Second Language Learning and Teaching

Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk
Editor

Contacts & Contrasts in Educational Contexts and Translation

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Editor
Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk
Faculty of Philology
State University of Applied Sciences
in Konin
Konin, Poland

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About the Editor

Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk is Full Professor of English and Applied Linguistics at State University of Applied Sciences, Konin, Poland, Head of the Department of Research in Language, Literature and Translation, for many years served as Head of the Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics at the University of Łódź. Author and editor of numerous books and papers in cognitive and corpus linguistics, collaborative knowledge acquisition and translation. She also cooperated with the Department of Linguistics and Modern English Language at the University of Lancaster, UK, and was Honorary Professor there. She has been invited to read papers at conferences and give workshops at European, American and Asian Universities.
e-mail: blt@konin.edu.pl

Introduction

The present volume *Contacts & Contrasts in Educational Contexts and Translation* concerns two larger themes—processes taking place in education, where different languages and cultures meet, *as well as contrasts, contacts* and interconnections between cultures in terms of source and target languages in translation, broadly understood. The contributions are an outcome of the conference devoted to *Contacts & Contrasts in Languages, Literatures and Cultures* (*C&C2017*), which was organized on 29–31 May 2017 in Konin, Poland by the Department of Research in Language, Literature and Translation of the State University of Applied Sciences in Konin. There are two books of the conference papers published. The first one *Contacts & Contrasts in Languages and Cultures* focuses on cultural and linguistic issues—in their diversity and richness in the themes intertwining language, culture, literature and the media. The present volume discusses a broad area of culture, infiltrating translation practices and education as well as teaching foreign languages, also as a way to share one's own culture with others and develop new ways of perceiving languages and cultures of others.

The volume includes two parts. Part I comprises seven chapters on *Languages and Cultures in Educational Contexts* while the second Part includes five contributions relating to *Culture and Translation.*

The first part of the volume introduces the theme of the development of intercultural translation and linguistic competences in educational contexts and begins with Hanna Pułaczewska's (University of Szczecin) chapter "Studying Parental Attitudes to Intergenerational Transmission of a Heritage Language: Polish in Regensburg", which analyses parental attitudes to intergenerational transmission of a heritage language on the example of Polish in the German city of Regensburg. The analysis of the interviews conducted by the author demonstrates family language policies, perceived social pressures, and parents' axiological attitudes to their parental duties.

In the chapter "Shukriya's Story: Negotiating Cultural Dissonance While Learning to Be Literate", Barbara Nykiel-Herbert examines an interplay between literacy acquisition and negotiation of ethnic and gender identities by a refugee child of Kurdish background in an American public school, particularly with

respect to conflicting sets of cultural norms and expectations in the two settings. The chapter shows in detail the girl's road to the acquisition of literacy and bicultural competence in the realistic context.

The chapter "Tapping the Distinction Between Explicit and Implicit Knowledge: Methodological Issues" by Mirosław Pawlak discusses a question of measures determining the degree of attainment in the second language implicit and explicit knowledge. As is demonstrated in the study answers to this question shed new light both on the development of second language acquisition theory as well as teaching practice. They help to identify the effects of particular pedagogic intervention or to establish the relationship between the proficiency level and some other variables pertinent in the language acquisition process.

In the chapter "Using Boundary Objects in the Methodology of TEFL at the Tertiary Level of Education", Agnieszka Gadomska makes reference to the concept of *boundary objects* that belong to boundary worlds and fulfill the communicative needs of each of these social worlds. The author argues for the treatment of mobile technologies as boundary objects in the English language classroom and demonstrates ways of building the bridges over social and generation gaps in such contexts.

The next chapter "CLIL Education" in Part I, authored by Agnieszka Borowiak, focuses on the concept of CLIL and presents its development over the years, particularly with respect to prospective graduates—employers contacts. The author perceives required FL competences as a condition for graduates' employability, not only in terms of foreign language qualifications but also with reference to their soft skills such as teamwork and the learner's ability to adapt to new situations and novel cultural contexts.

Last two chapters of Part I present topics which bridge a discussion between the two leading themes of the volume: educational contexts and translation. In a joint chapter "Teaching Reading Comprehension in a Creative Way", Katarína Chválová and Eva Stranovská discuss ways of Teaching Reading Comprehension in a Creative Way to account for the development of reading literacy in translation courses. In the last chapter "An Integrated Approach to Assessment in Translator Training: The Value of Self-reflection" of the first part Paulina Pietrzak also combines topics discussed in Part I of the present volume with the specificity of translation and translation analysis presented in Part II. The author discusses an integrated approach to assessment in translator training and investigates the role and value of self-reflection in this process. She analyses translation evaluation models and presents some contrasting views on assessment in translator training. The author perceives metacognitive skills, including self-reflection, as one of most important abilities to develop in translation students.

The first chapter "In Defence of the Cultural Other: Foreignisation or Mindful Essentialism?" in Part II of the present volume, authored by David Katan, professor of the University of the Salento (Lecce) and Research Fellow of the University of South Africa (Pretoria), proposes a fresh look at how differences in translation can affect relations between languages and cultures, focusing particularly on the tolerance with the *intercultural other*. On the one hand, as the author argues, translation is

perceived as instrumental in bridging cultures, while on the other it is considered as fostering violence and a barrier to integration.

Lucile Desblache's chapter "From Minor to Major: Accessing Marginal Voices Through Music. New Ways for Translation?" discusses an original topic concerning the contacts between audiences and their reception of music. The study focuses on accessibility, or *translation of music*, particularly with respect to audiences with special needs and, generally, to different ways of listening to and making music.

The chapter "Translation Corpus-Informed Research: A Swedish-Croatian Example" by Goranka Antunović touches upon the topic of parallel, i.e., translation, corpora, which include original texts in one language and their translations in another, and their role both in contrastive studies and translation research. The author argues that in spite of the language corpus wide-ranged potential, certain corpus limitations should also be considered. In her cross-linguistic study the author seeks to establish Croatian translation equivalents of the Swedish indefinite pronoun *man* by analysing a large corpus of authentic Swedish texts and their Croatian translations.

The last two chapters in this part, which close the volume, deal with selected examples of literary translation practice and analysis.

In the chapter "Dickens the Moralist: Translation Analysis of *David Copperfield*", Agnieszka Kałużna analyses and evaluates an ambitious task of rendering Dickens's moral truths in a translation of *David Copperfield* into Polish.

In the last chapter "The Translation of *Dune*: An Encounter of Languages" of the volume Alice Ray combines the themes of languages in contact with a discussion of their translational effects. The author focuses on the translation of particular stylistic effects, especially with reference to rendering loanwords into a target language (French) in Frank Herbert's science fiction novel, *Dune.* Exoticisms and semantic distortion Herbert uses contribute to creating a particular science fiction universe in the original. The analysis demonstrates how and to what extent this is rendered in the French translation.

The volume presents a set of research questions encountered in educational contexts which target foreign/second languages and cultures and combines them with a survey of problems and their solutions in situations when such different languages and cultures meet in their users' experiences.

Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk

Part I
Languages and Cultures in Educational Contexts

Studying Parental Attitudes to Intergenerational Transmission of a Heritage Language: Polish in Regensburg

Hanna Pułaczewska

Abstract The study attempts to systematically relate family language policies, their perception of social pressures, and parents' axiological stances. The objective is to provide an empirical account of variance in parenting styles and associated family language policies of Polish-speaking parents in Regensburg, Germany. The data consisted of interviews conducted with 20 immigrant Polish-speaking mothers of teenagers living in Germany since infancy. Interview data have been subjected to an inductive analysis in order to identify crucial aspects of variance in stances of immigrant parents, reflected in the observed variance of their children's competence in Polish. The outcome is a typology of parents' axiological attitudes to parenting, involving relative primacy of values such as child autonomy, child security, parent-child relation, nation, religion, and extended family that affect the decision on in how far Polish is being passed on to children. This is followed by a typology of conative attitudes to the intergenerational transmission of Polish which does not stop at the extent to which Polish is cultivated in the interaction with the child, but also indicates dichotomous motivations for suppression or marginalisation of Polish—submission to social pressure or communicative advantages.

Keywords Assimilation · Immigration · Parenting · Value
Family language policy · Bilingualism

1 Introduction

The phenomenon of passing on a minority language in families has mainly been studied in sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and education psychology with a strong focus on the receiving end, that is, on the child whose language competence is at

The study has been sponsored by the National Centre of Science, Cracow, Poland, grant No. 2013/10/M/HS2/00535.

H. Pułaczewska (✉)
Philological Faculty, Uniwersytet Szczeciński, Szczecin, Poland
e-mail: hanna.pulaczewska@usz.edu.pl

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stake. It is only within the last two decades that the topic of family language policy and bilingual parenting has come to the fore, and the growing interest in family language ideology and practice materializes in growing numbers of dissertations and papers in the area (cf. King & Fogle, 2013; Schwartz, 2010 for surveys of research development). The research questions asked by sociolinguists pertain mainly to parental support for L1 acquisition and such differences between parental concepts, ideologies and perceptions of social pressures as lead to different language practices and different outcomes for children growing up in bilingual settings.

The present paper offers a contribution to this area, reporting on how the intergenerational transmission of the heritage language, conceived of as part and parcel of parenting in bilingual (or multilingual) families, is seen through the eyes of mothers for whom Polish is the mother tongue and who raise their children in the city of Regensburg in southern Germany. The study is based on a number of interviews with mothers who have either passed Polish on to their teenage children to a greater or a lesser extent, or have entirely refrained from this endeavour. The data collected from the interviews have been subjected to an inductive analysis, which has allowed for drawing qualitative conclusions from rich and multifaceted inputs.

The study aims to present varied attitudes that parents exhibit towards passing on the Polish language to children being brought up in Germany. We propose to systematise the topic of the interplay between parental language policies on the one hand, and parental perceptions of the functions of language, value and utility of the heritage language, parenting tasks, and social expectations on the other. The main issues under study include:

- value-based parental motivation underlying passing or not passing on of the Polish language;
- links between attitudes to intergenerational transmission of Polish and attitudes towards parenting;
- the impact of parents' assessment of attitudes towards passing on Polish in a wider social environment on parental decisions in this respect;
- resultant patterns of parental language policies.

2 Axiological Attitudes to Parenting

Family language policy has typically been discussed with a focus on "language policy" rather than "family policy", understood as a set of for the most part implicitly established overarching goals of living together in this basic social unit. Depending on family constellation, such goals may include or focus on individuals, relationships existing within the family system, and its (or theirs) links to the external environment; and be oriented for example towards self-fulfilment of family members, family cohesion or its social mobility as a group. Child upbringing, leading to a particular kind of life achievement for the child (be it socioeconomic or spiritual, in the form of

having a "correct" worldview and adhering to right principles), is likely to be viewed universally as a central function of a family unit.

In literature on intergenerational transmission of heritage languages, the question of passing on the heritage language has usually been treated in relative isolation from the overall orientation of parenting goals. According to Schwartz (2010), research on family language policy (FLP) incorporates analysis of language ideology, practice and management, which were proposed by Spolsky (2004) as components of language policy in a speech community. Spolsky (2004, p. 5) characterizes them as "language practices—the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology—the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management". Schwartz (2010) believes the same model can be applied at the family level to form a general expandable framework. Yet, it seems that applying a policy model that functions on the level of a society to a very different social unit such as family is not without drawbacks. In a sense, it amounts to marginalising parents' attitudes to parenting and family itself. In other words, a direct focus on practices, beliefs and attitudes towards the heritage language and bilingualism divorces, to some extent, the issue of home language choice and heritage language support from the broader issues of perception, ideology and practice of parenting in general. The following quotation from Schwartz (1996, p. 2) is well applicable to indicating pitfalls of studying intergenerational transmission of a heritage language from the perspective focused on the value of the heritage language itself, while neglecting other aspects of family goals, personal aspirations, and social percepts:

> The focus on relationships with single values (…) leads to a piecemeal accumulation of bits of information about values that is not conducive to the construction of coherent theories (…) Three noteworthy problems beset these approaches. First, the reliability of any single value is quite low (…) Second, absent a comprehensive set of values or of a broad theory to guide selection of target values, values that were not included in a study may be equally or more meaningfully related to the phenomenon in question than those studied (…) Third, and most important, these single-value approaches ignore the widely shared assumption that attitudes and behavior are guided not by the priority given to a single value but by tradeoffs among competing values that are implicated simultaneously in a behavior or attitude (…) Indeed, values may play little role in behavior except when there is value conflict—when a behavior has consequences promotive of one (or more) value but opposed to others that are also cherished by the person. It is in the presence of conflict that values are likely to be activated, to enter awareness, and to be used as guiding principles. In the absence of value conflict, values may draw no attention. Instead, habitual, scripted responses may suffice.

As family language policy is part of family policy, family psychology might appear as a natural source to turn to in search of concepts to deal with the former. Examples of studies that applied comparative psychological dimensions in studies of heritage language maintenance are Tannenbaum and Howie (2002) and Park, Tsai, Liu, and Lau (2012). The former used tests based on the structural-systemic theory of families, and found out that children's preference for usage of L1 correlates positively with their perception of their families as cohesive. The latter looked at the correlation between L1 proficiency in pre-school agers and two aspects of parenting behaviour

in L1, parental responsiveness and parental warmth. Such rare exceptions notwithstanding, studies on family language policy are as a rule descriptive in kind and have not taken considerable inputs from theoretical concepts and model-theoretical approaches in psychology of parenting. Neither does the framework of acculturation psychology figure as major input to studies of parental language policies in migrant families. Berry's (1980, 2001) seminal model of assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization (later: ambivalence) as value-driven acculturation strategies, with multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation and exclusion acting as the respective mirror policies of the host society, has not been remarkably utilized by researchers studying parental decisions on heritage language maintenance. We can only speculate about the possible reasons, such as the putative obviousness of the relationships (L1 maintenance would be a facet of separation or integration, abandonment a facet of assimilation, cf. Esser, 2006); little interest in studying parents who have chosen to assimilate, or great difficulty in getting them involved in research projects[1]; finally, a growing awareness that as power relations are important, assimilation more often than not means accommodation to discriminatory arrangements and its opposite pole is not separation but protest, activism and claiming linguistic rights for L1 by concerned parents (cf. e.g., Chik, 2010), which makes Berry's model look lopsided in the contexts under study.

In analysing our interview data, we focused on parental values and links from values to practices. We regard values as the main component of attitudes to parenting, rather than conform to the widely acknowledged description of attitudes as composed of cognitive, affective and conative components [which originated in the seminal study by Rosenberg and Hovland (1960)]. This appears adequate in view of the obvious relevance that ethical concepts and notions such as goal and task possess with regard to bringing up and educating children. While related to emotions, values are not reducible to them (cf. also the concept of "value-expressive function" of attitudes in Katz, who introduced the term "attitude" into social psychology in 1937). Recognising that the notion of affect does not sufficiently address those aspects of attitudes that extend beyond beliefs about, and behavioural dispositions towards the subject of attitudes, Plopa (2005) replaces the notion "affective" by "affective-motivational" when speaking of attitudes. The affinity of value and motivation has been emphasized by Humanistic Sociology developed by Znaniecki (1963) and elaborated by Smolicz (1974, 1992). Values are criteria or standards of orientation for selection among alternatives available in given situations, crucial to why different actors make different choices even in similar circumstances. They themselves contain a cognitive component (Chiro, n.d.):

> From the social psychological perspective, values are considered 'desirable trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity' (Schwartz, 1994, p. 21). According to this view, values can be seen to fulfil five

[1]Recruiting mothers who do not pass the Polish language on was a major problem in our studies as they generally do not subscribe to such endeavors. On the whole, studies including parents who have not attempted to pass on their heritage language are quite rare in spite of prominence of intergenerational language loss reported in quantitative research on migrant communities. Notable exceptions are Okita (2002), Pease-Alvarez (2003), and Jańczak (2013).

criteria: (1) they are concepts or beliefs, (2) they pertain to desirable end states or behaviours, (3) they transcend specific situations, (4) they guide selection or evaluation of behaviour and events, and (5) they are ordered by relative importance (Hitlin, 2003, p. 119). This definition bears a strong affinity with Florian Znaniecki's conceptualization of the relationship between values and attitudes.

References to parental values in discussion on intergenerational transmission of the heritage language are common but dispersed and, in a sense, usually implicit. Spolsky (2009, p. 29) refers to value judgements of family members when discussing language choice, and gives an example of a household that respects authority as the one where language choice is likely to follow the will of the person with most authority (disappointingly, he instantly switches to the issue of value judgements on competing languages themselves). The topic of heritage language being cherished by parents as a valuable tool for maintaining kinship ties appears in Shepherd (2006) and Guardado (2008), who point out the wish for the children to be able to communicate with their Spanish-speaking relatives as the main motivation for Hispanic parents to pass on Spanish while living in the USA and Canada, respectively. Janssens (1987, as cited in Yang, 2008, p. 2), Kasatkina (2010), Lao (2004), Lei (2007), Smolicz (1992), Wong Fillmore (2000), and Yang (2008), to name but a few, claim the status of a positive value for ethnicity including heritage tradition and culture that the maintenance of a heritage language in the family helps uphold. Krashen (1992) argues that speaking in the heritage language leads to closely-knit family communication and, in consequence, a strong bond between children, parents, and the heritage culture as it enables parents to share their personal wisdom, family cultural values, beliefs, evaluations and descriptions of the world with their children. Kasatkina (2010, p. 44) emphasizes "the parental desire to maintain the heritage culture and language", and indicates that not passing L1 enhances intergenerational culture gap which is painful to parents (rather than children). Family cohesion, intergenerational understanding, and the quality of the ties between children and parents have also been addressed on similar lines by Tannenbaum (2005). Okita (2002) is exceptional in exposing in detail the interrelatedness between attitudes to parenting in general on the one hand, and the attitudes to heritage language maintenance on the other in "intermarried" Japanese mothers raising their children in Great Britain.

An inductive analysis of our interview data led us to a discovery of contextually relevant aspects of difference in parenting values and social perceptions, such that produced differences in language policies in the families and, accordingly, different outcome potentials for linguistic competences of the child. In view of the small sample size and the multitude of interfering factors, such as the children's language learning aptitude and gender, the parents' patterns of usage of Polish, their social networks, education and interests, frequency of visits to Poland etc., in what follows we do not attempt to quantitatively relate particular parental attitudes and practices to the children's levels of competence in a direct way. Instead, we point out the limitations that particular parental attitudes and the resulting language policies are likely to place on possible outcomes of children's acquisition of Polish.

3 Central Attitudinal Factors Affecting Transmission or Non-transmission of Polish by Polish Mothers in Regensburg

3.1 Research Method

Our analysis has been conducted on the basis of twenty semi-structured interviews with Polish-speaking mothers of teenagers, aged 13–18, who have been brought up in Regensburg and have lived in Germany since birth or the first year of their lives, with only one exception of a person who arrived in Regensburg at the age of three. The respondents themselves were born in Poland and came to Germany in adulthood (18 persons) or in adolescence, accompanying their own parents (2 persons).

The decision to include only mothers in our research was motivated by the much greater readiness of mothers to participate in interviews, and the fact that there were no Polish-speaking fathers in relationships with non-Polish mothers among potential respondents (Polish-German couples typically consist of a Polish wife and a German husband[2]). The influence of fathers on their children's upbringing is reflected in interviews in an indirect way, in the form of the mothers' reports of the fathers' attitudes and actions.

Applying the inductive method in the analysis made it possible to identify aspects of parenting bilingual children that were not acknowledged by us beforehand. A deductive component has been co-present in the form of initial assumptions that have obviously influenced the process of data collection and manifested themselves in the choice of the questions that the respondents were asked.

3.2 General Characteristics of the Sample

The linguistic and ethnic structure of the group reflects the general situation of mothers of Polish origin who live in Germany. The interviews included ten mothers who live with Polish-speaking fathers of their children, four mothers in relationships with German partners who had not had family relations with Poles prior to that partnership, three mothers in partnerships with foreigners who had been granted German citizenship as adults, two single mothers raising children of German fathers, one single mother raising the children of a Polish father, and two single mothers raising children whose fathers came from countries other than Poland and Germany. Eleven respondents had more than one child. Six of the respondents had secondary education and two had basic vocational education. From twelve respondents that had university-level education, four received their diplomas in Germany, the others in Poland. Many were employed markedly below their qualifications.

[2]The same profile was identified in studies on Polish-speaking families conducted at the time in Leipzig and Greifswald by Gret Mehlhorn and Bernhard Brehmer.

In order to ensure that the interviews accurately reflect the variety of parents' attitudes and the resulting linguistic practices, we took care to include mothers whose language practices varied, and whose children consequently exhibited a whole range of Polish language skills, from fluency to absence of any linguistic competence. Eight of the twenty three children who were tested for the study knew Polish well or very well,[3] including three children with very good written and oral competence whose fathers did not speak Polish. One dyslexic child spoke Polish rather well but could neither read nor write in Polish, and two had no Polish language skills.

The respondents mostly manifested positive attitudes towards Polish language transmission, which was reflected in the profiles of their linguistic communication with the children. More than half of them (10) reported using Polish exclusively or nearly exclusively (90-100%) in their communication with the child; five estimated their Polish input at 50–80% and three at 15–20%. Only two respondents reported that they did not use Polish at all. At the time of the interviews, out of eleven Polish-speaking fathers six used Polish with their children exclusively, or nearly exclusively, four used it at 50–80% (including one German father who had learned Polish as adult), and one at 20%.

3.3 Axiological Attitudes to Parenthood in the Polish Mothers in Regensburg

The following is a list of "ideal types"—axiological attitudes which we identified on the basis of the collected data, categorising parents' orientations according to their concept of parenthood and values adhered to in child upbringing. We implement the above quoted contention by Schwartz by indicating how these attitudes interfere with, or support the valorization of the intergenerational transmission of the heritage language. While there was a marked prevalence of one of these attitudes in 15 out of 20 cases under study, the stances presented above are not mutually exclusive. They may coexist in different proportions at one time, and differ in intensity at various stages of the child's and the parent's lives. They may be intensified or weakened as a result of life experience, as well as due to the child growing older and, consequently, its growing need of autonomy, as well as growing readiness of parents to grant it that surfaced in our interviews (cf. also Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2002, on changes of family language dynamics in adolescence).

Autonomising: A core value for the parent is the child's autonomy. The parent respects the child's attitudes and preferences very early in the child's life, perceives it as an autonomous subject and emphasizes respect for its decisions.

In families in which parents show autonomising attitude, it is the child agency that determines the amount of input in L1 already in early childhood. The child's preferences determine the language of communication, as well as whether other

[3]The children were tested in conversational skills (comprehension and production), reading comprehension, spelling and reading aloud. A standardized test was devised for this purpose.

measures will be taken so that the child acquires Polish, e.g., attending a language course.

Protectionist: Guided by concern for the child, the parent acts protectively, eliminating potential risks and complications from the child's life and maximising its useful resources and skills.

The factors that determine the actual strategy of dealing with Polish in families with protective parents are the perception of the attitudes towards bilingual children, the Polish language and Polish social identity in the wider social environment, and the views about the impact of exposure to L1 upon school and life achievement. A protective parent abstains from passing on Polish and the sense of Polish identity if she decides that their cultivation is not in the best interest of the child, and perceives them as hazardous for its social integration; Polish is transmitted if the parent sees its acquisition by the child as beneficial for its future options and achievements in education and career.

Relationist: A fundamental value in parenting is the quality of the relationship between the parent and the child. The parent perceives communication with the child in her L1 as deeper, more amusing, more affectionate, more natural, and allowing for an easier and more effective sharing of attitudes, interests and intimate knowledge about her "true self"; the child's sharing the parent's high competence in L1 is prerequisite for reaching a satisfactory depth of the relationship.

Collectivist: Family bonds with relatives outside home constitute a fundamental value for the parent (family collectivism); the Polish language is a tool enabling the child to form and maintain such bonds.

Patriotic: The parent's fundamental value is identification with the national and ethnic community; as a result, the parent wishes for the child to participate in this community through the medium of the Polish language.

Religious-patriotic: The parent's core value is religion, in this particular context Christianity in the interpretation of the Polish Catholic Church, that is, tightly interwoven with patriotic sentiments; as a result, the parent wishes for the child to participate in the religious services of this particular church and its national community through the medium of the Polish language.[4]

Economistic: The parent views language as a mere tool of communication. The choice of language in a particular situation, and consequently the extent to which the Polish language is used in communication in general, is defined by the economy (speed, ease and precision) of getting messages across.

The actual practice is thus driven by the child's competence in Polish, the parents' and child's gradually improving competence in German, and Polish language attrition in the parent.

Six attitudes identified here mark a variety in focusing on particular subjects as the main beneficiaries of parenting practices, which are: the child in the autonomising and protective stance; child and parent in the relational one; child and extended family in the collectivist one; child and L1 nation in the patriotic one; child, nation and the

[4]Church services in the Polish language are made available by the Polish Catholic Mission in Regensburg, and elsewhere in Germany.

Church (?) in the patriotic-religious one. Finally, the economistic stance describes a relation between communication and child education based on the primacy of the communicative aspect in choosing a particular language on a particular occasion over any *future-oriented educational objectives*.

3.4 Conative Parental Attitudes—Cultivation of the Polish Language

The data collected project a clear image of differences in the parents' patterns of behaviour in relation to the intergenerational transmission of Polish as well as their own choices of language in the private and the public spheres. The two aspects, i.e., language transmission and parental choices of language, are closely related and difficult to circumscribe. It is significant to note that the acquisition of Polish as L1 in Germany is taking place under conditions of the hegemony of German and a societal discourse on immigrants' heritage languages, with immigrant parents occasionally receiving advice to speak German at home from educators and being bullied for speaking languages other than German in the public (as reported by our respondents). Heritage languages have sometimes been regarded as the main obstacle to educational achievement of second-generation migrants (e.g., Esser, 2006, cf. also Pułaczewska, 2008, 2014, 2017), while signs of a more positive attitude show up in the recent years as a result of gradual dissemination of the results of scholarly research on bilingual language acquisition in the media and the educational system. Apart from occasional harassment directed against the Polish language, many mothers also reported cases of experienced discrimination and micro-aggression that they attributed to their ethnicity, which explains why the topic of linguistic assimilation as a facet of societal subordination figures importantly in the following account.

We have identified four different policy types, subject to continuous modifications at different stages of the parent's and the child's lives: activism, affirmation, submissive and pragmatic marginalising (distinguished by the type of motivation) and, finely, submissive and pragmatic suppression of Polish. The quotations below show how these attitudes materialised in interviews.

Activism

The parent openly asserts his or her positive attitude towards passing Polish on to the child, centralises the role of Polish in family communication, takes other steps to support the acquisition of Polish by the child and attempts to actively influence other people's attitudes (e.g., attitudes of other immigrant parents, teachers, members of the host society in general, by means of discussing, criticising, lecturing, blogging etc.).

[1] R: whenever she visited me she would / speak Polish to the children / as I would always squeeze in something in German and for that she would / I could say / ugh . what . what's the word .. / punish me / no

F: scold

R: scolded / exactly / to speak Polish

[2] R: then it turned out that one of the kindergarten nurses / Ala's nurse was also bilingual / Croatian she was / from a monolingual Croatian family / so she like accepted that and always had a positive attitude / and later ugh I started telling them that I was writing a book / I started interviewing a few people and later I probably went to the headmaster and asked her whether I could come with . with a lecture / and she organised such a lecture / that is she allowed me ugh . to deliver such a talk in the gym hall

Affirmation

The parent audaciously uses the Polish language in communication with the child and others, including in public places, and takes other steps to support the acquisition of Polish by the child.

[3] R: I was wondering why I should lower my voice as the Russians did / when I am in a bus and I am speaking Polish I do not do not do that / I speak in my regular voice / and I think that if somebody doesn't like it so what / let them get out / let them charter a car

Marginalising

- Submissive: The parent perceives social pressure from the environment where there is a preference for the use of the German language, yields to it and starts using the Polish language as a family language only in the presence of family members and other speakers of Polish. The parent considers Polish inappropriate for use in public places or in the presence of people who do not speak it, and recognises the primacy of rights of persons requiring submission to the linguistic practices of the host society. Consequently, the parent subordinates Polish to the German language and transmits Polish in a limited way, accepting the incomplete competence of his or her children in Polish as a *necessary cost of emigration*.

  [4] R: I must say / that I . speak Polish a lot / behind the closed door / quite a lot / but if I know for example / that my neighbours are sitting here and have visitors . from their family / and I for example would be sitting here .. with the children and having dinner on the terrace / then I would also rather speak German / out of respect for that family / I reckon that they feel better / simply ugh . if German is spoken here / so it seems to me [..]

  R: I believe / that this . this Polish language / that it is just a home language for us / which however does not mean / that I should be flaunting it around town / walk and shout in Polish to . to . to . to the children / I do not need to do that / because I do it at home

- Pragmatic: The parent uses German language frequently when talking to the child in order to improve communication with the child, or family communication in general, in view of the child's higher linguistic competence in German, and/or the child's reluctance to use the Polish language, and/or the lack of sufficient knowledge of Polish on the part of the spouse. The parent subordinates Polish to German on practical grounds and transmits the language in a limited way, accepting the incomplete competence of his or her children in Polish as an *adequate cost of efficient communication*.

  [5] F: now you and Zosia / you and Tom / in percentage

  R: so / you must put ugh . eighty percent German / Tom twenty percent Polish / and with Zosia there is even . more / ninety percent uh . German / ten for Polish [..]

  F: if ugh . Tom answers in German to your utterance in the Polish language / so what is your reaction to that / . for instance I switch into German / I continue in Polish without any comment / I tell my child to speak Polish / it does not happen

R: I leave it with no comment / (I never react to that / because I do not even realise that any more)

F: (uhm / okay / but do you switch into German) or continue in Polish without comments

R: if I switch into German / it is not a consequence of the fact / that someone else speaks German / only sometimes it is for me . out of / out of like some economy of language / it is simply more convenient

Suppression

- Submissive: The parent perceives the preference for German and the pressure to use it from the social environment (which may also be represented by the spouse), abstains from using Polish in communication with the child and perceives disadvantages of the child not knowing Polish as an adequate cost of increased social acceptance for the child and/or the parent, or an adequate cost of unanimity in the home.

[6] R: my sister-in-law for example / they also have been living here for a very long time / about thirty years too / so with them it was definitively . so to speak / more or less forbidden to speak Polish / right

Q: mhm

R: er . er only for the children's sake / so that the children have this start at s- in the kindergarden / at school / in the gymnasium[5] *// in the best school er . er simply the best start / so the German language / the Polish language was crossed out*

[7] P: did it occur to you that you could talk to Lisa in Polish too / so that she learns it in a way

R: mmm

P: has there ever been such an idea or not at all

R: yes right / there has been such an idea / but unfortunately I could not push it through my husband / hahahaha

- Pragmatic: The parent uses mostly German when talking to the child in order to improve communication with the child or family communication in general, in view of the child's higher linguistic competence in German, and/or the child showing reluctance to use the Polish language, and/or the lack of sufficient knowledge of Polish on the part of the spouse. The parent accepts the child's lack of competence in Polish, perceiving it as an adequate cost of efficient communication in view of his or her own lack of deeper emotional attachment to the Polish language, low assessment of the potential benefits for the child from acquiring Polish, or estimation of the cost of passing on Polish as too high.

[8] R: it is hard to understand for people in Poland why / (the child is not taught)

Q: (and you / how did / how) did you justify or how (. well . did you explain the situation)

R: (the same as I told <u>you</u>) that simply you know / that I work for living and you know / I cannot manage to repeat everything twice / because I would really have to you know either consistently only use Polish / uhm and with Martin German / which would require repeating things

[5] A school including grades 5 through 12/13 and leading to qualification for university studies.

Pragmatic Marginalising and Pragmatic Suppression

The speed of communication, its simplicity in the sense of unity (refraining from switching between two codes), and its comprehensibility for the child are factors that work in favour of the language that the child knows better, i.e., German. In particular, linguistic actions such as discussing homework (to be prepared in German as the language of instruction at school) or telling stories related to events that occurred in a German-speaking environment push the scales towards German. Other aspects of communicative economy are the ease of production and processing of an utterance for both interlocutors, and frequent co-presence of a spouse who does not speak Polish. An additional introduction of the Polish language would be an impediment, and future-oriented educational intentions do not play a role in choosing the language; economy of communication prevails. The probability that the most efficient communication can be secured by the use of German rather than Polish increases with time as a consequence of the Polish-speaking parents' growing competence in German and weakening competence in Polish.

Submissive Marginalising

The marginalisation of the role of the Polish language in a child's life stemmed from the belief that a reduction of input in Polish will contribute to a better mastery of the German language, stabilise the German identity of the child, and allow for the child's better integration in the society. Linguistic adaptation to the surrounding majority was viewed as a way to safeguard school achievement and social acceptance for both the parents and the child.

Submissive Suppression

This approach, even though it was often referred to by the respondents commenting on their spouses, extended family and friends, only occurred in one respondent (and the interview was exceptional in that it required monetary remuneration). It must be assumed that the attitude towards Polish resulting in such a practice is also linked to their lack of interest in the Polish language itself and in the people, institutions and research projects associated with it—possibly because their participation in such a survey would be symptomatic of their partially rejected ethnicity, and because they do not want to submit themselves to anticipated critical evaluation by the researcher (i.e., due to awareness of conflict in values). We draw such a conclusion indirectly from numerous rejections (31) we received when asking for interviews about the (non)transmission of Polish, and numerous refusals to give permission to children who did not speak Polish to participate in a parallel study based on interviews with teenagers.

Table 1 shows all relationships between axiological and conative attitudes observed in the sample. This includes various outcomes of the autonomising attitude in effect of child agency, as well as various outcomes of the protectionist attitude which result from varied parental perceptions of the German majority's attitudes towards the maintenance of Polish.

Table 1 Relations between axiological and conative attitudes observed in the sample

Axiological attitude	Intervening perception	Resultant conative attitude
Autonomising	Perception of child preferences	Marginalising/suppression
Patriotic		Activism/affirmation
Religious-patriotic		Affirmation
Collectivist		Marginalising
Protectionist	Perception of social attitudes	Suppression/marginalising Or Affirmation
Relativist		Affirmation
Economistic		Marginalising/suppression

We also took a probative look at the relation between the children's language competence and marginalising versus affirmation and activism in 18 mothers who passed Polish on. From the seven children who knew Polish well or very well, five had mothers who showed the affirmative attitude and the mother of the remaining two showed the activist attitude. This level of competence was not reached by any of the children whose mothers marginalised Polish. The result suggests that the marginalising attitude imposes a limit upon a teenager's language competence in L1, while the small sample size limits generalisability.

4 The Value of Assimilation

The above-mentioned differences in the hierarchies of values naturally spark moral evaluations. Similarly as the interviews conducted in the USA by King and Fogle (2006) with parents of Spanish-English bilinguals, our interviews revealed that parents who passed on Polish and perceived it as an important value enriching the child, the relationship between the parent and the child, the relationship between the child and other relatives, or the relation between the child and the Polish nation, were critical of immigrant parents who did not pass on Polish or other heritage languages. While we refrain from any evaluation of one or the other set of practices, it needs to be pointed out that such decisions, unfavourable for the Polish language, are legitimised by the parents' at least partially correct diagnosis of attitudes towards linguistic and ethnic difference present in the society, and potential consequences of the cultivation of such difference. Parental actions and decisions oriented towards the child's de-ethnicisation (here: de-polonisation) are based on rational assumptions and are taken in the best interest of the child as it is perceived by the parents. It is for the same reason that Mexican parents discussed by Pease-Alvarez (2003) do not pass on Spanish to their children in California, in an effort to improve their social status and let them enjoy the benefits associated with becoming Americans. The goal is

to protect the child from negative influence that the child's identification with the minority ethnic group may have on his or her school achievement, psychological development and life satisfaction. Parents may have legitimate doubts whether they have adequate educational means at their disposal to counteract risks that an ethnic difference—in the case of the Poles and the Germans made visible almost exclusively through language, for the lack of racial and lifestyle difference—brings with itself. If, at the same time, they show a prevailing protective attitude and positively assess the child's chances to acquire a coherent sense of German identity because they are themselves ready to give up cherishing their ethnic origin, suppression of Polish emerges as a logical consequence.

In order to indicate the potential scale of suppression it should be noted that more than 50% of the children with a Polish parent in Regensburg aged between 13 and 15 who took part in a survey that we conducted in the years 2015–2016 were raised without the Polish language.[6] A similar figure was cited by Bartol-Jarosińska (1994) after Gruszczyński (1981) for Polish immigrants in France in the 1970s.[7]

While contemporary writers on bilingualism generally support maintenance, the view that cultivation of linguistic and ethnic difference could be detrimental to a child finds some empirical support in earlier literature. For example, Smolicz and Secombe (1981) cite a report by Kringas and Lewins (1979), who claim that socio-economic advancement is incompatible with the preservation of ethnic background in the second generation of immigrants in Australia (while they criticise this, and blame social relations). Turning back to Germany, it must be asserted that we do not know how cultivating one's minority heritage language in Germany correlates with educational profiles and career prospects of children from migrant families because such quantitative studies have hardly been conducted. The validity of the results from a single quantitative survey discussed by Esser (2006) has been legitimately put to doubt, e.g., by Brizić (2009).[8]

5 Concluding Remarks

The typologies we proposed do not only serve to describe the situation of Polish as a heritage language in Regensburg from the parental perspective but also are meant as a possible step towards creating an extendable model of bilingual parenting based on empirical input. Parental practices and attitudes to passing on a heritage language in

[6]The survey was conducted on a sample of 625 students aged 13 through 15 in six schools of three different profiles, 44 of which declared having a Polish speaking parent; of these, only 17 declared that they had been growing up with Polish.

[7]Out of 36 Polish-German families living in Germany surveyed by Jańczak (2013), only 9 did not raise their children bilingually, but she was using a convenience sample.

[8]Brizić (2009) argued that the survey was flawed because it did not take into account a language shift from a parental mother tongue to another (majority) language that had frequently taken place before the families under study moved to Germany, and gravely affected the quality of the language spoken in the home. Cf. also Roche (2013) who criticises Esser's (2006) choice of surveys covered in general, including those conducted in other countries.

the context of dispersed migration prove to be influenced by parent's axiological attitudes to parenting, that is, their ideas about parenting tasks and hierarchies of values to be cherished, acted upon and passed on to children. However, we also observed that there is no straightforward one-to-one link between focusing on a particular value in parenting on the one hand, and the amount of parental support for the heritage language on the other. Social perceptions and beliefs about language interpose, leading to various outcomes. The same attitude focused on child protection may produce varied conative attitudes and decisions on intergenerational transmission of a heritage language—its affirmation, marginalisation or suppression—if coupled with different experience-based beliefs about the social attitudes of the ethnic majority to difference manifested through language, as well as different beliefs about the influence of L1 acquisition upon school achievement (while the belief in an adverse correlation itself resulted entirely from social pressures). At the same time, practices of marginalising and suppressing the heritage language may proceed from different axiological stances—a primacy of a pragmatic here-and-now approach to language as a tool for efficiently managing current communicative needs, or, alternatively, beliefs in decency of assimilation or adverse social and developmental consequences of using L1.

It remains an empirical question to which extent the results presented here reflect variance in heritage language transmission in immigration contexts in general. Our analysis pertains to raising children with a particular minority language in a particular society; moreover, we studied a singular majority-minority relationship in which racial difference does not feature at all, and the difference in the field of religion is of a very subtle sort.[9] It is not clear that a similar attitudinal variance would emerge from an analysis of other immigrant languages in Germany, or the situation of Polish and other immigrants' languages in other towns, regions, and countries. We hope, however, to extend our research in the future in order to test the robustness of the typologies proposed.

Appendix

Transcription conventions:

Q	interviewer
R	respondent
( )	overlapping speech
.	a break of the duration of one or two syllables
..	a break of the duration of three or more syllables
[..]	omission
/	tone group boundary
never	emphasis
//sigh//	paraverbal action

[9] While Bavaria is also a Catholic country, not only is the Polish Catholic Church more nationalist in nature but also religious ardour greater in the Poles.

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Hanna Pułaczewska studied English Philology in Łódź (Poland) and General and Comparative Linguistics in Regensburg (Germany) where she received her academic degrees. Her main fields of study are cognitive semantics, comparative pragmatics and, most recently, language policy and planning. Currently she is Professor of English Linguistics and Director of the Institute of English Studies at the University of Szczecin, Poland.

Shukriya's Story: Negotiating Cultural Dissonance While Learning to Be Literate

Barbara Nykiel-Herbert

Abstract This case study examines the interplay between literacy acquisition and negotiation of ethnic and gender identity by a refugee child in the context of the competing cultures of a traditional Kurdish home and an American public school. Shukriya, a 9-year-old non-literate Kurdish refugee from Iraq, is subject to two conflicting sets of cultural norms and assumptions, particularly with regard to gender and educational expectations. Within her family, she takes a back seat to her brothers; Shukriya's sense of identity is tied to her role as a future homemaker. At the same time, the school defines her in terms of deficits: a non-literate, non-numerate, non-English speaker in need of "cultural remediation" to become American. Placed in an intervention program for low-performing Middle-Eastern refugee students, Shukriya discovers that literacy is the currency of social status. She begins to use her emergent writing skills for self-promotion and, gradually, affirmation of her membership in both cultures. She re-asserts her identity as a Kurdish female while she also crafts a new identity for herself as a successful student, challenging some of the expectations of her home culture. The article showcases Shukriya's path to literacy and bicultural competence by interpreting a selection of her writing—produced over the period of one school year—against the backdrop of a body of ethnographic data as well as the broader paradigms of the two cultures in contact.

Keywords Refugees · Cultural adaptation · Literacy · Identity · Gender

1 Introduction

As Western societies are becoming increasingly ethnically and culturally diverse, much thought has been devoted to the matters of cultural contact, conflict, and adaptation. One of the most critical arenas in which the push and pull forces of home and host cultures compete on a daily basis is public education. The importance of cultural

B. Nykiel-Herbert (✉)
Lingworks, Reno, NV, USA
e-mail: nykielherbert@yahoo.com

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factors in educating children can be measured by the large number of instruction-focused studies and high volume of "culturally sensitive" instructional approaches and resources that have been designed, tested, produced, and implemented (August & Shanahan, 2006). But in spite of heavy emphasis on multiculturalism and multicultural pedagogy in schools, research studies of cultural dynamics involving ethnic minority populations within Western societies favor adults and adolescents while younger children have received considerably less attention. Compared with children, adults are harder to ignore, as their integration into the social, cultural, legal, and economic fabric of the societies they have entered is considered more urgent; the needs of the children are usually subsumed under the needs of the parents. Young children, especially those from immigrant and refugee communities, are voiceless and remain largely invisible as individuals because scholarly literature tends to treat them as "empty vessels into which their parents deposit attitudes toward both sending and receiving countries, or as 'luggage' weighing down their otherwise mobile families" (Salomone, 2010, p. 64). Yet childhood is associated with a wide range of culture-specific norms and behaviors not necessarily correlated with particular age groups (Chatty, Crivello, & Hundt, 2005). Moreover, in many societies, a passage into adulthood occurs at a much younger age than in the Western countries, and typically even younger for girls than for boys. Therefore, as anthropologist Charlotte Hardman advocates, children should be studied as people in their own right (1973, p. 87). Anne Haas Dyson, an inveterate researcher of childhood literacy, proposes to view children "not only as novices in adult-guided activities" but more as "active contributors to evolving communities that both draw on and influence larger cultural systems" (1997, p. 6).

However, children are not easy subjects to study, mostly for reasons of methodology and access (Hamzeh & Oliver, 2010). Standard data-collection methods such as interviews and questionnaires are not appropriate for young children because of certain developmental characteristics, language, insufficient literacy skills, as well as culture-dependent interaction patterns, which may affect how children talk to adults. Collecting observational data requires gaining regular access to children and earning their trust. Studies of children's perceptions of themselves and others as members of ethnic minorities conducted through various response-triggering instruments give us a general sense of what these perceptions are, and at what age they are likely to emerge (Britto, 2008; Elashi, Mills, & Grant, 2010), but tell us nothing about the ways children navigate cultural obstacles in the course of their daily lives before arriving at their identity destinations.

This article hopes to contribute to our body of knowledge of how Western schooling affects the cultural adaptation and identity formation of immigrant children: how they perceive themselves between contrasting sets of norms and behaviors, what causes them discomfort, and what strategies they may use to mediate the cultural dissonance. The study showcases a refugee child's negotiation of tensions between the culture of her traditional, non-literate Kurdish home and the culture of the American school as she acquires literacy in English. The content presented here is a slice of a larger ethnographic data-collection project involving a group of non-literate Mid-

dle Eastern refugee children in an urban school, Edison Elementary, in Binghamton, New York, in the early 2000s.

2 Background, Methodology, and Theoretical Underpinnings

A number of Middle Eastern families, most of them ethnic Kurds, had been brought into the Binghamton, NY area from various refugee camps by the World Relief Services and resettled into one public housing development. It soon became apparent that the majority of the Kurdish and Iraqi Arab students enrolled at Edison underperformed significantly compared to the English Language Learners (ELLs) from other countries, and many were being referred to special education services. As an alternative, a one-year intervention program was created for the Middle Eastern students in grades 3–5 who were lagging behind academically. Fifteen students who had tested non-literate on a standardized language and literacy assessment test for English Language Learners were admitted to the intervention program. The program was run on the principles of Sheltered English Instruction (SEI), in which language, literacy, and content were integrated into a holistic curriculum designed to meet these students' specific learning needs.

As the head ESL teacher at the school, I was in charge of the intervention program, and as an adjunct faculty at Binghamton University, I was supervising undergraduate student interns and graduate students who were conducting anthropological research on immigrant populations within the area. The ethnographic data were compiled by 3 members of our instructional/research team over the period of 10 months, within the school as well as in the students' homes and the refugee community. The data were collected for the purpose of program assessment with a view towards its replication as well as to satisfy research interests of two members of the team. Besides the mandated program reports, the project inspired several student research papers, one dissertation, and a couple of publications (Nykiel-Herbert, 2007, 2010), but no individual case studies have been teased out of the data until this one.

Case studies delve into "the messy complexity of human experience" (Erickson, 1986) and are thus a preferred methodology for studying children in social contexts (Dyson & Genishi, 2005), particularly in situations involving non-mainstream literacy practices and participants (Rogers & Street, 2011). Most of our current knowledge of second language literacy development in children indeed derives from case-study research (Leki, Cumming, & Silva, 2008). As Flyvbjerg (2006) points out, the value of case studies lies in their ability to provide empirical, contextual knowledge of how things happen in real life that we can learn from. Children's educational and cultural journeys are highly individual. Despite their shared backgrounds and broad similarities of experience, each of the fifteen refugee children who participated in the intervention program at Edison had their own, case study-worthy path to literacy and adaptation to American culture. Shukriya's case was selected for two reasons. First,

her educational transformation from an educationally neglected, culturally silenced, and linguistically muted child into a confident, vocal, language and print-competent student on her way to educational success was the most dramatic and powerful among all her classmates. Second, Shukriya embraced her emerging literacy as a tool of her cultural emancipation, using writing strategically to position herself within both cultures. This case study gives priority to Shukriya's own voice expressed through her voluntary, unprompted, unassisted writing, created out of her own need and for her own purposes.

I recognize that cultural adaptation is a dynamic, multifaceted process that can be studied from a multitude of angles and theoretical perspectives. This study targets one aspect of cultural adaptation, namely the interface between the acquisition of literacy and the negotiation of cultural/gender identity. Literacy in this study appears both as a critical factor of cultural difference and as the subject's mode of communicating her stance, both directly and through literary conventions. The study is theoretically grounded in the belief that literacy has cognitive and social dimensions, and that both literacy processes and products occur in specific sociocultural contexts, i.e., are "socially situated" (Barton & Hamilton, 2012; Cook-Gumperz, 2006; Gee, 2012; Street, 1995, 2003). Acculturation processes, including identity formation, are likewise situated in local contexts (Britto, 2008). Literacy has a transformative effect on culture (Goody & Watt, 1963), and constitutes one of the defining components of contemporary Western societies, affecting the ways in which individuals perceive themselves and construct their identities (Gómez-Estern, Amián, Sánchez Medina, & Marco Macarro, 2010). Although formal education, which encompasses literacy, is highly valued throughout non-Western cultures, Western schooling is often perceived as a threat to the traditional lifestyles since the values institutionalized through the public school systems are frequently at odds with the values of the home. For children from traditional, rural, predominantly oral communities with low rates of literacy, bridging the cultural gap between the home and the school can be particularly challenging.

While the content of Shukriya's writing is given prominence as the primary source of information in this study, it acquires its meaning only within the context in which it is situated (created, intended, and used). Shukriya's voice therefore needs to be interpreted against the backdrop of the data collected in the school and home environments through participant and non-participant observations, field notes, audio-recordings of lessons, group interactions, and individual conversations, as well as the broader paradigms of the two cultural systems in contact. Some of the depth and the detail of the "big picture" that could be drawn from the wealth of the gathered information need to be sacrificed for reasons of space. Finally, in choosing to emphasize the child's own voice expressed through her writing, I also recognize that my own perspective as a teacher in assigning meaning to it is not entirely without bias.

3 The Subject's History

When I first met Shukriya, she was curled up into a ball on the floor in the hallway of an elementary school, her long, shapeless skirt pooled around her, holding her little brother in a tight embrace, with three adults in a circle towering over them. The children's loud wailing effectively drowned the half-hearted commands to stop, let go, get up, and follow the teachers to their respective classrooms—useless, since neither child understood a word of English. The siblings had just arrived from a refugee camp and this was their initiation into American public education. At 7, Shukriya was a responsible big sister, who had been helping to take care of her two younger brothers through the family's harrowing journey from rural Iraq to Turkey, Guam, and finally to America. Now she was faced with a difficult choice: to respect the authority of strangers, or to protect her family. The helpless strangers eventually left her and her brother in peace. The family won.

At the point when the intervention program was set up and the data-collection process began, Shukriya was 9 years old and had been attending Edison for about 18 months. Shukriya was the only daughter among her parents' six children. Her family came from a rural community of farmers and herders in the mountains of Northern Iraq. They were forced to flee their land because of the war and the persecution of the Kurdish population by the political regime. After spending several months at a refugee camp, the family was resettled to the US. Shukriya spent her early years immersed in the oral culture typical of rural Kurdistan (Rytterager 1993; Jwaideh 2006). Neither of her parents could read and write in any language. Shukriya's two older brothers had gone to school for some time before the family fled Iraq, but the language of instruction at their school was not Kurdish, but Arabic, which they never learned to use for any practical purposes. Shukriya had not attended school in Iraq, and had never been introduced to literacy in any language prior to her enrollment at Edison. Shukriya's parents were conservative Muslims, rigid in their religious observances and adherence to their traditional views, values and cultural practices, which they maintained at their home in the US, and which they expected their children to strictly follow.

Upon enrollment at Edison, which occurred towards the end of a school year, Shukriya was placed in a second grade mainstream class with 1 h a day of English as a Second Language instruction. At the beginning of the next school year, she was re-enrolled in 2nd grade with the continuing ESL support on the same one-hour-a day pullout basis. By the end of that year, Shukriya could not communicate in English beyond yes/no responses, and tested non-literate on an age/grade level appropriate standardized literacy test for English Language Learners, Language Assessment Scales (LAS). Both her mainstream and her ESL teachers believed Shukriya had a learning disability and should be referred to special education. The school defined her by what she was not: a non-literate, non-numerate, non-English-speaking non-learner in need of linguistic, cognitive, academic, and cultural remediation.

During the first 18 months of Shukriya's school attendance, my personal contact with her was limited because she was not assigned to my ESL classes. Her two

brothers were in my class though, and Shukriya's mainstream teacher allowed her to visit my classroom (because she was not able to participate productively in the instructional activities with her American peers) so I was able to observe her occasionally. Most of my information about Shukriya's performance before she came to our sheltered classroom is based on teachers' reports, a few examples of her work in her student folder, and her LAS test results. Her work in the mainstream classroom consisted of learning English words by coloring and labeling pictures, copying words and short texts, and learning the letters of the alphabet. The ESL teacher complained she "couldn't get anything out of" Shukriya. The end-of-year literacy assessment shows that Shukriya could not read at all, and her writing skills were limited to what she had practiced: copying without understanding (Fig. 1).

Shukriya started the intervention year (which was her third year at Edison) as one of the two lowest-performing students in the group. By the end of the year, she was the student with the most progress, having moved from pre-production to fluency in oral skills and from the bottom (non-literate) to the top (competent-literate) level of the age/grade appropriate competency scale as measured by Language Assessment Scales (LAS) instrument, a standardized test designed for English Language Learners. Shukriya's writing skills advanced from copying without meaning to writing her own stories, both experience-based narratives and made-up fiction. In addition to writing assignments in class, Shukriya regularly wrote "for herself" at home. Some of her pieces were written with an intention to be shared in class, while others were never shown to anyone and only discovered when the program ended. During the ten months in the sheltered classroom, Shukriya produced over thirty texts of varying content, format, and length completely on her own, with no prompts, assistance, or feedback. Examined longitudinally, Shukriya's writing pieces chronicle her emerging understanding of forms and functions of literacy against her deepening awareness

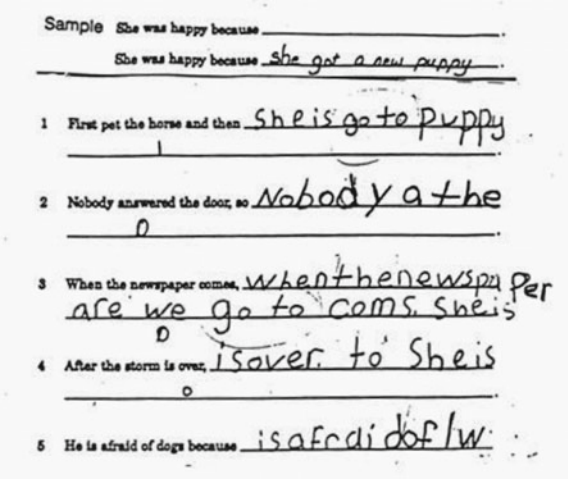

Sample She was happy because _____.
She was happy because she got a new puppy.
1 First pet the horse and then She is go to puppy
2 Nobody answered the door, so Nobody a the
3 When the newspaper comes, when the newspaper are we go to coms. She is
4 After the storm is over, I saver to She is
5 He is afraid of dogs because isafradi dof/w:

Fig. 1 A page of Shukriya's literacy test

of differences in the norms and patterns of behaviors between the two cultures she lived in.

At the core of Shukriya's cultural strife is gender. Gender itself is considered a cultural variable (DeVoe, 1994). While there have not been, to the best of my knowledge, any studies of the perception of gender status by Muslim girls younger than 12, research on adolescents and young adults consistently reveals older Muslim girls' grievances that more pressure is put on them, compared to their brothers, to follow the strict codes of behavior, and that their daily home life is subject to more constraints (Halstead, 1994; Pipher, 2002; Ahmad & Szpara, 2003). Shukriya's story demonstrates that girls entering pre-adolescence can be aware of gendered unfairness within their home culture, and, given an opportunity, may attempt to challenge it. Shukriya was raised in an environment in which her worth was fixed by her gender. At home, she took a back seat to her brothers, and her parents were ambivalent about her school attendance. Her sense of identity was tied to her role as a future homemaker. In an unwelcoming environment of the mainstream classroom where her difference was perceived as a deficit, she resisted Americanization by passive non-compliance. But in the hybridized cultural space of the sheltered classroom, where she was among "her own" people, she became aware that an individual's status was not tied to gender, but to his/her actions, and while it is not possible to change one's gender, it is possible to change how one does things.

4 Learning Literacy in America

Had her family stayed in Iraq, there was a fair possibility that Shukriya would not have gone to school at all. For a variety of reasons—cultural, religious, and political—girls in Iraq lag significantly behind boys in school enrollment, with the discrepancy progressively widening at higher grades. In the early 2000s, 32% of girls in the rural areas did not attend school (United Nations Children's Fund, 2010). In the traditional rural communities where Shukriya's family came from, formal schooling for girls was not considered a priority. Low preference for the education of girls is still fairly common in the traditional Muslim societies throughout the Middle East, and there is a pattern of discrimination against girls with respect to schooling in their Western diasporas as well. In a study of Yemeni teenage girls in a community in the US, Sarraub observes that, although the parents found their daughters' practical skills (such as the command of English or the ability to reconcile accounts) useful, their education was valued less than the sons', and the girls had to help their brothers with homework before they could do their own (Sarroub, 2005). "Too much" education also appears to be an obstacle for some traditional Muslim women to find husbands (Sarroub, 2010). DeVoe (1994) reports on an Afghani community in St Louis, Missouri, in which the boys are encouraged by their parents to do their best at school while the girls are allowed to skip school and drop out as soon as they legally can. Interviews with parents of Muslim girls in the UK revealed their fear of "Westernization and loss of ethnic identities, abandonment of tradition and culture" if their

daughters participated in school activities that were at odds with the gendered norms and rules (Benn & Pfister, 2013, p. 571), and there are frequent reports of Muslim parents keeping their daughters (but not their sons) away from school (Halstead, 1994).

Fortunately for Shukriya, schooling in the US is mandatory, but unfortunately for her, her initial school experience was anything but successful. In the mainstream classroom, she was isolated physically from her Kurdish community, and communicatively and culturally from her American peers, among whom she did not "belong". Her inclusion in the sheltered classroom allowed Shukriya, for the first time since she began attending school, to make sense of her social environment, and of the academic content that was being taught. Her classmates were Kurdish kids from her neighborhood, including her 10-year old brother, Aran. Reading and writing became meaningful activities modeled by the teachers and practiced cooperatively. Some shared writing activities involved composing and recording short texts about the students' personal experiences; others aimed at eliciting, organizing, and expanding the students' knowledge of the world. The students copied the texts that they helped to create, and learned how to read them. Gradually, they were encouraged to compose their own texts based on provided patterns.

Within the framework of New Literacy Studies (NSL), championed by Street (2003) and Gee (2012), literacy is viewed as a range of social practices situated in specific sociocultural contexts. It is not only how people read and write texts, but what they do, or attempt to do, with or through these texts that matters. Children's views of literacy, its functions, purposes, and values, and their own identities as readers and writers are strongly influenced by the discourses of the culture in which they are immersed (Heath, 1983; Hudelson, 1989). The shared wisdom among literacy experts and teachers is that children acquire their early knowledge of literacy concepts and functions at home through immersion in their families' reading and writing practices, and bring that knowledge into the classroom. In Shukriya's culture, literacy is valued and even revered as a medium through which the wisdom of God is transmitted, but is not part of the business of daily life, which is conducted through oral transactions. Before coming to the US, Shukriya's knowledge of school learning was only second-hand, based on the experiences of her older brothers and cousins. Education for the Kurdish children in Northern Iraq at the time was conducted in Arabic and emphasized religious knowledge, which was delivered, demonstrated, and assessed through rote-learning pedagogy. Students expected to copy the lessons to be learned, memorize them, and recite them back in a language that they did not speak at home and did not sufficiently control. The students who had gone to school in Iraq reported being punished or retained in the same grade for their poor performance. As one of them observed, "learning the Koran is very hard and takes a long time". Shukriya's understanding of literacy appeared to be strongly influenced by this paradigm, and her initial experience in the mainstream classrooms at Edison, where she was expected to do a lot of copying without having to demonstrate comprehension, likely reinforced it.

Attending school did not manifestly change Shukriya's position in the family, but it changed her perception of herself. In the sheltered class, Shukriya discovered

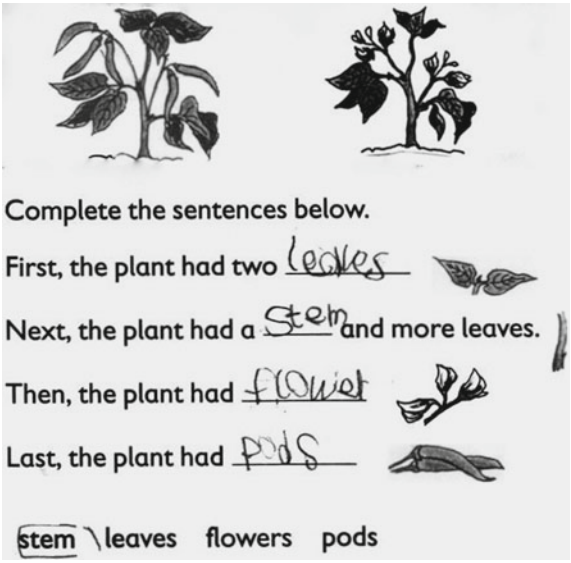


Fig. 2 Worksheet on plants

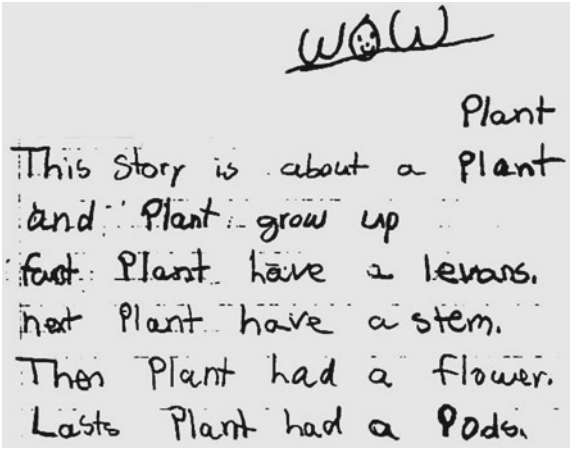


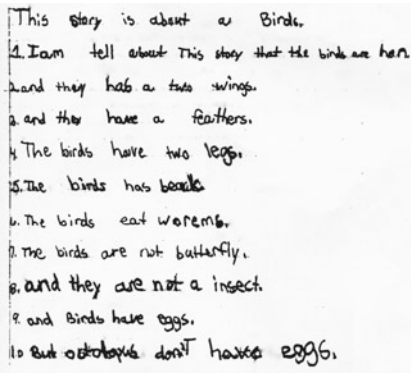
Fig. 3 Shukriya's "Plant"

that the currency of social recognition was the ability to read and write. Therefore, to improve her classroom performance, and perhaps to signal her new identity as a literate person, she engaged in a daily self-study regimen at home. As her self-assigned homework, Shukriya would copy, memorize, and then re-write from recall selected instructional texts that were used for content learning in class. Figure 2 shows one of such original texts (in this case, a workbook exercise), and Fig. 3, Shukriya's re-written version of it.

What texts Shukriya chooses to memorize and re-write is significant. Out of all the texts used in class available to her, she selects only those that represent "hard" content knowledge (on topics such as plants, birds, insects, bats, etc.), showing no interest in

This story is about birds. Birds are chickens. Birds are hens. They have two legs. They eat worms. They are not butterflies. They are not insects.

Fig. 4 Shukriya's "story" about birds


This story is about a Birds.
1. I am tell about This story that the birds are hen.
2. and they has a two wings.
3. and they have a feathers.
4. The birds have two legs.
5. The birds has beaek.
6. The birds eat worems.
7. The birds are not butterfly.
8. and they are not a insect.
9. and Birds have eggs.
10. But octopus don't have eggs.

[*This story is about a Birds. I am tell you about this story that the birds are hen. and they has a two wings. and they have a feathers. The birds have two legs. The birds has beaek. The birds eat worems. The birds are not butterfly. And they are not a insect. and Birds have eggs. But octopus don't have eggs.*]

Fig. 5 Shukriya's written "birds" story

re-writing non-factual pieces (stories, poems, or activities focusing on the language) or texts created through shared writing in the classroom based on the current events in the lives of the students. Her choices thus reveal her perception of what kind of knowledge is worth learning, which is consistent with the Middle Eastern students' overwhelming preference for reading and studying "true stories" over "fake stories" and anecdotal reports on inconsequential daily events (it took some effort to get the students to appreciate fiction as an important part of "knowledge").

Shukriya's "story" in Fig. 3 is not a direct copy of the source text in Fig. 2, but appears to have been written entirely from memory: verbs forms are wrong, the articles are used incorrectly, and some of the words are misspelled. Moreover, Shukriya adds a two-line introduction of her own, which tells us two things. First, she is beginning to write "from her head," in addition to copying the existing print. Second, she is preparing, if an opportunity presents itself, to recite the memorized "lesson" in class.

Such an opportunity presented itself shortly, when the students were asked to share personal stories about their lives in Iraq. When Shukriya took her turn, she simply recited a list of facts about birds, which was the current topic studied in the content area of the sheltered class curriculum (Fig. 4).

The "story" she had written for herself in anticipation of her classroom performance recycles elements of several texts used in the curricular unit about animals that fly (Fig. 5).

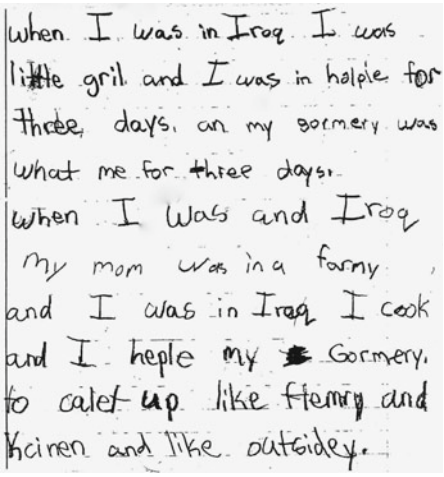
Children who are socialized into adult literacy practices know that when they write, they must "mean" something. Children's writing draws on their "cultural landscapes," which include both the imagined, textual worlds they interact with

(popular culture, children's literature) and their social, experiential worlds, reflecting their "common desires for adventure and action, security and place, power and love" (Dyson, 1997, p. 5). Unlike the emergent writers studied by Dyson, Shukriya initially understood writing as reproducing and retransmitting the meaning that was already externally assigned to the texts she copied. She had a "magical" view of books, their origin, and the knowledge they contained, and was truly astonished to find out that "regular people" wrote books and that everybody had stories worth writing and sharing. This revelation, together with her increasing grasp of the grapho-phonemic code of the English language, liberated Shukriya from her heavy reliance on the existing print and allowed her to write "from her head," or, rather, from her heart. Like Dyson's young writers, Shukriya draws on both social and textual sources, combining her lived experiences and the elements from books and stories, both fiction and non-fiction. But unlike Dyson's subjects, Shukriya's "cultural landscape" comprises two spaces, private and public, organized by different principles, exhibiting different social dynamics, and requiring different literary stances.

5 Narrating the Private Space

Immigration to Western countries appears to be beneficial to non-Western women in some regards, but detrimental in others. Numerous studies have demonstrated that immigrant adolescent girls adapt to the Western cultures easier and express more modern attitudes than men (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Sirin & Fine, 2007). Western societies offer women more freedom in terms of opportunities and choices. On the other hand, participation in Western cultures increases women's stress and anxiety because of conflicts with the male-oriented norms and values of the home cultures (Berry, 1997; Sarroub, 2010). These gender and generational conflicts lie at the root of women's and adolescent girls' dichotomy of attitudes and behaviors in the private and the public domains: the heritage culture is maintained at home while the host culture is preferred in public. In other words, non-Western immigrant women choose—or perhaps are forced by circumstances—to live cultural double lives.

The Kurdish girls at Edison, too, even though much younger than the populations reported in the cited studies, lived cultural double lives. They were expected to follow the rules of the home even when at school, which was not always possible. They admitted that they often hid the truth from their parents about what went on at school so as not to upset them. Some of the rules got broken through no fault of theirs (for example, being forced into close physical proximity with boys in some school activities). Occasionally, however, the girls chose to break some of the rules themselves—for example, by experimenting secretly with makeup, which was strictly not allowed at home. At home, the same girls transformed into obedient, respectful daughters: they did house chores, took care of younger children, prepared meals, and served food to their fathers and brothers, being allowed to eat only when the male members of the family had finished. Going over to visit a friend's home



When I was in Iroq I was little gril and I was in halpie [hospital] *for three days an my gormery* [grandmother] *was what* [with] *me for three days. When I was and* [in] *Iroq my mom was in a farmy and I was in Iroq I cook and I heple my Gormery. To calet [clean] up like flemry [floor] and kcinen and like outsidey.*

Fig. 6 "When I was in Iraq"

was not with the purpose of playing together, but to participate in the friend's family life, including sharing her responsibilities.

Anne Dyson and Sarah Freedman note that children's writing "can serve to construct or proclaim the individual author's membership in a social group" (Dyson & Freedman, 2000, p. 967). When Shukriya stopped reproducing the meanings of others in favor of expressing her own, she presents herself in a way consistent with the values of her home: as a "good little girl" who contributes to the welfare of her family by helping the adults, as in Fig. 6.

One of the best examples of Shukriya's representation of herself as an important member of her family is "Going Up to the Roof," in which she describes a dramatic event in her family's life, a house fire, from her perspective as an eyewitness. Shukriya writes her story in a format of a children's book, with a proper title and an illustration on each of its numbered pages, two of which are shown in Fig. 7.

The story does not focus on the fire, but on Shukriya's role in discovering and reporting it. There is strong emphasis on obedience and respect for her elders (asking and obtaining both her grandmother's and her mother's permission to go to her grandmother's house next door), responsibility (running home to alert her mother of what's going on) and credibility (convincing her mother to believe her). Even though she is writing about a much younger self (she was about 6 years old at the time), the way Shukriya develops her narrative indicates her strong appreciation of her family values and pride in her place in it (Fig. 8).

Despite portraying herself favorably in stories about herself, when Shukriya's begins to write freely from her imagination, drawing both on experience and on the literature read in class, all her stories feature male characters. Since the instructional materials used in class were selected to show both male and female characters in a positive light, Shukriya's choices are not influenced by what she reads at school, but

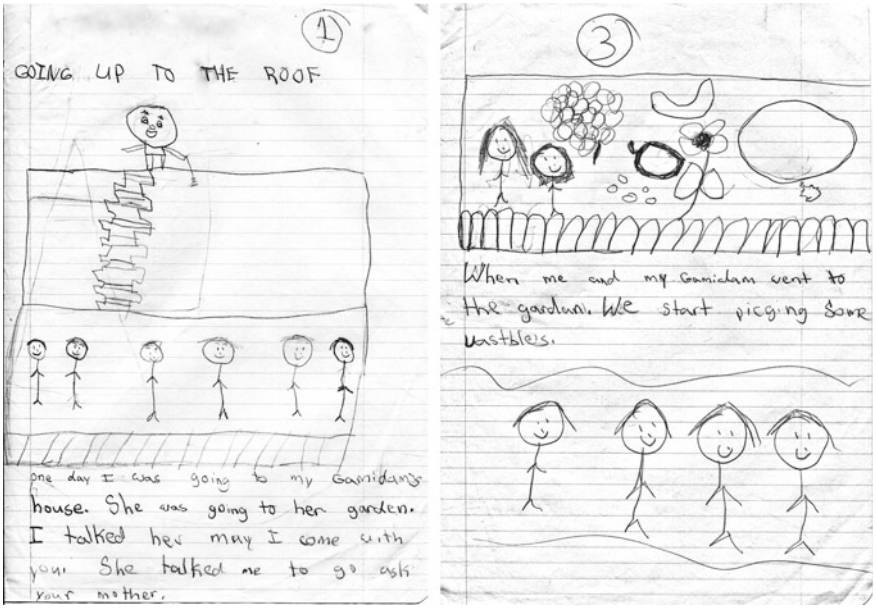


Fig. 7 "Going Up to the roof," pages 1 and 3

One day I was going to my Gamidam's [grandmother's] house. She was going to her garden. I talked her may I come with you. She talked me to go ask your mother. Then I went to talk my mom, My mom said yes you may go with your Gamidam.

When me and Gamidam went to the gardan. We start picging some vagtbles.
Then we went to home. From the gardan I saw karwan in the roof. I went to talk my mom that

Karwan is firing the roof. But my mother did not believy me. I talked her to come and look. When she came to look she beivled me.

We start to get the stavs [stuff] out in the house. Because it was firit. [burnt]

Then my Dad build a noter house for use [us] and a garden.

Fig. 8 "Going Up to the Roof," full text

likely by her ingrained belief that boys are more deserving of attention, and of being written about, than girls. The characters are presented as good, friendly, loving, and smart (for example, one story character invents a "space rock" that can move by itself, which he then brings to school and presents to his classmates). One story, "A Little Boy," tells about two boys helping a classmate who has hurt himself on the playground, and how the three promise each other to stay best friends forever (Figs. 9 and 10).

Female characters eventually emerge, but when they do, the tone of the stories becomes concerning. The story in Fig. 11, "Mom and Pop," is a vignette of a rela-

Fig. 9 "Little Boy" page 2

tionship between a wife and a husband, in which the woman plays a submissive role while doing her best to please the man.

In a few simple sentences, Shukriya convincingly depicts a rather unsettling scene: the husband's displeasure at the wife's slow service, the wife's flinch resulting in spilling the drink, her distress, and her later attempt to compensate for her clumsiness by complimenting the husband on his music. The last sentence of the story, "Mom and Pop are married to each other," added almost as an afterthought, is offered to assure the potential readers that the characters' social interaction is not breaking any cultural norms. This is not a kind of "story" that a 9-year-old creates completely out of her imagination; it is undoubtedly rooted in reality, borrowed from the cultural material of adult interactions (Dyson, 2003, p. 23). Unlike her earlier stories, which always end happily, "Mom and Pop" doesn't have an ending that would give us a clue

One day a Little boy what to school / he maked a new friends / his friends said what is your name/ he said my name is jeao /oh I like the name / jeao said what is your names/
The two boy said my name is jacekme / and the black boy said my name is meel.
Meel found something underground /jeao said to meel what is that that you found /Meel said it is neafeck. /Meel cry / He said my foots steak in here /Jeao said on how we will taket it of /

We will haven to call jacekem / You stae here and I go and call jacekme /Meel cry he said plase don't leave me in here /Jeao said don't cry I can leave you here don't cry it's OK / Ok /Jeao wat to called Jacekme / Jacekme was not at home /Jeao cry to /And meel comes and said to jeao /

Don't cry I am Ok really meel said / I take my foots off / jacekme healps me / he was at home /he went to your house / jeao said I am not cry / yes you are / But now I am not cry.
Why does you guys have class / because all people have class /so we have to have class to /now we are echaers beast friend / yes we are / we will be tohegther for every /OK lets don't fait /

OK / OK / Tomroow we will have a party / OK / Today is my Bartherday / Can you come to my Bartherday sart/ We will because we are eachers beast friends / Thank you for come You wakem /

Now is thame] for us to go home / meel said to his beats friends / Good by jeao said /Aret / we will miss echaer Jacekme said / of couse we will / They hug echaer and they said to echaer good by /They said we will miss echaer. / Jeao said is Thame for all us to go home.

End of the story.
It is all about 3 boys.

Fig. 10 "Little Boy," whole text

Once upon a time there was a man and a woman. One day Pop said to the Mom I am hungry.
Mom said to Pop I will get some juice for you. Pop was waiting for the juice.
I am waiting for the juice. Hurry up Pop said. When Pop said that Mom speal the juice.
Mom said Oh no I speal the juice.

When Mom saw Bob was palying music she said to Pop you are good for playing Music. Pop said how do you know that. Mom said because I saw you.

Bob and Mom are marred to eachother.

Fig. 11 "Mom and Pop"

as to Shukriya's own attitude to what she describes. The story signals that Shukriya notices the patterns of power actualized in gendered behavior, but she may not be ready to express her feelings about what she witnesses.

The imbalance of power between the genders in Muslim societies cannot be taken as a sweeping generalization as we need to recognize that there are significant differences in both the laws and the societal norms as well as in the perceptions of gendered behaviors by both men and women (Abu-Ali & Reisen, 1999; Desai & Temsah, 2014). Nevertheless, while urban Muslim women are steadily gaining equal status with men in many areas of both private and public life, including education

and professional careers, women and girls from rural communities continue to suffer gender inequalities and injustices, among which physical violence is not uncommon (Halstead, 1994; Hajjar, 2004). In school settings, domestic abuse in the homes of immigrant students often goes unreported because of cultural reasons and fear of consequences. In my seven years of work with immigrant and refugee students in New York State, I heard about domestic abuse directly from only a few female students. The girls tended to be very tight-lipped about the details, always claiming that the events they vaguely mentioned occurred a long time ago. One 12-year old, alluding to what happened to her at home "last year," resulting in her missing a few days of school, concluded with a deep sigh, "You know, life is not easy for us Arab women". Another middle school student confessed to me that she was "unhappy" about her "situation" at home, until her father's second wife explained to her what it means to be a Muslim woman, and she accepted her circumstances. She refused to elaborate on her "situation," insisting that everything was fine now. Since the girls would not tell, it was nearly impossible to find out for sure what kind of abuse, if any, took place in individual households. During my tenure at the school district, only one female refugee student was removed from her home and placed in foster care. This occurrence shocked and outraged the Muslim community; the girl's foster placement was deemed more shameful than the abuse she had suffered. Moreover, while arranged marriage is not abuse, two teenage girls in my high school classes, one of them only 14 years old, were married during one summer vacation, taken out of school, and sent out of state to live with their in-laws. An 11-year-old 5th grader in our sheltered class became engaged to a distant older cousin in Iraq that she didn't even know.

None of the students in the sheltered class ever intimated that they suffered any physical harm at home. Perhaps that's why Shukriya's story "Sister and Brother," which directly addresses domestic abuse, and which she volunteered to read to the class, did not cause any emotional reaction from the group. The classmates understood it as a fictional story about fighting siblings (Fig. 12).

The Kurdish students commonly misused the word "fight" to mean "beat," "hit," and "punch," and it is in this sense that the word is used in Shukriya's story. This is not a story of siblings "fighting" in the American sense; this is about a girl being regularly beaten up by her brother for transgressions such as talking to her friends. The brother demands an absolute obedience as well as verbal deference from his sister ("Don't never talk to me like that"), with which she readily complies. When she promises obedience, the brother relents and apologizes to the sister for the way he has been treating her, giving her a surprise party as a way of making up. Shukriya's choice to make the characters orphans could have been a deliberate attempt to skirt the issue of the parents' lack of involvement. Traditional Kurdish parents tend to stay out of their children's conflicts, believing that children need to learn to resolve disputes by themselves (Rytterager, 1993). The advice given by Crestane's friend, "you have to tell someone who you know" is a line that Shukriya must have heard in the child safety workshop at Edison. Crestane does not follow her friend's advice, believing, like the wife in "Mom and Pop," that being obedient, compliant, apologetic, and grateful will appease their male relatives.

Once upon a time their was a girl name Crestane. She had a brother name Dammy. Her brother was mean to her because everyday she didn't take a breek [break] *because Dammy didn't like her to take a breek if she take a breek Dammy will fait* [fight: hit, punch] *her because of taking a breek.*

One day Crestane was going to school she saw Dammy with his friends. When she saw Dammy she haeet [hide] in her claset her fried saw her in the claset he friend said what are you doing in the claset. She said I have to haeet from Dammy. Her friend said why are you haeet from your brother Dammy. Because if he saw me with my friends he will fait me at home her friend said you have to tell someone who you know.

One day she went home Dammy was watching TV. Dammy saw Crestane when she went to upstairs. Dammy went to Crestanes roome he said what were you doing with your friend. Crestane said I was just playing with her. Dammy fait her he said didn't I said to not play with your friend. She said I didn't know that you said that. I will navre play with her againe so plase don't fait me about that.

Dammy said don't navr take [talk] to me like that. She said OK I am sorry about that Dammy. He said that is OK. I said siat [should] be nice to you because we don't have parents like other people. Dammy said to his sister I am sorry that I am mean to you. You could play with your friends one day if you want to. Oh thank you Dammy you are my best brother.

One day Crestane went to school her friend said is Dammy steal faiting with you Crestane said no he is nice to me now. One day Crestane went to home. She tarnt light on. Dammy spres [surprised] her. She said you did all this for me. He said yes I did because you are my sister. Oh thank you Dammy. Now they had their party.

Fig. 12 "Sister and Brother"

In the discussion following Shukriya's reading of the story (which was recorded on audiotape), the students do not seem to be bothered by the brother's abusive behavior, insisting that the siblings simply "didn't like each other". No one brings up the issue of the unfairness in the distribution of housework, or the brother's forcing his sister to do all the work by herself. Aran, Shukriya's 10-year-old brother, participates enthusiastically in the discussion, after first expressing the opinion that he likes "everything" about the story (Fig. 13).

The story evidently did not inspire the kind of reaction that Shukriya had hoped for and she seemed disappointed. The next day Shukriya came up to speak to me. The exchange that ensued is recreated from the notes taken immediately afterwards:

Shukriya*: Teacher, Aran fights me.*

Teacher*: What do you mean, Shukriya? Your brother fights with you?*

Shukriya*: He hits me.*

Aran is called to join us.

Teacher*: Aran, Shukriya says you have been hitting her.*

Aran*: No, I never hit her, swear to God.*

Shukriya: *You hit me at home.*

Aran: *Ah, at home, that's different.*

Teacher: Tell me first, what do you think about the story?
Aran: I like it.
Teacher: Why do you like it, Aran?
A: I like their names. I like (…) I like everything!
Teacher: what is the problem in the story?
Zhian: The problem is the sister and the brother they didn't like each other.
Noora: They were fighting.
Pyawer: The problem is they don't like each other, they fight, but the biggest problem is their mom and dad (…) they don't have their parents.
Aran: The problem was she didn't take a break.
Teacher: What didn't she take a break from?
Shukriya: Because every time she needed to take a break she couldn't because of cleaning, and washing dishes, like that.
Teacher: Oh, I see, she had all the housework to do.
Shukriya: The parents they die (…) so the girl had to do all the work.
T: And the brother?
Nergiz: He didn't do anything.
Aran: And the solution (…) the solution is that he apologized to the sister. He says I'm sorry what I did to you.
Teacher: OK, he apologizes to the sister, and then (…)
Aran: They had a party.
Teacher: They became (…)
Aran: Brother and sister.
Noora: Friends.
Aran: Family! They became family!

Fig. 13 Discussion of "Sister and Brother" (transcript)

Shukriya follows the advice of Crestane's friend to "tell someone that you know," and a teacher is her best bet. Aran seems to be completely taken by surprise. He, too, is living a double life: one in which the home culture and the sheltered classroom culture do not appear to be in conflict because neither treats him unfairly. He fails to notice that the home culture favors him over his sister. Aran is very supportive of Shukriya in class and always makes complimentary remarks whenever she presents any of her work; he considers it his duty to stand behind his family. However, he seems completely oblivious to the fact that, although the "Sister and Brother" story is made up, its message is aimed specifically at him. At school, his sister is his fellow classmate; at home, she is no longer his equal because she is younger, and a girl. He does not perceive his treatment of her at home as wrong. So we talk about the school's code of conduct, and how the same rules should be followed outside of school, emphasizing that being punched at home hurts just as much, and eliciting a promise from Aran that he would treat his sister at home in the same way he treats her in the classroom. Shukriya's "rebellion through storytelling" was a defining point in Shukriya's literary and cultural journey as it appeared to have an effect on her behavior in the classroom as well as the tone and mood of her further writing.

6 Embracing the Public Space

In traditional Muslim communities, all contacts between boys and girls are strictly regulated. In Muslim countries, children go to single-gender schools, there is no dating, and single women live with their parents until marriage. The majority of the Muslim parents do want their daughters to have access to education, but they are reluctant to send them to public schools because the ethos and values of public education are not in harmony with their religious beliefs and behavioral norms. But keeping girls separated from boys does not mean that girls and young women are expected to act like wilting violets. In fact, the common Western stereotype of Muslim women as universally subordinate and passive is far from the truth, especially for Muslim women living in Western societies. In a study of gender role identity among Muslim high school-age girls in the US using Bem Sex Role Inventory (a questionnaire designed to measure femininity and masculinity attributes), the Muslim female subjects appeared to score higher on masculinity (reflecting a self-directed, active assertive stance) than the American college women measured with the same instrument (Abu-Ali & Reisen, 1999). The masculinity/femininity traits are not mutually exclusive, and many of the women in the study scored high in both categories, which indicates that they value and display both sets of characteristics, but perhaps in different social circumstances. The authors suggest that masculine traits increase in Muslim women under the influence of Western cultures, which are more receptive to manifestations of masculine attitudes and behaviors by women.

Although younger than the subjects of Abu-Ali and Reisen's study, Shukriya, who was edging towards preadolescence by the end of the intervention year, began to display behaviors and attitudes indicative of masculine attributes. Over the course of the year, Shukriya gradually transformed from a silent, solitary, uncommunicative girl into an assertive, rambunctious tomboy at school while retaining her obedient daughter/responsible sister image at home. Despite living in the US for over two years, Shukriya had limited interactions with her American peers. She never became friendly with any of her classmates in the mainstream classroom, never visited their homes, or played with them during recess, and so peer pressure seems an unlikely cause. Neither was she particularly close to any of the Kurdish girls in the sheltered class, not showing any interest in participating in their giggly lipstick experiments. Shukriya used the freedom offered her by the American culture in the public space not to become more like an American girl, but to become more like a Kurdish boy.

The Kurdish boys at Edison were boisterous, assertive, loud, and continuously engaged in arguments with each other, even though they were all friends. This pattern of behavior is perfectly acceptable for boys in the Kurdish culture; competitiveness is encouraged, and verbal skills in conducting and winning disputes are valued (Rytterager, 1993). Such behavior was discouraged in the classroom because it tended to be disruptive, but it was not easy to eliminate it completely, and the teachers learned to tolerate a certain amount of continuous background noise and movement in the boys' area of the classroom. The rules of the boys' and girls' "camps" were imposed and policed by the students' themselves. Shukriya could not easily join the boys to

Having Fun

One day we were going to ESL. Our teacher was abesont [absent]. We had new teacher in our class. It was Maryam's birthday. When we start to do Maryam's birthday all the people were scaremn [screaming]). Adnan was jumping on the table and he was throwing the paper's on the folar [floor]. And Pyawer was telling the man we can go to outside. And Shukriya was not so good so the man wrote Shukriya's name on the bord. But after the party I poles [apologize] to the man. The he rease [erase] my name. Pyawer telled the man we can have candeys. Then the men start to give use same candeys.

Fig. 14 "Having Fun"

participate in their perpetual motion since neither group would tolerate anyone crossing the invisible line in the middle of the room. But on the rare occasions when the class was taught by a substitute teacher, which always gave rise to even more unruly behavior, Shukriya would completely abandon her good-Muslim-girl presentation and become one of the guys. Figure 14 is Shukriya's report on one such event.

The only classmates (except Maryam, whose name is only brought up because it was her birthday) that Shukriya mentions are boys, whom she happily joins in their antics. She knows exactly what she is doing, and she knows that the way to "erase" her transgressions is to apologize to the teacher. Shukriya's misbehavior is a deliberate display of her public-space self, rather than an expression of an emotional state. She never loses her self-control in the presence of her regular teachers, most likely because she is unwilling to risk her reputation as a hard-working, conscientious, successful student. In "Having Fun" Shukriya views herself from the outside, referring to herself in 3rd person: "Shukriya was not so good so the man wrote Shukriya's name on the board". This is Shukriya in the public domain, at odds with her private-domain self, and therefore a "she", and not an "I". But the "good" Shukriya, who is writing this report, takes the responsibility to apologize for the behavior of her "not so good" alter ego.

On another occasion, a substitute teacher, who was also a graduate student involved in the program, reported this:

> Shukriya gave me the usual grief two days in a row. I had two talks with her and she promised to behave, but no change. She refused to do any work, but when I called on other students, she shouted the answers before them. She was sent to the corner twice in one afternoon. She just pushed it too far. I officially give up on her.

There was no obvious reason for Shukriya to act out in class other than to assert herself as a (temporary) non-girl. She enjoyed coming to school and, by the end of the year, was doing very well on the academic front. She became highly competitive; she regularly aced the spelling tests (which she loved taking), turned in all the assignments (on which she refused to cooperate with other students), and despite enormous gaps from the previous grades, was able to handle grade-level mathematics. The samples of her written work included in this paper do not represent the true level of her language and literacy skills because they were not written as assignments to be submitted to teachers for assessment. Shukriya held her graded assignments to much higher standards.

A. I am good at math because it is easy for me to do math. Because I know multiplication division and subtraction, and adding. And I like to do them. I do math in my class and my teacher like me to do math everyday and I do math everyday in my class and my home to. I everyday practice math at home and my big brother check them at home. I do math with my brother and my teacher.

B. I am good at skating because my big brother have skates and I have too. When we go to the park me and my big brother skate. But I lost one skate.

C. When I grow up I should have a job and I have to be good with other people and I go to restaurant and eat and dring coffee and talk nicely with other people.

Fig. 15 "I am good at math"

There is a new, energetic, upbeat tone in these texts. Shukriya dares to be "good at math" in defiance of her home culture, in which "girls don't do math". There is no more mention of "cooking and cleaning and doing the dishes;" instead, enjoyment of skating in the park, and a perspective of a grown-up life which includes having a job, going to restaurants, drinking coffee, and being nice to people. A reader can also sense pride in Shukriya's repeated mentions of her big brother (the oldest sibling, Sirwan). It is possible that in Shukriya's perception, her big brother's attention, company, and assistance with math elevates her own status in the family despite the fact that she still does the house chores, takes care of her younger siblings, helps in the kitchen, and silently waits on her father, brothers, and visitors at mealtimes. Because, in Shukriya's non-story reality, the private and the public domains do not intersect. Towards the end of the year, Shukriya writes these remarks about herself (Fig. 15).

7 Conclusions

In lieu of a conventional conclusion with which to wrap up this discourse, I offer an epilogue. Fifteen years after the completion of the project, I managed to get in touch with eight of the "Kurdish kids" from Edison, now adults, some already raising their own families. Their academic and professional achievements surpassed my expectations. One girl became a medical doctor; another earned a degree in neuroscience and later became a registered nurse; yet another works as an early childhood teacher. Among the boys, there is a civil engineer, and an IT specialist. All of them adhere to their cultural and religious norms and values: they married within their ethnicity and faith, and those who are still single continue living in their parental homes despite having professional careers of their own. They have all become literate in their native language, and are active in Kurdish organizations, including political engagement in the struggle for independent Kurdistan. Some of the women, despite decidedly feminine comportment during their elementary school years, have acquired more masculine traits and behaviors: they are assertive and strong-willed; they earn their own money, drive their own vans, pump their own

gas, and even travel internationally by themselves. However, to affirm their religious and cultural loyalty, most of them adopted the practice of veiling when they became adults.

Shukriya has changed, too. From a silent, withdrawn refugee girl to a headstrong tomboy, her eventual transformation, at her current life stage, is that of a wife and mother. When she turned 18, she travelled back to Iraq to meet the man that her family had arranged for her to marry. Marriage did not stop her from continuing her education at a community college, from which she graduated with an associate degree in business ahead of both her older brothers. As she had envisaged in her "American" projection of herself, she "did math" while in college, got a job, and drank coffee. She is now a stay-at-home parent raising two young sons and helping her widowed mother, but plans to return to work when her children get older. When asked what was the best thing that has ever happened to her, she replies with no hesitation: "My family. My boys. My sons, my husband, and my brothers".

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Barbara Nykiel-Herbert after earning her doctorate in linguistics at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan in 1984, she embarked on a lifetime of adventure. Over the next 30 years she lived and worked in several countries, including the United States, South Africa, and Taiwan, teaching linguistics and English as a Second Language, developing English language textbooks, writing children's storybooks, and conducting research in linguistic anthropology with her late husband, Bob Herbert. Having retired from her academic position at Youngstown State University in Ohio, she currently lives in Reno, NV, where she runs her own applied linguistics consultancy and volunteers as a court-appointed advocate for neglected and abused children. She can be reached at nykielherbert@yahoo.com.

Tapping the Distinction Between Explicit and Implicit Knowledge: Methodological Issues

Mirosław Pawlak

Abstract Second language acquisition research often involves the need to determine the degree of attainment in the target language, either with a view to establishing the effects of a specific pedagogic intervention or to gaining insights into the relationship between the proficiency level and some other variable, such as strategy use, anxiety or motivation. While in some cases it is sufficient to rely on quite general data, such as self-evaluations, course grades or scores on different types of examinations, experimental or quasi-experimental studies, particularly those focusing on the acquisition of grammar, call for the use of much more sensitive tools. Such measures should help researchers gain insights into the effects of the treatment not only in terms of explicit knowledge of a given linguistic feature, which refers to the familiarity with relevant rules and the ability to apply them on traditional tests, but also implicit knowledge, which is reflective of subconscious or highly automatized knowledge and the ability to use the targeted form in relatively spontaneous communication (DeKeyser, 2007, 2010, 2017; Ellis, 2005a, 2005b, 2009a). However, there are major challenges involved in designing tasks tapping the two types of linguistic knowledge and a question arises about the extent to which these two types of representation can in fact be teased apart. The paper aims to discuss the methodological issues involved in the measurement of explicit and implicit second language knowledge, evaluate options currently available to researchers, as well as making suggestions with respect to how this task can best be attained in classroom-oriented research.

Keywords Explicit knowledge · Implicit knowledge
Highly automatized explicit knowledge · Communicative task performance

M. Pawlak (✉)
Department of English Studies, Faculty of Pedagogy and Fine Arts, Adam Mickiewicz University, ul. Nowy Świat 28-30, 62-800 Kalisz, Poland
e-mail: pawlakmi@amu.edu.pl

M. Pawlak
State University of Applied Sciences, Konin, Poland

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1 Introduction

It is quite uncontroversial that first and second (L1 and L2, respectively) language acquisition typically proceed in very different ways and result in the development of linguistic knowledge that is disparate in nature. While the former usually occurs implicitly and unintentionally, without children's conscious attention to elements of the L1 system, and in the vast majority of cases leads to the emergence of the ability to communicate in that language, the latter, perhaps with the exception of children brought up in the target language (TL) environment, is developed in an explicit and deliberate manner, typically resulting in conscious knowledge of a variety of L2 forms which, however, often cannot be successfully deployed in spontaneous communication. In fact, the outcomes of L2 (but also L3, L4, etc.) acquisition are bound to vary tremendously, both with respect to generally understood attainment (as measured on a proficiency test of one kind or another), the type of knowledge obtained with respect to different subsystems and also the capacity to draw on that knowledge in the performance of different TL skills (i.e., speaking, reading, listening, writing, and a combination of those). In the light of this, it should not come as a surprise that second language acquisition (SLA) research has among its primary goals: (1) defining and describing learners' L2 knowledge, and (2) explaining how this knowledge develops by tapping into the internal (e.g., individual learner differences) and external (e.g., learning conditions and instructional options) factors that contribute to shaping it (cf. Ellis, 2005a, 2005b, 2008). Issues of this kind are of obvious relevance to scholars who seek to develop theories explaining how L2 acquisition takes places, researchers who have to devise ways of measuring the extent to which learners have mastered a TL feature targeted in intervention studies, but also teachers who may not be familiar with scientific jargon but can surely tell the difference, for example, between a straightforward case of ignorance of TL rules, the ability to use these rules in controlled exercises, and the capacity for their accurate and fluent deployment in the performance of communicative tasks. Obviously, if linguistic knowledge is so crucial to both theory, research and teaching practice, questions immediately arise concerning its precise measurement. Even though in some situations, both those related to research, teaching and assessment, it is sufficient to rely on rather crude measures, such as self-evaluations, course grades or scores on standardized tests, it is important on some occasions to tease apart distinct types of TL knowledge that learners can draw upon. This is clearly important in research striving to determine the effects of various instructional options (e.g., different types of corrective feedback) so that it can be established which of them are more likely to develop the ability to use a particular TL feature in communication, but it can also be a key issue for teaching so that appropriate tasks can be designed and valid assessment procedures can be developed. However, constructing appropriate measures poses a seemingly insurmountable challenge because different types of L2 knowledge are not easily distinguished and operationalized, which is the reason why this has not been routinely done in empirical investigations (cf. Pawlak, 2006, 2014). With this in mind, the aim of this paper is to consider the ways in which explicit and implicit L2 knowledge

can be tapped both for research and teaching purposes. First, the distinction between explicit and implicit knowledge of the TL will be discussed and the relationship between them will be tackled, which will be followed by the consideration of issues related to accessing the two types of linguistic representation as well as examples of research projects intended with this purpose in mind. The paper will close with some implications for the measurement of different types of L2 knowledge with respect to conducting research and language teaching.

2 Nature of and Interaction Between Explicit and Implicit L2 Knowledge

With respect to theoretical perspectives, there are two extreme approaches concerning the nature of L2 knowledge. The first, representing Chomsky's (1976) nativist position as well as that of his followers (e.g., Gregg, 2003), postulates the contribution of a genetic endowment in the learner's mind, a stance that is highly controversial given the disagreements regarding the accessibility of Universal Grammar (e.g., White, 2003). The second is in line with the tenets of the connectionist position (e.g., Ellis & Wulff, 2015), according to which linguistic knowledge comprises an elaborate network of neural connections in the human brain whose strength stems from the frequency of occurrence in the input which conditions their activation, rather than being representative of some inborn blueprint. Despite these differences, both of these stances are based on the assumption that the core of L2 competence is subconscious, implicit knowledge which makes communication in the TL possible. However, the two positions differ rather dramatically when it comes to the contribution of explicit knowledge, with the nativist view by and large denying its value, and the connectionist position recognizing its facilitative role with respect to, among other things, enhancing the salience of the TL features that may be difficult to notice, limiting hypothesis space, or serving as a priming device (Ellis, 2005a, 2005b; MacWhinney, 2001). In fact, the distinction between explicit and implicit knowledge has been incorporated, albeit under different names, into many theoretical models, such as those put forward by Bialystok (1978), Krashen (1981), or DeKeyser (1998, 2003, 2010), and has become a major point of reference in studies in which determining the mastery of the TL constitutes a key goal.

When discussing the distinction between explicit and implicit L2 knowledge, it should in the first place be elucidated that such *product*, whether it is the result of naturalistic or instructed acquisition, has to be distinguished from the *processes* that enabled it, which can be placed on the continuum from explicit (e.g., provision of a rule) to implicit (e.g., typographical input enhancement), as well as actual TL *use* in different situations which can range from controlled (e.g., putting the verbs in parentheses in the correct form) to communicative (e.g., using the present progressive to describe a scene on the beach). As illustrated Table 1, which synthesizes the distinctive features of these two types of L2 representation, explicit knowledge is conscious,

Table 1 Distinctive features of explicit and implicit knowledge (based on Ellis, 2005a, 2005b, 2009a; Pawlak, 2014)

Criterion	Explicit knowledge	Implicit knowledge
Awareness	Conscious	Tacit and intuitive
Type of knowledge	Declarative	Procedural
Systematicity	Imprecise and inaccurate	Variable but systematic
Accessibility	Controlled processing	Automatic processing
Conditions of use	Difficulty in planning	Fluent performance
Self-report	Verbalizable	Nonverbalizable
Learnability	Not constrained by processing capacity or age	Subject to constrains related to age and processing

declarative, unrestricted by processing constraints (see Pienemann & Lenzing, 2015) or learners' age, and it can be quite easily verbalized. At the same time, it brings with it considerable planning difficulty, it can only be accessed in controlled processing when ample time is available, and it is often imprecise and inaccurate. By contrast, implicit knowledge is tacit and intuitive, procedural in nature, variable but systematic, it can be accessed automatically in real-time, thus guaranteeing or at least enabling fluent performance, but simultaneously it is subject to processing constraints and age limitations, and it cannot be verbalized (Ellis, 2004, 2006, 2009a, 2009b). Neurolinguistic research indicates as well that the two types of representation are located in different areas of the human brain, with explicit (declarative) knowledge being associated with the hippocampus and the temporal cortex, and implicit (procedural) knowledge being stored in the basal ganglia and the frontal cortex (see e.g., Paradis, 2009; Ullman, 2015).

As DeKeyser (2010) elucidates, "[e]xplicit knowledge is knowledge that one is aware of, that one has conscious access to. As a result, it can be verbalized, at least in principle; not everybody has the cognitive and linguistic wherewithal to articulate this knowledge clearly and completely. Implicit knowledge is outside awareness, and therefore cannot be verbalized, only inferred indirectly from behavior (…)" (p. 121). He argues, though, that it is an oversimplification to equate explicit and implicit knowledge with declarative and procedural knowledge, respectively. This is because, for example, declarative knowledge is not necessarily always explicit, as is the case with Chomskyan concept of linguistic competence, and procedural knowledge does not have to be implicit at all times, as, when it is not fully automatized, it may still require reliance on rules. Another controversial issue is the extent to which foreign language learners with little everyday contact with the TL, especially those beyond the critical period, can even be expected to develop genuine implicit knowledge (cf. DeKeyser, 2010; DeKeyser & Juffs, 2005). After all, as DeKeyser (2017) commonsensically comments, "[i]n most forms of second language instruction, even today, the learning of grammar starts as both declarative and explicit" (p. 16), with the effect that learners are first familiarized with rules which they are unlikely to forget even when their mastery of language allows spontaneous communication, which,

incidentally, never happens for many individuals. For this reason, he argues that it is better to talk about *highly automatized explicit knowledge which* is "(…) unintentional, uncontrollable, unconscious, efficient, and fast" (DeKeyser, 2017, p. 17), and allows L2 performance that is fluent and largely accurate. While automatized explicit knowledge may be functionally indistinguishable from implicit knowledge, they represent distinct constructs since the former entails attention to TL form and the latter does not (cf. Suzuki & DeKeyser, 2015, 2017).

A crucial and at the same time highly controversial issue is the relationship between different types of linguistic representation, a matter that is of great relevance not only for developing theories or doing research, but also for foreign language pedagogy. According to the *non-interface position* (e.g., Hulstjin, 2002; Krashen, 1981), explicit and implicit knowledge are completely distinct, there is no interaction between them and thus conscious knowledge of rules does not translate into the use of these rules in real-time communication. A middle-of-the-road stance, referred to as the *weak interface position*, is based on the assumption that explicit knowledge can facilitate the acquisition of implicit knowledge when the learner has attained the requisite level of developmental readiness (e.g., Ellis, 1997; Pienemann, 1989). Finally, the *strong interface position* (DeKeyser, 2007, 2010) postulates that explicit or declarative knowledge can lead to the development of implicit knowledge or, as mentioned above, it can be automatized to a such a degree that it can enable spontaneous communication. This is possible thanks to the right kind of practice which leads to proceduralization and automatization, with the important caveat that the latter requires the use of the targeted linguistic features under real operating conditions, such that is needed for meaning and message conveyance (cf. DeKeyser, 2007). Importantly, DeKeyser (2017) points out that the facilitative role of declarative knowledge does not involve a magical conversion of one type of representation into the other but, rather, knowledge of this kind

> (…) allows learners to engage in target behavior (e.g., using a morphosyntactic rule in communication) and by drawing on this declarative knowledge repeatedly to engage in this behavior repeatedly, forming procedural knowledge, establishing a habit after some repetition, and then gradually automatizing this habit, and perhaps eventually (for some structures in some people) implicit knowledge (p. 19).

Clearly, from the pedagogical perspective, this explanation makes a lot of sense because adopting the non-interface position would be tantamount to assuming that the instructional practices used in most classrooms are virtually irrelevant, while embracing the weak interface position would suggest that teachers should somehow, as if with a wave of a magic wand, adjust their instruction to developmental sequences, which is surely an unrealistic proposition.

3 Measurement of Explicit and Implicit L2 Knowledge

As illuminated in the introduction, precise measurement of linguistic knowledge plays a crucial role in empirical investigations in SLA, especially such that seek to

compare the effectiveness of instructional options. It might be the case, for example, that one corrective feedback move leads to improvement only in explicit knowledge while another has beneficial effects for both explicit and implicit knowledge, with the efficacy of both being moderated by the TL structure or individual difference (ID) variables. Instructed SLA research has measured TL ability in different ways (cf. Doughty, 2003; Larsen-Freeman, 2010) involving production and/or comprehension, mainly through the use of constrained, constructed responses (e.g., correcting errors in sentences or recalling isolated sentences), metalinguistic judgment responses (i.e., grammaticality judgments), selected responses (e.g., matching pictures to sentences, choosing words to complete a sentence), and free responses (e.g., translating a story into the TL, picture description), with only the last of these really going beyond tapping explicit, declarative knowledge. As demonstrated by overviews of such research, explicit instruction, where learners are fully cognizant of the goals of the pedagogical activities (e.g., provision of rules but also corrective feedback which overtly draws learners' attention to an error) is superior to implicit instruction, where the pedagogic intervention eschews a direct focus on TL features (e.g., Goo, Granena, Yilmaz, & Novella, 2015; Lyster & Saito, 2010; Norris & Ortega, 2000), irrespective of the type of L2 knowledge. The problem is, however, that in the bulk of these studies, the tests applied were biased towards explicit knowledge, primarily because measures of implicit knowledge or highly automatized knowledge are exceedingly more difficult to design. In effect, it is far from obvious what kind of TL representation was developed as a result of the treatments applied (see DeKeyser, 2017; Doughty, 2003). All of this goes to show that the development of accurate measures of different types of L2 knowledge is an urgent necessity but also a major challenge.

An important contribution to the measurement of linguistic knowledge was made by Ellis and his associates (e.g., Elder, 2009; Ellis, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2009b; Erlam, 2009; Ellis, Loewen, Elder, Erlam, Philp, & Reinders, 2009; Loewen, 2009). He operationalized explicit and implicit knowledge according to seven criteria, reflective of the features of the two types of representation presented in the previous section, that is: (1) degree of awareness, (2) time available, (3) focus of attention, (4) systematicity, (5) certainty, (6) metalanguage, and (7) learnability. Accordingly, the tasks designed to tap into explicit knowledge should encourage learners to fall back on rules, include no time pressure, require a primary focus on form, result in answers that are variable, trigger responses of whose correctness the learner cannot be certain, invite reliance on metalinguistic knowledge, and confer an advantage on students who have been provided with form-focused instruction. By contrast, measures of implicit knowledge should invite learners to rely upon intuition, entail time-pressure, call for a primary focus on meaning, produce consistent answers, lead to responses the accuracy of which the learner is confident about, eliminate the need for metalinguistic knowledge, and favor learners who started learning the TL in childhood (cf. Ellis, 2009b). Taking these criteria as a point of reference, they came up with a battery of tests intended to tap explicit and implicit L2 knowledge. In effect, explicit knowledge was measured by means of:

(1) *an untimed grammaticality judgment test*, which was computer-delivered and required learners to decide whether a sentence was correct or not, state the degree of certainty of this decision on a scale from 0 to 100%, and report whether their decision was based on "feel" or grammar rules;
(2) *a metalinguistic knowledge test*, which was untimed as well and required learners to choose a rule that best explained errors appearing in sentences, find examples of grammatical features in a text, and identify parts of a sentence, the names of which were provided.

When it comes to implicit knowledge, it was tapped by means of three tests, all of which included time-pressure, which made it difficult for learners to fall back on the rules which they may have been familiar with. They were as follows:

(1) *a timed grammaticality judgment test*, which was computer-delivered and asked test-takers to decide whether the sentences were correct or incorrect, with the time limit for each sentence being determined based on the performance of native speakers, increased by 20%, and ranging from 1.8 to 6.24 s;
(2) *an oral elicited imitation test*, in which learners were provided with a set of grammatical as well as ungrammatical belief statements in an oral form; subsequently, first, they were asked to decide whether they agreed or disagreed with the statements, which was supposed to evoke a focus on meaning, and, second, they were instructed to repeat them in correct English, which involved a focus on TL form;
(3) *an oral narrative test*, in which learners were asked to read a story containing a number of target structures twice and then retell the story.

The analysis of the data demonstrated, among other things, that all the tests were reliable and that they loaded onto two factors, representing explicit and implicit knowledge. As Ellis (2009b) concluded, "[t]he study (…) demonstrated that an Elicited Oral Imitation test afforded a convincing measure of implicit knowledge, while the ungrammatical sentences in a UGJT [untimed grammaticality judgment test] provided a solid measure of explicit knowledge" (p. 63). The findings were also corroborated in replication studies involving target languages other than English (e.g., Gutiérrez, 2013; Zhang, 2015).

Even though the work done by Ellis and his colleagues can hardly be overestimated, there are several problems with the measures that they devised. First, when designing tasks tapping into explicit and implicit knowledge, it should be remembered that their outcomes will be a function of mediating variables, related to the properties of the targeted feature, contextual factors or ID variables (see e.g., Pawlak, 2014, 2017; Suzuki & DeKeyser, 2017). With respect to the latter, it is clear, for instance, that learners endowed with greater working memory capacity can be expected to do better on timed-pressured measures of implicit knowledge because they might be able to fall back on explicit rules, a situation that would at least to some extent compromise the validity of the tests described above. Second, while Ellis (2009b) considers oral elicited imitation to be an excellent measure of implicit knowledge, the procedure is not easy to carry out, its success hinges on test-takers'

proficiency, with the effect that its results may be accidental, and it is surely not the kind of measure that could ever be used in real classrooms (cf. Bielak & Pawlak, 2013; Mystkowska-Wiertelak & Pawlak, 2012). Third, despite the salutary efforts to carefully operationalize explicit and implicit knowledge, DeKeyser (2010), notes that "it is virtually impossible to design 'pure' measures of implicit or explicit knowledge of L2" (p. 122), as it can be assumed that performance on any test may be underpinned by different types of L2 representation. Fourth, and closely related to the previous point, arguments have been advanced that "(…) time-pressure measures, such as elicited imitation or timed grammaticality judgment tests, are too coarse-grained to limit access to automatized explicit knowledge" (Suzuki & DeKeyser, 2017, p. 751). This is the reason why attempts have been made to tap implicit knowledge with the help of real-time online comprehension tasks that are based on measurements of reaction time and eye-movement, as exemplified by studies conducted by Suzuki and DeKeyser (2015, 2017). Fifth, however, while the use of such highly sensitive measures may be important from a theoretical standpoint, it could reasonably be argued that they are of very little relevance not only to classroom practice but also to studies seeking to shed light on the effectiveness of various instructional options. This is because, if highly automatized explicit knowledge cannot be distinguished from purely implicit knowledge (cf. DeKeyser, 2003), there seems to be little point in teasing the two apart in teaching and most cases of research. What matters in such situations is the extent to which learners or participants of a given research project can use specific structures fluently and accurately under time pressure, as is the case with real-time communication.

In light of the reservations listed above, an adequate measure of highly automatized (implicit) knowledge appears to be performance on focused communication tasks (Ellis, 2003), which require the use of a specific TL feature but at the same time ensure the occurrence of relatively spontaneous communication, such as the oral narrative task in the battery described in Ellis (2009b). Obviously, such tasks may not be easy to develop for some TL features, as learners can resort to avoidance, ensuring spontaneous message conveyance could pose a serious problem, and there is the question of how acquisition of the TL form should be evaluated (e.g., a predetermined number of uses or, perhaps, obligatory context analysis of all the occurrences of the TL feature). Still, what is decisive in the opinion of the present author is the fact that such tasks bear resemblance to real-life behaviors, thus being characterized by ecological and face validity, qualities that oral elicited imitation, for example, will never exhibit. Adopting the same line of reasoning, there are also grounds to assume that explicit knowledge can be tapped through the use of sufficiently difficult, traditional grammar tests which yet again represent assessment measures that learners are familiar with. It is these assumptions that were taken into account when designing the research projects described in the following section.

4 Examples of Studies Which Involved Measurement of Explicit and Implicit L2 Knowledge

In this section, three studies will be described, the aims of which required tapping explicit and implicit L2 knowledge, with a view to illustrating how these two constructs can be operationalized empirically. Study 1 was mainly focused on L2 knowledge and the factors impacting it, and the remaining two were conducted with the purpose of gauging the effectiveness of different instructional options. It should be noted that while Study 1 and Study 3 targeted grammar features and thus were concerned with system learning, Study 2 addressed L2 pronunciation at the level of specific words and thus can be said to have dealt with item learning (cf. DeKeyser, 2010). What can also be seen in the three studies is the need to adjust measures of L2 knowledge to a specific TL subsystem as well as progression in the focus and specificity of the tests, moving from a concern solely with the production of the targeted forms to an interest in their comprehension as well. Two important caveats are in order at this juncture. First, because of the aims of the present paper, emphasis is placed on methodological issues rather than the presentation of detailed results of each research project, although general comments on the findings may be included as well. Second, the tasks employed in the studies were purported to tap into implicit knowledge, although, in retrospect, they may have mainly provided insights into highly automatized explicit knowledge.

4.1 Study 1: Investigating Influences on L2 Knowledge (Pawlak, 2012)

The study aimed to investigate the factors that may affect the use of learners' implicit knowledge of the TL, that is, task type, proficiency level and the linguistic feature. Participants were 72 Polish learners of English, 42 of whom were English majors enrolled in year 1, 2 and 3 of a three-year BA program at a university, whose level of proficiency could be described as advanced or upper-intermediate, and 30 were secondary school students representing a lower-intermediate level. The targeted structures were different variants of the passive voice for the university students and the distinction between the past simple tense and the past progressive tense for the secondary school learners. The participants in both groups performed three tasks indented to tap into implicit (highly automatized) knowledge that were previously piloted and modified accordingly (e.g., the time limit was adjusted, problematic items were modified or discarded, additional instructions were added). The tasks were the following:

(1) *a timed grammaticality judgment test*; 10 correct and 10 incorrect sentences were included (e.g., "My grandmother is visiting by a doctor every day"*,"Jake was breaking his leg when he ran"*, "The police officers came when I was

watching television"); one point was awarded for a correct answer; accuracy percentage was computed;

(2) *an oral elicited imitation task*; also in this case 10 correct and 10 incorrect items were included (e.g., "A lot of new vocabulary had to learn for today"*, "At six o'clock yesterday I listened to music"*, "When I came back home yesterday, my mother was cooking"); the students were requested to agree or disagree with each statement and then to repeat it in correct English; accuracy percentage was determined;

(3) *a focused communication task*; the university students were asked to describe a location using prompts (e.g., "situated about twenty kilometers from Washington DC, located very close to the national airport, a lot of noise heard, some beautiful lakes seen from the computer room, surrounded by shopping malls for a few years now") while secondary school participants were instructed to come up with a story on the basis of six pictures, being provided with essential vocabulary and a corresponding example ("Yesterday at six o'clock John was running in the park. He was wearing shorts and a T-shirt. As he was running he was looking at beautiful trees (…)"); in this case obligatory context analysis was performed and the accuracy percentage was established.

The data were subjected to a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis. The former involved not only establishing the accuracy percentages but also determining the internal consistency reliability of the tools and calculating correlations between the scores they yielded. The latter was applied to the focused communication task and aimed to shed light on the nature of L2 knowledge employed as well as reliance on rules and exemplars in the completion of the task. The analysis provided some evidence for the mediating effect of all the variables under investigation but correlations between the different tasks ranged between low and moderate, which raises doubts as to whether they indeed tapped into the same construct (i.e., implicit knowledge or highly automatized knowledge).

4.2 Study 2: The Effectiveness of Explicit and Implicit Corrective Feedback (Pawlak, 2013a)

The study investigated the effect of explicit and implicit corrective feedback, delivered in the course of communicative tasks, on eliminating persistent pronunciation errors, defined as mispronunciations of specific words. The participants were 36 English majors enrolled in the second year of a three-year BA program in the Department of English Studies in one of Polish universities. They formed three intact groups that were randomly designated as experimental group one, which received implicit correction, operationalized as recasts and clarification requests, experimental group two, which had the benefit of explicit feedback, operationalized as direct correction and elicitation, sometimes also followed by metalinguistic cues, and control group which worked on regular course-related activities. A pretest-posttest design

was employed, with two instruments being used on each occasion, that is: (1) a reading passage which included the targeted items (i.e., words that had been identified as hard to pronounce for Polish learners), intended as a measure of explicit knowledge, and (2) a task in which the students were requested to summarize the reading passage on the basis of the phrases provided, meant as a measure of implicit knowledge. In the case of reading, one point was awarded if the pronunciation was correct, while in the speaking task accuracy percentage was calculated since the students did not have to use all the words and some in fact resorted to avoidance. Paired and independent samples *t*-tests were applied to establish the statistical significance of between- and within-group differences. CF led to improvement regardless of its form, with explicit correction producing significantly greater gains on the measure of explicit but not implicit knowledge.

4.3 Study 3: The Effectiveness Different Types Input-Based Intervention as Well as Mediating Role of Individual Difference Variables (Pawlak & Mystkowska-Wiertelak, 2018)

The study was conducted with the purpose of exploring the effectiveness of different types of input-based pedagogical intervention and tapping into the mediating role of individual difference variables in this respect. The targeted structures were different variants of stylistic inversion in English (e.g., *Little did he know (…)*, *Hardly had he got up when (…)*) and the ID factors were grammar learning strategies and beliefs about form-focused instruction. The instructional options under investigation included: (1) visual input enhancement, where the salience of the targeted feature was typographically increased through the use of bolding, (2) recasting, where utterances containing incorrect uses of inversion were reformulated by the teacher but the original meaning was preserved and there was no expectation that the learner would try to modify his or her output, and (3) a combination of input-enhancement and recasting. The participants were 45 English majors (31 females and 14 males) enrolled in a three-year BA program who were randomly assigned to three experimental groups and a control group. A pretest-immediate posttest-delayed posttest design was employed to gauge the effects of the three types of pedagogic intervention. Four tasks were used on each test in order to gain insight into changes in the productive and receptive dimensions of explicit and implicit (highly automatized) knowledge:

(1) *implicit productive knowledge* was tapped in a task where the participants were asked to read a text seeded with instances of the targeted feature and then requested to retell it on the basis of a set of prompts;
(2) *implicit receptive knowledge* was tapped by means of a timed grammaticality judgment test, as postulated by Ellis (2009b, see above); a Power Point presen-

tation was used where correct and incorrect sentences were displayed with the average of 7 s per slide;

(3) *explicit productive knowledge* was assessed by means of a traditional pen-and-paper grammar test which involved paraphrasing sentences focusing on the use of inversion; although there was a general time limit for test completion, no time pressure was involved;

(4) *explicit receptive knowledge* was measured through an untimed grammaticality judgment test, where participants had to decide whether sentences were accurate or inaccurate and provide justifications for their choices.

All the tests involved 15 items each, with the exception of the test of productive implicit knowledge, in which case the number of items was equivalent to the number of prompts. The participants could score 1 or 2 points for each item on all the tests, which is reflective of the fact that partially accurate responses were considered as well. Data on the use of grammar learning strategies and beliefs about grammar teaching were collected by means of questionnaires designed by the present author (Pawlak, 2011, 2013b). The analysis involved calculating repeated measures and one-way ANOVAs to determine the statistical significance of within-group and between-group comparisons, with Tukey's HSD post hoc tests being run to determine the significance of differences between groups. The analysis showed little difference in the effects of the three types of intervention and produced only tenuous evidence for the mediating role of the individual differences under investigation.

5 Conclusion

The measurement of different types of linguistic knowledge is without doubt relevant to SLA theory and research but also to classroom practice. As can be seen from the foregoing discussion, tapping different dimensions of explicit and implicit knowledge poses considerable problems, which are not easily surmounted, with the choices made being contingent on the purposes for which measurements are made. When the goal is the development and verification of SLA theories such as skill-learning theory (cf. DeKeyser, 1998, 2015), the use of fine-grained measures is indeed indispensable. As Suzuki and DeKeyser (2017, p. 751) point out, for example, "[t]he distinction between implicit knowledge and automatized explicit knowledge may bear important theoretical implications for understanding L2 learning processes through the lens of explicit/implicit learning". However, when the goal is to gauge the contribution of different types of pedagogic intervention or simply to assess learners' performance in the classroom, tapping such distinctions is neither necessary nor reasonable. In such cases, perfect tests of explicit and implicit knowledge may be impossible to come by, and, to quote DeKeyser (2010, p. 122), "[p]erhaps such 'pure' measures should not even be a goal anyway, given that at least some psychologists see the implicit-explicit distinction as a matter of degree, as a continuum whose extremes may be rarely represented (e.g., Dienes & Perner, 1999)". In fact, most research

projects would achieve their goals by zooming in on the distinction between controlled explicit (declarative) knowledge and highly automatized explicit knowledge. This could be accomplished through the use of traditional pen-and-paper tests, on the one hand, and focused communication tasks, on the other. Although arguments could be advanced that both of these measures may draw on both types of L2 knowledge, there is an obvious difference between paraphrasing or translating sentences, and using a targeted feature fluently as well as accurately in communication and, on this basis, inferences can be made as to whether just explicit knowledge or highly automatized knowledge is employed in each case. These choices are even more easily justified in the case of L2 instruction, because teachers are fully cognizant that the completion of a grammar test requires very different ability from the performance of a communication task which is by definition much more demanding. In addition, such tests are easier to design and much more ecologically valid for teachers and learners than, for example, oral elicited imitation could ever be.

Obviously, especially in the case of empirical investigations, it makes sense to look at both the productive and receptive dimensions of L2 knowledge, as was the case with Study 3, rely on more than one measure for this purpose and also take into account the fact that the use of explicit and implicit (highly automatized) knowledge may be a function of task type, proficiency level or the properties of the targeted feature. In addition, the tasks used should be carefully designed and piloted, participants should be provided with models of performance, there is merit to including qualitative analysis that allows insights into the nature of L2 knowledge used in particular tasks, as in Study 1 above, and there is a need for longitudinal research projects that would illuminate how different types of L2 knowledge develop over time. While these recommendations are salutary, the sad truth is that many, if not most, studies investigating the effectiveness of instructional options still fail to include satisfactory measures not only of explicit and implicit knowledge but even highly automatized knowledge, which is probably related to the difficulty in designing appropriate tasks. There are grounds to assume that if implicit knowledge is conceptualized as highly automatized explicit knowledge, measurable through focused communication tasks, researchers will be more likely to attempt to distinguish between different types of L2 representation. While designing focused communication tasks for a number of structures poses its own challenges, they are surely more easily confronted than the difficulties involved in developing "pure" measure of implicit knowledge.

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Mirosław Pawlak is Professor of English at the Faculty of Philology, State University of Applied Sciences, Konin, Poland, and the Department of English Studies, Faculty of Pedagogy and Fine Arts in Kalisz, Adam Mickiewicz University, Kalisz, Poland. His main areas of interest are SLA theory and research, form-focused instruction, corrective feedback, classroom discourse, learner autonomy, learning strategies, motivation, willingness to communicate and pronunciation teaching. His recent publications include *The place of form-focused instruction in the foreign language classroom* (2006, Adam Mickiewicz University Press), *Production-oriented and comprehension-based grammar teaching in the foreign language classroom* (with Anna Mystkowska-Wiertelak, 2012, Springer), *Applying Cognitive Grammar in the foreign language classroom: Teaching English tense and aspect* (with Jakub Bielak, 2013, Springer); *Error correction in the foreign language classroom: Reconsidering the issues* (2014, Springer), *Willingness to communicate in instructed second language acquisition: Combining a macro- and micro-perspective* (with Anna MystkowskaWiertelak, 2017, Multilingual Matters), as well as a number of edited collections. Mirosław Pawlak is Editor-in-Chief of the journals *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching* and *Konin Language Studies*, as well as the book series *Second Language Learning and Teaching* (Springer).

Using Boundary Objects in the Methodology of TEFL at the Tertiary Level of Education

Agnieszka Gadomska

Abstract Boundary objects were first defined in the 1989 article "'Translations' and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology 1907–39" by Susan Leigh Star and Jason Griesemer. Since then the term has become extremely popular. It refers to "an analytical concept that belongs to two boundary worlds and fulfills the communicative needs of each of these social worlds" (Bukalska, 2015, p. 94). The concept of "mobile technologies as boundary objects in the hands of pre-service language teachers" was, however, first coined and described by Elżbieta Gajek in her 2016 article "Mobile Technologies as Boundary Objects in the Hands of Student Teachers of Languages Inside and Outside the University". The following article focuses on the particular teaching strategies adapted to the usage of mobile phones in the English language classroom in order to show their potential as boundary objects. The author's aim is to show that learners and teachers who use mobile devices inside the institution cross not only linguistic and cultural boundaries but also build the bridges over social and generation gaps in order to mediate the meaning. The case study will concern the SWPS University English Philology students.

Keywords Boundary objects · Mobile technology · TEFL · Tertiary education

1 Introduction: "Translating Between Viewpoints" (Star & Griesemer, 1989)

The popularity of the concept of Boundary Objects originated in 1989, when Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer described it in their article, entitled: "Institutional Ecology, 'Translations' and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907–39". Since then, the term has

A. Gadomska (✉)
Department of English, SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities,
ul. Chodakowska 19/31, 03-815 Warsaw, Poland
e-mail: agadomska@swps.edu.pl

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Fig. 1 The Museum of Vertebrate Zoology in California—the webpage. *Source* http://mvz.berkeley.edu/

become so popular that Susan Leigh Star decided to comment more on the issue in her 2010 article: "This is Not a Boundary Object. Reflections on the Origin of a Concept, Science, Technology and Human Values" (Bukalska, 2015). In the original text the term was discussed in the context of setting the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology in California in the years 1907–39 (Fig. 1).

Izabela Bukalska, a sociologist, in her article "The Concept of a Boundary Object—an idea, usage and perspectives"[1] explains the background of the Museum's undertaking: it was so complex that it required the cooperation of the representatives of different disciplines, professionals as well as amateurs, for example: exhibit collectors, hunters, scientists, politicians, sponsors, etc. They belonged to different social worlds and had diverse and often opposite perspectives on the aims and organization of the exhibition. Therefore, for the effective cooperation between those individuals, a common point of reference was needed, a boundary object that was communicated to all participants (Bukalska, 2015, p. 93).

> Scientific work is heterogeneous, requiring many different actors and viewpoints. It also requires cooperation. The two create tension between divergent viewpoints and the need for generalizable findings. We present a model of how one group of actors managed this tension. It draws on the work of amateurs, professionals, administrators and others connected to the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology at the University of California, Berkeley, during its early years (…) [Two] major activities are central for translating between viewpoints: standardization of methods, and the development of 'boundary objects'. Boundary objects are both adaptable to different viewpoints and robust enough to maintain identity across them (Star & Griesemer, 1989, p. 387).

In case of the exhibition in Berkeley, the state of California was regarded as such a boundary object, or the exhibits that were collected on the territory of California only, which "for the hunters were the source of income, for the museum's manager, a scientist, scientific proof of the Darwin's theory, and for the collectors—a source of satisfaction" (Bukalska, 2015, p. 94). They had different meaning for different actors, yet they were a common point of interest for all of them, and in effect they enabled successful cooperation. Bukalska (2015) claims that a boundary object can become

[1]The original title: "Koncepcja obiektu granicznego—idea, zastosowania, perspektywy" (2015).

shared reference for different social worlds as, being plastic enough, it belongs to all of them although it fulfills different informative needs and retains its unique identity in each of the engaged groups (p. 94). "For [this analytical concept's] support, constant translation is needed, the translation of meanings of a boundary object as understood by different parties" (Bukalska, 2015, p. 94).

Elżbieta Gajek in her 2016 article "Mobile Technologies as Boundary Objects in the Hands of Student Teachers of Languages Inside and Outside the University" observes that

> Boundary objects as defined by Star (Star & Griesemer, 1989; Star, 2010) can be used in many social contexts in various ways and for various purposes by the users, that is different communities use them as a common point of reference. Boundary objects articulate meaning in different social worlds but at the same time they have a structure that is common enough to make them recognizable across these worlds. Boundary objects are working arrangements adjusted as needed (…) Their actual use is worked out through the cooperation of their users (Gajek, 2016, p. 85).

2 Mobile Technology Solutions as Boundary Objects and Their Use in TEFL

The use of mobile technologies in FLE has been researched for the last twenty years. While the early findings focus mainly on the use e-dictionaries, the more recent studies examine the student preferences (Gajek, 2016, p. 86). With the development of mobile solutions, an unlimited access to them and increasing number of their users, both providers and researchers have realized the potential of the medium for education. The purpose of this paper is to reflect upon the methods and techniques of incorporating mobile technologies to FL vocational training at the tertiary level of education, with a particular focus on their role as boundary objects in mediating the meaning and usage between the all engaged in the process parties.

> A mobile device is essentially a handheld computer. Although the category of mobile device might seem to include any electronic device small enough to be carried around, the term implies wireless communications and the capacity for general computing. Currently, the most common examples of mobile devices are tablets, smartphones and e-readers ("Mobile Device").

Mobile devices have become extremely popular nowadays. While 66% of the global population use mobile devices, in Poland the number amounts to 75% (Mirek, 2017).

Most students possess mobile phones and bring them to the class. The question arises though for what purposes they use them in school. Elżbieta Gajek in her 2016 article publishes the research mostly gathered in 2014 when she and other scholar (Czerska-Andrzejewska, 2015) observed that about 78–81% of Warsaw University and Jagiellonian University students had a mobile device (Gajek, 2015 qtd in Gajek, 2016, p. 86). However, there has been observed "resistance to the use of MT for vocational purposes by trainers and trainees" (Gajek, 2015; Mykowska et al. qtd. in

Gajek, 2016, p. 86). Similarly to the often observed in FL education teacher negative reaction to employing technology in the teaching process (Gadomska & Krajka, 2015), those trainers either didn't see the usefulness of such devices or didn't want to change their habits, or didn't want to "lose face" as they felt their students' IT skills were much more advanced than their own. The situation has been changing gradually with more and more teacher trainings offered and new digital course books on the market and equipment in schools. More and more teachers become the enthusiasts of mobile technology in the classroom. For example, Jolanta Okuniewska has achieved huge domestic and international success as a Global Teacher Prize recipient for the innovative teacher who uses mobile technology in everyday activities in primary education (See *Tableszyt w okładce na motyle* blog).

Her major innovation has been to implement tablets in her primary school classes to enhance learning through online puzzles, games and posters that she developed with a colleague, in addition to using free Polish and English e-learning resources. She used ICT to allow a chronically ill pupil to follow lessons and stay in touch with her class despite having to spend a lot of time in hospital. Jolanta [Okuniewska] makes extensive use of eTwinning projects so that her students develop a broad range of collaborative, linguistic, intercultural and technical competencies ("Meet the finalists/bio").

This success is an indicator how times are changing, how education is changing, how learners' preferences and needs are changing, and this is the key factor determining the use of mobile technologies in education.

3 How Do Polish Teacher Trainees Use Mobile Devices?

The aim of the research was to investigate post-graduate student use of mobile devices in and for the educational context in order to verify the potential of mobile applications and other IT based activities designed for TEFL program. In effect it was aimed to convince those still in doubt that mobile devices can and in fact should be implemented in FLE. The question is, however, how to use their potential as boundary objects, so they, on the one hand serve as effective tools with content designed and managed by tutors, and on the other hand retain their unique identity for the learners and contribute to their autonomy.

3.1 The Case Study—University of Social Sciences and Humanities Post-graduate Qualification Study Program for English Language Teachers

Thirty post-graduate students, mostly teachers of English from primary and secondary education were the subjects of the study. All students possessed own mobile

phones with the Internet connection. The classroom was equipped with the Interactive Board, which was also used for the purpose of the study. The research was conducted during a course *Methods and Techniques of Teaching the Elements of the Language*, whose aims were:

- to gain a better understanding of a variety of aspects involved in the process of teaching English as a foreign language;
- to collect a wide repertoire of teaching techniques used in teaching selected language elements;
- to acquaint students with the use of Information and Communication technologies for the language classroom;
- to gain a better understanding of a variety of aspects involved in the process of teaching English with technology;
- to prepare students to be able to select, adapt and create ICT based ELT materials to suit adult learners' needs and abilities;
- to provide reflective methodology tasks/case studies, referring to students' experience as ICT users and supporting their experience by analysis of current methodological trends ("Methods and Techniques", 2016/2017 SWPS University Syllabus).

3.2 Research Methods: Lesson Observation and a Questionnaire

The class activities included the use of a number mobile phones application, class discussion and a paper-based questionnaire. Although the number of research participants was relatively small (30 respondents), the author believes the answers and research findings are representative of the group in question and very informative. On the other hand, the research by Gajek (2016) confirms the findings on the use of mobile technologies in the campus (E. Gajek compared how students use mobile technologies outside the university versus how they use it inside the institution).

3.3 The Findings on the Use and Status of Mobile Technologies in the SWPS University Campus (Gadomska, 2017)

So, let us consider how tertiary level students use mobile technologies inside the university building.

They declare:

(1) for browsing the Internet for class assignments;
(2) for translation purposes;

(3) for cooperation with the classmates (class activities);
(4) for communication with teachers (mail, SMS, Facebook (Fb));
(5) for communication with classmates (mail, SMS, Fb);
(6) for checking Virtual University platform (grades, updates, schedules, class number, etc.);
(7) for checking the e-learning platform;
(8) for accessing class materials (photos, pdfs, books);
(9) for using class materials (apps, e-books, online quizzes, etc.);
(10) for entertainment (to kill time);
(11) to cheat;
(12) to take photos of the content on the board;
(13) to organize and plan their work (calendar/sticky notes).

In the following "discussion" stage, the teacher trainees (most of whom work as language teachers) were asked the following questions:

(1) Is your [i.e., teachers'] attitude to using mobile devices in the classroom
(2) a/positive b/negative?
(3) Do you use mobile technology in the classroom?
(4) Do you employ activities designed for IT supported usage?
(5) Do you adapt activities to IT usage in the classroom?

In the debate, the following student opinions were recorded:

- *I do not allow mobiles in class unless absolutely necessary for the following reasons:*
- *They do not need them!*
- *They are a distraction and do not contribute to the learning effort.*
- *They disable attention span longer than 5 minutes at a time.*
- *Even if it vibrates or the light comes on—they spend the time wondering what the message says.*
- *I encourage them to take notes instead as this helps to concentrate and it reinforces learning as most classes have the class pack before the class. This also improves their writing, spelling and note taking skills—I hope.*

It has been observed that some course participants were quite negative on the use of mobile phones in the classroom; however, the attitude depended on the age of the pupils taught by the participant. Nevertheless, a vast majority was quite positive and ready for new challenges. They obviously realize that since MT is so frequently used and needed in their private sphere, it has the potential for classroom usage; however, the doubts concern its transfer to the educational/formal context. The answer and key factor lies in the role of a mobile device as a boundary object, so it remains in the hands of a learner and contributes to his/her autonomy. Therefore, it is extremely motivating.

The activities proposed included: Kahoot and Quizizz based *Sentence structure and sentence problems* quizzes supported by the IWB technology (Figs. 2 and 3).[2]

[2]More on Kahoot based activities for teaching writing skills in Gadomska (2016).

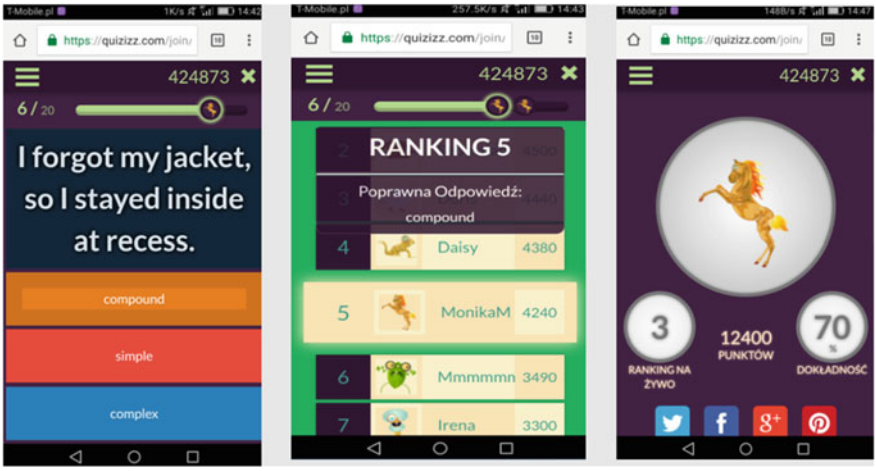

Fig. 2 Quizizz based quiz on sentence types. Student device feedback

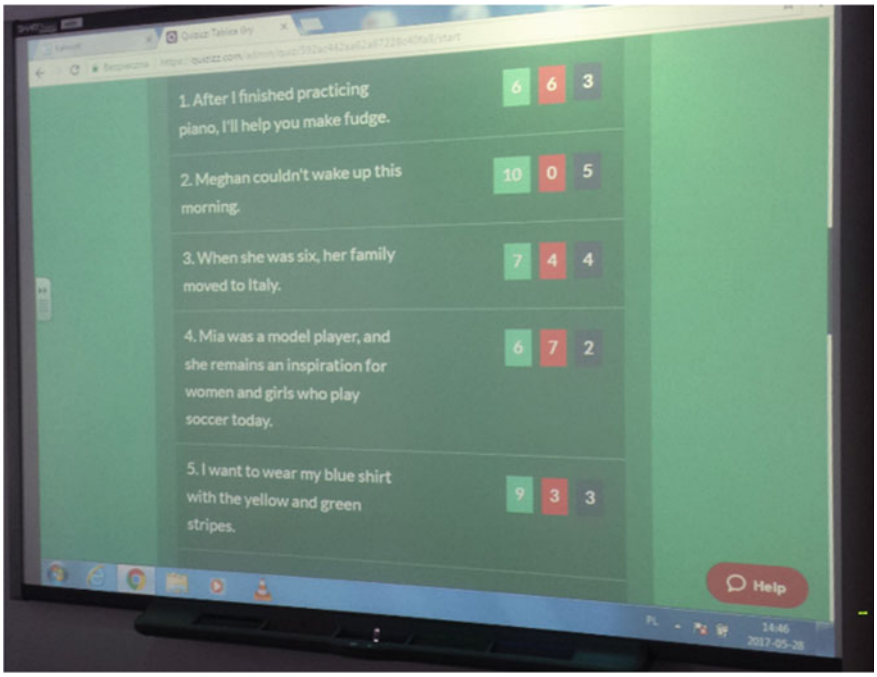

Fig. 3 "While playing" feedback on the IWB. The number of correct and incorrect answers

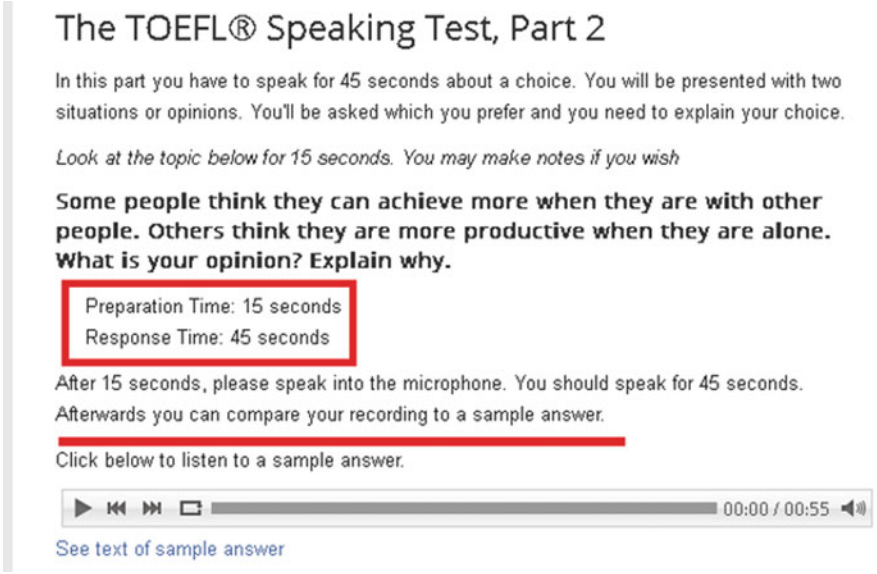

Fig. 4 TOEFL Speaking Instruction. Both functions: timer and voice recording may be used for practice

Then, other good practices of MT usage in the FL classroom were presented. These included the following applications:

- QR code reader
- Voice recording (TOEFL activities) (Fig. 4)
- Timer/time management (Fig. 4)
- Taking pictures

The author also discussed her (2015) article, "Using LEGO Blocks for the Technology Mediated Task-based English Language Learning," where she analyzes the effectiveness of IT supported techniques for teaching the elements of style. In one of these activities students are asked to take pictures of their LEGO exhibits, which frequently results in their (the photos) immediate transfer to their Facebook accounts, which in turn shows how a boundary object, in that case a mobile phone is used in the educational context and then immediately transferred to the private world of a student.

At the end of the class, the teacher trainees were asked, in the open question session, to comment on the Quizizz and Kahoot based activities. They found them:

– *Entertaining*
– *Different*
– *Challenging*
– *Motivating*

- *Interactive*
- *Stimulating*
- *Providing pleasure from learning*
- *Group integrating*
- *Keeping students focused*
- *Less formal*
- *Allowing/encouraging the usage of (forbidden in the classroom) mobile phones*
- *Enabling memorizing, repetition, revision*

The above answers prove there is potential of MT based applications in teacher trainings program, which should be explored in order to mediate between digital immigrants and digital natives (Prensky, 2001).

4 Discussion

Gajek (2016) quotes Ott (2014), who rightly observed that "mobile phones are not considered by teachers as a primary tool for school since school tasks are not constructed for mobile technology" (qtd in Gajek, 2016, p. 86). In fact, research has shown that teachers often criticize technology (Gajek, 2016; Gadomska & Krajka, 2015; Gadomska, 2017); computers are considered as more suitable, and mobile devices are treated as complimentary, "for some of them the mobile phone is a private thing" (Gajek, 2016, p. 87). Yet, "[l]earners who use mobile devices for communication in school and for school work cross the boundaries between the school and outside school but without confidence" (Gajek, 2016, p. 87). However, with new applications designed for mobile usage (Kahoot, Quizizz) or the updated/mobile versions of the e-learning platforms, mobile phones will enable adaptation of activities to the use with this modern and motivating medium. Pre-service teachers "suggest adaptation of teaching strategies to the potential of mobile devices" (Gajek, 2016, p. 87).

5 Conclusion

The educational context involves different perspectives of different actors, teachers, school principals, parents, policy makers learners, publishers, etc. Thus there is a strong need to "translate between the viewpoints" (Star & Griesemer, 2002, p. 387). The author has aimed to show that learners and teachers who use mobile devices inside the institution cross not only linguistic and cultural boundaries but also build the bridges over social and generation gaps in order to mediate the meaning. "Thanks to technology, [students] are bombarded with stimuli, receive immediate feedback and are able to multitask. That is the world they know and expect. However, it is the role of a teacher to select the activities and adapt them to the needs of the users and

Fig. 5 Banksy. Mobile Lovers (Gander, 2014)

learning objectives. Otherwise, the technology can turn against us" (Gadomska & Krajka, 2017, p. 190) (Fig. 5).

According to Gajek, "mobile technologies are used in education in an unstable way, so their role in the educational context may change" (2016, p. 85). In fact, they require standardization. Scholars and the market of educational resources have already discovered their potential. Students do not need to be convinced. What remains unclear is, however, the effectiveness of MT supported techniques in FLE and whether the device is just a gadget or a new important tool for both a teacher and a learner.

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Agnieszka Gadomska, PhD, is Assistant Professor at the University of Social Sciences and Humanities in Warsaw, Poland. Her research interests include digital materials design and adaptation in glottodidactics, IT based teacher development, the use of interactive whiteboard technology and e-learning in foreign language education. She is the co-author and author of the nationwide *E-Academy of the Future Project* and of over 16 articles in national and international academic journals and post-conference monographs, mostly on the implementation of ICT in glottodidactics.

CLIL Education

Agnieszka Borowiak

Abstract There is a growing pool of evidence casting doubt on the assumption that traditional model of teaching both a foreign language and a content subject is still efficacious. For this reason, a large body of research focuses on analysis of various educational settings which may be conducive to the success of foreign language learners. Content and Language Integrated Learning may be perceived as a good example of such an educational framework. The main aim of this article is to discuss some benefits of CLIL taking into consideration learner's gains. However, before presenting those arguments, a brief survey of the literature in the area of CLIL will be considered. As a point of departure a definition of Content and Language Integrated Learning will be provided. The subsequent part will touch upon an issue of CLIL development over the years. Given the fact that the implementation of CLIL in schools is usually seen as a very difficult venture, some part of this paper will be devoted to the brief analysis of core features of CLIL methodology. The discussion will be finished with the presentation of some advantages of CLIL education focusing on benefits for learners. Concluding remarks will include some practical considerations concerning issues related to the system of education regarding school leaving exams and also to a CLIL teacher professionalization process.

Keywords Content and language integrated learning · Definition · Benefits
A CLIL learner

1 Introduction

There are numerous studies devoted to Content and Language Integrated Learning. A great number of them indicates that this way of teaching may bring many benefits for CLIL learners. This article aims to present some definitions of Content and

A. Borowiak (✉)
State University of Applied Sciences, Konin, Poland
e-mail: agnieszka.borowiak.pwsz@gmail.com

A. Borowiak
I Liceum Ogólnokształcące im. T. Kościuszki w Koninie, Konin, Poland

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Language Integrated Learning, its history and methodology. Nevertheless, the main aim is to discuss some advantages of Content and Language Integrated Learning for students. To achieve this goal, this paper provides an analysis of topics connected with foreign languages and content subjects in terms of Content and Language Integrated Learning. The last part of this article will be devoted to a short discussion of practical ideas supporting the development of CLIL in schools and at tertiary level.

2 Defining CLIL

Content and Language Integrated Learning, the abbreviated form CLIL, is defined as "(…) a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language" (Mehisto, Marsh, & Frigols, 2008, p. 9). In this case, an additional language should be understood as a learner's foreign language or a second language. An additional language can be also a form of heritage or community language. Mehisto et al. (2008) explain that the key aspect of a CLIL lesson is the idea of interwovenness of two elements which are: a subject and a foreign language. It implies that during a CLIL lesson a CLIL subject teacher should intertwine a foreign language with the content subject while a CLIL language teacher should intertwine a subject with a foreign language. Another definition provided by Bently (2009) defines CLIL as "(…) an umbrella term covering teaching contexts in which subject content is taught through another language" (p. 9).

Both definitions underline the link between a subject content and a foreign language. According to Eurydice (2006) the main aim of CLIL is to develop proficiency in language and subject content by teaching the content with and through the foreign language. Nonetheless, to understand what a CLIL lesson is about methodology used during such lessons ought to be taken into account. Mehisto et al. (2008) indicate that a CLIL teacher should use an educational approach involving a variety of language-supportive methodologies. It means that during CLIL lessons teachers should use methods which provide a more holistic educational experience for their learners. CLIL lessons should involve a great number of methods which can be applied in numerous ways according to the learners' characteristics.

3 Development of CLIL

Content and Language Integrated Learning as Coyle, Hood, and Marsh (2010) clarify is not a new phenomenon. This acronym was used for the first time in 1994 by David Marsh, who was a member of a team working in the area of multilingualism (Hanesová, 2015). Mehisto et al. (2008) point out that the first programme which is believed to be similar to CLIL was created by the Akkadians 5000 years ago, who wanted to learn Sumerian. They achieved this by having several subjects taught in

Summerian. Coyle et al. (2010) notice that a similar situation arose two thousand years ago when the Roman Empire expanded and absorbed Greek territory, language and culture. Coyle et al. (2010) elucidate that families in Rome started educating their children in Greek to ensure that in the future they would have access to social and professional opportunities. Another example of a CLIL-type programme can be the case of teaching variety of subjects using Latin. The teaching methods presented so far were copied by different countries through centuries.

Mehisto et al. (2008) state that with the fast development of economy and social changes, educators were looking for other methods of teaching in order to keep up with demands of the present world. In the 1950s more attention was put on cognitive processing and how learning successfully occurred. A serious discussion started in earnest during those years with the advent of cognitive revolution. During XX century socio-cultural, constructivist perspectives on learning developed which had a significant impact on educational theory and practice. Coyle et al. (2010) enumerate: multiple intelligence (Gardner, 1983), integration (Ackerman, 1996), learner autonomy (Holec, 1981), language awareness (Hawkins, 1984) and language learning strategies (Oxford, 1990) as those elements which were crucial in examining ways to raise levels of curricular relevance, motivation and involvement of learners in their education. Coyle et al. (2010) explain that the development and changes in those educational theories and practice led to the creation of the alternative means of teaching and learning both content subjects and languages. Mehisto et al. (2008) pinpoint that in 1965 in Canada the first immersion programme appeared. Later in the 1970s bilingual education became more easily accessible to children coming from a diversity of background. Various teaching models appeared in different countries. Hanesová (2015) claims that David Marsh based the concept of CLIL on the experience of Canadian immersion and British Learning through an additional language programme. Marsh (2012) explains that

> (…) the European launch of CLIL during 1994 was both political and educational. The political driver was based on a vision that mobility across the EU required higher levels of language competence in designated languages than was found to be the case at that time. The educational driver, influenced by other major bilingual initiatives such as in Canada, was to design and otherwise adapt existing language teaching approaches so as to provide a wide range of students with higher levels of competence (p. 1).

Hanesová (2015) states that during the 1990s, the acronym CLIL became the most widely used notion to describe the integrated content and language education in Europe. It is believed that the last decade witnessed a boom of research in CLIL which was connected with increasing interest of the implementation of this teaching model in many schools throughout the Europe.

In 2006, the Eurydice report (2006) indicated that CLIL was available in the majority of European member states. As it was specified in this report, in Poland CLIL was adopted under the name of bilingual education e.i. nauczanie dwujęzyczne. Czura (2009) found out that first bilingual schools in Poland were opened in 1991. Zielonka (2007) claims that in the early stages of CLIL development in Poland, it was English which was introduced as a language of instruction. Two models of lessons were observed at that time, namely, some lessons were taught in English for the

whole time and some lessons were conducted in the second language for only a part. What is more, the first bilingual teachers were only content teachers with a certain knowledge of the English language. It means that it was rather content which was taught through the medium of English. Educational policy in Poland towards CLIL has been changing since the 1990s but it still needs some modifications in favour of CLIL focusing on both the system of education seen from learners' and teachers' perspectives.

A it has been described above, CLIL is not a new model of teaching. It was used earlier in a similar form to the contemporary CLIL. Nowadays, great emphasis is put on the study of innumerable methods used during CLIL lessons.

4 Core Features of CLIL Methodology

The notion of CLIL has been defined in the first section. Nevertheless, to understand the nature of a CLIL lesson, core elements of CLIL methodology should be presented as well. Mehisto et al. (2008, p. 29) provide a list of the essential features of CLIL methodology which supports the successful delivery of CLIL lessons. This list includes the following aspects:

(1) multiple focus:

   (a) supporting language learning in content classes;
   (b) supporting language learning in language classes;
   (c) integrating several subjects;
   (d) organizing learning through cross-curricular themes and projects;
   (e) supporting reflection on the learning process;

(2) safe and enriching learning environment:

   (a) using routine activities and discourse;
   (b) displaying language and content throughout the classroom;
   (c) building student confidence to experiment with the language and content;
   (d) using classroom learning centers;
   (e) guiding access to authentic learning materials and environments;
   (f) increasing student language awareness;

(3) authenticity:

   (a) letting the students ask for the language help they need;
   (b) maximizing the accommodation of student interests;
   (c) making a regular connection between learning and the students' lives;
   (d) connecting with other speakers of the CLIL language;
   (e) using current materials from the media and other sources ;

(4) active learning:

(a) students communicating more than the teacher;
(b) students help set content, language and learning skills outcomes;
(c) students evaluate progress in achieving learning outcomes;
(d) favouring peer co-operative work;
(e) negotiating the meaning of language and content with students;
(f) teachers acting as facilitators;

(5) scaffolding:

(a) building on a student's existing knowledge, skills, attitudes, interests and experience;
(b) repackaging information in user-friendly ways;
(c) responding to different learning styles;
(d) fostering creative and critical thinking;
(e) challenging students to take another step forward and not just coast in comfort;

(6) co-operation:

(a) planning courses/lessons/themes in co-operation with CLIL and non-CLIL teachers;
(b) involving parents in learning about CLIL and how to support students;
(c) involving the local community, authorities and employers.

As can be seen, CLIL methodology focuses on a learner as a center of the lesson. The main idea is to give learners space to work actively with content using a foreign language. It relies on students' collaboration by allowing them to work in groups or pairs. What is more, CLIL methodology provides learners with the opportunity of setting content, language and skills outcomes. According to CLIL methodology lessons should be conducted in a relaxed atmosphere relying on learners already existing knowledge, skills, attitudes, interests and experience. Finally, learning should not stop on the level of the lesson. It means that students should be encouraged to work beyond classroom using projects which force them to communicate with other speakers of a CLIL language.

Mehisto et al. (2008) created thirty core features of CLIL methods which are driven by four main principles. The first is thinking (cognition) which includes (Mehisto et al., 2008): perceiving, recognizing, judging, reasoning, conceiving, imagining. They believe that powerful thinking processes support learning processes. It implies that during a CLIL lesson teachers should foster creative and critical thinking. In addition to that, they suggest that it can be achieved by using Bloom's taxonomy (1956) which indicates that learners need to develop lower and higher thinking skills. According to Mehisto et al. (2008) the second principle is content, which means that during a CLIL lesson students need to have access to information. As a result, CLIL learners should be given a chance to connect new information with their already existing knowledge, skills and attitudes. The third principle is community since a meaning-making process is believed to be both personal and social process. Mehisto

et al. (2008) elucidate that CLIL learners should have self-confidence and skills to work within a group and the local community. The last principle is called communication. It is defined as a communicative process during which new knowledge and skills are developed. What is more, CLIL learners are believed to use their right to undertake all activities done during lessons. It leads to a conclusion that those four principles can be treated by CLIL teachers as reference points for lesson planning.

As can be seen above, CLIL methodology comprises various aspects. All seem to be important. To conduct successful CLIL lessons all features of CLIL methodology should be present in such courses. This way, CLIL learners are more likely to realize their full potential.

5 Benefits for Learners

Content and Language Integrated Learning offers numerous advantages for learners. The first one is responding to learners' needs, expectations and cognitive levels (Calviño, 2012). Mehisto et al. (2008) notice that over the course of last 40 years two main generations can be distinguished. The first is Generation Y (children born between 1982 and 2001). This generation is believed to focus on immediacy which means that they learn as they use and use as they learn. The second is the Cyber Generation (children born after 2001). As Coyle et al. (2010) explain students representing this generation are being exposed to advanced technology at a very young age. For educators it means that those students are even more encouraged to learn by doing with the help of modern technology in comparison with students representing Generation Y. CLIL is one of the methods which gives learners space to experiment with language and content subject using all available technology. As a result, teachers are expected to use techniques involving various cognitive levels of thinking. This way all learners' needs are taken into consideration not only in terms of their expectations but also complying with a wide range of learners' individual variables.

The second argument in favour of CLIL is related to motivation. Dale and Tanner (2012), Deller and Price (2007) claim that students learning subjects through another language feel more challenged and engaged than in a traditional classroom. Harrop (2012) enumerates some studies (Lasagabaster, 2008; Seikkula-Leino, 2007) which prove that CLIL learners are more motivated than non-CLIL learners. It may be explained by the fact that this way of learning is more enticing for CLIL students. They learn not only a foreign language but also a content subject. Another aspect concerning motivation is connected with its distinction. The first type of motivation which plays a crucial role in learning a foreign language is integrative motivation, which "is a desire to be part of the target language culture for affective reasons" (Harrop, 2012, p. 61). The second type is instrumental motivation which is "a desire to learn language for a personal gain" (Harrop, 2012, p. 61). Those definitions apply to CLIL learners who may be even more motivated because they want to learn an additional language e.g., to work abroad as specialists or to set up their families with partners of different cultural origins. This way, it can be easily comprehended why

Harrop (2012) states that during CLIL lessons students' motivation is boosted by the integration of language and non-language content. Those examples are reflections of the distinctions presented above. On the basis of those examples, it may be concluded that CLIL learners' motivation is higher since they learn both a foreign language and a subject. What is more, during CLIL lessons meaningful and authentic contexts are provided for a foreign language use, thereby the language becomes the means rather than the end in itself. Harrop (2012) maintains that CLIL lessons give learners opportunities for genuine interaction with other CLIL learners, within a classroom and beyond it. As can be seen, when CLIL learners are likened to non-CLIL learners it appears that CLIL learners are characterized by higher motivation than their non-CLIL counterparts. When the attractiveness of CLIL lessons is juxtaposed with the traditional teaching, it appears that CLIL learners engage more during the lessons.

Another vital point that must be outlined here is the fact that CLIL learners are believed to progress more in terms of language proficiency and even subject proficiency. Dale and Tanner (2012) assert that some second language learning theories suggest that CLIL helps students to master a foreign language more efficiently. This explanation lies in Dale and Tanner's (2012) assertion that

> [i]n order to learn a language, you need to hear and read it, understand it, use it to speak and write in lessons. Learners who spend time focusing on how language is used (form), as well as what is being said (meaning) also progress faster in learning a language and have less chance of fossilisation (a term referring to a state of learning where progress ceases despite continuing exposure to the language) than learners who simply use language without paying attention to form (p. 12).

Calviño (2012) assumes that by putting the emphasis on meaning rather than on form, help is provided also to those learners for whom learning grammar in a traditional way is ineffective. It is believed that those students feel more motivated to master grammatical structures during a CLIL lesson. What is more, during CLIL lessons learners receive a lot of input (Dale & Tanner, 2012). CLIL learners are given ample opportunities to actively process the input they receive. As a result, it facilitates the process of learning both content subject and language. Dale and Tanner (2012) indicate another advantage of CLIL which is connected with cognitive learning theories. The fundamentals of those theories imply that if the human brains work harder to complete a task they remember the content of a given task more effectively. They also notice that there is a possibility that bilinguals create not only more connections in their brains but they also make new connections and expand their memory. Dale and Tanner (2012) clarify that during CLIL lessons pupils need to work harder since they have to complete a task using a foreign language. Coyle (2006) notices that the case of a good concentration plays a crucial role during CLIL classes, too. CLIL learners are more focused on the task (Coyle, 2006, p. 7). There are some studies which focus on CLIL learners achievements compared to their non-CLIL friends (Surmont, Struys, Noort, & Craen, 2016). Some of them already proved that CLIL learners when compared with non-CLIL learners obtain similar results in terms of knowledge and even sometimes outperform their peers taught in a traditional way.

Improvement of language skills as well as the ability to communicate effectively is another benefit accruing from CLIL (Dale & Tanner, 2012). It is argued that CLIL enables learners to develop their ability to understand a wide range of spoken and written language in topics which are both general and specific. Moreover, CLIL learners use a foreign language to achieve their communicative goals in countless situations. It means they interact meaningfully. This idea is connected with social constructivist theories of learning. Dale and Tanner (2012) define those theories as those which see learning as a social, dynamic process where pupils learn when they interact with one another. They pinpoint that CLIL model puts a great emphasis on a meaningful interaction among learners. CLIL lessons support a meaningful interaction taking into consideration two elements: the content (meaning) and the language (Dale & Tanner, 2012). It is believed that the content is needed for a language acquisition, whereas the language is needed for a subject development.

The next benefit of CLIL is the development of cultural awareness. Dale and Tanner (2012) postulate that CLIL learners have many chances to communicate with other CLIL learners representing various cultures. During CLIL lessons, materials used refer to cultural information and attitudes. This aspect of cultural awareness entails also the goal of subject expertise. Dale and Tanner (2012) and Calviño (2012) maintain that through CLIL course teaching is not limited to a content subject. Students learn to think, write and speak like subject specialists. In other words, CLIL learners should have similar knowledge and language competencies as foreign students of the same specializations.

Perceiving CLIL as the best solution for learners of all abilities is the penultimate benefit which will be discussed in this paper. Supporters of CLIL are of the opinion that this way of teaching broadens content knowledge, cognitive skills and creativity in learners of all abilities (Marsh, 2002; Coyle et al., 2010; Harrop, 2012). Additionally, Dale and Tanner (2012) assert that CLIL teachers need to appeal to all learning styles. They explain that it involves preparing lessons in such a way that multiple intelligence theory is taken into account as well. This way, all CLIL learners should be able to deal with new information and later to remember the needed content. The final outcome of this complex process is the easiness of producing the information and language in new situations.

Last but not least benefit of CLIL which should be presented in this article is the preparation for future studies and work. Dale and Tanner (2012) maintain that CLIL learners are prepared for studying in another language. It can be achieved by the fact that CLIL facilitates faster language progress and the development of communication skills. Dale and Tanner (2012) assert that CLIL learners are usually very confident and fluent language users. Another facet supporting the theory that CLIL learners are prepared for future studies is the development of learner's autonomy. Wolf (2011) analyzes two teaching contexts, namely, CLIL and traditional teaching contexts. He postulates that "CLIL as a learning environment lends itself to an autonomous approach in the classroom. The example makes this quite clear: the rules of teacher-controlled classroom interaction are broken fairly often" (Wolf, 2011, p. 79). Hence it can be assumed that being an autonomous learner is also a feature of a CLIL learner. In other words, if CLIL learners are autonomous, it means that their learning is more

efficient (Benson, 2007). This way, CLIL learners are more likely to be successful with their future studies or jobs which demand continuous development in terms of skills and knowledge. Another plus of being CLIL graduates is the fact that there are some countries which have national exams prepared for students who are graduates of high schools using CLIL models of teaching. A good example is Poland. Ministry of National Education of Poland introduced special exams for such students. Unfortunately, the exam results are not widely recognized by polish universities. This is caused by lack of statutory legacy specifying the university admission. Fortunately, some universities decide to appreciate this score. One of the polish universities e.i. Jagiellonian University multiplies the score of this exam by four third during the recruitment. It means that for those applicants who pass CLIL exams it is easier to get to this university. It is worth adding that CLIL learners' ability to communicate effectively using a foreign language is significant not only in terms of tertiary education but also in terms of working abroad. Dale and Tanner (2012) and Calviño (2012) claim that skills and knowledge gained during CLIL increase opportunities of those who enter the job market. With respect to CLIL methodology, CLIL learners should have skills of working in groups, time management and planning. Those features seem to be especially relevant from the viewpoint of chief human resource officers working in modern companies.

6 Conclusions

Arguments in favour of Content and Language Integrated Learning indicate that this way of teaching may increase the chance of exploiting the potential of all learners. CLIL relies on a very complex methodology focusing on such aspects as multiple intelligence or learning styles. Thus CLIL learners will gain subject knowledge and a great command of a language. Despite those benefits that have been mentioned so far, there still seems to be a room for critical concern related to the practical side of implementing and running CLIL programs at schools and universities. A law supporting the development of CLIL should be passed. This way, both CLIL learners and teachers may derive some benefits from this educational approach. CLIL graduates should be more appreciated by higher university institutions, especially at level of university recruitment. To attain it, firstly CLIL exams should be available to all learners. Then the score gained by CLIL learners should be counted in a different way to the score of students passing traditional exams. To reach this goal, CLIL education should be regulated in accordance with relevant regulations. As a consequence, learners may be encouraged to learn at schools using CLIL educational framework. Furthermore, special courses/programmes should be created for high school students and university students combining elements from CLIL methodology. A good example is the cooperation between schools or universities within projects which allow CLIL learners to practise both subject knowledge and a foreign language.

The main concern with CLIL as an aim for education is the deficiency of proper CLIL teacher training for subject teachers and language teachers. Universities should

include in their educational offer CLIL courses during which future CLIL teachers can learn essentials of CLIL methodology. Moreover, education act should regulate working conditions for teachers e.g., salary, workload. Education act should also establish guidelines concerning number of students in a CLIL group which should be small. To conclude, there are numerous benefits which should be comprehended as encouragement for both educators and legislators to introduce CLIL at schools. Nevertheless, some scientists are of the opinions that CLIL model of teaching has also some disadvantages. Still, it seems to be noteworthy to take the chance to introduce CLIL at schools and universities as a part of curriculum.

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Agnieszka Borowiak, MA, is an English teacher. She has experience in teaching groups of EFL learners of different age and levels, also at the management and logistics programmes. Her scholarly interests lie in CLIL, learner autonomy, motivation and error correction. She has a diploma in Educational Management and Administration and also completed coaching and mentoring courses, which involves useful tools to encourage individuals to monitor their own learning processes and a future career path.

Teaching Reading Comprehension in a Creative Way

Katarína Chválová and Eva Stranovská

Abstract The paper is aimed at investigation of some aspects of foreign language reading comprehension, which is perceived as the most important skill required by students in a foreign language context. Intensive reading, also known as creative reading, has recently been ignored by researchers. The skill of reading comprehension is an aspect of practical reading experiences which can be developed by teacher's intervention. One way to help learners to improve the skill is a strategy instruction. In the paper, the effect of various strategies, namely summarizing and students-generated questions are discussed. The participants of the research were upper-intermediate English University students from the Translatology Department. Firstly, overall achievement in a reading comprehension test was analysed; secondly the achievement in the subtests was investigated. Moreover, the research interest was focused on the item difficulty and achievement in comprehension of particular items. The method of a descriptive analysis was applied; frequency tables for categorized data together with quantiles were used to describe distribution of items. The results showed that text comprehension of the subtest 2 affected the other one in the subtest 3. Students comprehension difficulties need to be followed up with separate theory-based assessment tools which can help teachers determine learners' problems in a more differentiated approach.

Keywords Creative reading · Reading comprehension · Foreign language Teaching strategies · Reading comprehension test

K. Chválová (✉)
Department of English and American studies, Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, 1, Tr. A Hlinku, 949 74 Nitra, Slovakia
e-mail: katarina.chvalova@ukf.sk

E. Stranovská
Department of German studies, Faculty of Arts, Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, 1, Tr. A Hlinku, 949 74 Nitra, Slovakia
e-mail: estranovska@ukf.sk

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1 Introduction

Researchers from various fields such as psychology, education, and artificial intelligence have studied the process of reading for decades; while many theories have been proposed, none explained interconnection of creativity and reading. Creative reading includes novel concepts that need to be understood by a reader in order to comprehend the text.

In 1970 and 80s reading comprehension research was mostly discussed in a context of a reading skill and language competence (Bernhards, 1991; Carell, 1983; Clarke, 1980, etc.). The latter research was aimed at the investigation of the phonological awareness (Foy & Mann, 2006) in relation to reading strategies in the foreign language (Stranovská, Munková, & Hvozdíková, 2013 etc.). In the recent years, however, approaches to teaching reading comprehension have focused on the importance of acquiring strategies (e.g., summarizing. questioning, clarifying etc.) that help students become strategic readers while coping with difficult passages (Alderson, 2005). Since reading comprehension is not an observable phenomenon, assessing learner's comprehension and development of the reader's competence using those strategies seems to be important as it might affect learners' achievement in a positive way (Brown, 2000).

Before assessing reader's competence and comprehension, a teacher needs to consider individual personality traits of the students (extroversion, introversion etc.), reflected in different types of the tasks. Firstly, tasks are identified at the sentence level (finding information in the text) determining detailed comprehension. Secondly, tasks aimed at drawing conclusions help students construct local or global coherence. For the third type, the requirement of reflecting and assessing is in the foreground, while the purpose of one version is to understand the central idea, the main events, or the core message of the text, whereas in another version, the purpose and intention of a text has to be recognized and the readers are asked to access the credibility of the text (Gehrer, Zimmermann, Artelt, & Weinert, 2013).

Reading comprehension is considered as one of the important factors in the psychological testing as assessment instructions and test tasks presented in one's writing must be read and comprehended. Learners with a low level of a reading comprehension skill often cope with difficulties to follow detailed instructions or to understand meaning of an item that can be negatively reflected in their scores. Teachers should therefore have at least ten cumulative minutes a week, so they would be able to bring innovative classroom exercises or modest instructional enhancements to meet their students' needs.

To examine reading as a skill, scholars should consider links between reading, creativity and individual personality variables and their impact on acquiring reading competence.

2 Reading Competence and Reading Comprehension

Reading competence and the ability to understand texts written in the foreign language are crucial skills for any university student and they play a significant role in language learning classes. Not only do they enable the student to have access to specialized knowledge from his/her field of study, they also form the basis and create potential for his/her future professional and personal development. Language learners read the texts for different purposes, it is not only about understanding the words in the text but also to get the main idea, at times to locate specific information, frequently they read texts to learn something, and every now and then they need to synthesize information to take a critical position. Probably in most cases we read for global comprehension to understand main ideas and the relevant supporting information (Grabe 1991; Grabe & Stoller, 2001). As a result, Katims (1997) claims reading without comprehension is worthless (Katims, 1997).

Moreover, it worth to mention that reading comprehension in connection with other academic subject areas has been explored by various researchers in the last years. They approached reading from various perspectives, while they related reading with another subject area, utilizing data on the student performance. Some have examined behavioural factors, some have examined the socio-economic factors and others have examined the relationship from the perspective of disabilities and special education.

Reading comprehension assessment using literary texts has been overlooked in many studies. According to Pisa (Programme for International Student Assessment), reading comprehension is undoubtedly interconnected with reading literacy, which is defined as "an individual's capacity to understand, use and reflect on and engage with written texts, in order to achieve one's goals, to develop one's knowledge and potential and to participate in society" (OECD, 2009, p. 14). In other words, reading literacy does not only represent the ability to decode written words and to understand their meaning—it is more complex. It also involves the reader's ability to interpret and analyse the text and subsequently the ability of using the information gained. Due to this functional focus, very little attention has been paid to the specific demands of comprehending literary texts and the underlying cognitive, motivational and emotional processes (Janssen, Braaksma, & Rijlaarsdam, 2006; Kintsch, 1994).

Furthermore, neither a clear theoretical definition of literary text comprehension nor valid and reliable instruments for its measure exist. The lack of research on this issue is probably related to an ambiguity of the artistic message and polyvalence of literary texts (Eco, 1962, p. 11). This makes it more difficult to measure, define and validate the construct of literary text comprehension in comparison to the comprehension of expository texts. Artelt and Schlagmüller (2004) recommend further research in order to arrive at a better and more differentiated understanding of reading literacy concerning literary texts.

PISA distinguishes three kinds of reading competence, the first one involves information gaining, that is, *text comprehension*, the second one *interpretation of ideas* expressed in the text and the third one *thinking about the text* and evaluating what

was read. This approach encourages independent and creative thinking and allows students to express their own opinions. A similar view on reading comprehension is shared by many specialists in foreign language learning. Barnett (1989) emphasizes the fact that reading comprehension requires the reader to integrate and apply multiple strategies and skills/abilities which involve memory, cognitive, compensation, affective, metacognitive, social and testing strategies. Consequently, some activities and approaches to working with a text in our experience generally lead to the development of cognitive, metacognitive and compensation strategies.

Metacognition plays a significant role in teaching and learning foreign languages as it is crucial in the reading process where it is understood as the awareness of an ability to use a variety of appropriate strategies when processing texts in a goal-oriented manner. This fact may be supported by a number of studies that suggest metacognition is not only associated with reading proficiency, but also with explicit or formal instruction of metacognitive strategies which may lead to an improvement of the text understanding and information use. By using text processing strategies, the reader becomes more independent of the teacher and he or she can effectively interact with the text by conceiving reading as a problem-solving task that requires the use of strategic thinking, and by thinking strategically about solving reading comprehension problems (Artelt, Schiefele, & Schneider, 2001; Brown and Palincsar, 1984). Moreover, the US National reading Panel (2000) claim that teaching of metacognitive skills can contribute to remediating poor reading literacy. It points at the fact that readers who are given cognitive and metacognitive strategy instruction, show more significant gains on measures of reading comprehension than students only trained with conventional instruction procedures.

Moreover, Weinstein, Husman and Dierking (2000) together with many strategy specialists believe that learners with strategic knowledge of language learning become more efficient, creative and flexible as they help individuals to comprehend, learn or retain new information more easily.

In university environment, reading specialized texts require applying various strategies, such as: previewing the text, scanning, skimming, predicting the upcoming information, summarizing, guessing the meaning of new words, generating questions about the text, recognizing text organization, etc. (Grabe & Stoller, 2001). Brown and Palincsar (1984) have introduced four main reading strategies for explicit and direct strategy instruction, including predicting, summarizing, questioning and clarifying. However, two of the most useful strategies are those in which students summarize orally what they have read about a passage (Brown, 2000). Moreover Alderson (2005) emphasizes that reading comprehension can be improved when students generate their own questions and summarize the lesson and thus become more effective readers.

Questioning, especially *student-generated questions*, is a useful strategy that improves student reading comprehension and can lead students to a higher level of thinking and reflection upon learning a foreign language (Chuck, 1995). Based on Bloom's taxonomy questions can be posed at different levels, from knowledge to evaluation. There is also an evidence that involving students in generating their own questions contributes to better learning (Hardy et al., 2014). For example, uni-

versity students could be asked to generate more challenging questions requiring higher order thinking skills such as synthesis, application, or evaluation. In this case the teacher may support them by giving some guidelines (Nuttal, 1996) and encourage them to work in small groups to check their understanding and construct key questions. Then the class could select a set of appropriate questions that might be answered by the students which could bring their own questions into the class and evaluate their collective level of comprehension (Hedge, 2008). It is important to note that generating questions is a strategy that can be done at different phases of reading. In pre-reading phase, questions can provide students with a reason for reading, whereas in the while-reading stage a series of questions can help students indicate what information is important. In the final, post-reading phase, students can answer the questions and a teacher can involve them in group activities that can help them verify their responses, thus providing them with self-assessment (Dubin & Bycina, 1991). Nuttal (1996) and King (1992) point at the fact that finding answers to the questions is relevant to a difficult text and can help students comprehend the text more fully because students work at the text level and take part in the process of linking their prior knowledge to new information. If students are accustomed to self-generated questions, they will equally develop awareness of their level of reading comprehension (King, 1992). Furthermore, Lubliner (2004) proved that students who were instructed to use self-generated questions improved a lot at the end of the research period and similarly Taboada and Guthrie (2006) found out that student questions had positive association with their reading comprehension.

When teachers teach reading, they also imply other skills and provide variation in teaching methods to enable students to read more efficiently. Nuttal (1996) notes that some activities may well require the integration of two or more skills and using integrated skill instruction can be crucial as students move to higher levels of language proficiency (Grabe, 2001). According to Nuttal (1996) *summarizing* represents a strategy that integrates reading with writing or speaking and requires full understanding of the text so the learners are able to make a reduced, shorter version of the passage in order to include the main ideas in the summary. Once students advance in their language knowledge they can write complete sentences or paragraphs (Oxford, 1990). Shih (1992) also emphasizes importance of this strategy which helps students organize, reduce, and rehearse the significant information from the text to smooth the progress of recall. Therefore, in the post reading phase, the teacher could ask learners to take notes and write summary and report it in the next class session (Dubin & Bycina, 1991). Furthermore, there is an evidence that summary writing improves both reading and writing abilities (Grabe, 2001). In this context, it is worth to mention that questioning is a bottom-up process, while summarizing tends to be more of down process. Summarizing can be more enjoyable for those students who are discouraged by an analytical bottom-up approach (Nuttal, 1996).

Many studies in foreign language teaching have shown learning strategies play an important role both in the second and foreign language research (Fedderholdt, 1997). For example, Riley and Lee (1996) noted that when readers were asked to write a summary of a passage rather than simply recall it, more main ideas were produced. On the other hand, Oded and Walters (2001) worked on the difference

between student's performances on reading comprehension; in their experiment they assigned their students two tasks of writing a summary and listing the examples in the text. Findings pointed at one interesting fact, thus students who did the summary task performed better on the comprehension task. It was also proved that summary writing would help students perform better on the comprehension task and it would be rather perceived as a learning instrument than a test method. Song (1998) also carried out research on the use of strategies such as summarizing, questioning, predicting, and clarifying in reading comprehension with first year university students in Korea. His studies indicate that these strategies could improve the reading development of students. There have been several studies conducted that were aimed to find out the effect of student-generated questions on improving reading comprehension. For example, Rosenshine, Meister, and Chapman (1996) conducted a research that showed teaching cognitive strategies such as generating questions could lead to student's development of reading comprehension. Furthermore, Lubliner (2004) in his study concluded using self-generated questions should be used to instruct students as it can contribute to improving reading comprehension through story grammar. In a similar study, Taboada and Guthrie (2006) found out that students' questions had positive association with their reading comprehension. While many of the studies were aimed at improving students' reading ability considering different aspects of reading and different strategies, barely none of them directly compared the combined effect of the two strategies (summary telling and student-generated questions).

2.1 Measuring Requirements for Assessing Reading Competence

Language competence appears as an initial competence for gauging individual's language proficiency, including proficiency in a lexical, grammatical, semantic, phonological, orthographic and orthoepic language field, regarding to a common reference level.

Measuring language competence is based on *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* which helps university foreign language teachers and stakeholders to evaluate individual's communicative language competences, applying *Common European Framework scale (A1—Breakthrough, A2—Waystage, B1—Threshold, B2—Vantage, C1—Effective Operational Proficiency, C2—Mastery).* Common reference levels are described by three communicative language processes (reception, interaction and production) and four communicative competences (listening comprehension, reading comprehension, writing, speaking (monologue/dialogue).

Measuring and assessing language competences is usually realized using an appropriate assessment tool but in practice teachers prefer to use a language test which will be described in more details in the methodological section of this paper.

2.2 Integrating Creativity and Reading

Researchers from the field of psychology, education, linguistics and artificial intelligence have studied the process of reading for decades. The research was mostly aimed at reading as a process, but it was not examined as a skill (Norman, 1994). In particular creative reading has been mostly ignored. However, reading goes hand in hand with creativity which should be considered as the central and crucial issue in acquiring a reading comprehension skill (Norman, 1994).

The term creativity can be described as a long-term process of life, which is dynamic and enables us to find new ways of living together in and with the worlds. Creativity comes from sensing the limits by working with the script and with students in such a way, that the script and the limits can be exceeded, and new ways of being can be improvised and brought about (Clarke, 1980). Moreover, creativity can be also viewed as production of useful solutions to problems, or innovative and effective ideas (Amabile, 1996).

Being creative requires two facets, creative intention (Hofstadter & Mcgraw, 1993) and representing a directed internal process by a cognitive agent which results in an artefact which is novel and useful; creative understanding is a directed, internal process by a cognitive agent which results in a cognitive understanding of a novel artifact. Creative reading includes novel concepts which the reader must creatively understand to comprehend the text. Learners need to be actively engaged in reading a text that can be realized only when they endeavour to incorporate the text to their own backgrounds. If a learner wants to read creatively, he/she must be able to read at several levels, from simple decoding of words into internal concepts to the active engagement of the text and building of complex mental words to model textual elements.

Since 1970s communicative teaching has been the main concern of the educational specialists (Brown, 2000). Over the years there have been many efforts and studies aimed at improving a teaching process. Nowadays researchers try to investigate what learners do at a lesson when they are involved in a learning task and their main intention has been shifted towards the importance of learners' characteristics, namely the cognitive and affective traits of language learners as whole humans (Richards & Rodgers, 2001).

Reading is considered as a matter of comprehension and interpretation of meaning which is being influenced by a number of various factors such as: attitudes, motives, interests, curiosity, anxiety, classroom atmosphere, learner's background, teacher's sensitivity to the group, emotional problems etc. Based on the data analysis obtained from the tests, we tried to find out how creativity was interconnected with text difficulty and achievements of students in the reading comprehension tests.

It is not easy to agree on one definition of creativity and most of the scholarly research is comprised on quoting one another. However, there is a consensus in the literature that the term is a highly complex and the measurement of creativity has been a persistent source of debate and critique. Definition of creativity has always been influenced by opinions of various psychologists, such as Freud who claimed

that it simply could not be understood (Buchanan, 1990) and as Karkockiene (2005) states there is not a concrete definition what creativity is. As for purposes of our study, some other definitions of scholars can be considered. For example, Jarvie (1981) believes creativity is defined as a property of persons or their minds which emphasizes the fact that it is perceived more as a process than a product. It is an asset that exists in all human beings, but its realization is influenced by various factors. Mostly knowledgeable people, who dare to break the conventional rules of thinking and put aside the presuppositions and existing assumptions can show their creative potentials. Other definitions related to our study include such as follows:

- "a conscious and deliberate process which is used to interpret or evaluate information and experiences with a set of reflective attitudes and abilities that guide thoughtful beliefs and actions" (Marrapodi, 2003, p. 5).
- "the ability to analyse facts, generate and organize ideas, defend opinions, make comparisons, draw inferences, evaluate arguments and solve problems" (Chance, 2000, p. 5).

Moreover, it should be emphasized that language is stored as knowledge of speech sounds, of word patterns, and of rules for creating words and connecting them together. Once learners acquire those skills that have become automated, language use becomes almost entirely subconscious and almost entirely creative. Therefore, it can be said that creativity is present in everyone and can be learned, practiced and developed using certain techniques, and removing some constrains.

Furthermore, creativity is also seen as a mental attitude and an ability to find new and innovative solutions for everyday problems. If innovative teaching, high motivation, the ability to communicate and listen and the ability to interest and inspire are present in the classroom, it can ensure that creativity will be developed at lessons (Ferrari, Cachia, & Punie, 2009). Creative teachers build a good rapport, support curiosity, know the characteristics of creative students, and raise self-esteem, risk-taking and confidence (Runco, 1999).

Creativity can be enhanced in environment in which team work, intrinsic motivation, independence, socio-cultural diversity, and risk-taking culture that tolerates and even encourages failure are supported. When creating such environment, teachers should encourage creative thinking, tolerate dissent, encourage students to trust their own judgements, emphasize that everyone is capable of creativity and involve students' creative thinking through brainstorming and modelling (Torrance & Myers, 1970). As teachers are often ill equipped to develop, support or evaluate creativity in their students, creative students often lose their creative potential (Shaughnessy and Manz, 1991). If education attempts to prepare learners for a productive life in a society, the educational system must accept responsibility for supporting and developing creativity. Therefore, it should be mentioned that creativity is dependent on various factors such as assessment, culture, curriculum, individual skills, teachers, technology, and tools. All of these factors have been described in detail in the literature (Ferrari et al., 2009; Marrapodi, 2003).

Comprehension, on the other side is recognized as an acquired skill that is focused on the ability to take in information, analyse it in its respective segments, and come

up with understanding of the input in a cohesive and accurate manner. Therefore, comprehension may not be exclusively devoted to input alone, but it may also affect the fluency of learner's output. *Fluency* represents several competences together and performance can be identified as an aspect of comprehension, as it can transfer comprehensible information to other aspects of language proficiency (Brown, 2000, Grabe, 2001). In general, comprehension can be identified as an interactive, strategic process which can be fully developed when it results in reading fluency. To develop fluency, many of the reading skills are required. It can be gained through implicit learning and reading practice. Therefore, many studies support the idea that extensive reading practice appears as a key contributor to reading comprehension improvement, as a word recognition alone is not often enough (Grabe, 1991; Grabe and Stoller, 2001; Nassaji, 2003). On the other hand, *word frequency* was found useful in terms of more fluent reading, as high-frequency verbs are recognized faster than low-frequency verbs because of ease of lexical process. Moreover, Laufer and Ravenhorst-Kalovski (2010) add, higher levels of L2 comprehension can be demonstrated through more fluent reading of frequent words and through a higher proficiency of lexical decoding. They also claimed that "the relationship between coverage and vocabulary implies that even a small increase in lexical coverage may be just as beneficial to reading as a larger increase in coverage" which supports the fact that any minor improvement to vocabulary accounts for significant advancements toward increasingly fluent reading comprehension.

Another factor which affects reading comprehension in a positive way is a cultural factor. Many studies have pointed at the fact, the more culturally familiar a text is to a reader, the more likely an L2 reader is going to be able to comprehend it (Erten & Razi, 2009; Keshavarz, Atai, & Ahmadi, 2007). As the learners may come from different cultural backgrounds, it is useful to be aware of various cultural materials for implementing innovative approaches to reading comprehension instruction. Therefore, it is also important to consider which text to choose for learners, as their interpretation of the text will vary from culture to culture.

When reading texts with unfamiliar cultural patterns, L2 learners will often come back to their own cultural norms in an attempt to interpret the text, which may result in their unsuccessful comprehension. Moreover, Erten and Razi (2009) conducted a study which aim was to find out if nativization using culture-specific information can make text meaningful and thus comprehensible and, in that way contribute to better understanding of the text. The results of their research showed that cultural nativization plays a role in increased text understanding, decreases the cognitive load needed for comprehension and increases the motivation to learn.

3 Methodology

Research Aim and Question

The aim of the research was to find out about reading competence of participants

and to what extent they are able to comprehend the text. The research was aimed at developing comprehension of students from the Translatology department, as the translation process is based on processing information from the text which plays a crucial role in comprehending the text, namely the relationship: reader-text-translator. Text comprehension is one of the quality indicators of a translator. As the main aim of the research was to develop screening for reading comprehension and to find out to what extent respondents comprehended the text, our study was focused on the item analysis. Therefore, we investigated the difficulty of individual items and subsequently the students' success in comprehension. Moreover, we also compared particular subtests 1, 2, 3 and tried to find out how these tests are interconnected, to what extent comprehension of tests affects one another. Our intention was to discover whether the associations between the tests are reflected on the students' achievement and performance. Furthermore, the research was aimed at global reading comprehension, reading for information and reading instruction, while we focused prevailingly on global comprehension.

The following research question was formulated: To what extent is the comprehension of the text 1 related to comprehension of the text 2?

Research Sample and Procedure

The research was carried out in 2016 and 2017 at Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Slovakia. Three groups of 60 students from Translatology department took part. The participants were students in the second year and third year of their study. The average age was 21. Students have studied English in average for 8 years.

Assessing and evaluating of language competence requires an appropriate assessment tool—a language test. The research sample does not only consist of test participants and test items but also evaluators that form the test.

The utility of psychometric analyses lies on:

1. Reviewing and ensuring quality of assessment tool (content validity of test and reliability of test, practical feasibility of a test, item analysis of the test).
2. Reviewing language competence of test participants regarding to particular reference level.

Research will be aimed at the test reference level: B2.
As the first the quality of the assessment tool will be evaluated, using a language test; secondly the analysis of test items will be investigated (considering following factors: difficulty, sensitivity, correlation of items with the rest of the test, analysis of the answers/distractors and finally reviewing of language competence of test participants regarding to a particular reference level).

Itemized (Breakdown) Analysis of Language Test B2

Itemized (breakdown) analysis of a language test can be conducted based on the two theoretical approaches. The first one—the classical test theory—the most important item attributes are: item difficulty, item sensitivity, item correlation with the test or with the rest of the test-point bisserial and analysis of answers and distractions.

Items response theory—our attention will be mostly focused on identification of unexpected values of participants responds to tests items and their estimated item parameters, which will be depicted based on rising difficulty of a common continuum (rising proportional cognitive ability of participants to answer questions correctly).

Method

Reading comprehension test will be used. Its aim is to verify acquisition of reading comprehension skills in a foreign language. It consists of multiple choice questions which contain 20 questions and measures reading comprehension skills, such as reading for information, global comprehension and detailed comprehension. The test will be aimed at B2 level.

20 items will be aimed at reading comprehension divided as follows:

	B2
Global reading comprehension	4 items
Concept-oriented reading	–
Reading for information	12 items
Reading instruction	4 items

Results

Firstly, overall achievement in the reading comprehension test was analysed; secondly the achievement in particular subtests was examined. Moreover, the research interest was centred around difficulty and achievement in comprehension of particular items. The method of a descriptive analysis was applied, a frequency table for categorized data together with quantiles were used to describe distribution of items (Table 1).

The minimum number of correct answers was amounted to the value 9. The maximum number was 20, while the arithmetic mean was 16.9. The standard deviation was 2.192. The progress of overall foreign language text comprehension was investigated and shown by percentiles (Table 2).

The achievement of foreign language comprehension was shown in 25–75% range, while the highest value of achievement in comprehension was 75%. Subsequently, the achievement of subtests 1, 2, 3 was individually investigated.

Table 3 illustrates that the most significant differences were shown in the student achievement; minimum value was 2 points and maximum 8 points, while the arith-

Table 1 Descriptive statistics, subtest 1, 2, 3

Descriptive statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. deviation
Total	60	9	20	16.90	2.192
Valid N (listwise)	60				

Table 2 Percentiles, progress in comprehension

Percentiles								
		Percentiles						
		5	10	25	50	75	90	95
Weighted average (Definition 1)	Total	13.05	14.00	15.00	17.50	18.75	19.00	20.00
Tukey's hinges	Total			15.00	17.50	18.50		

metic mean was 6.87. The variety in achievement can be seen in the value of standard deviation 1.334. The minimum deviation in achievement was shown in the subtest 1 and 3. The participants showed highest gains in the subtests 1 and 3. Moreover, the difficulty of questions was also tested; The Table 4 shows the questions which respondents found less difficult and more difficult.

Table 3 Descriptive statistics subtest 1, 2, 3

Descriptive statistics							
	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. deviation	Variance
subtest 1	60	3	5	8	6.98	0.930	0.864
subtest 2	60	6	2	8	6.87	1.334	1.779
subtest 3	60	2	2	4	3.05	0.746	0.557
Valid N (listwise)	60						

Table 4 Measurement item difficulty, item analysis

		Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
21,000,000					
Valid	0	23	37.7	38.3	38.3
	1	37	60.7	61.7	100.0
22,000,000					

(continued)

Table 4 (continued)

Valid	0	2	3.3	3.3	3.3
	1	58	95.1	96.7	100.0
23,000,000					
Valid	0	3	4.9	5.0	5.0
	1	57	93.4	95.0	100.0
24,000,000					
Valid	1	60	98.4	100.0	100.0
25,000,000					
Valid	0	22	36.1	36.7	36.7
	1	38	62.3	63.3	100.0
26,000,000					
Valid	0	2	3.3	3.3	3.3
	1	58	95.1	96.7	100.0
27,000,000					
Valid	1	60	98.4	100.0	100.0
28,000,000					
Valid	0	9	14.8	15.0	15.0
	1	51	83.6	85.0	100.0
29,000,000					
Valid	0	6	9.8	10.0	10.0
	1	54	88.5	90.0	100.0
30,000,000					
Valid	0	13	21.3	21.7	21.7
	1	47	77.0	78.3	100.0
31,000,000					
Valid	0	13	21.3	21.7	21.7
	1	47	77.0	78.3	100.0
32,000,000					
Valid	0	6	9.8	10.0	10.0
	1	54	88.5	90.0	100.0
33,000,000					
Valid	0	3	4.9	5.0	5.0
	1	57	93.4	95.0	100.0
34,000,000					
Valid	0	11	18.0	18.3	18.3
	1	49	80.3	81.7	100.0
35,000,000					
Valid	0	12	19.7	20.0	20.0
	1	48	78.7	80.0	100.0
36,000,000					

(continued)

Table 4 (continued)

Valid	0	4	6.6	6.7	6.7
	1	56	91.8	93.3	100.0
37,000,000					
Valid	0	2	3.3	3.3	3.3
	1	58	95.1	96.7	100.0
38,000,000					
Valid	0	6	9.8	10.0	10.0
	1	54	88.5	90.0	100.0
39,000,000					
Valid	0	18	29.5	30.0	30.0
	1	42	68.9	70.0	100.0
40,000,000					
Valid	0	31	50.8	51.7	51.7
	1	29	47.5	48.3	100.0

From the item analysis we examined questions with low difficulty such as №. 22 (95.1% achievement) and questions with high difficulty №. 21 (37% achievement). Questions with high difficulty were related to reading for information (detailed comprehension). Students found them more difficult as they contained more information. On the other side, questions with low difficulty tried to determine global reading comprehension.

Subsequently, we investigated how these tests were interconnected, to what extent comprehension of one text affected the other one (Table 5).

Table 5 Subtest correlations 1, 2, 3

Correlations				
		subtest 1	subtest 2	subtest 3
subtest 1	Pearson correlation	1	0.203	0.221
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.119	0.090
	N	60	60	60
subtest 2	Pearson correlation	0.203	1	0.399**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.119		0.002
	N	60	60	60
subtest 3	Pearson correlation	0.221	0.399**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.090	0.002	
	N	60	60	60

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)
Variables = subtest 1 subtest 2 subtest 3

We found out that text comprehension of a subtest 2 affected the other one in a subtest 3. Moreover, it was discovered: the higher comprehension of text 2 was, the higher was comprehension of the text 3. Text comprehension in the subtest 1 did not affect the other one in the subtests 2 and 3.

4 Discussions and Conclusions

The aim of the research was to find out about reading competence of participants and to what extent they were able to comprehend the text. The research was aimed at comprehension of students from the Translatology department, as the translation process is based on processing information from the text which is crucial in relationship: reader-text-translator. As the main purpose of the research was to develop screening for reading comprehension and to find out to what extent respondents comprehended the text, our study was focused on the itemized (breakdown) analysis; this analysis of a language test was conducted based on item difficulty, item sensitivity, item correlation with the test or analysis of answers and distractors. Moreover, Embretson and Wetzel (1987) examined the item difficulty of several reading comprehension tests using various coding systems based on the cognitive processing model which can be further divided as follows: (1) encoding a passage, and (2) deciding which answer option to choose. In our research, some question items were more difficult when the passage contained more information, the question requested more information, when there was overlap between the question and answer options and the passage content was small.

With respect to word frequency, when a passage contains unfamiliar words, readers often have trouble understanding the text, resulting in a higher difficulty of the questions associated with the passage. Processing a longer sentence or a sentence with more propositions places larger demands on working memory (Just & Carpenter, 1992), potentially analysing the passage more difficult to comprehend. Finally, less argument overlaps between the sentences places demands on the reader because he or she needs to infer the relations between the sentences to construct a global representation of the text (Britton & Gulgoz, 1991; Kintsch, 1994).

Furthermore, in our research we investigated how individual subtests were interconnected, to what extent comprehension of one text affected the other one. It was discovered that the higher comprehension of text 2 was, the higher was the comprehension of text 3. Even though, we came to interesting conclusions, there is a need to implement also other tests in the further research. As the students may come from various backgrounds, have individual needs, teachers should consider their individual traits and identify characteristics of creative individuals. In addition, not everybody is predisposed with the same talent, so there is a need to approach the students individually and adapt the pace regarding their needs and thus make a teaching process more effective.

Moreover, the tests which are frequently used for measuring creativity originated with Guilford's (1950) theory of divergent thinking. Guilford's tasks measuring the characteristics of divergent thinking helped to form numerous tests, such as the

Torrance Tests of Creative thinking (TTCT; Torrance, 1974) or Thinking Creatively in Action and Movement (TCAM; Torrance, 1981). Researchers might find them very useful as they aim to measure *fluency*, the total number of ideas, (Runco, 1999, p. 577), *originality*—unusualness of ideas (Runco, 1999, p. 577), *flexibility*—uniqueness of the categories in the answer (Guilfold, 1968, p. 99), and *elaboration*—the extension of ideas (Guilfold, 1967a, 1967b, p. 138). Both diagnosing individual students' strengths or problems, assessing their individual abilities, the ability of risk-taking students requiring remedies to their comprehension difficulties, need to be followed up with separate theory-based assessment tools (Magliano & Millis, 2003) that can determine students' problems in a more differentiated approach.

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Katarína Chválová, MA, is a full time PhD student in the field of Subject Didactics, Linguodidactics. Her research is aimed at the methodology of teaching foreign languages, namely at the analysis of innovative teaching materials from the point of view of the personal characteristic of students and teacher's competences; she investigates mainly reading comprehension skills. She made use of her theoretical knowledge during the internships at universities in Kazakhstan and Ukraine, and in Slovakia. She is involved in the research projects APVV and UGA.

Eva Stranovská, PhD, is Associate Professor in the field of foreign languages and cultures, a member of the European association of languages for specific purposes (Cadiz, Spain), Slovak psychological society and professional committees. Her research interests focus on didactics, methodology, applied psychology and psycholinguistics, more specifically on learning theories, teaching strategies for foreign language teaching and development of personal and professional competences of prospective teachers. She cooperates with Slovak Academy of Sciences and Research Institute for Child Psychology and Patopsychology and is the author of a number of research works published in Slovakia and abroad.

An Integrated Approach to Assessment in Translator Training: The Value of Self-reflection

Paulina Pietrzak

Abstract The aim of the article is to contribute to the discussion of the multifaceted nature of assessment in translator training. It challenges the common misconception that assessment takes place when the translation task is finished and the learning process is over, and postulates the effective use of formative assessment. The author briefly analyses evaluation models and presents some contrasting views on assessment in translator training. With the aim of emphasizing the need for a stronger connection between academic learning and real-world demands, the article discusses metacognitive aspects of translator training. It focuses on self-reflection as one of most important abilities to develop in translation students before they go off to translation market. A selection of strategies that support students' self-refection will be demonstrated in relation to assessment practice. The point is to consider how reflective assessment can be used by translation teachers to foster students metacognitive skills.

Keywords Translation · Translator training · Formative assessment Metacognition · Self-reflection

1 Introduction

The function of assessment in a translator training context can be diagnostic (when it is used as a level-placement tool before a learning process begins), summative (when used to assess the knowledge acquired and the end results after the learning process) or formative (used during the learning process to obtain information for the purpose of training) (Melis & Hurtado Albir, 2001, p. 277). Although the first two functions are indispensable in an academic setting, it is formative assessment that is primarily the focus of the article since it is "concerned with how judgments about

P. Pietrzak (✉)
Department of Translation Studies, Institute of English Studies, University of Łódź, ul. Pomorska 171/173, Łódź 90-236, Poland
e-mail: paulina.pietrzak@uni.lodz.pl

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the quality of student responses (performances, pieces, or works) can be used to shape and improve the student's competence by short-circuiting the randomness and inefficiency of trial-and-error learning" (Sadler, 1989, p. 120). In principle, formative assessment provides "information to be used as feedback to modify teaching and learning activities" (Black & Wiliam, 1998, p. 140).

With the aim of stressing the importance of metacognition in the process of translator training, the need arises to broaden the conceptualisation of formative assessment beyond typical educational assessment procedures. On the assumption that the aim of assessment is to provide feedback, it can definitely be given a more central position in the educational process. What has formerly been regarded as a necessary evil can now not only be justified but also excused or even fostered. The author postulates an integrated approach to assessment in translator training which introduces assessment into curriculum as a method of training. In assessment-based training, evaluation is an integral part of translation classroom practice. Such an approach goes in line with Hönig's (1998, p. 32) postulate that "when training translators, quality assessment should not be an end but a means". Since assessment is fairly time-consuming both for the translation teacher and students, it is a waste of time and effort if students do not get anything from it. This is formative assessment that allows for making the most of the time devoted to summatively-oriented procedures of measuring and evaluating translation students' skills since students can learn a lot provided that they are offered effective feedback.

2 Contrastive Views on Assessment

Traditional evaluation models can be classified into two categories (Bonniol & Vial, 1997), namely measurement evaluation and management evaluation. Martínez Melis (1997, p. 47) presents the classification into *evaluation as measurement* (The determinist model, Docimology: docinomy and doxology, Metrics: psychometrics and edumetrics) and *evaluation as management* (Learning by objectives, The structuralist model, The cybernetic model, The systemist model). The former focuses on summative measuring and is not incorporated into educational practice and the latter uses evaluation formatively aiming at improvement rather than measurement. The models in which evaluation is used as management incorporate evaluation into training and engage students in assessment and thus allow their active participation in their own learning process. Melis and Hurtado Albir (2001, p. 277) observe that this type of curricular evaluation includes:

> differing objects of study such as: organisational and management modes in training, methods of teaching and of evaluating students' work, teacher intervention and animation strategies, the process whereby teaching materials are appropriated and exploited, the types of initial and ongoing training of teachers, the relationship between learning at school and the extra-academic environment.

The theoretical foundation of the article is derived from the concept of holistic education of the translator which advocates an interdisciplinary approach and

considers the essential objectives of translation teaching to be "raising students' awareness of the factors involved in translation, helping to develop their own translator's self-concept, and assisting in the collaborative construction of individually tailored tools that will allow every student to function within the language mediation community upon graduation" (Kiraly, 2000, p. 49). In this approach, the responsibility for a successful learning process is placed not only in the teacher's but also in the student's hands. The idea behind this approach is teaching through engaging students in assessment-related practices, such as peer-assessment, self-assessment, which enable students to benefit more from assessment and develop self-reflection skills.

In light of the fact that teachers can control what they teach, but they cannot control what is learned (Ellis, 2001, p. 71), the translation teacher is, in fact, not the only person who should hold control in the translation classroom. The teacher can share control with students also in the field of assessment, allowing them to self-assess. The approach contained in this article favours autonomous and self-regulated learning which empowers students to plan, monitor, control and reflect on the specific problems that they encounter. Challenging the common misconception that assessment takes place when the learning process is over, the article demonstrated strategies to engage translation students in assessment with the aim of empowering them to become "proactive agents of their own learning" (Kiraly, 2005, p. 1104). It falls within the remit of the student-oriented approach to translator education and the "systematic transfer of control from the teacher to the learners" postulated by González Davies and Kiraly (2006, p. 83). What is advocated in this approach is not giving up the teacher's control but allowing translation students to participate in actions traditionally associated with teachers' duties, for instance monitoring, reflection or self-assessment. The teacher's control is, therefore, differently directed and shared with the student, which helps to remove the operational barrier, described by Klimkowski (2015, p. 209) as "a consequence of the reliance on the flawed epistemological and hence methodological assumptions of educational transmissionism". In the translation classroom, this operational barrier can have two negative effects:

> Firstly, it blocks the factual realization of the translation task by the students. It is the teacher who is in control of the process and result of the translation process. Hence, from the perspective of the students, the text is not a situated task, but a kind of exercise in which they participate only partly – without learning to take responsibility for the *translatorial action* in full. Secondly, the barrier in question leads to a serious defect in classroom communication, since the students are sent a self-contradictory message that leads to their disempowerment. Being unaware of the barrier, the students *assume* that they participate in the translation process, yet this participation can hardly empower their skill development. The students are told that they participate in a *translation class*, but what they experience is only the beginning and the end. They are not allowed to develop their own ways of navigating from the source to the target text, but they made to believe they participate in translating. Hence, seeing the task and the result, but being unable to work out their own solution, they feel powerless (Klimkowski, 2015, p. 209).

It needs to be emphasised that the teacher who allows students to participate in assessment practices, do "not surrender control of assessment" but helps "students develop a deeper understanding of key expectations mandated by governing curriculum guidelines" (Ross, 2006, p. 8). Primarily, sharing control does not refer to the

process of teaching, but to the process of learning. If translation students are encouraged to participate and take responsibility for the whole process of translation task completion, they become more reflective. Rethinking their own work and reflecting on the process of translation task completion, they are more likely to improve their self-assessment skills than when the teacher is the only person responsible for assessment (see Harris & McCann, 1994). Gradually, it can lead to more developed metacognitive skills of the translator, since students who actively participate in their own process of learning become more aware of their role and responsibilities.

3 Metacognitive Translator Training

The understanding of the role of the contemporary translator is fraught with contradictions and idealistic visions of individuals who, by definition, should be fully competent and versatile. In spite of the fact that lots of translation researchers have probed into the identification and exploration of the concept of translator competence (see Pym, 2003), little study has been devoted to its metacognitive aspects. Metacognition is considered to be "higher order thinking which involves active control over the cognitive processes engaged in learning" (1997). Shreve (2006, p. 39) adapts the definition of metacognition to translator training context and observes that this higher order thinking involves "active control over the component cognitive processes involved in translation". Shreve (ibid.) states that,

> the extent and location of metacognition (where active control occurs) may vary both by level of translation expertise and the novelty and complexity of the task. Translation metacognition assumes that the translator has an explicit knowledge and awareness of the mental processes involved in the translation, where active control is required, and, most importantly, what conscious strategies might be applied at these conscious control points.

In educational settings, Ellis (2001, p. xiv) regards metacognition as "a theory that states that learners benefit by thoughtfully and reflectively considering the things they are learning and the ways in which they are learning them". Metacognition is therefore involved in evaluation, with its two fundamental aspects being "awareness and control over one's thinking" (Hartman, 2001, p. 34). Metacognitive skills seem necessary for translators when they begin their career and the teacher is no longer the one who is responsible for their development. Therefore, the control over the effectiveness and quality of their work must be gradually placed in students' hands. The awareness of their own role, ability to reflect on and evaluate their own work and adapt to ever-changing future tasks are crucial for students' successful transition to the contemporary, highly dynamic translation market (see Klimkowska, 2013). Therefore, the main purpose of implementing self-assessment into the translation classroom is the introduction of real-world factors "that would add real-world dimensions to otherwise lifeless exercises" (Kiraly, 2005, p. 1103). Students' engagement in such metacognitive activities is a good starting point that alters their perception of their own role in translator training and, consequently, promotes self-regulation and lifelong development.

4 Fostering Translation Trainees' Self-assessment by Reflective Practice

Self-assessment is by no means summative in function as translation students are not expected to measure in order to judge or assign grades. The primary function of self-assessment is evaluating translation trainees' functioning in translation and learning processes. In the field of language learning, LeBlanc and Painchaud (1985, p. 227) consider self-assessment to encompass procedures by which the learners themselves evaluate their skills and knowledge. Self-assessment in translator training is an activity which is still under-research, which is a problem signalled by Lee (2011, p. 88):

> The reasons for the scarcity of research and limited attention may be due to a couple of factors. First, students themselves may feel that assessment is the responsibility of teachers and not students. Another reason may be that teachers and administrators are not yet ready to trust students when it comes to assessment. Students may be viewed as having less than-sufficient capability for assessment in comparison to teachers.

As Vandepitte et al. (2014, p. 169) observe, "self-reflection in the translation process is a topic that has been studied in process translation research from either a psycholinguistic view, with the aim of describing translation processing, or from a pedagogical view, with the aim of training translators". It has been studied by means of think-aloud protocols (TAPs), i.e., a method used in cognitive psychology for eliciting data on cognitive processes. TAPs involve concurrent or retrospective verbalising of whatever crosses the subjects minds during the performance of a task. Applied to translation by such scholars as Krings (1986), Lörscher (1991), Tirkkonen-Condit (1989) and Jääskeläinen (2000, 2002), TAPs externalise the internal processes that occur during translation process. They provide information on what translators do and enable researchers to analyse various aspects of the translation process, e.g., students' reflexivity. The viability of concurrent verbalisation in researching self-reflection is open to question; it has been criticised for interfering with translation processes (see Toury, 1995, p. 235) because of its "potential for distraction" resulting from numerous strategies involved in thinking aloud which only contribute to the increase in the translator's cognitive effort. A useful alternative or complement to concurrent verbalisations can be retrospection after task execution, which has no impact on the translation process as it does not have to be used simultaneously (Ehrensberger-Dow & Massey, 2013, p. 104). Methodological shortcomings can also be remedied by supplementing TAPs with other techniques of data elicitation, i.e., keystroke logging by means of such programmes as TransLog, which record translation pace and eye-tracking systems which follow eye-movement trails and, as a result, give a number of possibilities in experimental research (see Asadi & Séguinot, 2005; Dragsted, 2010; Grucza, 2012; Jakobsen & Jensen, 2008). Eye-tracking can be applied to study self-reflection through identifying areas of particular interest to the translator, measuring students' cognitive load, number and duration of revisions, pauses or fixations. When retrospective thinking aloud is used together with screen recording, the results obtained are called cue-based retrospective data

and what translation students do during such cue-based retrospection is an instance of self-reflection.

In language learning, there are voices that question the effectiveness of self-assessment on the grounds that students do not have the tools to perform such a challenging task (cf. LeBlanc & Painchaud, 1985). Nevertheless, there are numerous studies that prove the value of self-assessment in the development of study skills and student autonomy (Oskarsson, 1989) or students' confidence (Alderson & Banerjee, 2001). Effective self-assessment entails defining clear standards that students can refer to when they monitor and reflect upon their work. These standards, also called assessment criteria or parameters, must be limited in number and easy to understand for translation students (see House, 1981; Nord, 1991). There is a subjective component to every judgement so there are certain principles that should be observed with a view to carrying out an objective assessment. As Melis and Hurtado Albir (2001, p. 283) put it, the criteria depend on the assessment context and function, the object of assessment must be clearly defined and the evaluator must adhere to criteria that the evaluee is aware of. In the case of self-assessment, students can be asked to respond to the criteria generated by the teacher and select or even negotiate criteria to establish a set of principles that they will abide by. The application of the criteria can be exemplified by teachers when they give feedback to students on their work.

Reflection is an essential component of self-assessment as it constitutes a bridge between the action and its evaluation. As Schön (1987) observes, reflective practice is based on three main processes: knowledge-in-action, reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action. In translation, knowledge-in-action is embedded within the action of translating, while reflection-in-action occurs when the translator has to deal with a problematic situation. The third process, i.e., reflection-on-action is a kind of bridge between the process of translation and evaluation of translation. When the process of translation is over, the translator reflects upon the action, problematic aspects and his ways of dealing with them. Reflective practice determines learning from mistakes, identifying one's strengths and gaps as well as drawing conclusions for future actions. Since self-reflection constitutes a prerequisite for translation trainees to be able to self-assess, the following section will focus on the strategies to assist translation students in self-reflecting and support their self-assessment.

5 Strategies to Enhance Translation Trainees' Self-reflection

The question of how human beings develop self-reflection has yet to be fully elucidated, but research shows that metacognition understood as the ability to reflect on own thoughts and behaviours evolves with experience (Andresen, Boud, & Cohen, 2000; Metcalfe, 1996). First attempts at self-assessment could possibly fail if students are not prepared to reflect on the nature of the task and their own role in the translation process. Reflection occurs when students think about how their work meets the

established criteria, analyze the effectiveness of their efforts and plan for improvement (Rolheiser et al., 2000, p. 31). It is self-reflection that needs to be introduced into the translation classroom with a view to empowering students to be active evaluators of their own performance. With the aim of fostering trainees' self-assessment, a selection of strategies that nourish their self-reflection can be implemented.

5.1 Inviting Trainees to Reflect

In order to organise a reflective practice in the translation classroom, the object of reflection must first be defined. Traditionally, it has been assumed that the object of translation assessment is a translation carried out by the trainee. However, the notion of self-assessment requires a two-pronged approach since it pertains either to the process of translation or to the process of learning. Translation students can be asked to self-assess certain aspects of their translation (translation-related self-assessment), but also to reflect on aspects related to their learning processes (learning-related self-assessment). Moreover, learning-related self-assessment is mostly based on the student's learning process, while translation-related self-assessment can be based on both the product of translation (i.e., the target text that the student produces) or the process of translation (i.e., the effectiveness of the process or the role of the student in this process). Therefore, the instrument used for assessment depends on the object of evaluation, as it can be both the translation, but also the translator competence and its development. It is indispensable that students are provided with opportunities to reflect on all the three possible objects of self-assessment, i.e., on their translations, on the process of translating and on their own learning process.

Two preliminary studies have been conducted to test students' readiness for self-reflection and self-assessment (Pietrzak, 2016a, 2016b). The results of the studies show that, when encouraged to rethink their own translation and learning processes, translation students are willing to air their comments and problems. Such metacognitive commentaries are of great value for translator training research since they are a source of substantial feedback for the translator trainer. Not only does students' self-reflection over their own learning process show potential problems related to the process of translation and enables the teacher to help, but it is also a means to make students more engaged in the process of learning, which in turn can result in better distribution of power and control in the translator classroom (Pietrzak, 2016b). It has already been mentioned that students' engagement in their own process of learning is said to be beneficiary (see Kiraly, 1995, 2000; Klimkowski, 2015). In accordance with the notion of student empowerment (Kiraly, 2000), sharing control with translation students in the area of assessment (e.g., monitoring, (self) reflection, self-assessment, peer assessment, etc.) contributes to their active participation in translation and learning processes.

5.2 Modelling Self-reflection

Translation students cannot be expected to be reflective unless they are provided with examples and a model to follow. There are various roles that the translator teacher needs to assume in the translation classroom, and one more that needs to be added is a reflective role model. The broadly defined role of translation teachers is to be "guides, consultants and assistants who can help set the stage for learning events" (Kiraly, 2000, p. 18) and the role encompasses a wide range of other minor functions, e.g., controller, participant, supporter, advisor, editor, reviser, proofreader, guide, partner, expert, feedbacker, etc. Another function would therefore be a reflective role model so that trainees see them reflect on both the process of translating and becoming a translator. The teacher can use an element of reflection in a daily communicative interaction with translation students, for instance to talk about some problems encountered during the process of translation from their own perspective:

Example 1: *Reflecting on it, I feel I can use a slightly more informal term.*

Example 2: *I've been struggling to find the equivalent, so I used an image-based term search.*

Example 3: *I didn't realise that the term is ambiguous, I should have checked it in a corpora.*

A good example of teachers' reflection is also provided when teachers refer to a more general context of being a translator. The teacher can refer to the process of becoming a translator and the role and nature of the profession.

Example 4: *One of the strengths in my work is my incessant information seeking.*

Example 5: *I make certain that my translation choices are right by rereading them to me myself or to others.*

The implementation of such modelling involves in-class communication and does not require any changes in the usual classroom activities.

5.3 Contextualizing Self-reflection

Self-reflection activities need to be contextualized, that is linked to activities or other content that appears during translator training. Students can be asked to reflect both concurrently (on translations that they are working on) and retrospectively (on previous translations that they had done). Another form of contextualised self-reflection involves metacognitive follow-up practice after translation-related activities. An example of an activity is asking students to reflect on a translation task that they had completed. This is a variation of Open Ended Questioning (Angelo and Cross, 1993) or what Ellis (2001, p. 69) calls '*I learned* statement'. The translation teacher can ask questions about what they did, why they did it, what for, what problems they encountered and what they learned from such a practice. The greatest benefit from reflective follow-up activities is mutual feedbacking (Pietrzak, 2016a,

2016b). As already mentioned in Sect. 5.1, such activities are beneficial not only for students who gradually become more self-directed learners, engaged in their own learning process, but also for teachers who are provided with useful feedback revealing students' problems and allowing teachers to address them.

As mentioned in Sect. 4 of the present article that the effectiveness of self-assessment has been questioned based on the assumption that the skills required to know whether you are performing well are also the skills required to actually perform well Kruger and Dunning (1999) and, thus, it is hardly feasible for students to self-assess their own performance. It needs to be emphasised that in self-assessment, the focus of attention can be placed on either the product of translation or on translation and learning processes. As far as learning is concerned, translation students are perfectly able to self-assess the positive and negative aspects of their own learning if they are provided with opportunities and examples to model on. Students analyse their learning objectives in relation to the objective of the translation course. They consider what impact their assumptions and actions have on their learning experience. Similarly in the process of translation, when instructed, students reflect on their actions and comment on the problems encountered, decisions made and strategies used. The most problematic object of self-assessment is the product of translation. If students are asked to assess their own translations, it is indeed quite a challenge, so the first step is inspiring self-reflection. To make it easier for translation students, the teacher can pre-check their translations and signal the problematic areas in the text which require improvement. Students who are asked to reflect on their translations with added highlighted problematic fragments are more likely to make corrections on their own. Since translation students should not be expected to spot mistakes in their own translations, asking them to correct the suggested areas seems reasonable and empowering as it gives them the opportunity to reflect and justify their decisions, doubts and problems. Guided reflective practice can mitigate the students' focus error correction and make them rethink what was problematic for them and try to consider the nature of the problems encountered.

6 Concluding Remarks

The present article is an attempt to indicate that assessment can be used as a learning strategy for translation trainees. The emphasis is placed on facilitating metacognitive aspects of translator competence through supporting the development of self-reflective skills. The point is to consider how such reflective assessment strategies can be used by translation teachers to foster students metacognitive skills. A selection of strategies that draw translation students into the process of self-assessment is demonstrated to encourage introducing self-reflection as a useful aid in preparing students to enter the contemporary translation market and meet its increasingly demanding requirements. It is argued that the design of instructions for reflective practice is of great importance for translation training and deserves further experimental study.

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Paulina Pietrzak, PhD, is Assistant Professor at the University of Łódź, Poland. Her main research interests include translator competence and translation pedagogy. She teaches specialised translation and interpreting in the Department of Translation Studies. She is a freelance translator and interpreter.

Part II
Culture and Translation

In Defence of the Cultural Other: Foreignisation or Mindful Essentialism?

David Katan

Abstract This paper looks at the mediation of difference in translation and how this can affect tolerance and relations with the intercultural other. It begins with a discussion of the ideas regarding 'difference' and intercultural tolerance, taking account of the ideal or model reader's point of view. Translation has often been seen as the key to bridging cultures and to the spreading of ideas and understanding. Yet, at the same time it has also been perceived as fostering violence, as a barrier to integration and also as a means of increasing the hegemonic power of ruling powers (such as Western capitalism). It will be argued here that it is not the type of translation itself that automatically improves or reduces ethnocentricism, but whether it is carried out mindfully or mindlessly; and it will be suggested that mindful essentialism is the key to an effective translation.

Keywords Mindfulness · Translation · Difference · Ethnocentricism Foreignisation · Strategic essentialism

1 Introduction

'Difference' is a key concept in communication. It was de Saussure (1916, p. 120) who concluded that "In language there are only differences", referring to the fact that meaning is not inherent in language but depends on the domains (music, poetry, etc.) and the language systems the sounds or words are to be found in. The idea of 'difference' was extended by Derrida whose complex *différance* indicates (apart from other things) that words and signs not only must be understood through appeal to additional words within a domain—from which they differ—but that meaning is

D. Katan (✉)
Department of Humanities, University of Salento, Via Taranto 35, 73100 Lecce, Italy
e-mail: david.katan@unisalento.it

D. Katan
University of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa

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ultimately 'deferred' or postponed. Uptake, and in translation this is even more true, always takes place in a second moment, by another reader, in a different context.

Steiner's (1975, p. 381) comments on difference take us away from the text to the reader herself: "To experience difference, to feel the characteristic resistance and 'materiality' of that which differs, is to rediscover identity. One's own space is mapped by what lies outside". Appadurai (1996, pp. 12–13) defines 'culture' according to this difference: "culture is (…) a dimension that attends to situated and embodied difference". If we regard ourselves as 'normal' then this would suggest that we pertain to a group of similar minded people, who all act differently, but within fairly clear limits of tolerated difference (Katan, 2004, p. 329). 'Tolerance' is a key concept, meaning here "the allowable deviation from a standard" (Merriam Webster). It is an attitude of mind that, at best accepts but, never respects 'difference'. And too much flouting of the norm will always be penalised.

With regard to texts, 'difference' is essential to stimulate reading and interaction in general. At the same time, we can only manage so much of it. In translation, 'too much' results, for example, in unreadable material, laughable restaurant menus, distortion of the original ideas or facts or negative critical literary reviews that pick up on the flouting of current translation norms.

Too much difference can also create fear and anxiety (e.g., Bermann & Wood, 2005a, p. 174; Gudykunst, 2005). Most of Gudykunst's (2005, p. 294–298) axioms regarding anxiety/uncertainty management talk of the need to have both anxiety and uncertainty within minimum and maximum thresholds of tolerance for successful communication across cultures. Indeed Hofstede et al. (2010, p. 187) go so far as to entitle their chapter on uncertainty as 'Difference is dangerous'.

2 Translation

In communication, when difference is not perceptible translation is not necessary. Anthony Pym (2010b, p. 25, emphasis in the original) defines culture in a similar way: "as *the points where transferred texts have had to be (intralingually or interlingually) translated*. That is, if a text can adequately be transferred without translation, there is cultural continuity. And if a text has been translated, it represents distance between at least two cultures". So, it is through translation (and of course language learning) that communication with the 'other' is possible. And not only. Given that "no one seems to deny that communication is the primary aim and function of a translated text" (Venuti, 2013, p. 11), translation becomes a powerful social tool; and hence, when effective, a translation can combat intolerance, xenophobia and ethnocentrism.

The major debate within translation studies is, as mentioned earlier, over *how* difference should be managed in translation. Is difference to be emphasised (foreignisation), to be explained (through footnotes, glosses—a thick translation), to be reduced (domestication) or indeed totally eliminated (localisation)? I will be using 'foreignisation' as a case in point, given its particular adoption in defence of the cultural 'other', though I will be using the term more loosely than does Laurence

Venuti, the scholar who coined the term. His use is not only in terms of respect for difference, but he also sees foreignisation as part of a political weapon against the Anglo-American regime or hegemony. Here I will focus on the root sense of the term, closer to Newmark's 'semantic translation' (1993, pp. 1–2): a strategy which attempts to emulate the style and general feel of the original text, and which pays particular attention to reproducing the foreignness of thought and action in the target text.

2.1 Literary/Empirical Divide

The reason for the major debate over 'difference' is to do with the two major currents in Translation Studies and with their relative translation strategy preferences: cultural studies (foreignisation) and linguistics (domestication). Cultural Studies (CS) and Literary Studies scholars, of whom Venuti is one, focus primarily on texts (literary, philosophical) within cultures, and envisage translation as a means to transmit the values embodied in the writing. Linguistically trained translation scholars, on the other hand, focus primarily on the contrastive analysis of the language and cultural systems themselves, with much less interest paid to the cultural, ethical, and political issues (Venuti, 2003, p. 249). Also, traditionally, the texts translated are primarily scientific and technical. Though CS criticizes the current domesticating norm as effacing difference, both linguistically-trained translators and translation organisations *do* place loyalty first on the original text and a faithful translation, and only second on an idiomatic fluent translation (Katan, 2016; Liu & Katan, 2017). What really divides the two schools of thought regards the definition of what 'translation' is, and in particular what 'cultural translation' means (Katan, 2018).

The linguists focus on texts, their differences, their translation and the differences in reception; while the latter, exemplified by Bhabha (2004) focus on people, movement and especially migration (Pym, 2010a, pp. 143–152; Trivedi, 2007; Turin, 2012). When texts *are* involved, the CS focus is on (colonial) power that imposes its values on more vulnerable others. CS interpret idiomatic fluency as straitjacketing different language styles into, for example, an Anglo global norm (Bennett, 2014; Spivak, 1993). CS is also activist, and tends to see translation as a weapon in the battle to resist and subvert the power that constrains the weaker cultures (e.g., Venuti, 1995). Simon (2009, p. 210) suggests that "translation studies—in whatever form it takes—engages with categories and norms, either to confirm the normalizing tendencies of translation or to draw attention to the ways in which translation can disturb existing regimes".

While criticizing the empirical approach for homogenizing the world into a conforming Anglo pattern, the foreignising argument, itself, is not without its critics. Tymoczko (2000, p. 44) among others, is openly skeptical with what she describes

as Venuti's "disingenuous" explanation of the empirical approach.[1] But it is the idea of a two-sided, either/or argument that will be problematized here. Translation has traditionally been seen as a zero-sum game, in that the translation act itself inevitably results in a loss (rather than gain) of equivalence. The terms "lost in translation" and "traduttore-tradittore/translator-traitor" are all too well known. Venuti, for example, argues "that a ratio of source loss and translating gain cannot be avoided or resolved, and the only way that a translation can do right abroad, in relation to the source text and culture, is to do wrong at home" (Venuti, 2013, p. 246). This has been the dominant canon in Western thinking ever since Cicero's pronouncement on the faithful/free divide. One Chinese scholar, Xiaowei (2010, pp. 7–8) notes how Venuti's forthright argumentation, use of controversy and conflict are attention-getting mechanisms and represent a very Western way of discussing issues. In his article on foreignisation in China, Xiaowei refers to Tannen's (1998) *The Argument Culture.* Her book underlines how America, in particular, has championed conflict talk, and 'agonism', ritualized adversativeness, which involves "using opposition as a required and ubiquitous way to approach issues" (p. 231). This is not, as Xiaowei tells us, the Chinese way. And nor is it the only approach in the West, either. There has always been a subjugated minoritized belief in a non-zero-sum strategy in translation, whereby mindfulness can allow for reconciliation between the two polarised and generally mindless stances.

2.2 Mindful and Mindless Translating Strategies

The concept of 'mindful' comes from many people and schools of thought. In this paper, I will follow Langer's (2005) thinking, given that it has already been applied to intercultural communication (e.g., Gudykunst, 1995, p. 16; Sadri & Flammia, 2011; Ting-Toomey, 1999; see also Spenser-Oatey, 2013):

> When we are mindless, we are trapped in rigid mind-sets, oblivious to context or perspective. When we are mindful we are actively drawing novel distinctions, rather than relying on distinctions drawn in the past. This makes us sensitive to context and perspective. When we are mindless, our behaviour is rule and routine governed. Essentially, we freeze our understanding and become oblivious to subtle changes that would have led us to act differently, if only we were aware of them. In contrast, when mindful, our behaviour may be guided rather than governed by rules and routines, but we are sensitive to the ways the situation changes (Langer, 2005, pp. 15–16).

It is argued here, that the translator, reacting primarily to the surface text (and in particular, to the individual words) without considering the co-text, the context of situation, culture(s) and/or ideologies, will be considered as translating mindlessly,

[1]There is much crossover through, as exemplified by the International Society for the Empirical Study of Literature (IGEL) with its own scholarly Journal, the *Scientific Study of Literature* (benjamins.com/catalog/ssol, accessed 03/02/2018), not to mention the field of Digital Humanities, with its own journals, *Digital Humanities Now* and the *Journal of Digital Humanities* (http://digitalhumanitiesnow.org/, accessed 03/02/2018).

whether domesticating or foreignising. A mindful translation, on the other hand, will always be sensitive to "what it is that's going on here" (Goffman, 1974, p. 8). This approach encourages the translator to take the reader's perspective rather than the original author's and rather than with any form of a priori domesticating or foreignising approach. Though the approach is based on 'the reader', it does not insist on domestication, but rather on accounting for that particular 'what it is that is going on' context and perspective.

3 The Reader

The reader is certainly not only central to mindfulness but also to recent empirical translation theory, something which, translator and professor of literature, Ertel (2011, p. 3) is not happy with: "the overall functionalist approach to the issue, [which is] most often based on reception theory, leav[es] hardly any room to a more literalist approach to the question". Indeed, it is axiomatic for the functionalist approach that "the purpose (skopos) is largely constrained by the *target text user* (…) and his or her situation and cultural background" (Schäffner, 2009, p. 116, emphasis added).

The cultural studies approach is certainly different. It takes its cue from Benjamin's (1923, p. 75) opening remarks on literary texts: "consideration of the receiver never proves fruitful". Proponents of this approach also argue that if the reader is considered, then this will not only entail a domesticating (Venuti) or communicative approach (Newmark), but worse—this approach will automatically foster an ethnocentric and (usually) Anglo-American world view on the world. Venuti originally proposed an instrumental, text-based foreignisation (1998) as the only ethical translation strategy; though has more recently accepted that original texts cannot simply be foreignised without some form of mediation to take account of the context. As he now says, the linguistic features of the original text itself "are the support of meanings, values, and functions specific to its originary culture" (2013, p. 3), and the reading will be an 'interpretative act' (p. 4) in accordance with the reader's own culture-bound meanings values.

The skopos theory, a Functionalist approach much criticised by Ertel, certainly does prioritise a fluent, communicative and domesticated target text. Indeed it is clearly stated that coherence (with the receiver's situation and with the target culture genre) is more important than the fidelity rule, which states that there must be a clear relationship between the original text and the target text (Schäffner, 2009, p. 117). However, my thesis here is that reader focus does not necessarily imply that the fidelity is secondary. Indeed, fidelity is generally an essential aspect of context and perspective of 'what it is that is going on'. More importantly, for this paper, it will be argued that taking the reader into account when translating is the only way to be sure of reducing intolerance and ethnocentrism.

Although Benjamin side-lines the reader, most scholars today would agree with Eco (1985) that there is always both an imagined, model, and real empirical reader. Imagining our reader, he or she will have a reserve of encyclopaedic knowledge and

other understandings that the writer must in some way address. The same information, request or indeed piece of literature, will be organised according to whether the reader is an 8-year old child or a cultured adult. And, specifically regarding translation, Vermeer (2000, p. 227) counters the argument that the translator cannot know or even imagine the reader, stating that "[a]s long as one believes that one is expressing oneself in a 'comprehensible' way (…) one must in fact be orienting oneself towards a certain restricted group of addressees", which may ultimately be oneself. Moreover, Bakhtin (1986, p. 126) suggests that not only "[a]ny utterance always has an addressee", but crucially "a higher superaddressee":

> whose absolutely just responsive understanding is presumed, either in some metaphysical distance or in distant historical time (...) In various ages and with various understandings of the world, this superaddressee and his ideally true responsive understanding assume various ideological expressions (God, absolute truth, the court of dispassionate human conscience, the people, the court of history, science, and so forth).

The co-existence of addressee and the superaddressee might be more easily understood if we use a form of 'logical levels' (adapted from Katan, 2009a, p. 272) of a model reader's *Weltanschauung* or *habitus*.[2] The addressee in a translation is clearly the reader and encompasses her identity. The 'superaddressee', according to Mey (2000, p. 287) is "an expression of the relations which characterize a particular societal environment" or, following Buden & Nowotny (2009, p. 205), "the privileged site of ideology". Part of the cluster of the readers' own personal values and beliefs will relate to what they share as part of their culture (the superaddressee). For example, certain values and beliefs such as those concerning 'politeness' and 'truth' will be above and beyond an individual's set of beliefs, but which an individual will often take on board 'as given' or as 'normal'. Hence, the superaddressee is both internal to the addressee and external.

Consequently, the translator, following Buden and Nowotny (p. 206), will need to establish "whether an addresser is in fact addressing not only the right addressee, but also the right superaddressee". The translator's principal task will be to ensure "active responsive understanding" (Bakhtin, 1986) at the societal level through the model reader. To do so, it is helpful to investigate the addressee and superaddressee *as if* they were empirical readers. Below is a table describing the identity of the ideal model reader. It is divided into the internal addressee and external addressee aspects. The internal addressee will have her own cultural knowledge, habits, abilities and so on. The superaddressee will be inferable from the shared cultural values and beliefs.

Schleiermacher's well-known thoughts on the importance of foreignising made it clear that he too had an addressee in mind. The reader he was thinking of was "familiar with the foreign language" (1838/1977, p. 76) though not necessarily fluent in the language. As Venuti explains (1992, p. 131) Schleiermacher's privileged translation method is, in fact, designed exclusively for the 'educated elite', "a limited social group with considerable cultural authority". Venuti (1992, p. 147), however, suggests

[2]Habitus: "internalised structures, common schemes of perception, conception and action", the result of inculcation and habituation. It is both structured and structuring, and directed towards practice (Bourdieu, 1990, pp. 53–60).

The model reader:

> "***WHO*** is the reader?"
> **Identity**: name, age, family details, occupation, interests, educational background and so on.
> **Environment**: Known and potentially manifest physical, political, social environment; period, people, setting, artefacts; encyclopaedic knowledge, allusions. Where are the expected culture bumps; where would the reader first see/obtain this text; and ***WHERE*** and ***WHEN*** would the reader be reading this text?
> **Strategies**: Habitual preferred organisation of ideas, communication style(s), habits, customs; accepted norms, appropriacy, rules; linguaculture.
> **HOW** would s/he be reading?
> **Capacities**: what does s/he already know? What may (not) be manifest?
> **SUPERADDRESSEE**:
> **Values and Beliefs**: (Individual and) culture-bound hierarchy of preferred value-orientations. Beliefs about identity and about what is appropriate, right, standard or normal.
> ***WHY*** would this text be read by this reader? What in the text will be more (or less) valuable for the reader?
> **Identity**:
> ***WHO*** is the reader?

that foreignisation, where practiced today, is not a "theory and practice of translation specific to a minority". His critics (for example, Robinson, 1997, pp. 97–112; Tymoczko, 2000, p. 39) suggest otherwise. Anthony Pym (1996, p. 167), with perhaps just a touch of irony suggests that Venuti might be following the "filter-down theory of elite cultural practices. No class distinction; no possible side-lining; intellectuals lead the way and literature can by definition change the rest". Pym later revised his paper, as he explains in his "Prefatory note" (2010c, p. 1), in the light of comments suggesting that his original paper was "overly sarcastic". The comment above, though, remained intact.

As to Venuti's own comments regarding readership, he makes it clear that his translation of a nineteenth century Italian writer began with the reader: "I imagined my readership as primarily American" (1998, p. 16), which allows him to strategically use (foreign) Briticisms, French terms, archaisms and nineteenth-century English syntactical inversions. Also, working with his imagined readership, he also knows how and when to domesticate the text. For example, through his translation of "Perché non mirare agli ultimi limiti?" ('Why not aim for the utmost bounds?'), which he translated as 'Why not shoot for the outer limits?' (Venuti, p. 101) explains that this translation "releases an American remainder: it alludes to space travel and, more specifically, to *The Outer Limits*, a 1960s television series devoted to science fiction themes".

In a more recent paper (2013, p. 245), though, he criticises Edith Grossman's discussion of "first readers" and "readers of the translation" in her book *Why Translation*

Matters. Venuti retorts: "But which 'first readers'? Readerships are notoriously fragmented today, regardless of the language and culture: readers bring the most diverse kinds of knowledge and taste to their reading, so that their responses are difficult, if not impossible, to predict". We can certainly sympathise with this point of view, but it does not stop us, nor Venuti, from creating a model reader or from embodying a superaddresseee.

What we now begin to see is that translation in practice must envisage a reader, whatever we may tell our readers. Even if we have no idea who the reader might be, we create one. As Bermann and Wood (2005b, p. 11) tell us: "one writes for the audience one needs, the audience who must be there if we are not to despair". Hardly surprisingly, for Venuti's own translation (1998, p. 18) "the reception varied according to the readership". It would seem likely that Venuti modelled the readers of his translation on himself; and hence he required that his readers embody his own superaddressee.

3.1 The Model Reader's Weltanschauung

We will now turn to a model reader and imagine how her *Weltanschauung* is put to the test as the result of translation. Hall (1959, 1976) imagined 3 main levels of (a reader's) culture. The first, 'technical' level, following the iceberg analogy, is visible. Immediately below the water line is the formal level, which relates to 'how' the technical level is perceived or performed, including language. It is at this 'formal' level that tolerance for difference is put to the test. These two levels make up the addressee's world. This world is then guided by the superaddressee, part of whose existence lies also outside the addressee's iceberg. This aspect of the superaddressee also incorporates the societal forces that impinge on the iceberg as a whole (see Katan, 2018). Our own *Weltanschauung*, though, appears to us as 'the' world, and rarely as one of many worlds. As Bery (2009, p. 215) points out "We cannot simply get rid of the interfering glosses of our culture(s), which operate in and through our signifying systems, including, particularly, language".

As long as we have not had the visceral experience of other waters, other languages and cultures, we remain happily in our own ethnocentric centre of the world, a model of which is in Fig. 1.

4 The Levels of Culture and Reader Reaction

4.1 Technical Level

At the technical level, the visible tip of the iceberg, we have univocal meaning. Hence it is not difficult to ascertain to what extent the translation is accurate, right or wrong.

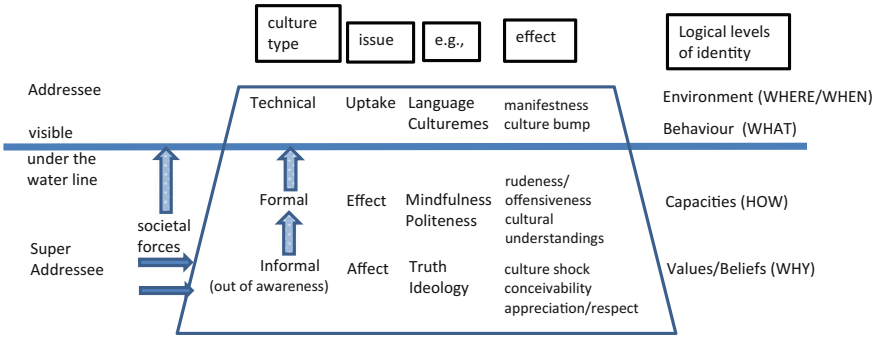

Fig. 1 Individual iceberg *Weltanschauung*

Accuracy has to do with official or recognised translations, the disambiguation or glossing of ideas and concepts. Toleration for difference in theory is also not a problem as there is only one 'right' translation or translation strategy. For example, still today, the Pope's name is always translated into the local language, while present day politicians and other personalities are never translated. So, for naming, either there is an official translation or names will be left in the original language.

There will be times, though, when the 'official' translation is disputed. It may be sensitive, offensive or taboo for either the source or the target culture. At which point, the problem is no longer technical but resides in the superaddressee. We will take just one example. between 1991 and 1995, there was a war in Croatia. That much people agree on. The technical term for the war, though, is in dispute, because the relative terms belie a series of much deeper beliefs about the truth. In Croatia itself, the war is primarily referred to as the 'Homeland War' ('Domovinski rat') and also as the 'Greater-Serbian aggression' ('Velikosrpska agresija'). Serbians, on the other hand, using what is still the same language (Serbo-Croat), call it the 'War in Croatia' (Rat u Hrvatskoj). In English it is usually known as the 'Croatian War of Independence' (Onwar.com, 2018). The translator, translating into Serbo-Croat should be aware who her primary model reader is likely to be (Serb or Croat) and hence which superaddressee truth will be expected, before making a decision over which term to use.

In a similar vein, the Dutch to German translator of *The Diary of Ann Frank*, Anneliese Schutz made the specific decision to circumscribe the meaning of the original text, which talked of the hatred between (all) Germans and the Jews, and translated it as "the hatred between these Germans and the Jews". Her justification was that "a book intended after all for sale in Germany cannot abuse the Germans" (in Prose, 2009, p. 43)—which takes us straight to superaddressee and the identity encompassed by the reader. It also takes us, as Lefevere points out (1992/2017, pp. 45–54) using the same example, to the issue of translator subservience and patronage—as the power to decide will more than likely reside in the commissioner.

There will always be translation issues with culturemes (Vermeer in Nord, 1997, p. 34): those entities or processes not manifest (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995, p. 39) or identifiable within the encyclopaedic knowledge of the target audience. Clearly, what is potentially identifiable depends on the degree of lingua-cultural capability of the individual reader, and time itself. If we take a modern reader's reading of Jane Austin's *Emma* (written in 1815), at a certain point she will have a problem regarding what is manifest. The signifiers appear to signify more than what would be expected of an amiable conversation between Emma and her Edwardian gentleman friend during a ride in a coach—for at a certain point she finds "her hand seized—her attention demanded, and Mr. Elton actually making violent love to her" (1815/1994, p. 104).

Clearly, Jane Austin's original intention is recoverable or manifest. But what is signalled here is a problem in 'uptake', a term originally coined by the philosopher John Austin (1955/1962, p. 22). Uptake refers to the ability to take up and engage with the performer's utterance. If there is no uptake there is no speech act. In this example, it is not outside the reader's cognitive environment to access the *what*, the form of things that Jane Austin had in mind, nor would it be difficult to imagine the Edwardian model of perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting "making violent love". Nevertheless, we have 'an intercultural situation', which is "one in which the cultural distance between the participants is significant enough to have an effect on interaction/communication that is noticeable to at least one of the parties" (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009, p. 3).

Culture bumps of this kind are common in contemporary translation, usually mindlessly caused by the translator, and often enjoyed by tourists who gleefully post, for example, the resulting (Chinglish, Spanglish) restaurant menu translations. Hermans (2002, p. 175) calls this situation "one of expectation versus transgression, of frame versus (incongruous) scene, structure versus (anomalous) event". A bump, will always be in terms of 'what it is that is going on', and will awaken the reader to difference. At this technical level of culture, the reader may simply gloss over the foreign bump and make an effort to make the meaning manifest; or if the cognitive effort is not worth the cognitive effect, and the maximum threshold for tolerance has been reached, the reader will relinquish the text. Of course with translation restaurant menu type gaffes, extra effort will be made to ensure a humorous effect.

A survey (Turco, 2012) of 27 translations of Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* into Italian over 100 years does show a perceptible change from mindless to mindful translation specifically designed to reduce culture bumps. With regard to the translation of culturemes 'welsh rabbit' (melted cheddar cheese on toast) provides an illuminating example. During the England of Bronte's time, the dish was usually served with ale and condiments, also requiring a particular stoneground bread that would be cooked with intricate devices over an open fire. Today, in the same country, it has been downgraded to a quick snack.

Four out of the first five translations (from 1904 to 1951), however, translated 'welsh rabbit' word for word, resulting in the image of cooked rabbit from Wales: mindless translations based, one might presume, on simple language incompetence. From 1956 on, we have a variety of more mindful translations all focussing on cheese

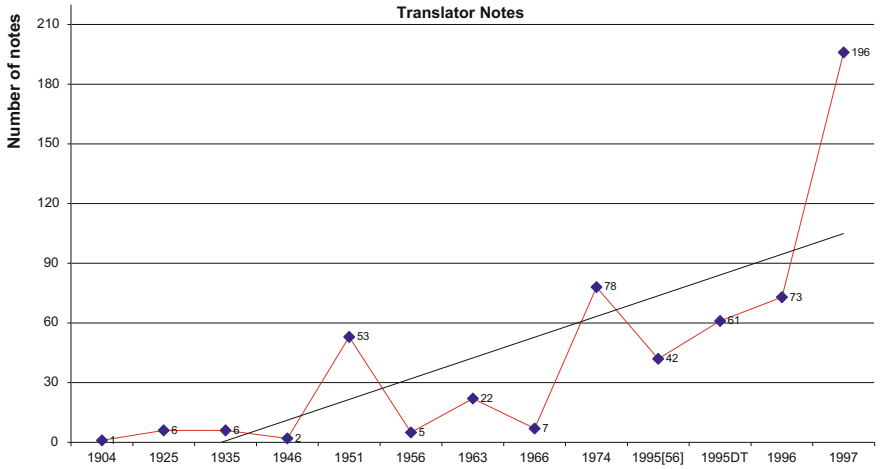

Fig. 2 Use of footnotes in *Jane Eyre* translations (from Turco 2012, p. 78)

rather than rabbit; and all reducing the excellent and filling meal into a familiar modern snack—which would put the present-day Italian reader on a similar (albeit mistaken) understanding with that of an Anglo reader today.

In this particular case, the mindlessness of the translation into rabbit or (still not fully mindfully) into a cheese snack rather than a full meal will be glossed over by the reader. At times, though, these mindless bumps themselves do confuse the reader. One example (in Katan, 1993, p. 155) is from a review of Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*. The British reviewer was puzzled about monks getting off their 'asses' in the kitchen, not mindful of the fact that the translator, William Weaver, was American: "It remains to be said that William Weaver's translation from the Italian reads superbly except for one jolt on page 378. For one crazy moment I saw donkeys in that kitchen".

A further indicator of mindful translations was the introduction of footnotes (Fig. 2), as they demonstrate a conscious "discursive presence in the translated text" and "paratextual intervention *for* the benefit of the Implied Reader" (Hermans, 1996, p. 23, emphasis added).

The steady rise in the number of notes, from zero at the beginning of the 20th century, with a definite continuing surge from the 1970s is a sure sign of "greater professionality of the translator" (Turco, 2012, p. 84, personal translation), and indeed of mindfulness.

4.2 Formal Level

The real issue at the formal level, is where uptake may be achieved, but the 'effect' is either not was intended or else remains in some way wanting. This level of culture is not usually technically visible, lying as it does just below the waterline. At this formal level, the focus is on *how* actions are carried out, *how* ideas are linked and *how* language is used. For example, for many languages the type of relationship (e.g., formal/informal) must be distinguished verbally through selecting an appropriate T–V pronoun. Italian, for example, has three main pronouns for 'you' when choosing to address a person (tu/lei/voi). These terms not only 'technically' denote a person, but tell us much about *how* the relationship is perceived.

During Jane Eyre's time and until the end of the 1940s, the default formal term in Italy might be 'voi' or 'lei' according to social status. During Fascism, 'lei' was officially banished as it was deemed a bourgeois foreign import. The 'voi' in turn was formally abolished immediately after the Second World War (Dardano & Trifone, 1997, p. 247), though the term lingers on even today amongst an older generation. The 'tu' form has always been the address term to denote similar social standing or friendship. This informal address term is spreading even for first meetings, especially among the younger generations. The 'tu' form may also be used by someone in authority (e.g., employer or teacher), while the formal 'lei' would be expected by the employee or student. As we can see, the formal level offers a complex system of alternatives, which not only change according to perceived status, but also according to how relationships change, such as from employer to friend. This is usually understood in terms of appropriacy or communicative effect, some of which may be lost or otherwise wanting in translation due to the different systems at play.

4.3 Informal Level

The 'effect' that is compromised also has an 'affect' on the reader. By 'affect', I mean the attitude or emotion that a speaker brings to an utterance. This is the third, most hidden, level of the iceberg, which Hall also called 'out of awareness'. This level is also the realm of the superaddressee. In *Jane Eyre*, relationship, change of relationship, and of course affect, are key. Jane's first encounter is certainly formal, with Rochester as her employer. This is followed by courtship, attempted marriage, total breakdown of relationship, and finally marriage. Yet, from 1925 to 1956, and well after the rise and fall of the Fascist regime, all six of the novels in Italian mindlessly adopt a 'lei' or 'voi' translation regardless of their relationship, and more importantly regardless of any change in their relationship.

So, up to 1956 we can say that the translator, by not considered the Italian pronoun choices leaves the reader with significantly reduced access to 'affect'. From 1957 on, the following twelve translations do demonstrate a move to more mindful translation strategies using 'tu' along with 'lei' or 'voi' to mark the changes in the relationship.

This is a clear sign that the translator is no longer mindlessly influenced by the repetition of the English 'you', and also goes some way towards focussing on Jane's ability to attain equality in a male dominated world. From 1974 to 1986 we see more mindful considerations regarding the more real asymmetry in the power relations between the two protagonists (using a mixture of all three pronouns), while the most recent firmly historicises the text, with only Rochester adopting the informal but authoritative 'tu'.

A mindful translation at the formal level, related to appropriate practices not only tells us about the social constraints, forces at play and so on in a particular period, but it can also reduce the affect at the third level, of ethnocentrism. When the translation is mindless, it can instead strengthen the negative stereotyping of a particular culture. The use of politeness is a case in point. In previous work (Katan, 2002), I discussed the noticeable lack of politeness of Stefania in the English translation of Italo Calvino's. *L'avventura di una moglie.* Stefania, in Italian makes a normal' Italian 'bald on-record' (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 74) order to the barman, as follows: "Un ristretto, doppio, caldissimo,—disse al cameriere".

William Weaver translated the phrase as pithily as the original, perhaps to give us a taste of the foreign: "'Black, double, very hot', she said to the man". This foreignisation certainly breaks established canons, for she did not use any form of English politeness markers. On other occasions, Venuti (2002, pp. 236–237) criticises Weaver for his domesticating idiomatic English style. Here, I would now like to criticise the same translator for doing exactly the opposite. His foreignising approach here will very probably increase (rather than reduce) intolerance and ethnocentrism, allowing the reader to judge Stefania (and Italians as a whole) as being rude. I explain why in the following section.

5 Culture Shock

Since the 1960s, interculturalists have studied extensively the impact of communication differences between cultures, and usually discuss intercultural distance and how to deal with it in terms of a U-curve theory (Garcia, 2009). Milton Bennett's 'Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity' (DMIS) (Bennett, 1993; Katan, 2004, pp. 329–340) provides a good example. Here, I will only (and briefly) focus on the first 2 stages and stage 5 of his (adapted) model, described in Fig. 3.

The first stage is that of unawareness, usually filled with positive expectations about the differences to be encountered, and is known as 'the honeymoon stage'. This is the first stage of an intercultural journey where 'difference' is perceived as exotic, and even complementary to our own world. However, we know that the honeymoon stage has ended when the differences we notice begin to interfere with our established normality, and begin to affect our well-being. Tolerance, rather than attraction now becomes key.

Most sojourns abroad go through these early stages of intercultural development. For example, let us imagine that an Anglo university professor has been invited to

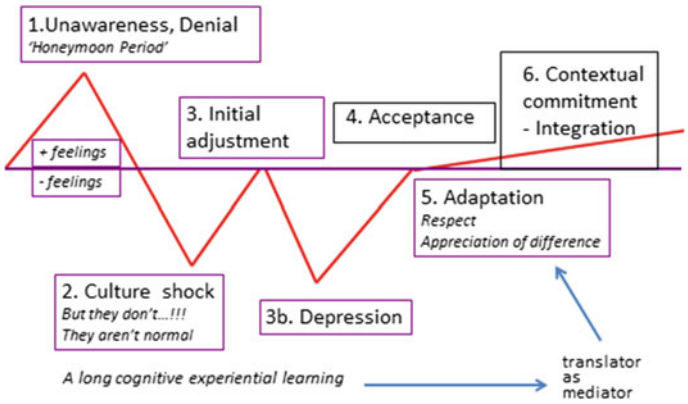

Fig. 3 Cultural readjustment curve (adapted from Katan 2004, p. 330)

stay at a Chinese university for some months. She will certainly notice, when seated with other university professors in any restaurant, 'different' eating practices. The use of chopsticks may create anxiety, which can be overcome with practice. Indeed, the very use of chopsticks may be seen as attractive. However, another normal practice in restaurants in China is what outsiders would call 'spitting food out', which from the Anglo worldview is inconceivable, and creates culture shock. It then takes a great deal of mindful observation and cognitive reframing to not just tolerate but to appreciate and respect the Chinese practice.

In the case of a novel to be read in translation, we might imagine the honeymoon stage as being verbalised as something on the lines of "I would like to read this book by a well-known Italian author. The title *Gli amori difficili/Difficult Loves* (Calvino 1970/1983) intrigues me". Our imagined model reader is a 27 years old 'translated man',[3] Anglo-Indian, with a background in, let's say, Cultural Studies, but who now works in Starbucks, soon possibly to take his first trip to Italy. So, on his Kindle on the 07:45 York to Durham train he begins reading. In imagining one particular reader, we have a *particular* addressee. This particular addressee will be, regardless of his own transculturality, unconsciously aware of the way in which client-service relations are to be performed in his community—if face is not to be threatened. He will know that verbal politeness is a value, as is the signing of equality between a customer and a barman. These are aspects of the superaddressee, accessed through a particular model reader. Our Anglo-Indian, used to Anglo ways, will expect the usual magic word ('please') when ordering a coffee, particularly since up to this moment Stefania has behaved as demure and deferential. We should remember also that the book not only portrays a 1950s Italy, but that Stefania is already pushing things by having stayed out extremely late unaccompanied by her husband—and is clearly intimidated at the idea of going into an empty bar at such an unusual time.

[3]This is a reference to Salmon Rushdie's comment: "Having been borne across the world, we are translated men" (1991, p. 17).

The verbal signings, however, do not take place, and so the 'honeymooning' reader comes face to face with the reality of the other. Stefania does not behave and react as she should. This is an unexpected new experience and our Anglo-Indian reader is outside his comfort zone. This suggests then that the honeymoon' stage is effectively, as Bennett (1993) suggests, a 'denial' or non-consciousness of real difference.

The reader will have more than a culture bump here, because we are now noticing not only *what* the character is doing, but crucially *how*. The reader is more affectively involved with the situation. Ordering coffee may be global, but the appropriate way of ordering it is very local. When we notice inappropriate behaviour, we are at stage two, 'Culture shock'. Here we are faced with actual difference and where cognitive and normative expectations (Luhmann in Hermans, 2002, p. 184) are not being fully met. What is argued here is that initial reaction to abnormal behaviour will necessarily be ethnocentric; and difference will be regarded as anything but positive.

5.1 Attribution Theory

This ethnocentric reaction to abnormal behaviour can be explained through the Attribution Theory, discussed first by Heider in 1958 (see also Lalljee, 1987; Selby, 1975). Citing research, he suggests that perception of behaviour depends on our own personal position, i.e., as attributor or attribute. If we are considering others, we will tend to attribute their behaviour in terms of volition on their part, and hence their behaviour is usually interpreted as associated to their (idiosyncratic or culture-bound) personality. On the other hand, we will tend to attribute our own behaviour in terms of extrinsic factors. For example, a university professor who is unable to meet a new deadline will tend to attribute the cause to extrinsic factors, such as overwork, pressing engagements, etc. The same professor, however, will tend to attribute her student's inability to hand work in on time in terms of the student's organizational abilities, motivations or character.

Returning to our model reader's habitus, we hypothesise that he will have an Anglo out-of-awareness superaddressee series of values, resulting in an expected display of verbal politeness, such as 'Excuse me', 'Can I', 'please' and 'ok?' Linguists know that these signs are just that, and are an arbitrarily organised lingua-culture specific set of markers. Though 'politeness' is a universal concept, its markers are not. However, for the mono-cultural reader (on his Kindle travelling to Durham) the default presumption is that this local (Anglo) norm is universal. The logical attribution is that if the norm is flouted volition will be involved, and hence Stefania appears rude. So, Weaver's translation gives us the foreign but, at the level of 'affect' he also inadvertently offers the reader misleading inferences (Taylor, 1992, p. 220) about Stefania's behavior.

Of course, following Hermans (2002, p. 175), in theory "we have a choice between two alternatives: we can be flexible, and adjust our mental picture of the world to the empirical reality we observe; or we can keep our world view intact by dismissing the anomaly or by correcting it (that is, undoing it) in one way or another". Unfortunately, as non-Italian readers, our default reaction cannot conceive of another cognitive

world where the same (rude) behaviour may be judged as polite, for we are talking of flouting the normative rules that govern our world.

To perceive in terms of another model of reality we need to travel further along the idealised 'adjustment curve' towards actual intercultural awareness, understanding and acceptance. It is here that the intercultural, and more mindful, abilities will have been acquired in terms of accepting uncertainty, flexibility of judgement, and in particular a willingness to *not* be guided by previous experience or by the unawareness level of our own inculcated learning. There is no reason to suppose that the model intellectual elite readers, mentioned earlier, will be able to think differently—unless they are already on their way to becoming bi or multicultural agents. Indeed, most would agree with Ang & van Dyne (2008, p. 3) in believing that intellectuals are just as guilty of inflexibility as any other reader is.

Given that respect for difference can only happen incrementally, the guiding rule for fostering intercultural awareness will (in most cases) be "support not challenge" (Bennett et al., 1999; Paige & Martin 1996, pp. 53–55). Venuti's (1998, p. 23) 'uncooperative reader' provides a good counter example. Venuti writes, "Unfortunately, the mixed reception that met my translation of Tarchetti's Passion indicates that such a challenge [to produce a foreignised translation], even though rationalized explicitly, can indeed meet with uncooperative readers'. These readers are not, I suggest, 'uncooperative', but rather, reacting normally to what they see as intolerably abnormal behaviour. Indeed, one of Venuti's intellectual critics refers to his translation as "incoherent" (p. 23).

The importance of attribution should not be underestimated in translation. Stefania's perfectly 'normal' exchange with the barman will be linked to whatever essentialised schemas are available regarding Italian behaviour. Essentialism is a psychological phenomenon that "entails the belief that an immutable essence causes many of a category's observable features" (Prentice & Miller, 2007). One of the essences may be ethnicity or nationality, and clearly one potential effect of this belief is increased prejudice against the whole group.

A good example of this comes from an Official advice booklet published by the DTI for the British business community. The DTI 'explains' that "Italians are loud, late and they don't tell the truth" (gleefully reported in *The Daily Telegraph* 08/10/93). We could also add a comment from a well-known Italian commentator Beppe Severgnini (in Richards, 1995, p. 8), which states that "Italians always seem to be on the point of blowing their tops". Hence, given that Stefania is employing apparently 'normal' behaviour in an Italian bar, the reader will, through a system of essentialist universal modelling (Katan, 2004, p. 119), tend to generalise and reinforce the negative stereotype that Italians are, indeed, rude.

Robinson (1997, p. 111) notes exactly the same type of ethnocentric response to foreignised texts, which can make "their authors, and the source culture in general, seem childish, backward, primitive, precisely the reaction foreignism is supposed to counteract". In the same vein, Lindfors (2001) states that the Finnish translation of Tsitsi Dangarembga's *Tambu*, is "in danger of precisely such a fate". The novel was originally written for "ordinary" readers, but in translation becomes a "novel for teenagers". Shamma's (2009) analysis of The *Arabian Nights* concludes that

the foreignisation simply made the Middle East even more exotic. Arab behaviour was seen as "being so dissimilar and bizarre" (p. 63) that it simply stoked Victorian "repressions and fantasies". Clearly, this strategy did not allow the foreign to shine through in a way that the translation "be read and evaluated with greater respect for linguistic and cultural differences" (Venuti, 1998, p. 5). To be fair, as mentioned above, Venuti is no longer convinced that a foreignised translation will automatically guide the reader to a satisfactory foreign affect.

5.2 Reducing Ethnocentrism

Following the DMIS, respect and empathy can come only after a long period of contact, intercultural training, or ideally a mixture of the two; and "represents a major conceptual shift from reliance on absolute, dualistic principles of some sort to an acknowledgement of non-absolute relativity" (Bennett, 1993, p. 45). This stage begins with Acceptance and develops into Adaptation, which means not only accepting but valuing both the source and the target text lingua-cultural systems or habitus. Ideally, this stage is where the translator should be at (see also Pym, 2012, p. 147 and his "respect for the cultural other"); but there is no reason to expect empirical readers to be there with her.

Indeed, it is the translator, as a bicultural agent who becomes the ideal reader for both initial and for the target texts. She is in the unique position of being able to uptake and gauge the likely effect and affect for the intended reader. Gauging, though, necessarily requires using strategic essentialism and also the ability to mindshift. I have already mentioned the danger of essentialism, but at the same time essentialism is also the only means we have to presuppose the intended reader. Indeed, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak is asked about this paradox in an interview (Danius, Jonsson, & Spivak, 1993, p. 34): "You [Spivak] don't agree with the idea of an ideal speech community of neutral communication and free dialogue. But in order to be understood, one has to presuppose a community of listeners". Spivak referred back to a solution she had earlier proposed, 'strategic essentialism', which she also admitted had been misinterpreted, and in particular the 'strategic' had been conveniently forgotten. The term, though, is useful here. It "advocates provisionally accepting essentialist foundations for identity categories as a strategy for collective representation in order to pursue chosen political ends" (Pande, 2017).

We can usefully take this practical solution to suggest that we might *mindfully* take a simplified, distorted and generalised model of the world to be the world; and in particular that we label our model reader with essentialist culture-bound characteristics. This we did with our imagined Anglo-Indian young man, using a form of strategic essentialism. Clearly, 'mindful essentialism' is equally abusive in that it will not be used for overtly political or subversive reasons, but to further understanding between these real imagined communities.

The second aspect of being a bicultural agent is that of mindshifting, whereby the translator is able to identify with both source and target culture models of the world at more or less the same time. Logically, as mediator, this implies that the translator will also need a third perceptual position:

> [this position] is disassociated. In this position an individual is able to adopt a third frame of reference, or rather a meta-position, from which s/he is able to perceive, interpret and evaluate both the model of the world of 'self' and that of the 'other'. It is this level of awareness, the 3rd position, also known as 'mind shifting' (...) which is absolutely vital to intercultural competence (Katan, 2001, p. 301).

But meta-cognitive abilities are not enough, empirical resources are necessary to alert the mediator to potential 'intercultural situations'. This brings us to emic and etic modelling.

6 Modelling the World

Anthropologists, among others, have for many years attempted to understand and classify difference, grouping patterns of different practices in terms of underlying values, orientations or dimensions. Some of these classifications have been qualitative, based on observation, such as Hall's (1976) contexting theory (see also Katan, 2004, pp. 245–315). Others are based on statistical analysis of extensive questionnaire surveys, classifying the results in terms of statistical significance, which usually collate with 'nationality'; a crude, imperfect, yet nevertheless statistically significant grouping. Hofstede's (2001) well-known survey carries with it a caveat (following Spivak's lament) which his critics conveniently ignore, and that is 'ecological fallacy' (*ibid*, p. 16). 'Ecological' means group, and the 'fallacy' is to presume that group conditions pertain to the real rather than imagined individual, or rather:

> that a statistically significant aggregate means that individual members of that group will each possess the average characteristics of the group at large. Hence we cannot determine that after tossing a coin which lands 'heads' that the next time it will land 'tails'. Similarly we cannot determine that just because 'smoking causes cancer', individual smokers will contract the disease' (Katan, 2009b, p. 14).

The static, emic, and essentialist looking classifications that Hofstede, among others, has prepared are exceptionally useful in opening up and extending the normalising tendencies in translation. They help us move from one system of communication norms, through a cline of options to at least another binary opposite, thus conspicuously improving the possibility of holding two polar beliefs about communication appropriacy at the same time. They can also, as with any other model, be used mindlessly to label an individual who happens to carry that nationality's passport with the essentialist features of the classification table. Indeed, "Mindlessness sets in when we rely too rigidly on categories and distinctions created in the past (masculine/feminine, old/young, success/failure)" (Langer, 1989, p. 11). Mindfulness, on the other hand, primes us to "[t]he creation of new categories" (p. 11).

Returning to Stefania, E. T. Hall's etic contexting theory was most useful as a starting point for the translation of the request. His theory would suggest that a high context communication culture would infer 'politeness' (or lack thereof) from the context, while low context cultural orientation would infer politeness through verbalisation (or lack thereof) in the text (Katan, 2004, p. 312). Clearly, the etic model should always be used mindfully, when being applied emically. According to interculturalist research, Italy is relatively higher context while Anglo countries are lower context (see e.g., Cucchi, 2015). These conclusions are essentialist, but do not in themselves lead to prejudice, given that both contexting dimensions are necessary for communication to take place. Also, the results refer to group tendencies, not to individuals. And finally, the results should always be compared with the translator's own formal/informal awareness of actual practices and by the reality created within the text. We will now focus on a suggested conciliation of reader reaction to difference.

I have previously suggested a mediating translation for "'ristretto, doppio, caldissimo'—disse al cameriere", which neither domesticated Stefania to Stephany nor pushed the reader's toleration for difference towards an ethnocentric disapproval of the protagonist's actions. The solution was to turn the direct 'order' into an indirect request, so that the Anglo low-context-communication needs could be ignored: "She asked the barman for an espresso, 'thick, double and really hot'" (Katan, 2008, pp. 84–85). We no longer know *how* she asked for the coffee, and thus we have prevented unhelpful inferences from occurring. Hence this mindful translation will "allow the readers to glimpse from the safety of their own environmental bubble, something of the foreigness of the Italian directness in projected requests—without distorting the illocutionary intent" (p. 85).

Today, due to the globalisation of espresso, current target reader knowledge will actually include more of the original lexis, and even *barista*. So, a more contemporary translation could be: "She asked the *barista* for an espresso, '*ristretto*, *doppio* and really hot!'". Yet, the interplay of text and imagined model reader would inform the mediator that use of the foreign terms here actually domesticates and universalizes the *espresso* to a present-day metropolitan Starbucks, and not to a provincial, owner/barman Italian bar in the 1950s. Given that the translator's brief to value cultural difference remains the same, so, in all probability, should the original suggested translation.

7 Conclusion

To conclude, difference is a double-edged sword. It is vital for communication, and of course is a *sine qua* non for translation. Yet, difference can only be communicated through (a large degree of) familiarity. Ethnocentrism is the result of the same process. If we are not completely bi or multicultural we are unable to interpret 'the other' in another culture's terms, as we cannot be aware of the way another's language and

behaviour relates to their normal world. Hence ethnocentrism is the logical outcome of a culture bump or shock.

It is the task of the translator to communicate the difference (the new) through familiarity (the given). However, rarely is a text primed for a foreign addressee, and even less for a foreign superaddressee. In translation, there has been a strong drive from Cultural Studies to protect and support foreign voices from a globalised homogenisation or from an Anglo-American worldview, in general through foreignisation. However this strategy, mindlessly applied may promote even more of an ethnocentric response than a domesticating translation. It should by now be clear that respect for difference does not come with exposure to it—so the translator should use the familiarity of the reader's world to introduce difference. This can be best done by hypothesising an ideal or model reader. To do that, a certain amount of stereotyping or essentialism is necessary.

Hence, as Fig. 4 shows, the tables of national dimensions or orientations may represent a starting point for the mediator from which she can consciously pick and choose (or indeed ignore), to suit the variable trans-cultural and dynamic context of situation under study. In other terms, the etic classifications can be used emically according to the superaddressee and the moment.

When this is carried out strategically, as suggested originally by Spivak, the translator has an idea not only of the likely formal addressee response, but more impor-

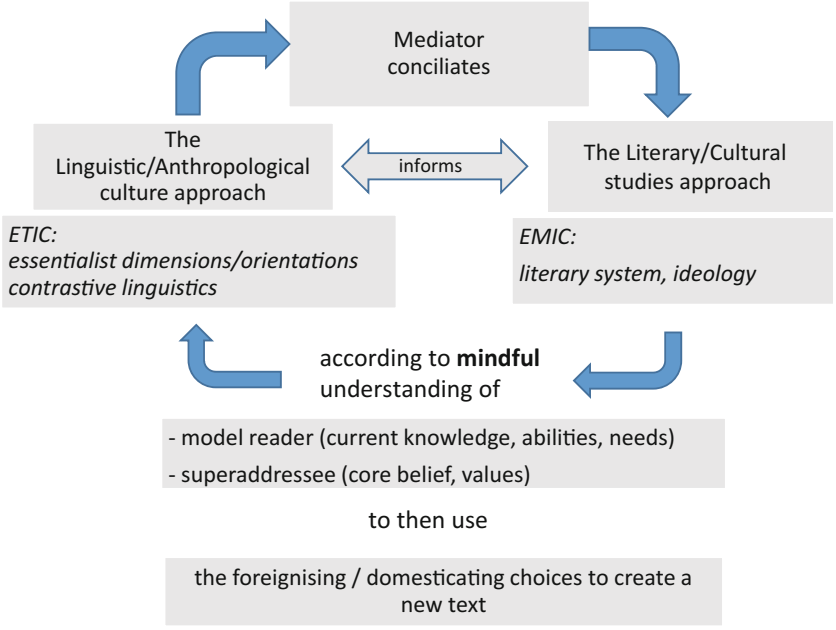

Fig. 4 Mediator conciliation

tantly of the informal response, that of 'effect'. It is this response, as Bachtin points out that texts are written for.

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David Katan is Full Professor of English and Translation at the University of Salento (Lecce). His over 80 publications includes *Translating Cultures: An Introduction for Translators, Interpreters and Mediators* (Routledge, third edition forthcoming); headword entries and chapters on these areas for the *Routledge Encyclopedia* (2008, 2019) and *Companion to Translation Studies* (2009), the *Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* (2013); entries on "Intercultural Mediation" and "Status of the Translator" in the Benjamin's *Handbook of Translation Studies* (2012, 2013), the introductory chapter in the *RoutledgeEncyclopedia on Culture and Translation* (2018), and "Tourism Translation" for the *Routledge Handbook of Translation and Globalization* (forthcoming). He has been PhD examiner for Herriot Watt (UK), Trieste and Forlì (Italy), Monash (Australia) and the University of South Africa, where he is currently also Research Fellow. He has given Keynote talks at international conferences at Universidad del Valle (Colombia), University of South Africa (Pretoria), University of South Australia (Adelaide) and Western Sydney. He has been editor-in-chief of the International Journal *Cultus, the Journal of Intercultural Mediation and Communication* since its inception in 2008. He is also a Communication Skills trainer with a Master in Neurolinguistics Programming and is a certified "TIP—The International Profiler" Worldwork consultant. e-mail: david.katan@unisalento.it

From Minor to Major: Accessing Marginal Voices Through Music. New Ways for Translation?

Lucile Desblache

Abstract This chapter discusses what it means to make music accessible today. It aims to puncture three prevailing myths that hinder its creative development and enjoyment: (1) the myth that music does not have to be made accessible; (2) the myth that audiences with special needs make and perceive music in less valuable ways; (3) the myth that mainstream audiences and musicians do not benefit from different ways of listening to and making music. It will do so in relation to three main ideas: The first idea is that cultural perceptions of the world are shaped by dominant views and countries. They are established for economic, cultural and politic reasons, primarily through translation. The second idea is that music undermines this translation flow from dominant to dominated cultures, as there is an appetite for marginal voices in music which disrupts this cultural global imbalance. The third idea is that 21st century music translation is pushing the boundaries of transcultural communication in and beyond music, thanks to audience engagement. I shall conclude that models of translation which are primarily relevant to music would not only benefit music enjoyment but broaden concepts of translation into more creative, inclusive and diverse practices.

Keywords Music accessibility · Song translation · Marginal voices

1 Introduction

At the end of the 20th century, many considered that the creativity of music was imperiled. Thinkers such as Adorno (1941/2002; 1967/2001), Attali (1977/2006) and Quignard (1996) made dark statements regarding the social and aesthetic role of music in contemporary societies. Music was recorded rather than performed for a live audience, and played everywhere, inescapably. As it became more repeatable

L. Desblache (✉)
Department of Media, Culture and Language, Southlands College, University of Roehampton, Roehampton Lane, London SW15 5SL, UK
e-mail: l.desblache@roehampton.ac.uk

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and repetitive, music became more violently intrusive in most social contexts and less creative. For Attali, "bringing an end to repetition, transforming the world into an art form and life into a shifting pleasure [(…) was urgent, because] the World, by repeating itself, is dissolving into Noise and Violence (pp. 147–148)". No one will deny that since music became recordable and transportable, people have purchased it rather than made it, and that this tendency has continued from the beginning of the 20th century when phonographs first appeared. In view of the increasing amount of music intersecting with violence in the new millennium—i.e., aggressive video content, loudness and rage-driven lyrics—, one could also argue that its role in promoting aggression is growing.

While I share Attali's opinion that music reflects and can even pre-empt social trends, including trends of violence or barbarity, I would challenge the views that musical creativity is threatened and that the social role of music today is primarily reduced to passive consumption. The spectacular development of live music in the 21st century has taken the music industry by surprise (Eventbrite 2016), and is a tangible proof that music lovers wish to share and value different, unexpected musical experiences. Besides, while music, the most ethereal of art forms, has traditionally been considered outside spatial and cultural prisms, it is now acknowledged as reliant on exchanges between the local and the global, transnational borrowings, and international circulation, dissemination and reception. Music, shaped by people's expectations and desires, is an agent of various forms of linguistic, emotional, cultural and societal translation.

This chapter discusses how new models of accessibility can not only benefit musical inventiveness, but also broaden concepts of translation and intercultural communication into more inclusive and diverse practices. A first section explores the concept of accessibility in relation to music, showing how three pervasive myths have perpetuated conservative and restrictive attitudes to music. A second section frames the puncturing of these myths conceptually. It examines how the transmission and mediation of musical products can allow marginal voices to be heard, and reverse the translation process common to all media products which currently favours transfer from a dominant language into minor ones.

2 Uncovering Myths of Music Accessibility

To translators and people who support disability, accessibility consists of providing certain goods or services to all users, including some that may have a certain incapacity: a route to a building for users with reduced mobility, subtitles for the deaf (…) For most musicians however, the notion of accessibility means primarily to break away from the idea that music can only be made, fully understood and enjoyed by an elite with special, often innate gifts. The notion of music as it has been known in the West in its main forms of expression from the 19th century until the 1960s is rather odd. The idea of buying a ticket and sitting in reverence through a concert is relatively rare in music histories. Even in Europe, it is a recent concept. Old paintings such as

Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Peasant Wedding* (1567) or Johann Georg Platzer's 18th century paintings of private concerts, show how much music accompanied activities and life events. People tended to listen to it while doing something else. The rise of professionalism in music with virtuoso players and specialist composers has been thrilling of course, but favoured an 'ivory tower' idea of music that still produces stereotypes and encourages a sharp divide between the competent music makers and the ignorant rest. These practices have led to received ideas, turned into myths, which are still impacting on social music practices.

The first myth is that music can only be accessible to those who have the skills or talent to make and understand it. It fed on 19th century notions of music as a professional practice and on the pervasive romantic cult of the individual genius. Developments in technology from the early 20th century, the fusion of cultures and ethnicities, which led to the emergence of pop music after the Second World War, gradually brought liberating changes from these stereotypes. Suddenly, people could take a couple of spoons, a pan, a guitar and start a band. But the idea of participation and of easy access to music still suffers from these past ideas to some degree. As more popular music developed, it also became centred on vocal music—only 1% of bands today are instrumental only. With this development, another issue emerged: while many songs use monosyllabic, often repeated words, others are sung poetry. From Bob Dylan to Jacques Brel and Amy Winehouse to Christine and the Queens, the complexity of lyrics is near impossible to take in one listening. In 2014, two large surveys were conducted regarding the comprehension of lyrics. One, carried out by Musixmatch on 30 million users found that not only is the word 'lyrics' one of the most searched terms on web search engines, but that 51% of music listeners aged 15–27 searched lyrics to understand the song they listened to (Sherwin, 2014). The other survey tested the comprehension of the lyrics of well-known pop songs on 2000 British adults and found that, in spite of the fact that people knew these songs, which were sung in their native tongue, almost a quarter of listeners misheard their lyrics (Lachno, 2014). Lyrics are important, and in most cases, contribute fundamentally to the meaning of a song. Yet listeners have to be pro-active in order to get help in understanding them, even if they are sung in their own language, which is not the case most of the time, since songs in non-English speaking countries are most frequently played in English, and English native speakers only make around 6% of the world population.[1]

The second myth of music accessibility is that support is not needed for disabled people to enjoy music. Users with disabilities do require special support. This includes help with mobility and with other special needs. In media, especially in television, accessibility provision has been built up for 30 years and subtitles are widely present. Song translation, on the other hand, is governed by strict copyright laws, which means that only a verbatim transcription of songs is provided. Lyrics

[1] Between 60 and 90% of songs are played in English in non-English speaking countries according to data provided by the streaming service Spotify (2015).

Streaming services may represent only one form of access to music, targeted at younger generations, but are a major global platform.

of copyrighted material cannot be translated, adapted or summarized intralingually and interlingually without legal agreement. Most listeners need help with lyrics but disabled people often suffer from false assumptions. For instance, the myth that deaf/hard-of-hearing people do not need access to music is very pervasive. Yet deaf and hard-of-hearing listeners are just as involved with music as others for two main reasons: they miss the music they listened to before their hearing declined; and there are many different ways of listening and engaging with music, through the ear if possible but also other parts of the body.

In a survey made in 2011 in seven European countries on media accessibility, the deaf and hard-of-hearing identified music as the third element to prioritize in subtitling after dialogue and character identification. Participants in all countries involved wished overwhelmingly for the lyrics of the songs to be transcribed, when meaningful to the programme (Romero Fresco, 2015). This is a measure of the priority they give to it. Deaf people perceive and hear the world in what Brétéché (2014) calls a "denormed" way. They perceive sounds and signs in ways that quite are different from the hearing population but perceive them. They can be reluctant to open up to verbal language, which is a foreign language to them, in similar ways to those of hearing people who ignore sign language. More than any other group, the deaf have a strong sense of community, with a parallel history, parallel languages and values. The culture they share has long been a space for cultural identity, for claiming difference. While only 1% of the population is born deaf, many become deaf or partially deaf due to a combination of ageing population and a lifestyle which is damaging to hearing. In Europe, the overall estimate is of 71 million people with significant hearing loss (Hear It). Although there is a major difference between being deaf and hard-of-hearing, hearing impairment leads to a particular way to engage in the world with the body that hearing people do not share to the same extent.

Due to European legislation, most mainstream media services are now accessible (European Disability Act, 2017). For live musical events, on the other hand, support is limited. Accessibility to live events implies not only support regarding listening and comprehension, but mobility, and progress in this area is slower. Many organizations work to engage disabled people with music making. This happens on the ground locally—in the UK for instance, deaf and disabled attendance at music events in Britain was up 26% in 2015 (Attitude is Everything, 2016)—, and although deaf and disabled concert goers still experience difficulties in booking and attending shows, the industry has made significant advances in providing access (Attitude is Everything, 2018). More global services are also on the rise: sheet music can be sent on request in Braille worldwide for instance (Braille Sheet Music).

Music can both divide and connect. Every parent knows that their teenage child uses music as a generational divider and is keen to associate with a closed sub-culture in order to build a distinctive identity by both belonging to a discrete community and opposing mainstream society. But no cultural divide, whether across genres, styles or ideologies, is set in stone, particularly in music, which, like fashion, depends on the constant diversification of products. However novel, a musical piece is also always a variation on an existing one and it is given to a performative interpretation. Using the notion of translation metaphorically, it could be said that translation is the driver of

change in music creativity and that it allows the unfamiliar to weave new meanings into existing references. In that sense, music connects people much more than it divides them and is essential to the growth of inclusive societies. Support and open approaches are needed for those who find living in mainstream challenging so that these connections can happen.

The third myth considered is that disabled people make or perceive music in ways that are difficult or even irrelevant to share. This myth also needs to be defied.

A disability often leads to a special ability. Cobhams Asuquo, a born-blind Nigerian song writer and music producer links his creativity to his blindness. Thanks to what he calls 'The Gift of Blindness', he is not distracted by sight. He can feel emotions more intensely and be more focused in his goals, pursuing what he wants to achieve: "Be blind to be focused", is his motto. And statistically, blind people are more gifted musicians than most, as Adam Ockelford has shown:

> Blind children are 4,000 times more likely to have perfect pitch – a traditional marker of exceptional musical ability – than their fully sighted peers. [In addition,] 48% of blind children demonstrate significant interest in everyday sounds compared to 13% of those with full sight. More than two-thirds of the blind and partially sighted children played at least one instrument, compared with 41% of the sighted group (Tobin, 2010; Ockelford, Pring, Welch, & Treffert, 2006, pp. 25–31).

Music is a form of communication which thrives on multimodality: it is increasingly combined with, but does not rely on visual or semantic messages. Being 'led by the blind' through music can help seeing people to perceive the world differently in an era which is focused on the visual. Encouraging blind children to mix with other children in music making might not only boost the formers' confidence but encourage the latter to take up music and perceive the world more broadly.

In 2011, singer Marie Naffah, shocked to discover that her grandmother had lost her sight, recorded a song blindfolded in response. She called it 'Blindfold' (Naffah, 2011; Meath Baker, 2015). Realising that being a blindfolded sighted person was a misrepresentation of the experience of blindness, she proceeded to record the song with 6 visually impaired musicians, most of whom had no professional experience. It brought her the MTV's Unsigned Artist award 2014 and more importantly, led to a documentary aiming to raise awareness that visual impairment was not linked to creative impairment. Through this experience, new musical dimensions opened up for her: "I was the one that was blind all the time", she said in a moving presentation (Naffah, 2016).

Music is a perfect vehicle to share information available for people of different sensorial ability. Concert organisers are increasingly aware of this. In 2017 for the first time, The Proms, considered to be the largest classical music festival in the world, offered concerts aimed to be inclusive of a contrasting range of audiences. In these "Relaxed Proms", members of the audience can move and musical pieces are introduced in different ways. Since 2017, Proms concerts also use the audio introduction intended for the blind to be broadcast for the general public. All will benefit, as describing the scene of a concert to an audience is not useful for the blind exclusively. General audiences listening to the radio find useful to know that the Brodsky string quartet plays standing for instance, or that the conductor Marin

Alsop wears cuffs adorned with a flash of bright colour as a distinctive style, an important piece of information when her concert series is entitled "Off The Cuff". Such contextual information can allow any listener to appreciate a musical piece more deeply and broadly.

3 A New Theory of Music Accessibility

Having argued that abandoning these myths would benefit 21st century music makers and listeners, in the second part of this chapter, I would like to consider how a new theory of accessibility would invite more inclusive approaches to music. A theory that would bring awareness of how the translation of musical texts, in its widest sense, could contribute to this inclusion. I have linked it to three ideas.

The first idea does not relate to music so much as to media in general. It is concerned with the fact that cultural perceptions of the world today are shaped by dominant views and countries. "Memes", as Chesterman (1997) has named them after the genetic term, that is ideas that spread and replicate, are established for economic, cultural and politic reasons, primarily through translation. And the translation flow is visibly happening from major into minor. The general trend in the 20th and 21st centuries has been to translate from dominant languages and cultures into minority languages. Most media products for instance are translated from American English into a range of less dominant languages in order to provide cultural products globally. In music, where English reigns, there is often no translation at all. Taking the example of hip-hop, Pennycook (2007) has argued that by promoting peripheral Englishes globally, rap has facilitated a transcultural flow which has allowed many local and national identities to flourish. However transgressive this movement, it is still tied to monolingualism and to a form of cultural dominance. Many social theorists from Appadurai (1996, 2013) to Kraidy (2005) have discussed the consequences that one directional cultural flows have regarding exclusion, isolation and inequality. Translation Studies scholars have also emphasized the many ways in which translation is the main instrument of this flow (Cronin 2006; Bielsa 2016). More than ten years ago, Appadurai was hopeful that electronic media could change the field of traditional mass media and give voices to works of imagination that would force dominant trends of expression into evolving forms of subjectivities. Yet this has not fully happen. As every audiovisual translator knows, translation takes place overwhelmingly from a major language into minor ones. This imbalance is present linguistically in cultural products, dominated by American media, but also in the provision made for audiences with special needs such as the deaf and hard-of-hearing and the blind. The fact that "the experience of rootlessness and estrangement (…) has become generalised" (Bielsa, 2016, p.72) seems to give more power to a lingua franca, as people are required to communicate beyond many frontiers and revert to giving more power to a dominant language, albeit often in non-normative forms. Although media products and services are made available to minority audiences, the flow of translation is one

way: marginalized people and linguistic minorities are mostly denied visibility in mainstream media.

This happens on a wide spectrum in all media: race, gender and disability. While some marginalized members of society, particularly as regards race, have been represented more frequently, cross-social and racial communication is limited to minimal interactions. *Moonlight*, Best Picture Oscar 2017, stages an all-Black cast for instance. Examples of cross-racial same gender friendships exist (*The Shawshank Redemption*, 1994; *Men in Black*, 1997), but overall, in mainstream media, especially in American films, deep interpersonal relationships and sexual intimacy rarely cross the race barrier. In this respect, representations of marginalization can lead to more side-lining than discovery or integration. Yet evidence shows that audiences like to be introduced to some level of marginalization. For instance Geena Davis (Thelma in *Thelma and Louise*), who runs the Institute on Gender in Media, has gathered research showing that gender-balanced films are commercially more successful than male-centred films (Aitkenhead, 2017). Another example is that of foreign literature translated into English. Such books have been quantified as 3% of overall literature for a couple of decades in most English-speaking countries, but a change has been visible since 2015 (Teague, 2005; Flood, 2016). Although book publishing remains low in the global revenue tables in comparison to other media such as video games, music or film (Global Multimedia Landscape, 2016), in many countries, including the UK, translated literature now sells on a par with original fiction, if not better. This new trend is visible in all fields of entertainment.

The second idea relates more closely to music. While the running of the music industry is undoubtedly, male, white, middle-aged and 'able' (Forde, 2016), and while in 2016, all male bands in music festivals still made 78% of all bands (Vagianos, 2016), the minor into major translation pathway is more prevalent in music than in any other media. Globally disseminated music in the last hundred years has been consistently borrowing music from Africa and other non-Westerns countries, and has adapted their rhythms and styles to Western tastes. Because music can use semantic languages but does not depend on them, minor into major adaptation practices in all musical genres and styles have always been common. Music is a perfect instrument of confluence, adaptation, defiance and subversion. The case of jazz, born of oppression and rebellion but which became mainstream and integrated with most musical genres within a hundred years of existence, is one the most blatant examples of this capacity to translate from minor to major. Music thrives not only on appropriating the foreign, but on subverting and giving new meaning to dominant voices. Whereas artists who rely exclusively on words may find that the best strategy for resisting dominance may be not to translate at all, or to translate making a point, as Cassin, Apter, Lezra, and Wood (2015) did with their *Dictionary of untranslatables* for instance, musicians always depend on and gain in translation. Their mediations from minor to major can of course lead to impoverishment, particularly under global market pressures, and can end as essentialized, diluted or exoticized musical expression, as many examples from soulless world or pop music testify. The winner of the 2017 Eurovision song contest, Salvador Sobral, calls this "fast-food music" (Vincent, 2017). Yet music has an unrivalled capacity for destabilizing the translation flow from dominant to domi-

nated cultures successfully. There is an appetite for marginal voices in music which somewhat disrupts this cultural global imbalance. As Stokes (2007, p. 6) has shown, 'people in specific places and at specific times have embraced the music of others (...) and in doing so, they have enabled music styles and musical ideas, musicians and musical instruments to circulate'. Music is one of the few forms of expressions that thrives on mediating marginalized voices to global audiences. It cannot in fact exist without mediating marginalized voices. It relies on different forms of translation and adaptation to make peripheral voices meaningful to other communities. A striking example of this is the Tropicalismo movement in the 1960s, a superb example of how translation drove musical creativity transgressively. The performers of the *Tropicália* (1968) album aimed to create new meanings, starting with existing texts and musical references, and with the help of musical genres strongly associated with Brazilian identity, which were hybridized. Inspired by the cannibalistic movement of de Andrade (1928) and the interpretation that Haroldo de Campos (1986; Gentzler, 2008, pp. 77–107) made of it in the context of translation, these artists subverted Western references meaningfully into a Brazilian context, while giving the songs a global resonance. They translated Brazil for global audiences and put a country that was invisible to the West on the cultural map of the world. Most *Tropicália* songs are built on an interactive symbolism which plays with established references in ways which promote Brazilian identity construction in a global, transnational context. Their performers, composers and poets sang the need to rethink the culturally fragmented, economically fragile and politically censored Brazil to the world. Whereas most innovative musicians use dominant systems as their main point of reference, which they pervert with their own language—spirituals perverting hymns for instance—, artists of Tropicalismo confidently based their work on Brazilian musical language, itself a hybrid Afro-Euro-African language, which they adapted to mainstream Western audiences.

The song opening the album, *Miserere Nóbis*, sang by Gilberto Gil (with lyrics by Gilberto Gil and José Carlos Capinam) is a good example of cultural translation at a broad range of levels. The album sleeve is unmistakably a reference to the Beatles' *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* issued a year earlier, as is the psychedelic samba that follows the opening bars. The song opens with a few chords of organ evoking church music. This short introduction is interrupted by the sound of a bicycle bell leading to the chorus, part Latin invocation ("*Miserere nobis, ora pro nobis*"), part Brazilian complaint ("this is how it will always be"). It may be a critique of the Brazilian Catholic church's complicity in the military regime, although Christopher Dunn remarks that the Church's "ranks included several important opposition leaders' to the military regime and that it is therefore more likely a 'denunciation of complacency' regarding pervasive inequalities in Brazil" (Dunn 2001, pp. 113, 114). 'We' and 'us' are used as a cohesive device throughout the song, referring, in turn, to the oppressed and the poor, to the well-off who take part in injustice and violence in Brazil, but also to all listeners who can understand both the Latin words and the Brazilian rhythms. The repetitive chorus-verse structure accentuates the theme of fatality which is associated with Brazil through the samba rhythm, musical expression of Brazilian identity and historical reminder of its asso-

ciations with slavery. The song ends with a short coda spelling the words Brazil, rifle and cannon—they rhyme partially—, which have to be decoded by the listener letter by letter. A strategy for defying censorship perhaps.

My third and final idea goes back to the first myth of music accessibility mentioned earlier. Music accessibility has developed in parallel to media accessibility, with the aim of making the original message, customarily issued in English as far as lyrics are concerned, available to people who cannot understand them, as well as to people with hearing impairments. Music TV channels such as MTV for instance, follow this model and offer lyrics transcriptions for their viewers. But the dematerialization of music from LPs and CDs to MP3 and live streaming has left most music listeners with less support than they had in the 20th century. Little is available for general audiences and even less for audiences with special needs. While in classical music, a tradition of textual support is strongly established and expected, in popular music, audiences have been inventing their own models, since little is provided commercially. Volunteer translation companion sites, social network exchanges and applications such as Shazam and Musixmatch, also largely fueled by volunteer translations, constitute the bulk of existing support related to musical products. Music audiences have filled the commercial void regarding contextual information about performances and lyrics translation. They have paved the way to imaginative and engaging forms of translation provision. In the 21st century, being human does no longer mean being able to read and interpret the world, as 20th century post-structuralist thinkers noted. It is about sharing it meaningfully and interacting with it. Music, by essence, is about listening to voices, being curious about different sounds and finding ways of exploring them. Its multifarious forms of variations and extended forms of mediations offer perfect forms of expression to bring attention to marginal voices. To finish this section and before concluding, I would like to give an example of how successful this can be.

As mentioned earlier, members of the deaf and hard-of-hearing community suffer prejudices regarding their interest in music. Their community is also one of the most cohesive but least listened to among the disabled. In some respects, deaf people perpetuate this situation, comfortable with their own signing language, not always willing or able to increase their fluency in or comprehension of verbal language. As everyone knows, it takes effort and motivation to learn a foreign language. But in the UK, the most remarkable translator came along, Evelyn Glennie. A percussionist who became deaf in her teens, she took upon herself to show how deaf people experience music. She has not only inspired a generation of deaf people to make and enjoy music, she has convinced the world that they did not have a full experience of music if they were not aware of this. Music is also about touching, feeling and "seeing voices" (Sacks 1990/2009), as she repeatedly shows in the documentary that stages her (Riedelsheimer 2009). In 2012, as part of the opening ceremony of the London Olympic Games, she led 1000 drummers to accompany a vibrant representation of the industrial revolution that can be seen, felt and heard. In this performance, musicians pulse their way through the revolution and this "Pandemonium" show mediates the dynamism, the violence to nature and humankind, the creativity and the inexorable force that shaped modern Britain in ways that speak to all, beyond words. The sequence also demonstrates inclusivity and creativity on a number of levels. First,

it shows convincingly that a deaf person can be a musician, and one of excellence. Second, the combination of amateur musicians (1000 volunteer drummers) making music on improvised instruments (dustbins and buckets) for one of the most prestigious shows on the planet gives evidence that anyone can make music and goes against the obsessive display focused on fame and technology consumption that is pervasive in contemporary media. Third, it presents music as a language fully connected to other forms of expressions and interacting with them. It contributes to a spectacle which is fully multisensorial and multimodal. Finally, it proves that the mediation of what is considered 'marginal voices' can be successful and inspiring to a general audience.

4 Conclusion

The global commercialization and commodification of music have led, in some respects, to impoverished musical practices and outputs. Current individual listening habits have replaced collective music making that was common before music could be audibly reproduced. While many aspects of music technology have boosted artistic freedom and made musicians more self-sufficient in recent decades, there has also been a negative impact, from the use of an essentialized musical language to the income reduction of musicians for recorded music on streaming services. Yet new aspects of creativity are also emerging from 21st century popular music. They are overwhelmingly linked to social interactions and the cultural circulation of ideas and products, and amplified by network cultures and digital technologies. For more than a century now, nearly all Western popular music has been anchored in African or non-European roots and all music today is at some level the product of cultural fusion. Music thus gives visibility to different cultures and languages. While English is the lingua franca of music, many songs appear in their language of origin only—national anthems, songs on the radio, on the internet, in films and on television—and are never translated. This is sometimes regrettable, as the understanding of lyrics can be crucial to the appreciation of a piece. Yet translation, in the literal and broader senses of the term, plays a key role in how music is accessed and enjoyed, and audiences are increasingly aware of this. Many mainstream films, such as Disney's, include songs beautifully translated for dubbing in a wide range of languages, which sets standards and expectations for song translation. Popular music has also favoured bridges between different sensorial languages. While Western classical music traditions of an autonomous art form encouraged disconnection from the body, popular music has regenerated links with dancing and other art forms. The most popular genres today, from rock to EDM are dancing musics and their performances are also linked to visual and stage productions, opening the door to enjoyment at different levels and offering users with different abilities the opportunity to listen and take part multimodally.

My final point is that music is only made more accessible through different forms of translation, but that translation also benefits from it. 21st century music is at the forefront of pioneering forms of translation and media accessibility:

– Volunteer translation, now used in every field, emerged in musical contexts through social networks.
– As cover songs have risen in popularity, the originality of vocal music has often relied on inventive translations based on rewriting and open performances that challenge submissive models of translation tied to a source text.
– Music now, perhaps more than any other art form, aims for inclusiveness and promotes shared experiences. The music industry is following the path taken by media accessibility in general, attempting to make mainstream performances accessible to all. But music promoters and art organizations are also opening musical spaces to voices outside the canon that include deaf, blind and artists who explore the unfamiliar.

In the 21st century all human beings are used to the idea of stories and music travelling through time, countries and cultures. Translators ensure these journeys, be they musical or not. Perhaps we are less used to the importance of their role as mediators across diverse abilities and social backgrounds. These sorts of journeys are only partially mapped. They involve listening to the unknown, translating the unknown, which requires bravery, determination and can leave audiences puzzled or helpless. But as the UK disabled charity says, Attitude is Everything (…)

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Lucile Desblache is Professor of Translation and Transcultural Studies at the University of Roehampton, London, where she is Director of the Centre for Research in Translation and Transcultural Studies. Her areas of research are two-fold. First, she writes in the field of Animal Studies, investigating communication between human and non-human animals and how these are represented in contemporary cultures. Her publications in this domain comprise monographs such as *La plume des bêtes: les animaux dans le roman* (2011) as well as edited volumes which include *Literature and ecology* (*L'esprit créateur* 46(2) 2006); *Hybrids and monsters (Comparative Critical Studies* 9(3) 2012) and *Souffrances animales et traditions humaines: rompre le silence* (2014). Second, she works in Translation Studies, examining how texts involving music are translated and mediated. She is the Principal Investigator of the AHRC-funded Translating Music network and is currently writing a monograph entitled *Music and translation: new mediations in the digital age* (Palgrave McMillan). She has been Editor-in-chief of *JoSTrans, The Journal of Specialised Translation* since 2004.

Translation Corpus-Informed Research: A Swedish-Croatian Example

Goranka Antunović

Abstract Corpora including original texts in one language and their translations in another (translation corpora, also called parallel corpora) have proved a useful basis for contrastive studies as well as for research in the field of Translation Studies and their potential as well as limitations have already been discussed in the literature (Aijmer, 2007; Granger, 2003, etc.). They help establish relationships between units of the source and the target language, enable better understanding of the meaning and the usage of those units but they can also shed light on various translation-related phenomena, those specific for the language pair involved as well as more general. This cross-linguistic study seeks to establish Croatian translation equivalents of the Swedish indefinite pronoun *man* by analysing a >410,000-word corpus of authentic Swedish texts and their Croatian translations. These are compared to the standard lexicographic equivalents of the pronoun in an attempt to contribute to a more complete presentation of the Croatian correspondents of *man*. Remarks are made regarding the potential contribution of the findings to a better understanding of the usage of the Swedish pronoun as well as to the study of translation equivalence and translators' preferences.

Keywords Translation corpora · Contrastive analysis · Translation studies Swedish · Croatian · Indefinite pronoun *man*

1 Background

Text corpora of various kinds, among them those composed of original texts in one language and their translations in another, play a significant role in Contrastive Linguistics (CL) as well as in Translation Studies (TS) and have "the potential to bring the two fields even closer together" (Granger, 2003, p. 25). CL has traditionally seen

G. Antunović (✉)
Scandinavian Studies Section, English Department, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, I. Lučića 3, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia
e-mail: gantunovic@ffzg.hr

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corpora as essential (cf. Filipović, 1973), and its revival over the last three decades has often been attributed to the development of various electronic tools, in particular computer corpora as one of the two key factors (the other one being globalization; cf. Gómez-González & Doval-Suárez, 2005; Granger, 2003; Ramón García, 2002). The new context has affected the discipline in various ways, including, as Ramón García (2002) notes, "a shift in the focus of CL from linguistic systems in a more abstract sense to more specific issues in language use" (p. 395). The great potential of corpus-based research in the field of TS has also been identified by many researchers, who have discussed opportunities as well as limitations (among early examples are Altenberg & Aijmer, 2000; Baker, 1993, 1995; contributors to *META 43(4)*, 1998). Ramón García (2002) thus states that "[e]lectronic corpora have been used extensively in TS since the beginning of the 1990s and their importance is such that they have meant a turning point in the discipline" (p. 401). Corpora have been seen as useful not only in relation to machine translation and terminology but also in studies exploring issues such as translation universals, language of translation, translator style, translation ideology, translation strategies and methods, equivalence, cognitive processes in translation, etc. (cf. Altenberg & Aijmer, 2000, p. 27; Lan, 2014; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2012b; Mikhailov & Cooper, 2016, pp. 16, 184–192).

The two disciplines do not only share the need to make use of corpora but they are closely intertwined in a more general sense, as was noted already in the decades preceding the appearance of electronic corpora (cf. Ramón García, 2002, p. 397), as well as later on. Hoey and Houghton (2001) describe the bidirectional relationship between Contrastive Analysis (CA) and translation by pointing out that "(…) the translation of specific pieces of text may provide the data for CA (…). CA may provide explanations of difficulties encountered in translation" (p. 49). Just as they strongly state that "Translation as a source of data for CA is strictly unavoidable". (ibid.), Ramón García (2002) concludes that "(…) any type of approach to translation from a descriptive corpus-based perspective must take into account some kind of contrastive aspect. (…) CL is thus a basic ingredient of TS" (p. 403).

The present study wishes to identify some insights in the realm of either CL or TS that can be gained from focusing on a particular linguistic unit, namely the Swedish pronoun *man*, and its Croatian translation equivalents in a translation corpus. The possibility to use one and the same corpus as a basis for conclusions within both of the two closely connected disciplines seems particularly welcome in cases such as this, where lesser-taught languages and lesser-studied language pairs are involved.

2 Translation Corpora

The corpus used in the present study consists of original texts in Swedish and their translations into Croatian and it is termed here a 'translation corpus', in line with e.g., Altenberg and Aijmer (2000, p. 16). In the literature such corpora are referred to as either 'translation corpora' or 'parallel corpora' (or both, as in e.g., Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2012a, p. 5; Ramón García, 2002, p. 401). Granger (2003) has suggested

that the choice of the name may depend on the affiliation of the researcher ('parallel corpora' in the TS framework, 'translation corpora' in CL) but that such usage "is not entirely consistent either" (pp. 19–20).

Translation corpora offer good grounds for cross-linguistic research for a number of reasons. They provide a large number of pairs of related units in different languages, which enables comprehensive and nuanced conclusions about cross-linguistic correspondences. The fact that for one source-language unit a relationship is typically established with a number of different target-language renderings does not only "make it possible to discover cross-linguistic variants" (Altenberg & Granger, 2002, p. 9) but it also sheds light on different meanings and different functions of the units thus enabling their better understanding within their respective languages. Even if the exact nature of the relationship established cannot be unequivocally defined—which in itself is a point of great interest for researchers—the fact that two units are seen as establishing translation equivalence in numerous occurrences justifies conclusions about their correspondence and invites its careful interpretation. For TS researchers corpora are a rich source of authentic translation solutions which enable them to "captur[e] the distinctive features of the translation process and product" (Granger, 2003, p. 22). Another advantage of translation corpora, no less significant for being obvious, is that they make research more objective by providing "access to a large number of interpretations besides the linguist's own introspective judgement" (Aijmer, 2007, p. 33).

While they undoubtedly present a most useful tool, translation corpora have their limitations, and conclusions based on their evidence must be made with caution. Granger (2003), when discussing limitations with regard to corpus-based approach in general, focuses on two such circumstances, namely the limited availability of corpora (still true today of large translation corpora for many language pairs, including Swedish-Croatian) and "the corpus predilection for form-based research" (pp. 22–23). While these two may influence the decision on the kind of study to be conducted, there are other characteristics of translation corpora that may influence the quality of the study and the value of its findings. They stem from the very nature of translation process and translation product, and primarily have to do with the language of translations and the elusive nature of 'translation equivalence'. When pairs of linguistic units are analysed one must bear in mind that different language systems will possess "what can be called equivalents not of an *identity* but rather of an *approximation* type" (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2012b, p. 4). Researchers using translation corpora must also recognize that translations tend to be influenced by the source text (so much so that a 'law of interference' has been proposed by Toury, 1995, p. 275), and that this results in phenomena that may be very difficult to spot (e.g., lexical frequencies different from those in original texts in the same language, as has been observed by Gellerstam, 1986 and others). Translation scholars have identified other common features of the language of translated texts, not source-inspired, e.g., selection of linguistic units in line with what Toury (1995) has termed 'the law of growing standardization' (p. 267). Awareness of these, as well as of the intricate nature of translation equivalence (including the very basic distinction

between translation equivalence and contrastive correspondence, cf. Ivir, 1997) may prove essential in securing sound conclusions based on evidence from translation corpora.

3 Swedish Pronoun *Man* and Its Croatian Equivalents

3.1 Man

Descriptions of the pronoun *man* in grammars of the Swedish language show that its usage is by no means simple. It is often classified as an indefinite pronoun (Bolander, 2005; Holmes & Hinchliffe, 2003; Ljung & Ohlander, 1971/1982) or, more specifically, as a quantitative indefinite pronoun (Josefsson, 2009/2011, who remarks (p. 82) that the Swedish Academy's Grammar also classifies *man* as quantitative). Hultman (2003/2008) describes it as a generalizing quantitative pronoun but also points to its anaphoric use "when the speaker/writer cannot or doesn't want to make his/her reference precise" (p. 122).[1] In a similar way the generalizing function is implied in other grammars (e.g., Bolander, 2005, p. 128), often explicitly or implicitly connected with remarks about the pronoun, in itself singular, appearing with plural complements in colloquial Swedish (cf. Bolander, 2005, pp. 127–128; Holmes & Hinchliffe, 2003, p. 211; Hultman, 2003/2008, p. 121).

The fact that three qualifiers (indefinite, generalizing, quantitative) are applied to one and the same pronoun need not be considered curious ('indefinite' has been interpreted as subsuming 'general', cf. Kordić, 2002, p. 49) but *man* has other, less expected, usages. The following two are characteristic of the colloquial language and are not as regularly described in reference books but they have been noted in some: *man* can be used by the speaker to refer to him or herself (all the monolingual dictionaries of Swedish listed at the end record such usage and Holmes and Hinchliffe (2003) describe it "as a polite or mildly ironical substitute for *jag* ["I"]" (p. 149)). They also describe the use of *man* instead of *du* ("you, sg."), as a "familiar term of address with a touch of ironical politeness and formality" (ibid.), as does *SAOB* (entry: *man*). Even without having mentioned the latter two uses of *man*, Ljung and Ohlander (1971/1982) warn that one has to be careful in translation and point out that the pronoun has a number of equivalents in English: one, you, we, they, people, etc. (p. 130).

[1] Translation of this, as well as of all the following quotes from Swedish or Croatian, is the author's.

3.2 Croatian Equivalents

A very obvious candidate for the Croatian equivalent of *man* is the substantive *čovjek* ("man"). The difference in the word class can be neglected in view of the Swedish pronoun's etymology (developed from the substantive *man*, cf. *SAOB*: man) and other obvious similarities [cf. Giacalone Ramat and Sansò (2007) who focus on "indefinite man-constructions" in which "the subject position is filled by (an element deriving etymologically from) a noun meaning 'man'". (p. 95)]. In her study of the Croatian substantive, Kordić (2002) notes that "[s]ome nouns have a very general meaning, similar to that of pronouns" and that this is "primarily true of the noun *čovjek*" (p. 49).

Articles for the entry *man* in Swedish-Croatian dictionaries[2] also quote *čovjek* as an equivalent along with several others, complemented with an explanation ("indicates an unspecified person") and examples of usage, whose Croatian translations include other equivalents than the ones quoted. In the two print editions consulted, *ljudi* (pl. form of *čovjek*, "people") is the only other equivalent, while *Lexin online* lists *netko* ("someone") and *neki* ("some"), with *čovjek* quoted third and *ljudi* not appearing at all. Translations of the usage examples contain, in addition to *čovjek*, the so called *se*-passive construction as an equivalent to *man*: "*man räknar med en rekordskörd i höst – računa se s rekordnom žetvom na jesen*" (*se*-passive construction is composed of the reflexive pronoun *se* and the active form of the finite verb. The Croatian sentence thus reads *[A] record harvest in [the] autumn is counted with.* rather than the Swedish source's *One counts with a record harvest in [the] autumn*).

A cursory look at several web sites offering online Swedish-Croatian dictionaries has not identified any additional equivalents to *man*. In other words, altogether five lexicographic equivalents have been established: *čovjek, ljudi, netko, neki, se*-passive. Considering the various meanings of *man* described above, the list can hardly be exhaustive, and a good way to complete it is certainly by analyzing translation equivalents of the Swedish pronoun in a translation corpus.

4 Aims and Material

In view of all that has been said, a double aim was envisaged for the study: firstly, to compare the translation equivalents of *man* in a translation corpus to the list of lexicographic equivalents, assess the latter in that light and, if it proves justified, suggest changes to the list; secondly, to see whether the set of Croatian translation equivalents established in the corpus offers any other, if only preliminary, insights, in particular regarding the usage of the pronoun *man* and the nature of the equivalence established.

[2] Among the very limited number of Swedish-Croatian dictionaries, editions of the Lexin series are considered standard reference works. Two printed and one on-line edition have been consulted, in which two different versions of the article for the entry *man* have been established.

When discussing limitations of the corpus-based approach, Granger (2003) observed that "The dearth of parallel [i.e., translation] corpora accounts for the relatively large number of cross-linguistic studies which are corpus-based in the sense that they rely on authentic texts rather than introspective methods, but not in the more usual sense of computer corpus-based" (p. 23). The corpus compiled for this study is electronic but it has had to be of the "do-it-yourself kind" (cf. Mikhailov & Cooper, 2016, p. 39). It consists of six Swedish novels and their published Croatian translations (five translators) as well as 105 standard pages of Swedish non-literary texts of different types and their translations into Croatian taken from the Masters theses (the Swedish-Croatian translation part) by five graduate students of Swedish/translation stream at the University of Zagreb. The Swedish subcorpus exceeds 410,000 words and it includes 998 occurrences of the pronoun *man* in its subject form (the object form *en* and the possessive form *ens* have not been included in the analysis at this stage). The two subcorpora have been aligned, the Swedish one searched for pronominal *man* and the equivalents in the Croatian subcorpus established. Since some Swedish sentences containing *man* were left out in translation, 988 pairs of sentences have eventually been analysed. The aims set for the study have required that the analysis be both quantitative and qualitative.

5 Procedure and Results

The first stage of analysis has shown clearly that *man* presents a translation problem in Swedish-Croatian translation which cannot be solved by choosing from among a few obvious equivalents. On the contrary, three groups of solutions emerged based on the size of the segment for which an equivalent could be established. In the Croatian sentences that have an equivalent to *man* at the word level, 23 different equivalents appear, either pronouns (19) or nouns (4). Among the nouns, three are indeed specific nouns, namely *čovjek* ("man"), *ljudi* ("people") and *osoba* ("person"), while the fourth stands for the category 'noun', i.e., different nouns that were used when the reference of the Swedish *man* got explicated in the translation, based on the context. An example is

Sw. ***Man*** *kom igång med att hurra lite och ställde sig upp (…)* ("One started (…)")

Cro. ***Gosti*** *su počeli nazdravljati ustavši od stola (…)* ("[The] guests started to cheer having risen from the table (…)).

The second group of translation solutions includes three verbal constructions which actually correspond to the combination of *man* and the finite verb in the source sentence. These are the already mentioned *se*-passive, as well as impersonal verbal constructions and infinitive:

Sw. *Sådant bara* ***vet man****, det går inte att förklara.* ("One just knows such (…)")

Cro. *Takve* ***se*** *stvari jednostavno* ***znaju****, to se ne da objasniti*. (*se*-passive; "Such things are simply known (…)");

Sw. ***Man fick*** *vara glad åt det lilla.* ("One had to be happy (…)")

Cro. ***Treba*** *biti zadovoljan i s malim.* (impersonal verb, subject not expressed; "[One] has to be happy also with [the] small");

Sw. *De visste inte hur* ***man överlevde*** *i fiendelägret.* ("(…) how one survived (…)")

Cro. *Ne znaju kako* ***preživjeti*** *u neprijateljskom kampu.* (infinitive; "They don't know how to survive (…)").

The third set of solutions involves equivalence only at the sentence (clause) level, with translations that either have a different subject or for some other reason need no word-equivalent to *man*. Such sentences are often constructed through modulation or use of Croatian idiomatic language:

Sw. *Jag försöker skrika, men det är svårt* ***om man har tungan*** *fastklistrad.* ("(…) if one has the tongue glued up")

Cro. *Pokušavam vikati, ali to je teško* ***kad je jezik zalijepljen***. (modulation; "I try to scream but that's difficult when [the] tongue is glued up.")

Sw. **Vad säger man?** ("What does one say?")

Cro. **Je l' tako?** (idiomatic language; "Is [that] so?").

As the next step, the equivalents of the first kind (23 altogether) were grouped in order to match the usual description of the functions of *man*, disregarding differences that seemed irrelevant in that context. The various indefinite pronouns were thus lumped together (*svi* "all", *svatko* "everybody", *nitko* "nobody", *mnogi* "the many", *tko* "who") to match the "indefinite" or "indefinite quantitative" description of *man*, with the exception of the pronouns that are quoted in Croatian dictionaries, which were kept as a separate group (*neki* "some", *netko* "somebody"). At first glance it might seem that the same could be done with personal pronouns of the same person since the number does not change the relevant functions (e.g., speaker/addressee). That is, however, not the case both because of the function of *man* (replacing *jag* and *du*, rather than the plural pronouns of the same person) and because of the fact that some Croatian personal pronouns have, along with their prototypical referential function, an impersonal use and it is exactly the number that is relevant in that respect (only 2nd person singular and 1st and 3rd persons plural can have that function, cf. Silić & Pranjković, 2005, p. 318). Personal pronouns posed another dilemma in that they sometimes appear as an explicit one-word equivalent for *man* but are more commonly implicit in sentences with no explicit subject and the grammatical person marked in the finite verb (the Croatian syntax allows for unexpressed subjects). The corpus thus contains e.g.,

Sw. Får **man** prova? ("May one try?")

Cro. "Smijem i **ja** probati?" ("May I try, too?", subject "I" expressed)

as well as

Sw. **Man** måste tänka på pengarna! ("One must think about the money!")

Cro. Mor**am** misliti na novac. ("[I] must$_{1st\ sg}$ think about (…)", unexpressed subject, the verb form indicating 1st person singular).

Since it is the meaning of the person and number that is essential here rather than the way in which it is expressed, examples of both kinds were taken to belong to the same category. Eventually, eighteen different categories of translation equivalents were thus obtained and their respective shares in the overall number (i.e., 988) calculated.

The first point of interest was to see how common the equivalents established in the dictionaries were within the set of translation equivalents. As can be seen in the next graph (Fig. 1), taken together, they account for less than a half of all the translation solutions (42.1%). In the 988 translated sentences, the *se*-passive construction has been used 340 times (34.4%), the word-equivalent *čovjek* 66 times (6.7%), pronouns *netko* or *neki* altogether 10 times (1%). In 572 sentences (57.9%) equivalence has been established in a way not mentioned in the dictionaries.

In the next step the heterogeneous category 'other' was broken up and the share in the corpus of each of the eighteen categories mentioned above was established (Fig. 2).

At this stage it has become clear that the Croatian *se*-passive construction is the most common translation solution in the corpus (340 occurrences). Following it are the 2nd person singular markers (personal pronoun *ti* or finite verb forms,

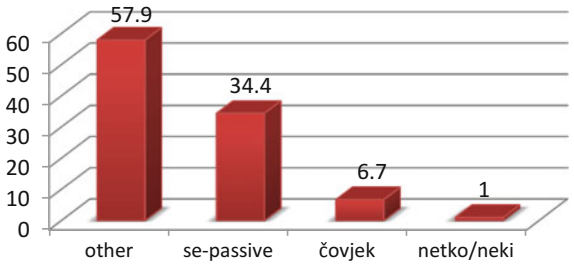

Fig. 1 Share (%) of lexicographic equivalents of *man* (*se*-passive, *čovjek, netko/neki*) versus other translation solutions in the corpus

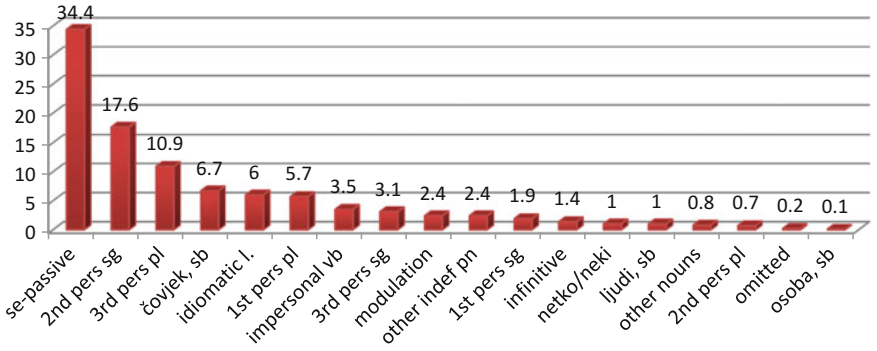

Fig. 2 Share (%) of the various translation equivalents in the corpus

174 occurrences) and the 3rd person plural markers (pronouns *oni, one, ona* or verb forms, 108 occurrences). The next three categories all have a share of between 5 and 7% in this corpus: *čovjek* (66), equivalence established through the use of idiomatic language (59), and the markers of 1st person plural (personal pronoun *mi* or appropriate verb forms, 56 altogether). Following these is the category 'impersonal verb' (35), in which an impersonal verb is used in translation, with the subject neither expressed nor implied. Slightly less frequent in this corpus is the use of the 3rd person singular markers (pronouns *on, ona, ona*/verb forms, 31). Two very different types of solution occur 24 times each: equivalence achieved at the sentence/clause level through modulation and by using an indefinite pronoun other than *netko* or *neki* (if the two groups of indefinite pronouns were not kept separate, which has been done here only in order to enable an assessment of lexicographic equivalents, the overall share of indefinite pronouns in the corpus would be 3.4%). The markers of the 1st person singular (personal pronoun *ja* or the appropriate verb forms) occur 19 times as translation equivalents and are followed by the infinitive verb form (14) and the two remaining categories involving lexicographic equivalents i.e., the indefinite pronouns *netko or neki* and the noun *ljudi* with 10 occurrences each. The remaining four types of solutions have been used less than 10 times.

6 Discussion

A comparison of the results of the quantitative analysis and the articles for the entry *man* in the consulted dictionaries shows that the latter do not fully reflect the variety of uses of the Swedish pronoun. Notwithstanding the fact that many different circumstances determine the lexicographic presentation, some changes in what has been established as the standard set of lexicographic equivalents and explanations are warranted. The following seems relevant:

– the *se*-passive construction has proved to be the most frequently used translation solution, almost twice as common as the one following it, while its dictionary status is only minor (not specifically referred to at all, just appearing in translations of the usage examples);
– while the category '2nd person singular' has the second largest share in the corpus, it is not mentioned in the dictionaries at all. As was indicated above, its common use in Croatian translations has to do with the fact that it is not only used in reference to the addressee but it can also express impersonal meaning (cf. Silić & Pranjković, 2005, p. 318), as in

Sw. Rädsla är något **man** lever med ensam. ("Fear is something one lives with.)
Cro. Strah je nešto s čime živ**iš** sam. ("Fear is something with which [you] live$_{\text{2nd sg}}$ alone.").

The impersonal use of the 2nd person singular, as well as of the 1st and the 3rd person plural, may be considered 'covered' by the dictionary explanation "indicates

an unspecified person". However, the corpus also includes examples of the 2nd person with specific reference to the addressee, as in

> Sw. "Hörrudu din lille fjant!" fräste han. "Plötsligt är **man** så jävla kaxig! Akta dig ditt lilla äckel!" ("All of a sudden one is (…)")
>
> Cro. - Čuj, ti mali glupane! - zaurlao je. Odjednom **si** tako bezobrazan! Samo se pazi, govnaru mali! ("Listen, you little jerk!, he shouted. All of a sudden [you] are$_{\text{2nd sg}}$ so cheecky."; both texts are a direct address).

The same is true of the 3rd and the 1st person plural and none of that is accounted for in the dictionaries, not even with usage examples.

– the possibility for *man* to refer to the speaker is not mentioned in the dictionaries either, while it is acknowledged in Swedish reference books and the category '1st person singular' appears as the chosen translation solution 19 times in the corpus. In other words, no element in the dictionary articles provides an explanation for sentences such as the following:

> Sw. - Får **man** vara med? ("May one participate/join in?")
>
> Cro. - Mog**u** li igrati s vama? ("May$_{\text{1st sg}}$ [I] play with you?")

– the noun *čovjek* is rightly quoted as a lexicographic equivalent but this is not always done in a way which would make it obvious that it is its generalizing use that corresponds to *man*;
– the pronoun *netko* is one of the two most common indefinite pronouns among the translation equivalents of *man*. The other one is, however, not the pronoun quoted in the dictionaries (*neki*, only one occurrence in the corpus) but *nitko* ("nobody") with seven occurrences.

With regard to the second aim of this study—to check whether the compiled translation corpus can offer any insights into other phenomena, linguistic, contrastive linguistic or those that might be of interest for translation studies—several observations can be made. As has already been stated, multiple interpretations of a linguistic unit, in this case *man*, contained in a translation corpus expose the unit's various meanings and uses. In the light of the results obtained in this study, it would seem interesting to check how often the 'indefinite pronoun' *man* actually has a known referent and whether that circumstance should be made more prominent in its description. Such a usage prompts translations categorized here as 'other nouns' or those grammatical persons that normally do not imply an impersonal meaning, but it is also manifest in many cases where modulation has been applied as well as in a number of translations involving the three grammatical persons that may but need not be used impersonally. It would seem that the overall share of such translation solutions is not negligible. On thother hand, one might easily come to an erroneous conclusion if the translation equivalents were taken to necessarily be truly identical to the source unit in focus. The impression obtained through this study suggests that Croatian equivalents of *man* often do not preserve its distancing function and that they resolve the (deliberate) ambiguity with regard to its referent. Any conclusions about the use of *man* would therefore have to be substantiated in a monolingual corpus or in another way.

The comments on the interpretation of the referent and the equivalence established are illustrated by the following:

Sw. Och bjuder **man** Pia måste **man** bjuda Eva-Lena, nästan skriker Juha.

("And if one invites Pia, one must invite Eva-Lena, Juha almost shouts.")

Cro. A ako pozov**emo** Piju, onda mor**amo** pozvati i Evu-Lenu – Juha sad gotovo viče (…)

("And if [we] invite$_{1st\ pl}$ Pia, then [we] must$_{1st\ pl}$ also invite Eva-Lena – Juha is almost shouting now", "we" refers to Juha and his friend with whom he is planning a party, no generalized interpretation is possible)

Sw. - Så ska **man** få det kastat i ansiktet också, sa modern. ("So one shall get it/that thrown in the face too, said the mother.")

Cro. "Sad **me** i za to kriviš", rekla je majka. („Now you blame me for that too").

Further research could also try to establish whether the disambiguating translation equivalents in the corpus may be taken as resulting from the translator's choice only and thus indicating that translators find it more important to produce a referentially unambiguous translation than to preserve the generalizing, distancing or a similar quality.

7 Conclusion

In line with the view of translation corpora as a valuable research tool in both Contrastive Linguistics and Translation Studies, the study presented here identifies some potential uses of a translation corpus of the do-it-yourself kind, such as is still necessary for many language pairs. The Swedish-Croatian translation corpus has been analysed in order to get a more comprehensive understanding of the various ways in which the Swedish pronoun *man* can be rendered in Croatian and to assess the standard lexicographic presentations of the pronoun in bilingual dictionaries in that light. The qualitative analysis required towards that goal has indicated that the corpus could be fruitfully used to pursue other research topics, as different as e.g., relating individual Croatian equivalents to a particular function of *man* on the one hand and assessing translators' preferences or the nature of translation equivalence on the other.

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Goranka Antunović is Associate Professor at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, where she is the head of the Scandinavian Studies Section. Her main research interests lie in the field of translation studies (translation norms, process studies, currently focusing on post-editing and translator training) as well as in the field of contrastive linguistics (Swedish-Croatian corpus-based contrastive studies in particular). Her titles include “The

effect of interpreting experience on distance dynamics: Testing the literal translation hypothesis" (a chapter written together with Nataša Pavlović in Ehrensberger-Dow, M.; Englund Dimitrova, B.; Hubscher-Davidson, S.; Norberg, U. *Describing Cognitive Processes in Translation: Acts and events*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 2015). She is the author of *A Dictionary of Anglicisms in Swedish* (Zagreb, 1999) and the editor of several volumes, including *Glimpses of the North: Discovering Scandinavia and Scandinavian Studies.* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa. 2014) and *Language Varieties Between Norms and Attitudes—South Slavic Perspectives. Proceedings from the 2013 CALS Conference* (together with A. Peti-Stantić and M. Stanojević. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang). G. Antunović is a member of the editorial board of *Hieronymus, Journal of Translation Studies and Terminology* (http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/hieronymus/).

Dickens the Moralist: Translation Analysis of *David Copperfield*

Agnieszka Kałużna

Abstract The aim of the article is to present how Dickens's moral truths were translated. The subject of scrutiny comprises Wilhelmina Zyndram-Kościałkowska's translation of "David Copperfield" from 1888. The analysis refers to the selected social issues Dickens deemed significant for his readers. In the theoretical part of the paper Dickens as the moralist is introduced. This is when his mindset to education, money management, childhood and marriage is described. Next the attitude to the mentioned social problems as advocated by the Polish positivist writers such as Bolesław Prus, Maria Konopnicka and Eliza Orzeszkowa is examined. In the practical part the language used by Zyndram-Kościałkowska, the translator of "David Copperfield" in relation to Dickens's moral references is meticulously scrutinized. Finally conclusions are drawn.

Keywords Translation analysis · Dickens · Literary translation · Moral values "David Copperfield"

1 Introduction

In the twenty first century, when the world rushes forward surprising us with more and more modern technological advances, who has time to read Dickens? Is he worth reading? What can he offer us today? The purpose of this article is not only to present Dickens as the moralist but also to examine how Dickens's moral truths were translated. In the analysis the theoretical term known as *connotative meaning* (Nida, 1969, p. 91), the concept coined by Eugene A. Nida, is used to determine how Dickens's moral attitude was transferred into the target language. The subject of scrutiny comprises Wilhelmina Zyndram-Kościałkowska's translation of "David Copperfield" from 1888. The idea is to gauge to what extent Dickens's moral tone

A. Kałużna (✉)
Department of English Philology, Institute of Language Studies, The University of Zielona Góra, ul. Al. Wojska Polskiego 71A, 65-762 Zielona Góra, Poland
e-mail: a.kaluzna@in.uz.zgora.pl

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permeated the rendition made by Zyndram-Kościałkowska. Dickens's moral messages are examined in themes regarding education, money management, childhood and marriage.

2 Origins of Dickens's Moral Tone

As one can notice by studying Dickens's biography, his moral spine was probably shaped by his personal experiences. Those most bitter ones took its toll in Dickens's heart for the rest of his life and concerned his childhood. When Dickens was twelve, he was forced to abandon his dreams to become an educated gentleman, and began his first job at the Blacking Factory. He worked from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m., with an hour break for dinner and earned six shillings a week (Johnson, 1977, p. 31). After happy and relatively careless years of his early childhood, Dickens was suddenly made an adult, which he was not ready or prepared for, yet. His father along with the rest of the family had to move to the Marshalsea prison incarcerated for debts. Therefore, Dickens had to learn how to manage his modest income to survive on his own in the big city of London. This situation was so painful and inconceivable to Dickens that he could never get over it. This is how he described what he felt then:

> No words can express the secret agony of my soul (...); [I] felt my early hopes of growing up to be a learned and distinguished man, crushed in my breast. The deep remembrance of the sense I had of being utterly neglected and hopeless, of the shame I felt in my position; of the misery it was to my young heart (…) cannot be written. My whole nature was so penetrated with the grief and humiliation (…), that even now, famous and caressed and happy, I often forget in my dreams that I have a dear wife and children; even that I am a man; and wander desolately back to that time of my life (Johnson, 1977, pp. 32–33).

By reading the above confession, one can realise how acute Dickens's experience was. Being a very sensitive child and of the delicate psyche, he was vulnerable to mental harm which he was exposed to. There he was, alone and unprotected in the violent city, and he might easily become "(...) a little robber or a vagabond" (Jordan, 2001, p. 4). As a child he had to live with a sense of profound disappointment when he realised how easily his parents got rid of him. This is what he felt:

> The worst pang of all was that his parents seemed pleased to have him off their hands. With despair in his heart he realized that they frankly welcomed his being entered to servitude. He says himself that they could not have appeared more satisfied had he had a 'distinguished career at a grammar-school' and had qualified to go to Cambridge (Pope-Hennessy, 1945, p. 25).

Dickens's anger concerning the situation was directed mainly to his mother as he believed she was the one to be particularly satisfied with him being sent to the Blacking Factory: "(...) but I never afterwards forgot, I never shall forget, I never can forget, that my mother was warm for my being sent back" (Jordan, 2001, p. 5). Perhaps this bitter disappointment had its contribution in shaping Dickens's attitude to women, and marriage respectively. It is quite plain to see that as a twelve year-old

he had completely different expectations from life. He was a very eager reader, with an open mind, exceptionally sensitive, with a more than average sense of observation. He had hopes to go to school and gain education to be able to earn a decent living and deserve to become a respectable gentleman. Then, all of a sudden, his dreams crushed in an instant. Consequently, he could never forgive his parents that they did not send him to any school but, instead, made him a common worker (Johnson, 1977, p. 31). It is amazing to realise how much this little boy had to experience at a time. First of all, he got deeply disappointed by his parents who, as he believed, were happy to make him a lower class citizen. Secondly, all his dreams and ambitions became unattainable as he was doomed to a lousy job as an unqualified worker. Thirdly, he had to learn how to manage and survive on a very modest income, which, undoubtedly, must have been a challenge to a young boy of his age. Additionally, as one can imagine, he was all alone in the big city and must have felt terribly lonely. Though deprived of education, this is just this fact that made him such a terrific and unique writer. One may even risk a statement that if it were not for the disappointments he experienced, he would never become such a prominent author. This observation has been confirmed by Una Pope-Hennessy who wrote the following words:

> No other education could possibly have formed the intellectual background to his interpretation of the very peculiar England of which he knew the under-side, and we may be thankful that his knowledge of the upper-side was so long deferred as to enable him thoroughly to understand the point of view of the disinherited (Pope-Hennessy, 1945, p. 31).

As it is plain to see, what made Dickens such a popular writer was perhaps his genuineness, the quality he acquired by experience not education. Perhaps that is why, being experienced as he was, he felt in the position to share his moral truths with his readers so that, in that way, prevent them from misfortune that happened to him. Dickens's novels are imbued with morality, which is his characteristic feature. As Paul Schlicke noticed Dickens's sense of morality might be described as typical of a middle-class Victorian:

> "(...) a belief in self-help, combined with a commitment to charitable activity on behalf of deserving groups, and a willingness to treat the undeserving as beyond the pale. The crucial differences from the stereotype are these: first, in an age of individualism he clung to a morality of sociability, believing that social life brought out the best in people (…). Secondly, through an embodiment himself of the work ethic, he fought to introduce more pleasure and leisure into the lives of the people. Thirdly, he preached a tolerance of other people's behaviour" (Schlicke, 1999, p. 393).

When analysing Dickens's belief in self-help, one can easily associate this useful quality with his own ability to survive when he was a twelve-year-old. As to Dickens's urge for social life, one can also understand that when one realises how lonely he must have been living all alone in the big city of London. As far as work ethic is concerned, Dickens as a little worker of the Blacking Factory had to work long hours, supposedly he must have had very little time for fun. Additionally, as an admirer of the theatre he put a lot of emphasis on theatricality, which is noticeable in his characters: "integrity, imagination, and desire to please are the essential ingredients of (…) theatricality" (Schlicke, 1999, p. 147). When it comes to his tolerant approach

towards other people's behaviour, it may also originate from hours spent observing a vibrant and versatile life in the streets of London.

Indeed, critics often accuse Dickens's fiction of melodrama which, sometimes, might stem from Dickens's excessive moral tone observed in his novel. But as George J. Worth argues Dickens's melodrama is not a vice but a virtue: "Dickensian melodrama, in the carefully defined senses (…), contributes much that is uniquely precious to his art" (Worth, 1978, p. 26). Therefore, one may notice that Dickens's traumatic experiences from his childhood shaped him as a man and made him a distinguished writer who is so eager to share his moral wisdom with the reader.

3 Translation of "David Copperfield" (1888) by Wilhelmina Zyndram-Kościałkowska

As has been presented above, one of Dickens's characteristic feature is his moralizing tone that permeates his style of writing. It is interesting to observe how this peculiar quality has been rendered in translation. Before this is analysed, however, one needs to provide some information concerning reception of Dickens in Poland.

Following Mirosława Kocięcka's findings, Dickens had begun to be translated into Polish since circa 1840 (Kocięcka, 1962, p. 149). The subject of scrutiny in this article is "David Copperfield", which translation rendered by F. S. Dmochowski reached Poland in 1857. The problem with this translation is that there is not a single copy available today. As Kocięcka explains the book was probably very popular among readers to the extent none of the copy remained till this day. At the end of the nineteenth century the complete translation of "David Copperfield" rendered by Wilhelmina Zyndram-Kościałkowska appeared in 1889 (Kocięcka, 1962, p. 156). Though Ewa Kujawska-Lis specifies that the first unabridged translation of "David Copperfield" appeared in 1888 (see Kujawska-Lis in Hollington, 2013, p. 482). Her translation was accused of linguistic errors, omissions and imprecision. Therefore, the reviewed and corrected version was again introduced in 1954 (Kocięcka, 1962, p. 156).

In this paper the subject of analysis is the translation rendered by Wilhelmina Zyndram-Kościałkowska in 1888.

4 Dickens and Polish Positivism

As a Victorian writer Dickens liaised with Victorian philosophy in his novels. In Poland the Victorian attitude was not so much popular as Positivism was. Kujawska-Lis presents Positivism in the following way:

> Positivism in Poland was a literary, political and social movement. Positivists sought to criticize the vices of Poles and to create a modern Polish nation by reforming and educating

its society. This was to be done partly through literature presenting the world 'as it is', with Dickens as an inspiration. Among Dickens's admirers was Eliza Orzeszkowa (see Kujawska-Lis in Hollington, 2013, p. 483).

As it seems, Dickens's moralizing tone inspired Polish writers such as, for example, Orzeszkowa who: "(…) viewed Dickens as a moralist stressing social topics in his fiction (see Kujawska-Lis in Hollington, 2013, p. 483). Other authors who were definitely inspired by Dickens and represented the Polish Positivism, to mention just a few, were: Henryk Sienkiewicz, Bolesław Prus, Maria Konopnicka and Stefan Żeromski. One may presume that themes Dickens touched upon in his novels regarding specific social issues seemed universal, timeless and contemporary to the Polish writers of Positivism. The more so that certain values such as, for instance, the emphasis on education, justice and fate of the hopeless and poor were equally important in the Victorian and positivistic philosophy.

5 Translation Analysis of "David Copperfield"

The analysis comprises excerpts of translation entitled "Dawid Copperfield" and rendered by Wilhelmina Zyndram-Kościałkowska in 1888. The subsequent samples illustrating Dickens's moralizing tone include such social issues as childhood, education, money management and marriage. The idea is to gauge how the mentioned themes were presented in translation and to what extent Wilhelmina Zyndram-Kościałkowska managed to transfer Dickens's subtle moralizing attitude into the target language. In order to carry out the analysis, the theoretical term of *connotative meaning* is examined. The concept was elaborated on by Eugene A. Nida. This translation scholar and translator of the Bible defines the term accordingly: "[the] aspect of the meaning which deals with our emotional reactions to words" (Nida, 1969, p. 91). The same term was further discussed by Basil Hatim and Jeremy Munday who specify this meaning as follows: "(…) (connotation), the emotional reaction engendered in the reader by a word" (2004, p. 35). The purpose of the analysis is to scrutinise whether Dickens's moral truth included in the source text evokes comparable emotional reaction in the reader of the target text. In other words, if Wilhelmina Zyndram-Kościałkowska managed to transmit and maintain Dickens's moral tone in her translation.

5.1 Childhood

It is noticeable that Dickens often refers to childhood and his characters are frequently children in his novels. As Hughes explains: "The dominant element in Dickens's character was sympathy with childhood, not merely for it. He had the productive sympathy that feels and thinks from the child's standpoint" (Hughes, 1913, p. 162).

At the same time Hughes adds that: "Dickens pitied children for the terrors with which they were threatened" (Hughes, 1913, p. 166). In "Dawid Copperfield" the protagonist's childhood is but a dream. Dickens presents it in its bitter form as follows (Table 1).

The scene above introduces David beaten by Mr. Murdstone, his stepfather. The thing that is noticeable at the first glance is the length of Zyndram-Kościałkowska's translation. It is definitely much shorter than the source text due to the following omissions: *It was only a moment that I stopped him, for he cut me heavily an instant afterwards*. Despite its brevity, translation seems more melodramatic than the original. This specific melodramatic effect has been achieved thanks to the obsolete language Zyndram-Kościałkowska used in her translation as in the expressions: ***ukąsiłem go*** *– czuję jeszcze na zębach* ***oskomę***. ***Jął*** *bić mię, jak gdyby miał* ***zasiec na śmierć***. As Adela Styczyńska notices the narrator shows the reader "the dehumanization of the individual" (1988, p. 158). The purpose of such a manoeuvre is to appeal to the reader's humane emotions and, thus fulfil its moral role. The morality behind the analysed scene refers to injustice and harm done on the weak and defenceless child. This motif was willingly used by Eliza Orzeszkowa, Henryk Sienkiewicz and Maria Konopnicka, the writers of Polish Positivism who emphasised the poor fate of the neglected, homeless children and orphans (Obsulewicz-Niewińska, 2008, p. 68). It is plain to see that Zyndram-Kościałkowska aptly preserved the moral aspect in the translation and even extended it into melodrama to intensify the impact made on the reader. When one analyses the aspect of *connotative meaning* in reference to fragments concerning the act of violence made on David, this may lead to an interesting observation. Namely, the translator tries to evoke even more emotional reaction in the reader than it is visible in the source text as in the phrases *w* ***żelaznych*** *jego ręku,* ***zasiec na śmierć***, ***ukąsiłem go***.

Table 1 David's childhood

Original	Translation
He had my head as in a vice, but I twined round him somehow, and stopped him for a moment, entreating him not to beat me. It was only a moment that I stopped him, for he cut me heavily an instant afterwards, and in the same instant I caught the hand with which he held me in my mouth, between my teeth, and bit it through. It sets my teeth on edge to think of it. He beat me then, as if he would have beaten me to death. Above all the noise we made, I heard them running up the stairs, and crying out – I heard my mother crying out – and Peggotty. Then he was gone; and the door was locked outside; and I was lying, fevered and hot, and torn, and sore, and raging in my puny way, upon the floor (Dickens, 1850, p. 50)	*Wiłem się jak wąż w żelaznych jego ręku, błagając, aby mię nie bił. Mocowaliśmy się z sobą przez chwilę. Widząc, że mi zatyka ręką usta, ukąsiłem go – czuję jeszcze na zębach oskomę.* *Jął bić mię, jak gdyby miał zasiec na śmierć. W zgiełku, jaki powstał, słyszałem wyraźnie głos i płacz matki mojej i Peggotty. Odszedł wreszcie zamykając drzwi na klucz i zostawiając mię rozgorączkowanym, spłakanym, rozszalałym, tarzającym się po podłodze* (Dickens, 1888, p. 108)

5.2 Education

The aspect of education was of utmost importance to Dickens, perhaps partly because he, as a child, was deprived of this specific privilege. Dickens believed children should have the right to decent life conditions and education. Hughes describes Dickens's attitude in the following manner:

> Dickens was a profound student of children, and he revealed his consciousness of the need of a general study of childhood in all he wrote about the importance of a free childhood, individuality, the imagination, coercion, cramming, and wrong methods of training children (Hughes, 1913, p. 181).

It is noticeable that Dickens puts a lot of emphasis on individuality and pays attention to the necessity to develop this individuality through education. "David Copperfield" is the novel in which educational plots are frequently presented (Table 2).

In search of phrases that could carry Dickens's moral tone in translation, one may notice expressions evoking negative associations such as ***naigrywał się*** *i* ***natrząsał*** *jeszcze z niego, (…) jak* ***złe*** *psiaki, śmieliśmy się* ***nikczemnie****, (…) pobladłe* ***ze strachu*** *twarze, (…)* ***bolesna*** *i czerwona na mych plecach pręga.* As it seems Zyndram-Kościałkowska added these locutions purposefully. Presumably, the reason for it was that she tried to make it clear for the reader what relation between Mr. Creakle and David was. Namely, that the teacher was to be respected and the student, when he misbehaved, was to be severely punished. It is interesting to observe that there is a fragment when Zyndram-Kościałkowska's translation loses humour contained in the source text as in the example *I sit* ***with my eye on*** *Mr. Creakle,* ***blinking at him like a young owl*** rendered into *otwierając szeroko osowiałe oczy*. When analysing

Table 2 David's education

Original	Translation
Mr. Creakle cuts a joke before he beats him, and we laugh at it, - miserable little dogs, we laugh, with our visages as white as ashes, and our hearts sinking into our boots. *Here I sit at the desk again, on a drowsy summer afternoon. A buzz and hum go up around me, as if the boys were so many bluebottles. A cloggy sensation of the lukewarm fat of meat is upon me (we dined an hour or two ago), and my head is as heavy as so much lead. I would give the world to go to sleep. I sit with my eye on Mr. Creakle, blinking at him like a young owl; when sleep overpowers me for a minute, he still looms through my slumber, ruling those ciphering-books, until he softly comes behind me and wakes me to plainer perception of him, with a red ridge across my back* (Dickens, 1850, pp. 75–76)	*Mr Creakle zanim go bić poczynał, naigrawał się i natrząsał jeszcze z niego, a my jak złe psiaki, śmieliśmy się nikczemnie, choć duszę mieliśmy w piętach i pobladłe ze strachu twarze.* *Pamiętam jedno ciężkie, gorące, letnie popołudnie. W klasie huczało tak, jak gdyby wszyscy uczniowie zmienili się w chrabąszcze; obiad zjedliśmy przed godziną i głowa mi ciążyła, upadłem ze snu, otwierając szeroko osowiałe oczy, wpatrywałem się w mr. Creakle, poprawiającego kajety, musiałem się zdrzemnąć i nie spostrzegłem, jak się zbliżył do mnie. Zbudziła mnie dopiero bolesna i czerwona na mych plecach pręga* (Dickens, 1888, p. 132)

the impact the source text might make on the reader, it seems more humorous and less serious than the target text. Connotations one might have by reading the original sample are that school is fun in spite of certain rules pupils have to obey and if they do not, they would be punished. As it seems Zyndram-Kościałkowska's translation does not evoke the same associations. In that way Dickens's moral tone of what school is has been presented more seriously in the translation. Thus, one may presume that Zyndram-Kościałkowska transferred the *connotative meaning* concerning school slightly differently than Dickens. The emotional reaction the reader of the translation might have is more geared towards seriousness of the school.

5.3 Money Management

As has been already mentioned, Dickens as a child witnessed his father's financial troubles and experienced the consequences of his father's irresponsibility with money. It was when his father was incarcerated for debts and Dickens had to go to work to the Blacking Factory at the age of twelve. In "David Copperfield", the book that is considered to be Dickens's autobiography (Thurley, 1976, p. 132), one may find plots referring to money. The sample below presents a fragment of a conversa-

Table 3 Mr. Micawber's advice

Original	Translation
At last Mr. Micawber's difficulties came to a crisis, and he was arrested early one morning, and carried over to the King's Bench Prison in the Borough. He told me, as he went out of the house, that the God of day had now gone down upon him – and I really thought his heart was broken and mine too. But I heard, afterwards, that he was seen to play a lively game at skittles, before noon. *(…) Mr. Micawber was waiting for me within the gate, and we went up to his room (top story but one), and cried very much. He solemnly conjured me, I remember, to take warning by his fate; and to observe that if a man had twenty pounds a-year for his income, and spent nineteen pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence, he would be happy, but that if he spent twenty pounds one he would be miserable. After which he borrowed a shilling of me for porter, gave me a written order on Mrs. Micawber for the amount, and put away his pocket-handkerchief, and cheered up* (Dickens, 1850, p. 136)	*Nadszedł nareszcie dawno przewidywany w interesach pana Micawber'a kryzys; poprowadzono go pewnego poranku do więzienia. Przed wyjściem z domu mówił, że palec boży cięży nad niemi, istotnie był przybitym (a i ja także), słyszałem jednak, że już o południu zorganizował w więzieniu partyę kręgli.* *(…) Mr Micawber czekał mnie u furty i poprowadził do swej celi zalewając się gorzkiemi łzami. Zaklinał mię, pamiętam, aby mi smutny los jego pozostał na zawsze upomnieniem, że ten, co posiada rocznego dochodu dwadzieścia liwrów, może wydać dziewiętnaście liwrów, dziewiętnaście szylingów i sześć pensów, lecz biada mu, jeśli wydaje dwadzieści jeden. Po czem wręczył mi szylinga na porter, dał kartkę do żony i oddał się wesołości* (Dickens, 1888, p. 192)

tion between David and Mr. Micawber who gives him a piece of advice how money should be managed (Table 3).

It is noticeable that Zyndram-Kościałkowska does not explain the cultural Victorian term of being incarcerated for debts. She actually uses the term *więzienie* but it is not clear in her translation that Mr. Micawber was imprisoned for his debts. As far as morality is concerned, Dickens takes advantage of contrast by showing the reader Mr. Micawber's inconsistent behaviour. On the one hand, he is totally devastated when he finds out that he would have to go to prison: *his heart was broken*. On the other hand, it does not stop him from participating in a joyous game of skittles that he enjoys later that afternoon. Zyndram-Kościałkowska aptly transfers this contrast into her translation as in the instances *(…) zalewając się gorzkimi łzami, (…) i oddał się wesołości*. In that way she managed to transmit Dickens's moral and sarcastic tone concerning money management in her translation. Thus, one may risk a statement that the *connotative meaning* regarding the attitude to money has been comparable between the source and the target language.

5.4 Marriage

Dickens's moral attitude to marriage, as presented below in the analysed sample, probably derives from the disappointment with his own marriage (Johnson, 1977, p. 451).

As it seems, Dickens was not fulfilled in marriage, despite his desperate longing for a perfect understanding between man and his wife, as portrayed in his novels (Table 4).

One may notice that Zyndram-Kościałkowska transfers Dickens's moral truth about marriage in a slightly less emotional tone than it can be witnessed in the source text. To support this statement, one may include the examples *as* ***all men*** *did* translated into *co* ***niejeden*** *z nas spostrzegł* as well as *if my wife would* ***have helped***

Table 4 David's reflections upon his marriage

Original	Translation
In fulfilment of the compact I have made with myself, to reflect my mind on this paper, I again examine it, closely, and bring its secrets to the light. What I missed, I still regarded – I always regarded – as something that had been a dream of my youthful fancy; that was incapable of realization; that I was now discovering to be so, with some natural pain, as all men did. But that it would have been better for me if my wife could have helped me more, and shared the many thoughts in which I had no partner; and that this might have been; I knew (Dickens, 1850, p. 562)	*Dziś, wchodząc w głąb mojego życia i serca, badam na nowo rozbudzone to uczucie. Brakowało mi czegoś, co było niespełnionem i nie dającym się już spełnić, marzeniem mem młodocianem; spostrzegłem, co niejeden z nas spostrzegł, i napełniło to mnie wielkim smutkiem – żem nie znalazł w żonie przyjaciółki, współpracownicy, podpory* (Dickens, 1888, p. 601)

me more, *and* ***shared the many thoughts*** *in which* ***I had no partner*** rendered into *żem* ***nie znalazł w żonie przyjaciółki, współpracownicy, podpory***. Based on this analysis, one may observe that Zyndram-Kościałkowska decided to be quite moderate with emotions when it comes to transmitting the aspect of the connotative meaning regarding marriage. Thus the moral truth about marriage the way Dickens perceived it in the examined sample is slightly alleviated by Zyndram-Kościałkowska's translation.

6 Conclusions

The purpose of this article was to present Dickens as the moralist and, simultaneously, to examine how Dickens's moral truths were translated by Wilhelmina Zyndram-Kościałkowska, as included in *David Copperfield*. In order to determine how Dickens's moral attitude was transferred into the target language, the concept of *connotative* meaning was used. The analysis comprised randomly selected samples that dealt with such social issues as childhood, education, money management and marriage.

In the excerpt concerning childhood Zyndram-Kościałkowska intensified the emotional impact of her translation. Thus, one may argue that Dickens's moral attitude was not only preserved but also extended in the translated fragment.

In the sample regarding education the emotional impact is shifted from fun and joy of school towards its seriousness. Therefore, Dickens's moral truth about school the way he presented it in the source text is not entirely retained in translation.

In the fragment dealing with money Zyndram-Kościałkowska managed to transmit Dickens's moral attitude in a similar manner as in the original, source text.

In the part on marriage Zyndram-Kościałkowska did not transfer Dickens's moral attitude in the same way but slightly alleviated the drama of the source text in her translation.

No.	Morality in social issues	The source text connotative meaning	The target text connotative meaning
1.	Childhood		Emotions regarding violence towards a child intensified compared with the source text
2.	Education		Seriousness of school and discipline emphasised (without preserving the aspect of fun and humour)
3.	Money management	Comparable between the source and target texts	Comparable between the source and target texts
4.	Marriage	The source text seems more emotional and dramatic than the target text	

The present article focuses on Dickens as the moralist in *David Copperfield* but it is to be hoped that further analysis including other Dickens's novels would contribute to even more versatile findings. Hopefully, this modest introduction helps to develop more interest in this area of research and to confirm that Dickens is still worth reading.

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Agnieszka Kałużna, PhD, is Assistant Professor in the Department of English Philology, Institute of Language Studies at the University of Zielona Góra. She is also a certified translator and interpreter of English. Her academic interests include literary translations (18th and 19th century) from the historical perspective and contemporary translation.

The Translation of *Dune*: An Encounter of Languages

Alice Ray

Abstract Frank Herbert's novel, *Dune* (1965), is special in the science fiction field; the originality of this novel lives not only in its content, but also in its form as the author uses some stylistic effects to make his point, and especially foreign languages. Arabic is greatly represented in the novel and takes on a particular meaning. *Dune* is a novel in which languages are in contact, and the translation adds another linguistic dimension to the work. Loanwords have two aims in *Dune*: creating an exotic paradigm inside an unknown alien world while appealing to the reader's background about those particular languages. However, in a science fiction context the loanwords tend to be more complicated as their meanings do not always refer to their initial and real life meanings, they are fiction words, according to Angenot's terminology. Frank Herbert uses some foreign terms and changes their meaning according to the context and the color he wants for his fictional world. The French translation of Frank Herbert's work is thus constrained by the foreign color the author wanted to give his novel and the semantic distortion Herbert gave to the loanwords. A comparative analysis of the loanwords in both the original and French versions of *Dune* helps to understand how the translator has dealt with the linguistic encounter of the novel and also, in a larger scale, to understand how the particular features of science fiction universe are translated.

Keywords *Dune* · Translation · French · English · Science-fiction · Fiction words Loanwords · Arabic · Frank Herbert

1 Introduction

Dune is perhaps the most well-known science fiction novel: written by Frank Herbert (1920–1986) and published in the United States in 1965, it has been translated at least in 23 different languages ("*Dune* books", WorldCat), the novel is considered

A. Ray (✉)
Langues et Sciences Humaines, Université de Lettres, Orléans, France
e-mail: alice.ray@univ-orleans.fr

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by many as a literary masterpiece, and it won two of the most prestigious science fiction awards, the Nebula and Hugo awards in 1965 and 1966: "Fifty years later it is considered by many to be the greatest novel in the SF canon, and has sold in millions around the world" (Kunzru, 2015). The intellectual and political elements the novel set up are molded into a gigantic science fiction world with great monsters, epic battles, and strange psionic powers; *Dune* is an entertaining intellectual novel whose success is now irrefutable,[1] "The sales of all Frank Herbert novels increased with the amazing success of *Dune*, and his publishers, domestic and foreign, scrambled to reissue the old material" (Herbert, 2003). The originality of the novel lies not only in its content, but also in its form as Herbert uses some specific stylistic effects to make his point, and especially foreign languages. English remains, of course, the main language as it is Herbert's native tongue and also because the novel has to be understood by the source reader, but Arabic is also greatly represented in the novel and takes on a particular meaning. *Dune* is a novel in which languages are in contact, and the translation adds another linguistic dimension to the work.

In this context of languages encounter, it seems relevant to take a closer look at *Dune*'s translation in order to compare the treatment of Arabic terms in both the original and French versions of the text. In the first part of this article, we will establish some definitions about science fiction before focusing on *Dune* and its loanwords in the second part. Then, in the third part, we will compare the morphological and semantical treatments of both the original and translated versions of *Dune*'s Arabic loanwords in order to understand how the translator has dealt with the particular feature of *Dune*'s loanwords.

2 Science Fiction and Fiction Words

What if? is the question asked by science fiction: a literary genre that is bound with science, but mostly with human beings. The concerns of science fiction are about humans and their relationships towards the Other (whether human or extra-terrestrial), science, technology, etc.: "A good science-fiction story is a story with a human problem, and a human solution, which would not have happened at all without its science content" (Sturgeon quoted in Blish, 1971, p. 167). Science fiction authors are like some mad scientists who play with their characters to see how they react, how they respond to a certain situation in a certain context which is not possible in the real world yet. Thus, the questions asked by science fiction are endless, and so are the answers.

Unlike fantasy, science fiction genre relies on the power of consistency and reliability in relation to the real world: all the new inventions, the new concepts, culture,

[1] *Dune*'s success goes beyond the novel as it has been adapted for cinema and TV screen with the miniseries of 3 episodes by John Harrison in 2000; *Dune* by David Lynch in 1984; the ghost movie *Dune* by Alejandro Jodorowsky (1973–1977) which was not directed because of funding problems but which has been the subject of a documentary in 2013, *Jodorowsky's Dune* by Frank Pavich; and the project of a new adaptation by Denis Villeneuve (Picard, 2017).

societies, technologies not only have to be rooted in the imaginary world but also be bound with the real world and its sciences [for instance, a science fiction world in which someone can hear an explosion in space is less believable because science has proved that humans can't hear sounds through space (Phillips, 2013)]. Darko Suvin established that science fiction is the literature of cognitive estrangement (Suvin, 1972): the reader is aware that the world he/she is going to read does not exist but he/she takes for granted everything new and strange described in the book as if they were natural; thus he/she can wonder "What if?" and begin to reflect what he/she reads on his own world and reality:

> In other words, this is an educational literature, hopefully less deadening than most compulsory education in our split national and class societies, but irreversibly shaped by the pathos of preaching the good word of human curiosity, fear, and hope. (…) it demands from the author and reader, teacher and critic, not merely specialized, quantified positivistic knowledge (*Scientia*) but a social imagination whose quality, whose wisdom (*sapientia*), testifies to the maturity of his critical and creative thought (Suvin, 1972, p. 381).

Therefore, science fiction elements need to be built on solid basis so that the reader's belief can be strongly rooted in the imaginary world and not be disturbed by external elements which remind him/her that "it is only science fiction", and, as a result, make him/her stop reflecting about his/her own world and the nature of man, "(…) it [science fiction] may provide writers of the late twentieth century with the vehicle that has the greatest freedom to seek for metaphors that can speak to the condition of man" (Clareson, 1971, p. 24). The reader has to believe that what he/she reads could be true and is scientifically relevant in the fictive world. The first thing to do to root a new invention, a new concept in a society is to name it: "The basic tool for the manipulation of reality is the manipulation of words" (Dick, 1978). If something is named, it comes to life. Thus, science fiction authors name their creations and create a whole new terminology for their world. These lexical creations are named by Marc Angenot "fiction words" (or "fictive words"): "words that supposedly anticipate forms of language from the future or from 'parallel' universes" (Angenot, 1979).

For example: "The technician in charge of the night shift at the map room coughed nervously as the massive, sloppy head of Glen Runciter swam up to fill the vidscreen" (Dick, 2004, p. 7). In this sentence, the term "vidscreen" is a lexical creation of science fiction: it refers to a non-existing object in the real world,[2] but a well-known object in the fictive world of *Ubik*.

In our analysis of fiction words, we have discovered three different types:

1. Fiction words: only one term—whether simple or composed—that is not present in our dictionary ["anthrotypic" (Le Guin, 1992, p. 28); "baliset" (Herbert, 1990a, 1990b, p. 4); "blaster company" (Van Vogt, 1971, p. 213)].
2. Fiction expressions: two or more terms, themselves invented or not, which create another concept or object together ["city of the Machine" (Van Vogt, 1971, p. 15); "Water of Life" (Herbert, 1990a, 1990b, p. 572); "vow kemmering" (Le Guin, 1992, p. 74)].

[2]It refers to a device that enables the user to see the person he/she is calling. Today, it seems a common device, but it was not at the end of the sixties, when *Ubik* was published.

3. Fiction senses: not invented terms but they convey a different meaning that the ones found in our dictionaries ["animator" (Dick, 2004, p. 73); "maker" (Herbert, 1990a, 1990b, p. 88); "fireman" (Bradbury, 1982, p. 6)].

These lexical creations intend to cement the fictional world of the author, to give it credibility and make it almost tangible. The meanings of the imaginary words are conveyed through two different aspects: their morphology and/or their semantic contexts, whether immediate or not. The authors have many solutions to create these words: they can use Latin and Greek roots ("anthrotypic"), especially for the words referring to science or technology; they can create portmanteau or composed words ("spaceport" (Dick, 2004, p. 83) or "antifatigue tablet" (Herbert, 1990a, 1990b, p. 170)]; they can use their creativity and phonetics ["Bambleweeny 57 Sub-Meson Brain" (Adams, 2005, p. 86)] and they can use existing languages to create an exotic paradigm in addition to create a new linguistic environment. The last solution is not a very common one as it is harder for the reader to understand the words (their morphological structures may not be helpful in this case), the author has to explain them through the context and cannot trust the reader's linguistic encyclopaedia to find out the words' meaning. However, in *Dune*, Frank Herbert uses a lot of foreign languages to cement his fictional world (we can find terms from French, Navajo, Latin, Arabic, Hebrew, etc. languages) and each language is used for a particular feature.

3 *Dune* and Loanwords

The story of *Dune* is full of political plots, economic issues, religious and social reflections. It is the first of a cycle of six novels.[3] Frank Herbert created a whole new world with new societies, new beliefs and new resources. The plot brings the reader in a strange and unknown land:

On a desert planet named Arrakis (*Dune* as it is named by its people, the Fremen), water is a rare commodity but the geriatric spice, a highly addictive substance, only grows on this inhospitable planet. This substance is rare and sought after in the entire known universe. The Atreides, a noble family, is sent on Arrakis by the Emperor. But the Harkonnens lust after the spice and want back the political power they have lost in Atreides' hands. Soon, the Baron Harkonnen uses violence and Paul, the son and heir of House Atreides, and his mother Jessica, are left alone in the desert chased by merciless Harkonnen soldiers. Their only chance of survival is the special abilities of Paul and the people of the desert: the Fremen.

In this context of political and economic plots in which two different societies meet in the middle of a very inhospitable desert land, languages also meet. Indeed,

[3] *Dune* cycle is composed by six novels written by Frank Herbert himself (*Dune* [1965], *Dune Messiah* [1969], *Children of Dune* [1976], *God Emperor of Dune* [1981], *Heretics of Dune* [1984], *Chapter House Dune* [1985]) but many other novels in Dune's universe have been written since by his son, Brian Herbert and Kevin J. Anderson ("Le cycle de *Dune*", 2000).

Dune uses foreign languages in order to construct entire new cultures on the basis of cultures which already exist. The novel contains a great number of Arabic terms, as well as to a lesser extent Latin, French, German, Navajo terms. The use of an existing language a priori unknown to the readers in a fictional world is a way to anchor this new strange world in the reality and to create the "illusion of a universe that exists beyond the borders of the story itself" (Kennedy, 2016, p. 100). Each language bears with it the idea of a culture, a religion, a way of living, even if this idea is only a deformed image coming from the reader's encyclopaedia.

According to Caputo, Enrico, and Masucci (1987), there is loanword in a language or a text for three main reasons. First, loanwords which fill a lexical blank in the target language—new word and new signified; then, loanwords which convey a meaning already conveyed by a preexisting term in the target language; and finally, loanwords which are semantically different in the source language than in the target language (Caputo et al., 1987, pp. 268–269). However, loanwords in *Dune* do not behave like any lexical loanwords, they are used in a science fictional context and so their meanings have been adapted to this context. They behave in fact like fiction words: they are not born from a real contact of languages or cultures, but from the imaginative mind of an author who wanted to dye his world with some real earth languages and cultures. The contact between languages in the novel occurs between a real language and a fictive language inspired by a real culture.

Loanwords in *Dune* have a specific purpose in the novel: they have "a specific role, simultaneously music and instrument, speech and speaker, sound and amplifier" (Plante Jourdain, 2005, p. 82), they create an exotic paradigm inside an unknown alien world while appealing to the reader's background about those particular languages. For instance, Latin words represent religion, philosophy and mystery; French words are mostly used for politics; and Arabic loanwords stain the Fremen culture, a people of the desert who struggle to find water and whose religion is bound to nature, courage and honesty (*ibid*). Arabic language seems to be the perfect linguistic colour for this imaginary people, as the sound and the poetry of the language speak directly to the reader's existing cultural references.

This essay will focus on the Arabic terms and their treatment in the French translation because they are the most represented in the novel[4] and they are very important in the creation and the characterization of Fremen culture who is one of the main features of *Dune* and its universe.

[4]We noticed 83 loanwords in the novel and 51 of them are Arabic influenced terms.

4 Arabic Loanwords in *Dune*

4.1 Original Text

As we have seen above, *Dune* offers a new perspective in language contacts: the complete recapture of foreign terms within a fictional context. Arabic loanwords are often completely redefined in the context of the novel and in some cases their new meaning is just slightly connected to the real meaning of the word. We have decided to analyse the most used and the most significant Arabic loanwords in the novel (Table 1).

We can note three different cases in these fiction loanwords—whether they are spelled differently or not. First, some Arabic loanwords have got a slightly different meaning in the novel. For example, in Arabic "jihad" means "religious crusade" [literally, it means "struggle" or "effort" (Handwerk, 2003)]; in *Dune*, the meaning is approximately the same as it is also a religious crusade, but it is not bound with Muslim religion anymore, but with the religions of the imaginary world of Arrakis (Herbert, 1990a, 1990b, p. 845). It is the same case with the word "Fedaykin" which in the novel means "Fremen death commandos" (Herbert, 1990a, 1990b, p. 840) and in Arabic "military groups willing to sacrifice themselves" ("Fedayeen", Oxford Dictionary). Their meanings are really close but the ones in the science fiction story have been adapted to their new world.

Secondly, some loanwords' meanings are really different in the novel. For instance, "Muad'Dib", which means "instructor" in Arabic (especially a religious and moral teacher) (Toorawa, 2005), has two different meanings in the world of *Dune*. First, it is a kangaroo mouse which is able to survive in the desert; then it becomes the Fremen name of Paul Atreide because of the religious connotation and the power it incarnates: "a creature associated in the Fremen earth-spirit mythology. (…) This creature is admired by Fremen for its abilities to survive in the open desert" (Herbert, 1990a, 1990b, p. 849). The difference of meaning between the fiction loanword and the real Arabic word is obvious in this example even if the choice of this particular word is relevant (Paul becomes an "instructor" for the Fremen as he becomes their spiritual guide and their leader). "taqwa" has also a whole different meaning in the novel: "something of great value" (*ibid*, p. 859) whereas the term means "piety" or "god-fearing" in Arabic.

Thirdly, some Arabic loanwords are not Arabic in fact. Frank Herbert has created fake Arabic terms using phonetics so that they would sound Arabic to the reader's ears. For example, the word "bedwine" in the fiction word "ichwan bedwine" is supposed to be "bedouin", an English term which means a nomadic desert people ("bedouin", Merriam-Webster), but Herbert has created another spelling for the word in order to make it sound exotic, especially when clumped with "ichwan", a real Arabic term.

Common loanwords are usually highlighted in the text by some markers such as bold or italics. However, *Dune*'s loanwords are inserted in their linguistic context the same way English words are. Indeed, in the context of the novel, they are ordinary

Table 1 Arabic loanwords in *Dune*

Loanwords	In *Dune* (Herbert, 1990a, 1990b)	Arabic words	Arabic definition
Muad'Dib	Fremen name of Paul Atreides. "the adapted kangaroo mouse of Arrakis (…), admired by the Fremen for its ability to survive in the open desert" (p. 849)	Mu'addib	One who teaches especially the first rule of Muslim religion
shari-a	"the part of the panoplia propheticus which sets forth the superstitious ritual" (p. 857)	Shari'a	Religious laws
al-Lat	"mankind's original sun" (p. 833)	al-Lat	Pre-Islamic goddess of fecundity personifying the sun
jihad	A religious and fanatic crusade (p. 845)	jihad	Muslim religious war Literally "effort"
hajra	"journey of seeking" (p. 843)	hijrah	Departure, exodus, migration
alam al-mithal	"the mystical world of similitudes where all physical limitations are removed" (p. 833)	alam al-mithal	The world of analogies
ichwan bedwine	"the brotherhood of all Fremen" (p. 845)	Ikhwan	Fraternity
fedaykin	"Fremen death commandos" (p. 840)	Fedayeen	Military groups willing to sacrifice themselves
taqwa	"Something of great value. That which a deity demands of a mortal and the fear provoked by the demand" (p. 859)	taqwa	Piety God-fearing

words, used either by Fremen or the other people on Arrakis: "'I see a (…) Fremen with the book of example,' she intoned. 'He reads to al-Lat, the sun whom he defied and subjugated'". (Herbert, 1990a, 1990b, p. 475); or, to give another example: "I order the full ceremony. Jamis was our companion and brother of the Ichwan Bedwine. There shall be no turning away without the respect due one who proved our fortune by his tahaddi challenge" (*ibid*, p. 499).

Nonetheless, it is important to note that if they behave like ordinary words, already accepted and used in the language encyclopaedia of the book, most of the loanwords

are substantives. Their integration into an English linguistic context is thus easier as it is more convenient to define a substantive in a sentence (dialogue or narrative) than any other grammatical elements.

4.2 French Translation

Herbert used a known language to appeal readers' knowledge. For most of the American and European people, Arabic sounds like an exotic language and evokes desert image. By using this language, the author gives the Fremen the appearance of an Arabic culture, as it is perceived by Western people. In this context, Arabic loanwords in the French translation of *Dune* are treated like any other fiction words. In a sentence, they behave exactly like any other words of the French language: "Je vois un (…) Fremen avec le livre des exemples. Il le lit à al-Lat, le soleil qu'il défie et domine". (Herbert, 1985, p. 303); or "Quant à Jamis, dit-il, la cérémonie sera pleinement célébrée. Il était notre compagnon et frère de l'Ichwan Bedwine. Nous ne nous détournerons pas sans le respect dû à celui qui a mis notre chance à l'épreuve par son tahaddi" (*ibid*, p. 317).[5]

None of the Arabic loanwords are translated with a French word in order to keep the language exoticism and color. However, there are some differences between the original and the French versions of *Dune* in Arabic loanwords' treatment.

4.2.1 Capitals, Hyphens and Determiner

Some loanwords are differently spelled in the translation and, in our perspective two main reasons may be given for these differences:

1. The subjectivity and creativity of the translator himself
2. Grammar or typographic rules of French language.

We have decided to analyse the differences between the original and the French versions of *Dune* by taking a closer look to five terms which have been transformed in the translation (Table 2).

Indeed, concerning the term "baklawa": the transformation of the "w" in a "v" seems to be a subjective choice of translation. "baklawa" is a well-known Arabic dessert; both spelling are used in English and French, but it is most often written with a "v" ("baklava", Wikipédia and "baklava", Wikipedia). Frank Herbert kept the exotic spelling of the word, probably to keep the "Arabic" pronunciation of it (or the idea Western people have of the Arabic pronunciation), but the translator decided to turn the "w" into a "v" so that the word would be easily pronounced by a French

[5] We used the same examples than for the original version above to highlight the fact that the fiction loanwords have got the same treatment both in the original and French versions of the text.

Table 2 Arabic loanwords and their translation in the French version of *Dune*

N°	English	French	*Dune* definition (Herbert, 1990a, 1990b)
1.	alam al-mithal	alam al-Mithal	"the mystical world of similitudes where all physical limitations are removed" (p. 833)
2.	El-Sayal	El sayal	"the 'rain of sand'. A fall of dust which has been carried to medium altitude (…) by a coriolis storm" (p. 840)
3.	mish-mish	mish mish	"apricots" (p. 849)
4.	baklawa	baklava	"a heavy pastry made with date syrup" (p. 834)
5.	tahaddi al-burhan	tahaddi-al-burhan	"an ultimate test from which there can be no appeal" (p. 859)

reader (especially as it is a name of a real dessert and that French people may be accustomed to this spelling).

The treatment of capitals is different for some words in the translation as we can see in examples 1 and 2. In the case of "alam al-Mithal", this term designates a mystical world where the physical limits disappear, it is a term deeply rooted in the religious belief of Fremen. Yet, in French, every "significant event, every things that in a religion relates to a divine manifestation, has a capital" (Jouette, 1993, p. 402). We can observe the opposite phenomenon with "El sayal", the term refers to a dust storm and so it is a very common term for Fremen, the translator may have removed the capital because it was in accordance with French typographic rules.

We can note the same phenomenon with hyphens: some are removed and others are added in the translation (examples 2, 3 and 5). In French, hyphens are used to combine two lexical units to form a compound word, among other possibilities (Jouette, 1993, p. 677). In Arabic, the term "mish-mish" is clumped (Gaafar & Wightwick, 2004, p. 14); in English, Herbert decided to use a hyphen and to detach the two lexemes. In French, the translator removed the hyphen but keep a space between the two elements of the term. It may be because he considered that the hyphen should be used to link two words that are not usually linked, to express an opposition or an association, or to create a compound word (Jouette, 1993, p. 677). However, "mishmish" is not a compound word or two associated semantical elements; in Arabic it is one only term.[6] In example 3, the explanation is different. The term "El sayal" is composed in reality

[6]We can wonder why the translator did not use the Arabic spelling of the word with Latin alphabet instead of adding a space between the two morphemes, but we think that in the case of "mishmish",

of two distinct grammatical elements: the determiner "el" and the substantive "sayal", which means "torrent" in Arabic (Clarity, 2003, p. 232). The original text combined these two elements to form only one compound term. In French, they are separated; the translator may have considered them as a determiner with its substantive as we can see in the linguistic context of the word: "Un souffle cristallin de sable lui effleura le visage, apportant la senteur de la masse d'épice en gestation. 'El sayal, dit-il, la pluie de sable qui apporte le matin'" (Herbert, 1985, p. 395). Unlike the last two examples, example 6 has gained a hyphen in the French translation. "tahaddi-al-burhan" is not a real Arabic term but a combination of two Arabic terms: "tahaddi" meaning "challenge" (*ibid*, p. 33) and "burhan" meaning "proof, evidence" (*ibid*, p. 64). As the two terms (and the determiner of "burhan") form a new concept, a new fiction word, the translator has decided to clump them so that they would form an only word, a compound word.

4.2.2 French Determination

Unlike English, French language doesn't have a neutral determiner: it is "le", masculine, or "la", feminine. The treatment of Arabic loanwords in the translation of *Dune* involves that question. Most of Arabic loanwords are considered as masculine as we can see in these examples: "Et s'il est réellement le Kwisatz Haderach (…) Eh bien (…)" (Herbert, 1985, p. 9); "Ce fut mon tahaddi-al-burhan, mon dernier test". (*ibid*, p. 198); "La Révérende Mère me dit qu'elle ne pourrait survivre à un autre hajra, reprit Stilgar". (*ibid*, p. 359) and "La voyante qui vous a apporté la légende, dit-elle, l'a fait par le karama et l'ijaz, le miracle et l'immuabilité de la prophétie" (*ibid*, p. 293). However, we have found two exceptions; two Arabic loanwords are considered as feminine in the French translation: "mihna" and "sayyadina". In *Dune* "Minha" means "the season for testing Fremen youths who wish admittance to manhood" (Herbert, 1990a, 1990b, p. 849); as "season" in French is a feminine word ("la saison"), the translator has decided to use a feminine marker. "Sayyadina" means "feminine acolyte in the Fremen religious hierarchy" (*ibid*, p. 856); as the term designates a feminine character, the translator has decided to use a feminine marker in order to highlight the gender of this specific role character.

5 Conclusion

Arabic loanwords in *Dune* have an important role as tools in the world building. They are one of the pillars that support Herbert's universe. Used as they exist in Arabic language or transformed according to Herbert's own creativity, these words

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the fact that the word is composed of the two same morphological elements has played its part: it is more understandable for someone who doesn't speak or read Arabic (as it is the case for most of *Dune*'s readers) to read the term "mish mish" if the two morphemes are separated by a space.

function as a connection between the real world (and the reader's conception of the real world) and the fictional world built by the author.

In this novel, several languages are in contact: English, of course, Arabic, Hebrew, Navajo, French, Latin, etc. But more importantly, all those real languages are in contact with the imaginary languages and cultures of *Dune*. More than Arabic language alone or Hebrew alone, it is their contact, their cohabitation that create Arrakis, its strange people, its curious religions and its bizarre powers.

Dune and its use of foreign language is a great example of how a language shapes a culture and our representation of it. Herbert uses Arabic terms to create in the reader's mind the image of a desert people, of a desert land, even if the language is somehow transformed. A language is like a spell: use it and an instant image will emerge in people's mind.

The French translation of *Dune,* which is already a language encounter in itself, gives the loanwords the same importance than in the original text. However, their treatment is sometimes different as the translator adapts their spelling to French grammar and phonetics, and uses his own creativity in their translation. The use of Arabic to create both an exotic and home feelings is not different in the French version of the novel, as Arabic language preserves its status of exotic foreign language. Nevertheless, we can wonder about the Arabic translation of the text: are Arabic loanwords kept as such? Do they construct Herbert's fictional world the same way?

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Alice Ray is a PhD student at the Faculty of Languages, University of Orléans in France. Her main area of interest is the translation of the invented words in science fiction literature (English to French). She also works with the first French academic journal to work on science fiction: *ReS Futurae*, and translates articles from *Science Fiction Studies*. She has published a few articles about translation and retranslation: "Who translates the translation? (Re)traduire les héros marginaux d'Alan Moore" (*TranscUlturAl*, vol. 8, n°2, 2016) and "Retraduire *Limbo*: le syndrome littéraire du membre fantôme" (*ReS Futurae*, n°9, 2017).