenial translations since he mostly translated poets and writers close to his own stylistic taste. Translation from French included also around 10 Belgian titles, among them Simenon, and Charles de Coster's *Légende d'Ulenspiegel* translated by Jaunsudrabiņš (Kostērs, 1927). Interestingly, the same work was translated in an abridged version by another Latvian writer residing in the USSR, Sudraba Edžus (Kostērs de, 1936).

Norwegian, amazingly, was the fourth most frequent source language. Around 90 works were translated during the two decades, mostly Hamsun (collected works), Undset (collected works) and Ibsen. The main translators were Lizete Skalbe, Otto Krolls, Elija Kliene and Jānis Akuraters. Perhaps a similar mentality and literary taste was the reason, or perhaps the fact that some literary Latvians had emigrated to Norway after the unsuccessful 1905 revolution.

Swedish followed, with around 60 translations, many in the early 1920s, then a certain decline followed, and again an upsurge in the 1930s. The most popular writers were Lagerlöf, with 36 books (half of all the Swedish works translated, including her collected works in 15 volumes). Her translations were frequently also published in periodicals (Stepiņš, 1983: 47). Other popular authors were Strindberg, the Swedish-speaking Finnish writer Salminen and Axel Munthe whose *Story of San Michele* (Munte, 1935/6) reached three editions. It was, though, translated from English (the language of the original) by A. Upīts. Most of the translations from Swedish were done by Elija Kliene.

Polish was represented by over 40 titles, including the collected works of Sienkiewicz in 24 volumes.

Italian translations amounted to over 30, with a tendency to decline in numbers. It is noteworthy that Italian translations started early. Perhaps this was due to the fact that Italy was the first of the major powers to recognise the new Latvian state. Apart from Dante, there were quite a few small translations and plays. *La Divina Commedia* was published by the Ministry of Education in 1921 (Dante, 1921a). It was followed by a work dedicated to the 600th anniversary of Dante's death, containing learned articles on the poet in addition to his immortal work (Dante, 1921b). It was republished in a revised version in 1936 and 1937 (Dante, 1936, 1937). Some translations were done from German, some were free adaptations (Kollodi, 1924, Deledda, 1937). The main translators from Italian were Kroders, Grēviņš, Krolls, Kārkliņš, Māsēns, Diženajo, Lessiņa.

Estonian translations exceeded 30. Small booklets of stories by Tuglas were popular in the early 1920s, some translated by Rihards Bērziņš (Valdess) and Alfrēds Ķempis/e. Later came larger works by Tammsaare, translated by Zālīte. She was also the translator of the Estonian epic *Kalevipoeg* (1929).

Finnish accounted for over 30 translations. Zālīte translated many works. The Finnish epic *Kalevala* was done by Laicens (1924). Salminen (a Finn writing in Swedish) and Sillanpää were popular.

There were around 30 books translated from **Danish**, with Andersen's fairy tales dominating: regular issues of 14 titles and his collected works were translated by Apsīšu Jēkabs with the translator's comments, most were older translations, presumably from German.

Czech translations amounted to under 20, among them Hašek and Čapek were the most popular. Translations were usually done through an intermediary language and are not of high quality (see further). Belkovskis translated three works directly from Czech.

Lithuanian, although a related language and Latvia's neighbour, was translated less, with a total of 16 titles. A bulky Lithuanian prose anthology was published in 1935 (*Lietava sveicina*, 1935), containing short works by 73 authors, with three introductions, including one by the translator, Emīlija Prūsa. However, the choice of authors was somewhat subjective and some stories were shortened. The translator's introduction apologised for these shortcomings, blaming haste and bad planning. Fairly numerous short stories and poems appeared in press and magazines.

Spanish was represented by about 15 titles, including several editions of Cervantes' *Don Quijote*. The first was an abridged version translated from Russian by Birznieks-Upītis (Servantes, 1924). Another abridged translation followed in 1937 (de Servantess, 1937), followed soon after by a full translation from Spanish (de Servantess, 1937–1938) by Konstantīns Raudive, who also published some other notable works by Unamuno, Blasco and Ortega.

Hungarian accounted for around 15 translations, most of which were translated using an intermediary language, usually German (Kermendijs, 1938), or even French (Feldes, 1937).

Dutch: 4 titles were published, of which Herman de Man's *The Rising Waters* translated from Dutch by Jonase received acclaim (de Mans, 1939)

Classical **Latin** translations always attracted much effort and attention. Many were translated with commentary for teaching purposes: works of Livy, Phaedrus, Cicero, Virgil and Caesar. Others were meant for general interest: Plautus (Ģiezens), Caesar, Horace (Straubergs), Ovid, Virgil and Apuleius. The translators were usually noted philologists.

More than 10 classical **Greek** authors were translated, mostly by Ģiezens, Straubergs and Garais: Aeschylus, Aristotle, Sophocles, Longus, Homer (*Iliad* and *Odyssey*), Xenophon, Plato, Socrates and Thucydides. These were generally translations from the original, except in a couple of cases when the translation gave the name of the translator and also stated that Straubergs had edited or compared it to the original Greek (Sofokla, 1920, Longa, 1927).

The 1920s also saw translations of Eastern classics, Chinese, Arabic, Persian and Japanese literature, broadening the readers' vision and experience. Some translations were done by experts in the relevant languages. P. Šmits, for example, had studied in China and translated **Chinese** tales (*Ķīniešu pasakas*, 1936); the verse of Sikong Tu was translated by Frīdrihs Lācis, who had returned from the Far East in 1935 (Sikun-Tu, 1937). Other translations were done using an intermediary language, usually German. For example, e.g. *The One Thousand and One Nights* was translated by Kroders (*Tūkstots un viena nakts*, 1938) with an introduction by Enno Littmann's (Littmann had published a German translation in six volumes in 1921–28).

There were several translations of **Japanese** literature. An early translation of Japanese poetry was published by Švābe, who had just returned from the Far East. Several books of Japanese fairy tales were published later. Japanese texts were also translated via German: the play *Das Kirschblütenfest* by Klabund (Klabunds, 1929) was translated from German by Kroders as *Ķiršu ziedu svētki*, Klabund being a pseudonym of Alfred Henschke, who had freely recreated Takeda Izumo's work.

5 TRANSLATORS

5.1 ORIGINAL WRITERS AS TRANSLATORS

Most educated people in the 1920s had a good knowledge of Russian or German, as they had used them to study in schools and universities. Having grown up in the cultural and linguistic world of these languages made it natural to use them as sources of translation and inspiration. Moreover, many notable Latvian writers

(Blaumanis, Rainis, etc.) actually started off by writing in a foreign tongue. The most notable trendsetter was the greatest Latvian poet and playwright Rainis, who started his literary career in the late 1880s with translations of Pushkin, Ibsen, Ovid and Burns. Later he translated several major works by Goethe, Schiller, Byron, Shakespeare, Maupassant, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, Sudermann and others. His translation of *Faust* was hailed as a remarkable example of modern Latvian overcoming the ancient divide between its literary written language created by non-Latvians and the live spoken varieties. In his time Rainis often confessed that translations were a way of earning money and but he also clearly stated that translation was an exercise in language use and development: 'originals never exercise the deft use of language that translations do. One also exercises creation of new words.' (Rainis, 1986: 436) and 'original literature, then, will make use of the new ideas provided by translations, adapt them to the local conditions and appropriate (*piesavināt*) them for the nation' (*Literārais mantojums*, 1957: 42). Rainis also grew interested in Eastern thought and ancient poetry (Mongolian, Persian, Armenian, Indian, Chinese, etc.). These poems were translated using German as an intermediary language. In the last decade of his life Rainis translated also Calderon and Byron's *Cain*. Continuing the tradition (Veisbergs, 2014a), many masters of native Latvian literature still practised translation to hone the literary skills, to borrow ideas and, of course, to earn extra money. Around the turn of the 20th century, the Latvian literary scene had converged with the contemporary European literature, it followed Western trends and was part of them. Individual authors aligned themselves with various imported literary trends. Often this meant adding an extra language (French, Italian, Norwegian). Translations were naturally the source of these ideas and leanings, and a way of honing their skills. Few notable Latvian authors have not been prolific translators; Akuraters translated Ibsen, Twain, Hebbel and Wilde; Valdess/Bērziņš translated Estonian literature; Valdis translated Gorky, Chekhov and Mérimée; Plūdons did German and Russian poetry and Nietzsche; Mauriņa translated Rolland, Undset, Dostoyevsky, Hardy and Camus; Ezeriņš translated Wilde, Stendhal and other authors, though it seems mainly from German; Rozītis did Russian literature, as well as Wilde; Sudermann, Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe*. The productive Latvian realist-naturalist novelist Upīts was as prolific in translating realists and naturalists Gogol, Krylov, L. Tolstoy, Flaubert, France, Heine, Wilde, H. Mann and Giovagnoli; Jaunsudrabiņš translated Hamsun, Maupassant and De Coster; V. Eglītis translated Bryusov; Virza translated Hugo, Flaubert and French poetry; Laicens translated the Finnish *Kalevala*, Arab tales and tales of Africa, Australia and the Pacific; Ādamsons did Wilde and Byron; Jānis Grots translated Sinclair, Wells, Hašek, Żeromski, Yesenin and Blok. Austriņš did Merezhkovsky, Tolstoy and Turgenev. Elīna Zālīte translated Tammsaare and other Estonians, as well as Kivi and other Finnish authors, plus some French works. Veselis translated Plutarch, Reymont, Zola, Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky. The poet Krūza translated Pushkin and Polish poetry. Arveds Mihelsons translated Dumas, Busch and Wolf, as well as some nonfiction by

Casson and Marden. The poet and literarian Kārlis Eliass had some translations from French and English. It is noteworthy that the greatest Latvian fairy-tale writer Kārlis Skalbe started with Wilde's tales, Ezeriņš, the greatest Latvian novella writer, began with translations of Boccaccio's novellas. As national writers on their own account they were freer in their translations, using Latvian better and respecting the source text less. Another reason why many outstanding native writers and poets turned to translation was the Latvians' voracious appetite for translated poetry. The nuanced novella writer Ezeriņš said of his translation of Stendhal's *The Red and the Black*: 'it had to be done in such haste that I am ashamed to put my full name to it.' He would not sin like that in the future, and turned to original writing (Egle, 1928: 356). The prominent critic Veselis was pretty damning about Ezeriņš's work: 'There is not much good to be said about his translations, of Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* and Stendhal's *The Red and the Black:* he did not translate from the original languages and therefore they include many mistakes, superficialities and incongruences with the authors' texts. Furthermore, there are several omissions in Wilde's novel (Veselis, 1925: 84).

5.2. PROFESSIONAL AND SEMIPROFESSIONAL TRANSLATORS

Apart from the notable Latvian writers and random and occasional translators, a number of professional translators gradually emerged, usually combining translation with some other literary work as critics, publishers and smaller-scale writers. These were accompanied by many learned professionals who translated in addition to their main activities. Thus, academic philologists, historians and philosophers frequently translated classical literature and philosophical works: Spekke translated Latin poetry, Straubergs – Greek and Roman classics, Pauls Dāle translated Baudelaire, Tolstoy and Lucian. The linguist and journalist Fricis Garais translated Socrates, Plato and Thucydides. Even the two native founding fathers of Latvian linguistics tried their hand at translation: Mīlenbahs (Mühlenbach) translated Homer's *Odyssey* before the war and Endzelīns translated Tacitus's *Germania* (Tacita, 1938), demonstrating their understanding of proper translation and the proper use of Latvian.

A typical semiprofessional translator could be Sigurds Melnalksnis, who had studied law in France, worked in the Tariff Department of Riga City Council and translated Hugo, Dekobra, Goncourt and some plays from Russian.

Rudzītis employed many translators in his Grāmatu Draugs translation conveyor, the most prolific being Valdemārs Kārkliņš, Roberts Kroders, Elija Kliene, Lizete Skalbe, Zelma Krodere, Voldemārs Dambergs and Eduards Virza. Texts for translation and publication were often selected by the translators themselves. Kārkliņš, who was a friend and collaborator of Rudzītis, reported that they first ordered large amounts of books from abroad, then sorted them, chose the most interesting ones and translated them. Kārkliņš also worked for Zelta Ābele, where a totally different atmosphere reigned. While the first company was led by a modern and bold entrepreneur, the other by an aesthete. But he got along

with both (*Trimdas rakstnieki*, 1947: 100–102). Kārkliņš translated over 70 books in the period, mainly from German, English and Russian. He also translated non-fiction and biographies. Kārkliņš also edited and translated a popular encyclopaedia entitled *The Art of Life* (*Dzīves māksla*, 1932).

Roberts Kroders was a prolific translator of both fiction and nonfiction, in addition to his work as a theatre critic and occasional nonfiction writer. He translated around 80 works by various authors, among them Hamsun, Roland, Maupassant, London, Kellermann, Sienkiewicz and Schnitzler. Emīls Feldmanis translated around 100 works from German and English, including most of Wallace's novels.

Valts Dāvids, who wrote also poetry, translated mostly Russian, German and English authors, including many works by Tagore, and also Shaw, Collodi, Barbusse, Benavente, around 30 titles in total.

Elija Kliene worked solely as a translator from Swedish and Finnish, later also from German, French and Russian.

Lizete Skalbe translated around 30 works, mostly Undset and Hamsun but also Thomas Mann, Sienkiewicz, Dreiser and others.

Alma Gobniece, a teacher, translated around 25 novels from Swedish and French, numerous novels by Lagerlöf as well as Verne, Sienkiewicz, Lichtenberger, Daudet, Maurois, Andrée and France.

Zelma Kroder(e) translated nearly 30 works by various authors, among them London, Thomas Mann, W. J. Locke, Bjørnson, Undset, Dickens and Kellermann.

Otto Krolls produced over 30 translations, among them Dumas, Kleist, Hamsun and Kipling.

Augusts Mežsēts, an occasional writer and publisher, translated many works by Maupassant, Dostoyevsky, Dreiser, Zola, Turgenev, Maurois, Locke, Byron, Hugo, and Bebetova. He also produced a rather poor translation of D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (Lorenss, 1934), identifying himself by the initials A. M. This translation merits additional attention for a number of reasons. Firstly, it may have been done from Russian (the original was published in 1928, the Russian translation in 1932, German in 1930). Secondly, it applied an inconsistent approach to the four-letter words that Lawrence uses frequently. They were usually omitted or softened, but were occasionally translated intact, especially in the sex scenes. As a result the sex scenes feel coarser than the original, while other passages are cleaner. Thirdly, there are also other omissions, many of them relevant: nature descriptions, socio-political matters, foreign names, which exemplify a defensive attitude (Robyns, 1994). Needless to say, the banning of the book was a clear act of defensiveness against the alien.

Kārlis Miltiņš translated about 40 works, 30 of which were Courths-Mahler's novels.

Alise Jureviča translated fewer than 10 books, mainly French authors Sand, Verne and Malot.

Olga Ence translated over 30 works, mostly German and Russian ones, Krizhanovskaya, Bebutova and Courths-Mahler.

Konstantīns Vilde translated around 20 works from German and English.

Kārlis Dziļleja (Dzelsskalns/Dzelzkalns), a writer and productive literarian, translated detective stories under the pseudonym in the early 1920s, and later did occasional German and Russian translations.

Kārlis Štrāls, initially a writer, turned increasingly to translation and during the period translated Thomas Mann, Lagerlöf and Mérimée.

Kārlis Freinbergs, a critic and lexicographer, translated around 25 works by Tolstoy, Chekhov, H. Mann, Molnár, Järviluoma, Rolland and Swift, and many less known plays.

The writer and theatre critic Valdis Grēviņš translated Twain, Lofting, Walpole, Voynich, Chapek, L. Tolstoy, A. Tolstoy, Sholokhov, Zoshchenko and Pushkin. Some translations were done together with his wife Anna Grēviņa.

Vitolds Žībelis, a journalist, worked mostly for Grāmatu Draugs, translating novels from French, English, German and Russian: Duma, Kellermann, Sudermann, London, Hardy, Wadsley, Keun and Krizhanovskaya.

Roberts Fogels, who had translated *Tarzan* series under the pseudonym Legofs in the 1920s, produced a handbook of good manners which was in fact a covert translation in the 1930s (*Labais tonis*, 1934).

Valdemārs Dambergs, a writer and playwright, translated Rostand, Goldoni, Balzac and Calderone.

Marija Āriņa did Griesinger, de Amicis, Kiss, Tolstoy and several Kellermann titles. She also produced numerous cookery books.

Anda Līventāle translated six works from French, German and English. She also edited Punka's translation of Rolland's *Gandhi*, while her translation of Paul Morand was edited by Sudrabkalns.

Teodors Lejas-Krūmiņš, a writer, playwright and translator, translated various stories and tales in the early 1920s, later turning to Scandinavian literature, especially Hamsun.

Kārlis Egle, a bibliographer, critic and translator, worked mainly with English and Russian texts. When wounded in the First World War, he happened to be treated in American military hospital in Kiev, got friendly with the staff and learned and grew fond of English, even corresponding in English with his brother (Karulis, 1980: 14). He translated Wilde, Kipling, Shakespeare, Maupassant, Strindberg, Tolstoy, Kuprin, Gorky and numerous works of Tagore. In some translations, like Kipling's *Jungle Book,* he resorted to explanations when dealing with wordplay. He also frequently used rare words from local dialects (Beķere, 1988: 174).

His brother Rūdolfs Egle, a literarian, translated Lermotov, Shakespeare and Hauff.

Kārlis Krūmiņš produced over 20 translations, mostly from German and English.

6 TRANSLATION APPROACHES AND STRATEGIES

Translation approaches generally depended on the status of the book. Pulp fiction was very freely translated, with frequent omissions, cuts and changes. A note under the title often stated that it was a rewrite, reproduction or free adaptation. Quality books were usually translated carefully and close to the original text, applying the German fidelity principle. Older classical texts were usually translated by knowledgeable experts and translators, frequently with introductions by translators or experts.

The medium-range popular literature quality and strategies depended on the translator, some were well done, others were sloppy.

Popular reference and encyclopaedic works were translated freely, with adaptations, cuts and additions. Sometimes this was stated openly, for example, one popular encyclopaedia is labelled 'after the English C. H. Butcher's *Encyclopaedia of Popular Science*, compiled and supplemented by Alnis' (*Populār zinātniska enciklopēdija*, 1933). One work on modern man (Bekers, 1928) has a note on the title page reading 'translated from a German edition of 1927 and adapted to Latvian conditions'. No translator is mentioned. Sometimes the fact of translation could be inferred from references, as in the encyclopaedia entitled *The Art of Life* (*Dzīves māksla*, 1932), edited by Kārkliņš, providing advice on how to be successful in society, with volumes on tact, looks, beauty care, parties, speech, sex, sports, law, etc. The first page of each volume has a short list of foreign-named sources, revealing that it is in fact a creative compilation of translations. On the other hand, there are some localisation elements: some prices (of a fridge, for example) are given in lats, there is a chapter on Latvian furniture, etc. As such this hybrid work tears down the strict borderline between translation and original writing. The same hybridity can be seen in many universal or specialised encyclopaedias.

7 TRANSLATOR VISIBILITY

Translators gradually become more visible (Venuti, 1995) over the twenty years of Latvian independence. One obvious element of the translator visibility or voice is the paratexts, the translators' footprints (Paloposki, 2010), or the translator's hand (Mainberger, 2001). We can distinguish between textual, paratextual and extratextual visibility (Koskinen, 2000: 99). Paratextual visibility comprises all paratexts and additions, and extratextual or social visibility can be found outside the translation, for example, in press releases, criticism or interviews about the translation or translator.

The usual types of translation paratexts include the translator's name: whether it is present and prominent, and where it is displayed. Some translations feature prefaces or introductions by the translator. Footnotes have broader function in translation. They are occasionally viewed as a sign of a translator's

failure, as shameful, as a 'black sheep' (Grafton, 1999: 25). Endnotes are similar to footnotes. Side notes and marginal notes (marginalia) are usually used for specific purposes: cross-references or enumeration, or explanations of specific items. Glossaries, indexes and appendixes are rare.

The paratextual visibility of translators varied between different text types in the period under discussion. Some translations contain several types of paratext, others omit even the translator's name. There are translations not identified as such (usually adaptations), and translations posing as original works. The interwar period of Latvian independence saw a degree of stabilisation and the establishment of a certain hierarchy as regards the basic paratexts (Veisbergs, 2014a): serious translations give the translator's name, usually also mentioning the language of the original. If the work was deemed very serious, notes and an introduction by the translator could be expected. Nietzsche's *Thus spoke Zarathustra* translated by the outstanding Latvian poet Plūdons (Nīcše, 1939) carries a prominent statement '*Introduction and translation by V. Plūdons*' on the title page. The introduction discusses Nietzsche and the translator also delves into various issues of language and translation. This is pointed out in reviews, also noting that the 'translation is immaculately good and euphonious and testifies to the translator's richness of language and deep understanding of the author's work' (K. U., 1939: 21). Similarly the above-mentioned Lithuanian anthology had an introduction by the translator.

The classic novel *Truth and Justice* by A. H. Tammsaare was translated by the Latvian writer Elīna Zālīte (Tamsāre, 1937). Immediately beneath the title *Land and Love* come paratexts: '*An Estonian novel (in the original "Truth and Justice"), translated with the author's permission by Elīna Zālīte'*. The permission related to the change of title. This shows a translator taking responsibility and suggesting a change of title to the author, as well as putting herself in a prominent position.

The first volume of the complete works of Shakespeare, the only volume of the set ever actually published, has an extensive foreword by the publisher and compiler, dwelling also on translation issues and passing judgement on translations in other languages (*Viljama Šekspīra darbi*, 1938).

Sometimes only the translator's initials are used. This usually seems to be the case for pulp or easy-reading literature. S. Fowler Wright's novel *Prelude in Prague: The War of 1938*, written in 1934, was translated in 1939 (Faulers, 1939), the translator Kārlis Eliass identified as K. El. The same approach was used for works of dubious moral content (by the standards of the time): D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (Lorenss, 1934) is identified as translated from English by A. M. The book was banned on moral grounds, and the use of initials might have served to protect the translator. Incidentally, Lawrence's initials are given as D. G., suggesting that Russian was the intermediary language. Judging by Ezeriņš remark (see above), we might suppose some translators used the initials when they were not happy about the quality of the source text or their translation.

Pulp literature translations, the quality of which was often beyond remedy, were frequently entitled 'free reproductions', for instance many of Hedwig Courths-Mahler's novels, which were very popular (Kurths-Mahler, 1934a,b; Courths-Mahler, 1935). Amazingly, despite the large number of her books translated, the spelling of the author's name was unstable and even her sex was unclear. In the lower quality range, the above-mentioned *Old Wawerli* (*Old Wawerli,* 1923) dime novels name neither the author nor the translator.

Occasionally the wording is 'translated from the [language]', and in such cases the translator is never mentioned. The most usual term accompanying the translator's name is 'translated' or 'translation'. Sometimes other terms are used: 'Latvianised' (Milna, 1938), 'compiled in Latvian' (Bokatschio, 1925) or 'reproduced' (Kollodi, 1924, Kurts-Mahlers, 1934b).

Some of these issues were neatly expressed in an article by the lawyer Mežaraupa in 1937. She maintained that, when an author's name is transcribed in Latvian (which occasionally led to several different transcriptions), the original name should be provided on the title page, as well as the original title. The title should be precisely translated and not altered to suit subjective preferences or the demands of marketing. If translators want to express their ideas about the work or title, they should do so in the translator's introduction. Also, the language from which the work is translated should be mentioned. If the translation is abridged or changed, this should be pointed out as well. The translator's name should be mentioned on the title page, as this would also signal the quality of the translation. An introduction with information about when and where the original was published, any intermediate translation, some information on the author and his other works should be provided and the reasons for deletions or changes to the text explained (Mežaraupa, 1937). This is clearly in preparation for the implementation of the Berne Convention in 1938. Thus, this period seems to have established a relatively stable correlation between the seriousness of translation and the degree of translator visibility.

8 TRANSLATION CRITICISM

Literary criticism in general was quite extensive and elaborate during the two decades, with a host of specialised periodicals, and many others less specialised, providing commentary on literary topics and new publications. However, traditional Latvian translation criticism, put simply, followed the following pattern: some information on the author, a brief description of the plot, the writer's style, and a short sentence on translation quality, usually simply saying it was good or bad. In the latter case some examples of literal translation or of mistakes in Latvian were provided. For example, a translation of France's novel *Histoire comique,* translated as *Greizsirdība* (*Jealousy*) is briefly commented upon, as "not his best. The translation is faulty". Two "faulty" Latvian expressions are quoted (*Bibliogrāfija*, 1928: 1464). Broader issues such as textual similarity or

equivalence and real translation problems are normally not touched upon. Thus, in reviewing Atis Rolavs's translation of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, the notable philosopher P. Dāle states that it is a 'good translation' (Dāle, 1932). Flaubert's *The Temptation of St. Anthony* merits the following statement: 'Virza's translation is subtle. Instances of unclear or uncertain style are rare exceptions' (Sūna, 1924: 440). A translation of another Flaubert's novel, *Madame Bovary*, earns a few words as well: 'Jūlijs Roze's translation fully transmits the harmonious flow of Flaubert's sentences, the Latvian epithets are as substantial as the original ones. There could have been fewer spelling mistakes' (Veselis, 1926: 190). Ezeriņš' translation of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* gets one sentence: 'Wilde's means of expressions are well represented' (Jēkabsonu, 1921: 5). One review of France's *The Revolt of the Angels* succinctly comments: 'As a stylist France is wonderful. Sudrabkalns has managed to preserve some of the beauty of France's language in the translation' (*Anatols Franss,* 1926: 410).

Another review of three translations limits the analysis to blanket terms ('good', 'correct') and points out some mistakes in Latvian (Grāvītis, 1931: 200–201). An extensive review of a translation of Pearl Buck's *The Mother* is equally succinct: 'Compliments to the translator. The language is quite pure' (Kreicers, 1937: 301). The total focus on Latvian can be exemplified by Veselis's review of Charles de Coster's *The Legend of Thyl Ulenspiegel and Lamme Goedzak* translated by Jaunsudrabiņš (a notable Latvian writer). After a lengthy description of its marvels comes the sacred formula: 'Jaunsudrabiņš's translation is to be viewed as generally good, because his language is close to the people's language, clear and simple' (Veselis, 1928: 377). A lengthy review of Rolland's *Mahatma Gandhi* (Rolāns, 1930) in the translation by A. Punka gets an even more abrupt and ambiguous comment: 'The translation is rather careful' (Rudzītis, 1931: 26). In some cases the comment is even more superficial, thus Radziņš, writing about the translation of *The Story of Mankind* by Hendrik van Loon, notes that the book is 'translated by Roberts Kroders, who knows Latvian well' (Radziņš, 1932: 91). Virza as a translator earns one single remark: 'congenial translation by Virza' (*Tulkojumi*, 1938: 17). This term is not elaborated on and the congeniality is not discussed or proved.

The translation of the Estonian epic *Kalevipoeg* reaps many extensive reviews. In most, the translator is just mentioned under the title (Baumanis, 1929, Līgotņu, 1930), one provides a comment ('excellent translation') (Zālītis, 1931) and only one, the writer Upīts, allots two sentences: 'As far as I can judge, without comparing it with the original, Elīna Zālīte's translation is to be recognised as careful and poetically euphonious. No doubt the desiccated language pedants will crawl forth to point out instances of insufficiently literal translation' (Upīts, 1930: 147).

V. Dambergs (himself a translator), reviewing Romans's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, expands a bit more and states that it is a 'mistaken view that knowing a foreign language will more or less ensure a good translation, or to suggest that a good translation can come from a translator-poet or prosewriter-artist, even if

he does not know the original language'. The translation is characterised as too literal and some examples are provided (Dambergs, 1928: 26).

Frequently Latvian literature is contrasted to translations and there is a strong, often elitist, stance against the cheap books and their publishers: 'One-lats books lead to banalisation of books. They seduce readers with their attractive titles and provide shallow titillation. They are often unbearably bad translations of second and third-rate foreign authors' (*Ko jūrmalnieki uzzināja*, 1929). 'For more than ten years Grāmatu Draugs has flooded Latvia with its series. More than 90% of them were translations and retranslations. Of course, there were several outstanding authors and notable works among them, but a large part were such that they had no right to take up the Latvian reader's time and money' (Rudzītis, 1938: 1175). 'We often seek for pearls in the works of mediocre foreign writer, made even more unpalatable by bad translation, but do not read our own nation's works. Latvian writers are starving, but speculators publish pulp literature and earn a lot of money' (Students, 1930). Similarly, the Latvian author Līgotņu Jēkabs complains that 'our book market is flooded with bad translated literature, while our own writers works' are unknown to the people' (Līgotņu, 1929). Looking back from 1939, the Latvian poet Iklāvs again reiterates that 'since 1928, books suffered from a kind of inflation. Speculators who would sell their own mothers' hearts have turned the book into a prostitute by their greed for profit. In a way this was stimulated by the fact that we had not joined the Berne Convention. Books translated into an impossible language were on sale by the bushel for a few santims. The remarkably few good publications were swimming against this murky tide' (Iklāvs, 1939). Some others speak out against this stance, noting that the complainers have corporate interests, and saying that the one-lats publishers are accused of publishing poor books, but they are in fact by the world's most notable writers. And they are translated by well-known translators, like Kroders and Skalbe, who are certainly no fools. And the complaint that some translators do not know French but supposedly translate from it is rebuffed by a counter-argument: where are we to find someone who knows French? (*Māksla*, 1934: 5). The fact that many translations retain little of the original style is suggested by R. Egle speaking about a rare exception where 'in the flood of translations, it is the writer and not the translator who remains the author' (Egle R., 1924: 346).

Occasionally there is a hint of more than mere mistake-hunting. In the review of translation of *Tristan* by Thomas Mann, Mauriņa notes that it is 'a thoroughly musical novella, but there is little musicality left in the translation […] It is not important if a phrase or two gets left out, but you should enter into the mood of the original and reproduce everything as an indivisible unity, poetically with your own words. In that way, the translation will read less like a translation' (Mauriņa, 1924: 53).

There are some rarer, more focused articles on translations in general. Juris Vidiņš, a journalist, writes a long article criticising the practice of changing titles to make them more attractive, thus Balzac's *La Femme de trente ans* was translated as *A Woman of a Dangerous Age*, Edmond Goncourt's *La Fille Elisa* as *The Woman's*

Road of Suffering. He attacks abridgements and omissions. He complains that *Don Quixote* is translated from Russian, Maupassant from German; also Stendhal's *Le Rouge et le Noir* and Undset's novels are not translated directly from the originals (the former was done by Ezeriņš). In his opinion, intellectuals should read books in the original. And second-rate literary translations are "unnecessary and harmful. Only the most select foreign litterati should be translated, only the greatest, and those should be translated well' (Vidiņš, 1932: 573–6).

In many ways a similar approach is seen in a long article by the prolific essayist, writer and translator Zenta Mauriņa. She is even more negative, stating that 'most of our translations have no value. They are false, they do not correspond to the original, they are not aesthetic. The style both internal and external, the language and even the choice of authors are beneath criticism. And they are not ethical, as it is immoral to provide the great authors in a mutilated form'. The art of translation has regressed in the postwar years. Translators have to find the golden mean between loyalty to the original and loyalty to the mother tongue. In the past, translations of the Classics were not necessary, as everyone who had been to secondary school knew Russian or German (there were no Latvian-language secondary schools, A. Veisbergs.). Now we will all become oiks if foreign language teaching is not increased. There is at present an epidemic of translation. Almost anyone who is not actually illiterate is writing translations'. She enumerates the cheap publishers where translators are not mentioned, book covers are abominable and are sold in huge print runs (6000 copies) due to advertising. Only Grāmatu Draugs and Gulbis could be excused, but even they produce a lot of pulp. Even the giants, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Rolland and France are published on the cheap, but there is an additional problem in that they have found no congenial translators. Great translators normally dedicate their efforts either to one master or to several masters of one style. If a translator translates different styles, nothing good can be expected. But in Latvia it is fragmented: Tolstoy is translated by Rucelis, Austriņš, Āriņa, K. Egle and Veselis. The same for Rolland: a motley crew of translators – Freinbergs, Kroders, Kārkliņš and Vīlips. As a result the ingenious simplicity of Tolstoy will remain unknown to Latvians. Of course even the best translation can never be the same as the original. The relationship is that of a picture and a copy. But our translations are rough lithographs. She goes on to address omissions and provides examples in a translation of Claude Farrère, stating that not a single erotic or saucy word is omitted, but the 'boring' descriptions of countryside are. As a result it would be fairer to say Zelma Krodere had adapted or rewritten the work, not translated it. If it were translated back into French, the author would not recognise it (Mauriņa, 1928: 349–354).

Genuine analysis of a translation was extremely rare, and normally only happened when the translation was really bad. Thus Hašek's *The Good Soldier Švejk* ran in instalments in *Sociāldemokrāts* and was then published in book form (Hašeks, 1927–1929), translated by Jānis Grots. The analysis by Marta Grimma is devastating. She praises the decision to translate the work, but immediately

notes that it was done from Russian, and provides a host of Russicisms, Russian constructions and colloquialisms (some of these might have been deliberate, as most Latvians had served in the Russian army and army jargon mostly would have been Russian-based A. Veisbergs.). The translator has been careless, slapdash and arrogant. Mistakes are exemplified by comparing the Czech original to the translation. She has also discovered that the Russian source is in fact a translation from German, and that the Latvian translation bears precious little similarity to the original as a result. Hašek's particular style of humour is totally lost or it has been banalised. Grots has essentially failed (Grimma, 1928: 766–768).

The volume of Shakespeare, by various translators, is recognised as having the best available translations. The critic Vipers dwells on the different rhythmic structures of the original and the translations, which deprives the latter of equivalence, of Shakespeare's fluent and original charm. Adamovičs's old translation of *Richard III* is viewed as the best, it is 'precise and powerfully translated', apart from some unnecessary localisation of proper names. Others have more problems and then the critic falls into the usual trap of enumerating errors in Latvian (Vipers, 1938: 983–990).

A similar approach can be seen in Rudzītis's criticism of the Old French epic poem *La Chanson de Roland* as translated by Jēkabs Saiva. It is a considerably shortened variant with explanations and elements of reproduction filling the gaps. The translation is 'sometimes rather free. But otherwise it is creditable. The language throughout is euphonious and easy to read'. It would be even more creditable if it respected the original form more, but that seems to be impossible. However, shifting the tonic stress of Latvian words for the sake of rhyme is wrong (Rudzītis, 1936: 364–365).

Aside from literary criticism, there was an extensive discussion of legal translations, as new Latvian legislation was often formulated on the basis of older Russian or German laws. Accordingly, many legal language issues were of practical and immediate concern. In one such discussion on a compilation of old laws in translation (mainly of historical interest), the eminent historian, lawyer, philologist and translator Professor Arveds Švābe produced a detailed and devastating criticism, adding some remarks on translation in general: 'Three things must be demanded from every translator: 1. he should have a full command of the language of the original; 2. he should have a specialised education in the domain of the work to be translated, as otherwise he will never fully understand it; and 3. he should have a general literary education, or at least a practical command of his mother tongue, as otherwise the translation will have no literary value. Judging by his work, Mr Lauva [the translator] does not possess these qualities' (Švābe, 1933: 276).

As stated before, translation criticism generally failed to overcome a limited focus on linguistic mistakes. This trait was noticed and decried by an eminent Latvian émigré linguist, referring not only to translations: 'it seems ridiculous to me that, when describing some newly published book, the critic's short review

says not a word about the author's stylistic features, but insists on emphasising language mistakes (accusations which often turn out to be totally misguided anyway)' (Rūķe-Draviņa, 1976).

9 MICRO TRANSLATION AND LINGUISTIC ISSUES

The language of translations is naturally varied. While many serious works are translated with care and imagination, the translators showing their dexterity in Latvian, others are stylistically poor, often deviate from the normal Latvian owing to interference, and sometimes there are errors of spelling and grammar. Generally speaking, the finer and more sophisticated the original texts, the better the translation. There are, however, many exceptions to this general rule. In addition, native Latvian writers of substance have tended to provide better translations than the occasional and unprofessional (often novice) translators doing a book or two.

A factor to be taken into account when judging the quality of a translation, and its loyalty to the original, is the source language. With intermediary languages, as noted by some critics (see above) the differences were sometimes quite substantial, as much was lost at each stage of translation. An example is, *Švejk*, translated into Latvian from a Russian translation of a German translation of the original. On the other hand, it was only to be expected that the new nation would not have enough talent for rarer and more remote languages. In such cases, a quality translation from Russian or German would be a good second choice, as can be seen from some remarkably good translations, for example *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Generally, the combination of a sound command of the original language and a talented translator (usually a writer himself, such as Virza) would provide a good or excellent result.

With technical and LSP language, translators faced real problems. Latvian terminology was often nonexistent or patchy and many new terms had to be coined. These usually took the form of loans or loan translations, which occasionally were successful but often sounded alien. Interference was rife in lower-end translations, and the reader can often conclude after reading a page or two that the book is not translated from French, Italian, etc. as stated on the title page, but from Russian or German, since the text bears all the hallmarks of those languages.

Some translations were done into antiquated Latvian. Thus, Andrejs Upīts attacks Roberts Bērziņš (a poet, who seems to have translated only this novel) whose translation of Sudermann abounds in phrases from the previous century: the use of *no* (loaned from German *von*) and other linguistic oddities 'seem to have crept out of the covers of some long-forgotten prayerbook in the Consistory's archives' (A. U., 1927: 207). Upīts concedes that cheap books often have superficial translators but remarks that, if the translator is well known and not desperately short of money, a correct translation should be expected.

A translation of the Ancient Greek Thucydides by Fricis Garais (Tūcidids, 1930) is peppered with 'Germanisms and Russicisms and archaisms', and 'it seems the translator is frozen in time 30–40 years ago' (Gailīte, 1931: 1384).

After the spelling reform, spelling was inconsistent and there were naturally many deviations from the correct forms. *Richet* is spelled as *Rišejs* (should be *Rišē*), *Mirabeau* as *Mirabojs* (should be *Mirabo*), *Lavoisier* as *Lavuāzjējs* (should be *Lavuāzjē*), etc. However, *Curie* is correct as *Kiri* and *Thierrie* as *Tjeri*. *Bologna* has two spellings, *Boloņja* and *Boloņa* (Gailīte, 1931).

Thus, in a history of civilisation translated from French (Rišejs, 1931) there is confusion about the *French* and the *Franks*, the *Etats-Généraux* is translated as *ģenerālkārtas* instead of *vispārējā kārtu pārstāvju* (sapulce), but the French phrase is added in brackets and helps the reader to understand.

Occasionally translators overuse foreign loans. Occasionally they try to make translations loan-free. The first is commented on in a review of translation of Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*: 'nacionālu konvulsiju gadījumā', 'neraugoties uz sava kompanjona steigu' which are inappropriate for a story set in the 12th century (A. V., 1926: 159). The origin of such slips can be found in interference.

In translating Botho von Keyserlingk's *Monte, der Rebell* (Keizerlings, 1937) the translator coins many new words: *noredze, atceļš, iegansts, atbrīve, uzkoda, skadināt, apkopa, ārdava valoda, apslāga, atriebe, dāvacis, noceļš, atstātne, svētizdare, kailatne*, etc. As pointed out by the critic Lapiņš, some of them go on to establish themselves in literature (Lapiņš, 1937: 894).

Occasionally translators were linguistically bold, experimental or indoctrinated. Thus, the young philologist Ieva Celmiņa's translation of Agnes Sapper's *Die Familie Pfäffling*, that had been extremely popular in Germany, localised it as the linguists demanded, making heavy use of the Mühlenbach-Endzelīns dictionary, in addition to words and expressions from Latvian fairy tales. The result is somewhat strange. But it was appreciated by the critics. 'Such Latvianisation can be accepted and recognised only by teachers of Latvian, a few literarians and the new unconservative generation of schoolchildren. However, school alone is enough for the impetus towards the Latvian and scientific to overcome obstinate conservatism. Ieva Celmiņa's Latvianized *Cīrulīši* shows a carefully cultivated style. Many will need time to get used to it, and to my ear it occasionally sounds strange and unusual' (Grīns, 1936: 561). The critic delves into the minute details of word formation and semantics used by the translator. Interestingly when she had approached the same critic before starting the translation she had been advised not to translate the book as the story was so dumb (Celmiņa, 1988: 144).

Some translations involved serious terminology work, an example being the 19th-century German zoologist Alfred Brehm's *Tierleben* (Brēms, 1927–28, 1935–36). Translating *Tierleben* involved an enormous text, (6000 pages long, slightly abridged for translation) with a lot of new translation challenges, involving zoological terminology that was often unknown to the Latvian reader.

Philosophy works, too, posed great linguistic challenges. Translating Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (Kants, 1931–1934) necessitated the coining of highly sophisticated new terms previously unused in Latvian. The critic points out some linguistic fallacies in this case: *Kontinuität* and *kontinuierlich* are wrongly translated as *vienmērība* and *vienmērīgs,* instead of the more correct *nepārtrauktība* and *nepārtraukts. Einerleiheit* should be *identitāte* or *tāpatība* and not *vienādība,* which is German *Gleichheit* (Stūrītis, 1932). Some attention is paid to differences or similarities of metre. Thus, commenting on the linguist Arvēds Švābe's translation of Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha* (Longfelou, 1937), Kārlis Eliass pointed out that Longfellow used trochaic metre under the influence of *Kalevala,* which sometimes goes against the euphony of English. 'William Matthews has testified that the Latvian translation is more euphonious than the original because the trochaic metre is exactly suitable for Latvian' (K. El., 1938).

Finally, individual translators had their own idiosyncrasies. Thus, publisher Rudzītis notes that Lejaskrūmiņš used a lot of compounds and would not allow them to be removed: *gadunasta, mūžavakars, maldutaka, cīņaslauks* (Rudzītis, 1997: 113).

10 SOME CASE STUDIES

An interesting comparison of translation strategies can be made when one and the same work has been translated by different translators within a short period. Thus, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* by Oscar Wilde was translated by the Latvian novella master and translator Ezeriņš in 1921 (Uailds, 1921) (serialised in *Latvijas Sargs,* 1920) and by the professional translator and critic Roberts Kroders in 1933 (Uailds, 1933). It is worth noting that the first was published by Ansis Gulbis, who preferred quality and the second by Grāmatu Draugs, which was more of a business venture (Kroders' translation has a fair amount of spelling mistakes). Neither translation names the source language, but the linguistic analysis of wordplay and rendering of proper names points towards Ezeriņš translating from German and Kroders from Russian. They may have consulted the English original as well. Italian *Giambattista Cibo* is translated by Kroders as *Džionbattiste Čibo* (Russian *Джанбаттиста Чибо*), and *Džovanni Čibo* by Ezeriņš (German *Giovanni Battista Cibo*). *Agate of India* is translated by Kroders as *Indiešu agats* (Russian: *индийский агам*), while Ezeriņš uses the correct *Indijas ahāts* (German: *Indischer Achat*). English *antidote* is translated by Kroders as *pretinde* (Russian: *противоядие*), Ezeriņš uses *neitralizēs visas indes (German: ein sicheres Gegenmittel gegen Gift).* The English idiom *to go to the dogs* is translated by Ezeriņš as *zeme esot sabrukuma priekšā* (Russian: *страна идет к гибели*), Kroders goes for a calque *zeme būs laupījums suņiem* (German translation: *England komme auf den Hund*). Another fragment containing key words *hansom with a good horse, driver and sovereign* is translated by Kroders *kēbs ar labu zirgu, važonis, zelta nauda* (Russian *кеб с хорошей лошадью, кучер, соверен*). Ezeriņš uses *važonis ar veiklu zirgu, zelta gabals* (German *Droschke mit einem kräftigen Pferd, ein Goldstück).*

However, English *gourds* is translated by Kroders as *ķirbisi* (German *Kürbisse*), instead of the correct Latvian *ķirbji*.

Similarly interesting is the comparison of two translations of Giovagnoli's *Spartaco* done in the same year (Dschiowaniola, 1932; Džovaņoli, 1932). The first is in the old Gothic script and 200 pages long. It is massively shortened and simplified, places rich in proper names are cut out, the end is also transfigured through omissions. The second amounts to 559 pages, is poetic and metaphoric and has an introduction by the translator A. Upīts expostulating Marxist vision of slavery and Spartacus.

CONCLUSIONS

Latvia's brief period of independence (1918/20–1940) saw book publishing on a massive scale. Latvia ranked second in Europe in terms of book publications per capita and boasted a developed translation industry. The range of source languages was growing, with English slightly ahead of German in the pre-war years (German was also the main intermediary language), and French and Russian following. This was a change from the total dominance of German as source and intermediary language until the end of the 19th century. The literature translated was also extremely varied, as was quality. Print runs were not very long: 2793 in 1938 when 1601 titles were produced. The percentage of translations seems to fluctuate widely. It stood at 17.8 per cent in 1938. German and Russian occasionally functioned as intermediary languages. Yet, this figure is much larger when the size of the works translated is considered. Thus, in the domain of novels, translations always numerically surpassed native production.

A large number of translators were also writers in their native Latvian, many were highly notable ones, but members of other professions frequently produced specialised translations as well. Some individuals gradually became professional translators from the favourite source languages. The choice of works to be translated was very much in the hands of translators and publishers, who in turn thought of marketing interests. With the advent of one-lats books, print runs grew longer and high-quality literature became accessible to a broader public.

Translator visibility grew over time and depended on the status of the work translated. Visibility was high for high-quality texts and lower for the lower end (usually zero for pulp literature).

Generally the quality of both source texts and translation rose; pulp literature gradually disappeared, to be replaced by semi-sensational and glamourous books. Of course, the pulp literature of the 1920s was still in circulation due to the long print runs. With the advent of the authoritarian system in 1934, the media and the general drift of public thought also moved in the direction of more substantial and classical values.

Translation criticism remained very limited, mainly focusing on the quality of Latvian, and lambasting pulp-literature translation in general.

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PIPPA PASSES... GENERIC DISTINCTIONS

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Abstract. Robert Browning's *Pippa Passes*, published in 1841, is a key work in his general oeuvre, but it is frequently overlooked by critics intent on analysing the anthologised poems of the following collections. The aim of this article is to reassert the importance of the poem by reassessing what is one of Browning's most daring experiments with genres. First, the polyphonic quality of *Pippa Passes* resides in the polymorphic aspect of its elusive generic identity and its ever-recomposing structure. The poem rests on echoes and reversals of perspective which tie it together. Moreover, the dramatization of the characters' voices is illustrated by a wide array of modalities. Finally, the central character Pippa sings songs which trigger an existential crisis for those who hear them. This identity crisis manifests itself by a crisis of speech, which, in the process, paves the way for irony and parody.

Key words: Robert Browning, *Pippa Passes*, polyphony, generic identity, irony

Pippa Passes is a key work, a bridge, as underscored by Chesterton in his monograph on the poet: 'In 1841 *Pippa Passes* appeared, and with it the real Browning of the modern world' (Chesterton, 1925: 43). Adapting Hair's thesis developed in *Browning's Experiments with Genre* (Hair, 1972), this article intends to reassert the importance of *Pippa Passes* in the Browning canon by showing how the poem is in itself a major poetic experiment. Combined with its polyphonic quality, the polymorphic nature of *Pippa Passes* makes it a crucial poem *per se*, but also in order to study Browning's formal quest that was to lead him to the collection of *Dramatic Lyrics* published in 1842. The modalities of speech that are dramatized in the poem pave the way for parody and far-reaching irony.

As he composes *Pippa Passes*, Browning is also busy writing for the stage (he has already published *Strafford* in 1837 and he is writing *King Victor and King Charles*, published in 1842), and he moves away from the more lyrical forms of *Pauline* (1833) and *Sordello* (published just a year before *Pippa Passes*). Indeed, if on the one hand the poem belongs to what Honan calls 'Character for the study' (Honan, 1961: 78), on the other this poem marks the start of Browning's evolution towards a new double form, both lyrical *and* dramatic. Just as in *A Soul's Tragedy*, the title indicates the projection of the tragedy onto the interiority of the individual and not the exteriority of a group, here the two words of the title suggest an ambivalence, depending on whether the stress is placed on the first or second word: the proper noun *Pippa* seems to announce a psychological study; on the other hand, the active verb and the absolute construction, *Passes*, implies an open-ended, indeterminate action. In this respect, Pippa's career is,

of course, symbolic, an objective correlative to her status in the poem: the little weaver in the town of Asolo is that which ties together, by her presence alone, not only individuals, but also ideas and speech. The synoptic view allows the reader to put the various episodes into perspective and to discern from amongst them a series of ironic oppositions. From this ironic structure, often misunderstood, has originated much disagreement among critics and condemnation for a work decried as much for its unrealistic subject as for its loose structure. For example, an article in the *Athanaeum* deplores the absence of unity of action (Litzinger, 1970: 74). Erickson (1984: 75–6) and King echo this criticism: 'The drama is plotless' (King, 1968: 49).

Yet such analyses do not take into account the play on echoes and the reversals of perspective on which rests the polyphonic structure of *Pippa Passes*. Generally speaking, the misunderstanding surrounding *Pippa Passes* greatly resembles that faced by *Sordello*, a poem with a generic identity which is just as fickle. Indeed, Pippa incites the reader to a more profound reading while challenging him to: 'task your wits' (Introduction, 82). *Pippa Passes* shows a dramatization of voice and of the ambiguity of its impact. Each episode illustrates one or several modalities of voice on a range which includes the spoken, the written, poetry, prose, and songs, intertwining them in a polyphony. What is also of importance is that Pippa sings songs which trigger an existential crisis for those who hear them. This identity crisis manifests itself by a crisis of speech which turns in on itself to produce parody and irony.

'TO PRODUCE FORM OUT OF UNSHAPED STUFF' (*PIPPA PASSES*, 2. 298)

The structure of *Pippa Passes* is a Protean one, always in movement: it is, according to Ryals, a poem 'in becoming' (Ryals, 1983: 6). It is comprised of a prologue entitled 'Introduction' for the 1888 edition and an epilogue (not referred to as such) which frame the four 'parts' (as they are named in 1888) – the second scene of the final act constituting the epilogue. Each part is divided into two scenes (so called in 1888, not named as such in 1841 but separated by a dash and stage directions): a tragic episode interrupted by one of Pippa's songs, and a conversation on the road ('talk by the way', as it is called by Browning). The piece might at first sight seem to have a broken, fragmentary structure: if Pippa's monologues frame and give rhythm to the play, there is no explicit relation between the first and second part of each scene. This description is already sufficient however to show the importance of Pippa as a character: the action is based on her passage, she weaves the action and gives impetus to its unfolding. To better determine the polyphonic architecture of *Pippa Passes*, it is useful to study its structure in greater detail, a structure which is far from being as absent as has been claimed by the critics, and to recall the insightful words of Chesterton: 'though few of his followers will take Browning's form seriously, he took his own literary form very seriously' (Chesterton, 1925: 44).

First of all, Pippa's song frames the whole poem, introducing and concluding it in nearly identical words, forming an epanadiplosis, which suggests a circular structure. In the prologue, Pippa names all the characters who will appear in each of the four parts, thus creating within the mind of the reader a horizon of expectation (these are 'Asolo's four happiest people', Introduction, 41), and furnishing him with a grid for the reading. Her songs act as a refrain within the narrative fabric and constitute a repetition contributing to the structure. Moreover, the poem respects the three unities: the place is the village of Asolo; the four parts progress to the rhythm of the four times of day ('morning', 'noon', 'evening', 'night'), pointing again towards a circular structure. The title indicates that the action rests on the passing of Pippa, nominally present in every scene.

In as much as the four parts are not immediately or directly related, each one possesses the same organization allowing the reader to grasp its components and inner configuration: an introduction, Pippa's passage, a conclusion. Indeed, a preparatory scene in the form of a 'talk by the way', formally integrated into one part, announces and launches the plot of the following part. These preparatory scenes, comprised of non-recurring secondary characters (students, Austrian police, poor young girls), provide a backdrop and several contrasts (whether they be dramatic, linguistic, or ironic) to the episodes which ensue: whereas the listeners perceive a prescriptive dimension in Pippa's song, within the 'talks by the way', the words uttered have a descriptive value.

Each scene picks up and extends the plot of the previous scene. Whereas Pippa is already the main character, who knows all of the protagonists (she names them in her opening song), certain characters are mentioned in the episodes where they do not appear. Thus, in addition to the introduction (120), old Lucca is brought up by the guilty lovers (1. 1. 53), then by the police in the second part, who point out his house (2. 2. 37, 363–9), and finally in Pippa's conclusion (4. 2. 25). These same policemen speak with Bluphocks, first mentioned by a student in the first part, then by the young girls (3. 2. 316–9), and lastly by Ugo (4. 1. 151–3) and Pippa, who is fascinated by this character's name and physical appearance. At the same time, Jules, quoted in the introduction and conclusion by Pippa, appears in one episode; he is mentioned again in the fourth part when Monsignor reads to his 'intendant' a letter he has just received from Jules. In addition to this unity woven by Pippa, who acts as a kind of shuttle in the fabric pulling together all of these elements, the poem also possesses thematic and symbolic unity. Love is unfolded on a rising scale: from adulterous love (Sebald-Ottima), we move to the love of a married couple (Jules-Phene), then to the love of mother and mother-country (Luigi and his mother), and lastly to Christian love (Monsignor). Pippa shows a fifth aspect of love: the love of God for all creatures, even the humblest.

After having been, as many others were, puzzled by the poem ('"Pippa Passes"… comprehension, I was going to say', as she wrote to Miss Mitford [letter from July 14, 1841, in Kelley and Hudson, 1984, 5: 75]), Elizabeth Barrett praised '[the poem's] unity & nobleness of conception' in a letter dated October 18, 1842 (ibid., 6: 111). In 1845, when she asked Browning about the meaning behind

Bells and Pomegranates of which *Pippa Passes* constituted the first issue, the latter answered: 'The Rabbis make Bells & Pomegranates symbolical of Pleasure and Profit, the Gay & the Grave, the Poetry & the Prose, Singing and Sermonizing – [...] a mixture of effects' (letter from October 18, 1845, ibid., 11: 131). This intertwining of effects contributes to the polyphonic structure of the work which continually oscillates between the lyrical and the dramatic.

HYBRIDISM

The title, depending on the word that is stressed, implies going back and forth between a psychological study of Pippa and the action. The ambiguity of genre was present from the beginning as Browning only subtitled *Pippa Passes* 'a Drama' in 1849. *Pippa Passes*, a work balancing itself on a tightrope, remains inter-generic.

The verbal aspect of *Pippa Passes* is first of all dramatic. The poem opens by stage directions indicating place and main characters. A list entitled 'Persons' (or *dramatis personae*, which is the title of Browning's 1864 work) precedes the poem for the last edition published while Browning was still alive, in 1888. Numerous stage directions punctuate the poem, introducing scenes and conversations on the way. As in the other plays, external stage directions are combined with internal ones (Tholoniat, 2009: 55–57), as when Ottima speaks for the first time to Sebald: 'Mind how you grope your way, though! / [...] Push the lattice / Behind that frame! – Nay, do I bid you? – Sebald, / It shakes the dust down on me! Why, of course / The slide-bolt catches.' (1. 1. 7–11). Stage directions play an important part up to the very end of *Pippa Passes* as they simultaneously follow Pippa's final monologue and literally have the last word of the poem.

This day is a very particular one, as it is Pippa's annual day of rest. On this festive day, she proposes to abolish the boundaries between reality and fiction: 'am I not, this Day, / Whate'er I please? Who shall I seem to-day?' (Introduction, 80–1). She chooses to embody the four happiest people of Asolo – Ottima ('I am Ottima, take warning', 85), Phene (102–3), Luigi (131–2), and Monsignor (144–5), because 'tomorrow I must be Pippa who winds silk, / The whole year round' (107). By referring to herself in the third person, she is represented as playing her own role, that of 'Pippa, Asolo's little weaver'. At the end of the day and the poem, she assesses the hours spent: 'I have just been the holy Monsignor: / And I was you too, Luigi's gentle mother, / And you too, Luigi!' (41–3).

Following the example of Pippa, the aspiring actress, the other protagonists literally put themselves on stage. The first episode introduces Ottima and her lover Sebald, who has just killed Lucca, his master and his mistress' husband. Sebald is at first content with his crime of passion, but the romantic hero cannot stand having been treated generously by the man he killed (1. 1. 140–7). He suggests putting an end to this masquerade: 'Let us throw off / This mask: [...] Let's out / With all of it' (1. 1. 40–2). Ottima wishes to pursue this game of deception and uses euphemisms to refer to the situation, incurring Sebald's disapproval: 'Lucca was

a wittol, / I am his cut-throat, you are... [...] What are you?' (1. 1. 53–7). Sebald is interrupted by Pippa's song which deeply moves him, and from then on he sees in Ottima the equivalent of a Beautiful Lady without Pity. As for him, he casts himself in the role of penitent: 'Oh I am proud to feel / Such torments' (1. 1. 266–7).

In the second episode, Jules appears in the garb of the idealistic artist, on a quest for the 'human archetype' (2. 1. 86). He assigns Phene with the role of living painting, or the reincarnation of his ego: 'I could / Change into you, beloved!' (2. 1. 9–10). In his fiery speech (2. 1. 1–115), Jules continues the illusion; in order to do this, like Sebald, he delivers a monologue and speaks instead of the other person in the scene. But the end of this love story which seems inspired by a fairy tale has been written without Jules' knowledge. Phene, repeating the text that the students taught her, shatters this illusion. Due to Pippa's song, Jules decides to change his role and assume that of Pygmalion.

In 'Evening', Luigi plays the part of martyr for his nation, according to the Horatian adage '*dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*'. His costume is ready: 'a handsome dress [...] / White satin here, to set off my black hair; / I have rehearsed it all / [...] a hundred times' (3. 1. 104–11). As in a scene from an opera (Ryals, 1983: 127), he desires to finish his act with a grand cry of 'Italy, Italy, my Italy! / You're free, you're free !' (3. 120–1). His being put to death is absolutely necessary for the proper unfolding of his scene: 'Escape? To even wish that, would spoil all. / The dying is best part of it' (3. 1. 64–5). The stage directions place his mother in the role of the grief-stricken mother, a *mater dolorosa* ('the lady and her child', Introduction, 57). When Luigi hears Pippa's song, he interprets it in a way which but strengthens his conviction, before dashing forth with the resolution of Don Quixote against the windmills.

In the last part, Monsignor, who has been reduced to his religious title of a bishop, reveals his connection to Pippa, his niece. If Monsignor has only a social mask, his intendant has many identities (Ugo, Uguccio, Maffeo, 4. 1. 12–4, 68), and they want to each impose his scenario on the other. Pippa's song makes Monsignor drop the reserve befitting his character, and he orders his people to stop his intendant. He once again assumes his role of bishop by chanting '*Miserere mei, Domine!*' (4. 1. 178).

As a counterpoint to this dramatic dimension of the poem, numerous songs (those of Pippa, Sebald, and the poor young girls) contribute to the lyrical vein of *Pippa Passes*. It might be said that *Pippa Passes* is the one work of Browning which most closely resembles opera. Four excerpts were published separately in 1865 under the title *Songs from* Pippa Passes: 'You'll love me yet!' (3. 297–308) and 'Give her but a least excuse to love me!' (2. 195–210); 'A king lived long ago' (3. 163–224), which had been published in the *Monthly Repository* in 1835, and 'The year's at the spring' (1. 215–22) entitled *Romance from* Pippa Passes. Browning asked Eliza Flower to put these four songs to music. In a letter to Eliza Flower on March 9, 1840, Browning wrote: '[I] mean to song-write, play-write forthwith' (Kelley and Hudson, 1984, 4: 256). The inclusion of songs would make

the work very much like the *masque* genre: with the small reservation that during Elizabethan and Jacobean times, such shows were frequently accompanied by dances.

In addition to the initial stage directions, the work opens by a poem with an extremely dense sonorous architecture:

> Day!
> Faster and more fast
> O'er night's brim day boils at last;
> Boils, pure gold, o'er the cloud-cup's brim
> Where spurting and supprest it lay – […]

The variety of meter, the organization of the rhymes, the rhythm, and the tones saturate the poetic intensity. The rhyme scheme is unusual: a b b c a c a a d e e d, and continues on in staggered intervals. After the first two lines, four stressed syllables per line is established as the model before the ninth line where a fifth stressed syllable breaks the rhyme scheme, which in turn is modified by the final hexameter (line 12). Iambic and trochaic rhythms irregularly accompany spondees ('night's brim day boils', 'Boils, pure gold', 'cloud-cup's brim'). The *sprung rhythm* of G. M. Hopkins is foreseeable in moments like these. Alliterations and assonances abound and enrich the rhythm and the web of imagery.

These lyrical effects contribute to the dramatic dimension by underscoring Pippa's energy in 'springing from the bed' (as is announced by the stage directions), all with the excitement of taking advantage of her annual day of rest: the liberty of the line reflects Pippa's state of mind.

Later, the variety of verbal situations is embodied in the succession of rhymed and blank verse, by the alternation between verse and prose, as well as the play between the written and the spoken in the fourth part, all these phenomena contributing to place the speakers in very different speech situations.

The verse-prose alternation underscores dramatic counterpoints. The episode with the students recounts a conversation in prose and announces the second part which opens by the blank verse of Jules, followed by that of Phene. But the latter recites the doggerels of the mocking students – which she interrupts by her commentary in blank verse. Finally, the metrical scheme is once again modified by Pippa's song.

Browning also alternates between the written and the spoken. In the fourth part, Monsignor reads aloud a letter to his intendant (4. 37–46). The excerpt of the letter is placed in quotation marks to indicate a switch-over in the speaker's authority, but at the same time Monsignor reports Jules' words in an indirect style: '"He never had a clearly conceived Ideal […]"', thus creating a switch and producing a back and forth motion between Jules' words and his own.

If the hybrid work that is *Pippa Passes* had to be attached to a genre, it would be that of pastiche, in the etymological and figurative sense (from Italian *pasticcio*) which refers to a collection of various elements, a medley, a sense that is found in

the musical domain where it refers to an opera formed from a collection of airs borrowed from other works. Indeed, *Pippa Passes* offers a profusion of styles, as much lyrical as dramatic, to borrow from Browning's own terminology used in the title of his 1842 volume. From one scene to the next, monologues alternate with dialogues, combining the written, the spoken, prose, verse, and songs, as well as English, Italian, and Latin. The farcical and erotic aspects of the Sebald-Ottima episode ('Sebald, as we lay / Rising and falling only with our pants', 1. 1. 205–6) give way to Jules' hazing, and the picaresque episode with Luigi is followed by the cynicism of Monsignor's intendant.

THE DRAMATIZATION OF LANGUAGE

Voice is unfolded under many modalities which are as emphasized as they are separated from one another by a voice heard as both song and refrain. Let us attempt a list: the voice of seduction (Ottima), the voice of regret (Sebald), in the first part; the banter of the mocking students arouses the forgiving voice of Jules, after the naïve, remote-controlled, or even ventriloquized voice of Phene – a phenomenon which assumes a function proper to the scene, thus producing a kind of play within a play. Indeed, the deceitful voice of Ugo clashes with the tired, hoarse voice of Monsignor. Each vignette puts a different modality of voice on stage, from the dramatic 'I love you' in the Sebald-Ottima episode, to the creative power of the word with Jules, to the attempted blackmail by the intendant. Luigi's speech contains a vocation: ''Tis God's voice calls' (3. 1. 229), and Pippa's songs display an illocutionary force in relation to most of the other characters.

Yet, the multiplicity of these voices and their modalities hides per contra an absence of dialogue, which is drawn towards monologue, despite the presence of several speakers. Thus Sebald, after the revelation caused by Pippa's song, speaks by himself; Jules speaks for one hundred and fifteen lines before allowing Phene to speak, who, in response, addresses him mechanically with a text she has memorized but not at all understood. In the same way, Pippa is hardly conscious of the effects of her words on those who hear them. As a result, and contrary to the normal thesis that holds that Pippa's words are all triggers, it might be wondered whether they have any real effect on her listeners.

Instead of positing that Pippa's song produces a crisis, it is more precise to say that it separates two crises: initially, an identity crisis for one or several characters, and later, a new development of this identity. This identity crisis is translated linguistically by a redefinition of words. The crisis of the first act manifests itself through a desire to destroy language, by censure ('Best never speak of it', 1. 1. 42), by euphemisms (51, 101) for Ottima and by the exhausting of language for Sebald: 'Best speak again and yet again of it / Till words cease to be more than words' (43–4). Sebald suddenly rebels against the linguistic fiction that they have both constructed. Ottima's words no longer have the value he had granted them

up until then: 'such cant!' (52). He no longer sees himself as the valiant knight who has just rescued a damsel in distress, but rather as the vulgar murderer of Ottima's husband: 'am I not his cut-throat ? What are you?' (57). At the moment when the couple is able to re-establish its linguistic fiction ('Crown me your queen, [...] / Say that!', 218) Pippa's song once again upsets their relationship to language. In his words, Sebald splits up Ottima's body, undermining the function of the feminine blazon in his beloved. The latter pleads with him: 'Speak to me – not of me!' (247), 'Lean on my breast – not as a breast' (274). Language disintegrates at the same time as their identity gradually vanishes: 'Do but kill me – then / Yourself – then – presently – first hear me speak' (Ottima, 271–2), 'My brain is drowned now – quite drowned' (Sebald, 277).

The identity crisis felt by Jules makes him lose his inspiration (2. 1. 303–4). But it is in the end beneficial because it obliges him to redefine his artistic projects: 'To begin Art afresh' (2. 1. 318). Words are lacking to Luigi, commanded by his mother to justify his desire to sacrifice to save Italy: 'He has... they have... in fact, I understand / But can't restate the matter' (3. 1. 142–3). Pippa's song provides him with grounds for acting, which he soon seizes; ostensibly as a response to his mother. As for Monsignor, doubly hindered in speech by his cough and by the specious rhetoric of his intendant, when Pippa's song dramatically pulls him out of his torpor, it is only to let loose a flood of uncontrolled words – this sudden logorrhea is graphically shown by suspension points and numerous dashes. Monsignor's performative aiming at the arrest of his intendant would not exist without Pippa: he has but one word to say, but Pippa speaks before him.

Against the widely accepted opinion holding that Pippa's songs modify the feeling each of her listeners has about himself, these songs are but the opportunity for each listener to confirm what he wishes to hear. It is only in this sense that the songs act as true vehicles of revelation by freeing what remains unspoken in each situation: the listeners look to them for signs which confirm the destiny that they have already chosen for themselves, like Sebald, Luigi, or Jules, who no longer listen to their interlocutor but rather echo their own voice.

They all interpret the words of the songs according to their own desires. Sebald looks more to reformulate his honour than his morality, being more interested in his image as romantic lover than in the horror of his crime; Jules' generosity towards Phene is limited by his desire to fashion her in his image; Luigi's revolutionary enthusiasm is stained by his desire for personal glory; finally, due to his imminent death, Monsignor is hastened to see his resolutions to their end. Pippa modifies no one but instead reveals the characters to themselves, or, in the words of Ryals: 'In the end each of the protagonists in the four episodes is left alone with his self-conceived role' (Ryals, 1983: 130).

This search for meaning by the characters in each episode offers us less the portrait of the thing observed than of the observer: the point of voice is a point of view (Tholoniat, 2009: 48), as is illustrated by Pippa who is able, on this unusual day, to have a synoptic point of view by putting herself in the place of the others.

PARODY AND IRONY

The ultimate irony of the songs of the prologue and the epilogue is that they work on Pippa with the same effect that they have on the other characters, also without her being aware. Far from being 'God's puppets', as Pippa says, each one is rather a puppet to his own desires and to his ability to formulate them. This is plainly to be seen for instance in the confrontation between Monsignor and his intendant.

> *Intendant.* 'Forgive us our trespasses?'
> *Monsignor.* My friend, it is because I avow myself a very worm, sinful beyond measure, that I reject a line of conduct you would applaud, perhaps. Shall I proceed, as it were, a-pardoning? – I? – who have no symptom of reason to assume that aught less than my strenuousest efforts will keep myself out of mortal sin, much less, keep others out. No: I do trespass, but will not double that by allowing you to trespass.
> (4. 110–118)

If, according to the French philosopher Vladimir Jankélévitch, 'irony is the bad conscience of hypocrisy' (Jankélévitch, 2011: 122), the irony here occurs not so much between the bishop and his servant, but above their shoulders, as it were, between Browning and his reader, and it is done at the expense of the two characters and their respective hypocrisy. In the end, apart from the character of Pippa, it is perhaps the irony impregnating each episode that produces the unity of *Pippa Passes*.

The successive sequences put on stage couples (Jules-Phene and Sebald-Ottima) or institutions oppose each other in counterpoint. Comparison and putting in perspective unveils the relativity of positions embodied by these characters. Inside each sequence, language is parodied by reflecting on itself according to the doubts expressed. Sebald mocks Ottima by reducing the range of her words to a language of bad faith ('such cant', 1. 1. 52). The students parody the bombastic, pedantic style of Jules, as Luigi's mother ridicules her son's arguments. The intendant takes up Monsignor's words to poke fun: 'as you say, howsoever, wheresoever, and whensoever'. The perlocutionary effect (Austin, 1962: 101) is very well perceived by Monsignor who reacts to the insolence by slapping the mocking intendant. Finally it seems that parody is transformed into self-parody. Indeed, upon meeting Jules, the students utter criticisms that sounded only too familiar to Browning's ears: 'His own fault, the simpleton! Instead of cram couplets, each like a knife in your entrails, he should write [...] classically and intelligibly' (1. 1. 297–300). The officious meta-discourse interferes as counterpoint with the official discourse, and language plays on itself by taking itself as an object of discussion, throwing itself into an ironic perspective.

The absence of a relationship among the sequences, on the one hand, and the repetition of the structure (crisis, Pippa's arrival, resolution, in one way or another, of the crisis) on the other, leads the reader to consider the irony which

arises from juxtaposition. The fragmentary structure of the poem, the ambivalence of each episode, and the strategy of employing parody further dramatize this irony. The characters in the episodes are not, and are far from being, the happiest people in Asolo, as Pippa claims in the Introduction (41). When Pippa refers to 'puppets' (4. 114), it is she, 'the little silk-winder from Asolo', who holds the strings, albeit involuntarily: indeed, she is unaware of the effects of her passage. The reader, who sees the co-existence of opposing things, is on guard for a plurality of interpretations: 'What other meaning do these verses bear?' (v. 189). The characters struggle in situations where all liberty is denied at the very moment when they believe to be exercising it. Does this irony not also include the reader, charged with, at his own risk, interpreting the twists of the plot for himself?

Overall, *Pippa Passes* is a polyrhythmic ensemble, where stylistic hybridism, shifts in style, and the articulation of the episodes throw the poem into a perpetual flight to the finish. By this tapestry of styles, Browning opens his playwriting with a variety of tones. The extreme diversity of the vocal palette and above all an uncommon theatrical sense anticipate the polyphonic structure of *The Ring and the Book*. In this transitional work, Browning blends the constraints of the theatre and lyrical poetry, creating a new part-dramatic, part-lyrical genre, which, by the juxtaposition of sequences, requires the reader's sympathy ('a work like mine depends more immediately on the intelligence and sympathy of the reader for its success', as he claimed in the 1835 preface to *Paracelsus*) and ironic judgment at the same time. In the canon of Browning, as in that of works of the 19th century, *Pippa Passes* is, like *Sordello*, this other experimental work, a unique work which fulfills the wishes of Elizabeth Barrett: 'A great dramatic power may develop itself otherwise than in the formal drama; & I have been guilty of wishing, before this hour… that you wd give the public a poem unassociated directly or indirectly with the stage' (Kintner, 1969, 1: 10).

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