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Circumlocutions with the noun *peopo* 'people' in Hawai'i Creole English

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the use of circumlocutions with the noun *peopo* in Hawai'i Creole English from *The Revelation of St. John Divine* in the HCE Bible. These examples are contrasted with their equivalents from King James' Bible. The main aim is to conduct a quantitative analysis of selected circumlocutions. Moreover, possible grammatical structures for circumlocutions are analysed.

Circumlocution is, in fact, an effective word formation process in Hawai'i Creole English since it allows its speakers to create new lexical items that can bridge lexical gaps in their lexicon.

Keywords

circumlocution, Hawai'i Creole English, second language acquisition

Peryfrazy z rzeczownikiem *peopo* 'people' w hawajskim języku kreolskim

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zbadanie peryfrazy w języku kreolskim hawajskim w Apokalipsie św. Jana w Biblii. Przykłady peryfraz w tym języku są porównane z ekwiwalentami z Biblii Króla Jakuba. Głównym założeniem jest przeprowadzenie analizy ilościowej wybra-

nych przykładów. Ponadto podane zostaną możliwe struktury gramatyczne dla zbadanych przykładów peryfraz.

Peryfraza jest użytecznym procesem słowotwórczym w języku kreolskim hawajskim ponieważ umożliwia ona tworzenie nowych wielowyrazowych złożeń, które pomagają wypełnić luki w leksykonie użytkownika.

Słowa kluczowe

akwizycja języka obcego, hawajski język kreolski, peryfraza

1. Introduction

Pidgin and creole languages used to be perceived as broken and imperfect (Walczyński 2012: 27); however, many studies have challenged this approach. Pidgins and creoles transpire and are used in multicultural and multilingual settings, that is, in areas where one common mode of communication is required.

The main purpose of this paper is to present the process of circumlocution as a productive word-formation process in Hawaiian Creole English (henceforth HCE). Sadler (1974) and Mühlhäusler (1985) have investigated this process in Tok Pisin. Nevertheless, their studies are narrowed only to enumerating existing circumlocutions, neglecting the context where lengthy expressions occur.

This paper presents an analysis of circumlocutions with respect to the approach taken from the field of second language acquisition by Boreder et al. (1993). Additionally, the context for selected circumlocutions with *peopo* and a quantitative analysis are provided. Examples of circumlocutions with *peopo* are taken from the Hawai'i Creole English Bible and they are contrasted with their equivalents from King James' version of the Bible, for the reason that these versions show the closest resemblance. All the examples come from *The Revelation of St. John Divine*. The study is carried out via AntConc, version

3.5.8. The freeware enables to filter the text, select all the necessary examples and classify them.

The word *peopo* occurs throughout *The Revelation of St. John Divine* in the HCE Bible frequently. The word is used 214 times in the studied fragment. What is more, it is employed in numerous circumlocutions. For this reason, the word has been chosen for the sake of this study.

As regards Hawai'i Creole English, *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online* states that there are nearly 600,000 speakers who use this language as their mother tongue. Moreover, there are 100,000 speakers of the creole located on the US mainland. The language is used on a daily basis. Moreover, there are literary works produced in this language as well.

2. Circumlocution

According to Worden (2016), circumlocution is a communicative strategy which consists in providing a description of an object, location, idea or action instead of an exact name. Savignon (1983: 6) defines it as "the effective use of coping strategies to sustain or enhance communication". Some scholars perceive circumlocution not only as a communication technique but also as a lexical repair strategy (Paribakht 1985).

Circumlocution, according to Jourdain and Scullen (2002), is not only employed by native speakers of a language. On the contrary, this process is commonly used by non-native speakers. Dobao (2007) claims that learners of a second or foreign language come to communicative situations with limited knowledge of the language. Even advanced and proficient students may have language problems, especially in spontaneous interactions.

2.1. Circumlocution in Second Language Acquisition

Broeder et al. (1993) present a way of coining new lexical items via circumlocution which consists in the combination of two or more already existing lexemes and the combination of lexemes and one or more derivational affixes. The authors claim that composite word formation processes present in learners' mother tongues might influence head-ordering in noun-noun word formation. Thus head final preferences are held by, for instance, Swedish or Turkish speakers of English, whereas French, Arabic or Punjabi are languages where head initial may be favoured in coining new compounds. However, there are languages, such as Dutch and German, where both types of head ordering are in constant competition, therefore, these speakers of English would use both types interchangeably.

Broeder et al. (1993: 50-55) investigated three groups of people learning different languages, namely, Dutch, English and Swedish. The Dutch group consisted of Arabic and Turkish native speakers. The English group included people speaking Punjabi and Italian as their mother tongues. The last group included Spanish native speakers learning Swedish. The researchers concentrated on analysing the following structures: N+N head-final, X+N+N head-final, N+N linear, N+N head-initial and N+prep+N head-initial, where *N* stands for a noun, *X* for a modifier and *prep* for a preposition. Table 1 presents the data.

Table 1
Number of N-N compound types (Broeder et. al. 1993)

Form	Type	Dutch	English	Swedish
N+N	head-final	70%	83%	80%
X+N+N	head-final	9%	9%	–
N+N	linear	3%	1%	2%
N+N	head-initial	6%	–	9%
N+prep+N	head-initial	12%	7%	9%

The study shows that the most common type of compounds for the non-native speakers of Dutch is N+N head-final. However, the most complex lexical items are found in X+N+N head-final, N+prep+N head-initial and N+N linear structures. Examples are presented in Table 2.

Table 2
Complex N-N compounds amongst Dutch non-native speakers (Broeder et al. 1993)

Structure	Learner's variety	Direct translation	Target variety	Direct translation
X+N+N head-final	*allemaal-kleine-kinder-feest*	all-little-children-party	*feest met allenaal kleine kinderen*	party with all little children
	auto-monteur-werk	car-mechanic-work	*werk als automonteur*	work as a car mechanic
	politie-buro-directeur	police-office director	*chef van het politieburo*	director of the police office
	andere-mensen-garage	other-people-garage	*garage van andere mensen*	other people's garage
N+prep+ N head-initial	*kerk van marokko*	church of morocco	*moskee*	mosque
	sleutel can fiels	key of bike	*fielssleutel*	bike-key
	brief van werk	letter of work	*arbeidscon-tract*	labour contract
	fabriek van boten	factory of ships	*scheepswef*	shipyard
N+N li-near	*vader-moeder*	father-mother	*ouders*	parents
	broer-zus	brother-sister	*geschwister*	siblings
	oma-opa	gradfather-gradmother	*grootouders*	grandparents

Similarly to the Dutch learners, for the learners of English, the most common type of compounds is N+N head-final. However, English non-native speakers tend to create elaborate constructions with the N+prep+N head-initial type. Examples are shown in Table 3.

Lastly, Swedish non-native speakers, similarly to the two previous groups, tend to coin new lexical items in the N+N head-final manner. However, the authors found examples of compounds which represent head-initial N+N compositions (see Table 4).

The least popular type of coining new N-N compounds is linear noun + noun. Two ways of creating noun compounds are absent from English and Swedish, namely, N+N head-initial and X+N+N head-final respectively. The remaining ways of creating circumlocutions by non-native speakers of the Germanic languages are relatively common; however, the head-final composition is the most popular.

Table 3

Complex N-N compounds amongst English non-native speakers (Broeder et. al. 1993)

Structure	Learner's variety	Target variety
N+prep+N head-initial	*house of the burglars*	prison
	stay with the police	imprisonment
	tube of metal	metal tube
	tube of plastic	plastic tube
	telephone-box for policeman	walkie talkie

Table 4
Complex N-N compounds amongst Swedish non-native speakers
(Broeder et. al. 1993)

Structure	Learner's variety	Direct translation	Target variety	Direct translation
N+N head-initail	*moment-den-atbets*	stage-that-works	*arbeitsmoment*	stage
	huvet-polisen	head-police	*polisens-huvud*	police head
	dans-cumbia	dance-cumbia	*dans som kallas för cumbia*	dance by the name cumbia
	tabletter-vitamin	tablets-vitamin	*vitamintablets*	vitamin pills

All things considered, studies presented above prove that circumlocution is a widely common process used by non-native speakers of any language. This proves that circumlocution is an extremely useful communication strategy for learners of a second language. Dobao (2007: 7) postulates that the circumlocution strategy should be used by students of foreign languages since it helps them to achieve successful communication. In a similar vein, Salomone and Marsal (1997: 480) suggest that students using circumlocution exhibit more cognitive flexibility, that is, they express their opinions more freely, they are more creative and eager to voice their judgements.

2.2. Circumlocution in Tok Pisin

Possibilities for pidgins and creoles to develop their vocabulary are limitless. This can be achieved via circumlocution, which allows speakers to describe objects, phenomena or actions in a picturesque manner (Naro 2000: 38). An outstanding example of this process is Tok Pisin where speakers of this language have created lengthy descriptions.

Mühlhäusler (1985: 119) claims that the development of word-formation in the second language can be illustrated in the following way:

1. Jargon stage: no productive word-formation.
2. Stabilisation stage: use of circumlocution to express new ideas, a very small number of compounds at word level.
3. Early expansion stage: increase of word-level compounds. As a rule the surface structure of derived lexical item is relatively close to their putative deep structure (e.g. guttaim from gutpela taim meaning 'good time' or lukbuk from lukim buk meaning 'to read')
4. Late expansion stage: strong tendency to derive word-level rather than phrase-level lexical items, increasing discrepancy between lexical surface structures and related deep structures, lexical programmes becoming increasingly productive.

As may be inferred, circumlocution is a crucial turning point in the development of pidgins or creoles, for the reason that this process opens up new avenues for any language to enrich its vocabulary. This, in turn, gives a possibility to change circumlocutions into compounds. Tok Pisin has many circumlocutions as well as circumlocution-induced compounds in its lexical inventory.

According to Mühlhäusler (1985), many perplex circumlocutions vanish from Tok Pisin as soon as the expressions become more common. As a result, more economical lexical items enter the lexicon in their place. The first possible simplification is the substitution of a circumlocution with a borrowing from one of the languages which are in close contact with the pidgin. Examples of such a process are presented in Table 5.

Another way of simplifying circumlocutions is the substitution by a lexified equivalent. Examples of this process are presented in Table 6.

Table 5
Circumlocution substitutions in Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1985: 102)

Circumlocution	Substitution	Origin	Meaning
smok bilong graun	*das*	English	dust
rot bilong wara	*baret*	Malay	ditch
kom bilong sutima kaikai i go long maus	*gabel*	German	eating fork
susu bilong duai	*gumi*	German	rubber
snek bilong wara	*maleo*	Tolai	eel
diwai bilong raitim pepa	*blaistik*	German	pencil

Table 6
Circumlocution substitutions in Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1985: 122)

Circumlocution	Substitution	Meaning
lam wokabaut	*wokabautlam*	hurracane lantern
manki bilong masta	*mankimasta*	servant (male)
mekim hariap	*hariapim*	to speed someone up
hatpela wara	*hatwara*	soup, hot water
mani pepa	*papamani*	paper money
wara bilong skin	*skinwara*	sweat

Although some cases of circumlocution are replaced by more effective ways of expressing the same idea, still there are some expressions which cannot be substituted. According to Mühlhäusler (1985: 102), some circumlocutions must have become conventionalised and using, for example, a borrowing would sound unnatural. Table 7 presents examples of circumlocutions which are still used in Tok Pisin.

Taking this into consideration, even though circumlocution may be substituted by shorter and more effective communicative strategies, it is still used by Tok Pisin native speakers to express their thoughts. Sadler (1974: 24) proposes 13 word-formation processes in Tok Pisin, including 4 techniques involving circumlocution (see Table 8).

Table 7
Circumlocution in Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1985: 122)

Circumlocution	Literal translation	Meaning
sit bilong binen	*shit of bee*	honey
rob bilong su	*string of shoe*	shoe lace
pekpek bilong lam	*faeces of lamp*	soot

Table 8
Techniques of creating circumlocutions in Tok Pisin
(Sadler 1974: 24)

Technique	Word class	Tok Pisin	Meaning
using *bilong* between two nouns	noun	*rop bilong blut*	vein
		gras bilong solwara	seaweed
		gras bilong hed	hair
		gras bilong fes	beard
using *i gat*	noun or adjective	*i gat sik*	patient
		i gat bel	pregnant
		i gat wara	wet pla-ce/swamp
using *long*	verb	*brukim long tamiok*	to chop
		lus long wara	to drown
using *i*	adjective	*nek i drai*	thirsty

The examples of circumlocution provided by Sadler (1974) are isolated from their context. By way of explanation, Mühlhäusler (1985) argues that Sadler's (1974) approach to studying circumlocution is flawed since the author neglects the fact that a circumlocution might have a different meaning when the phrase occurs in a different context. Therefore, it is absolutely vital to emphasise the role of the context in which a given example of circumlocution appears (Mühlhäusler 1985: 661).

All things considered, circumlocution is a vital word-formation process. Not only does it enable non-native speakers to converse despite impaired vocabulary, but it also allows native speakers to enrich their lexicon and be more creative. The process is also a driving force in language evolution since, as has already been explained, circumlocutions may give rise to compounds which occur to be extremely useful in naming new objects, phenomena and activities.

3. Circumlocutions with *peopo* in Hawai'i Creole English: Examples

The word *peopo* 'people' is frequently used in elaborate descriptions in the HCE Bible. *People* is defined by the *On-line Cambridge Dictionary* as 'men, women, and children generally'. Examples (1)–(15) contain the headword *peopo*. Its meaning is altered in each instance since it is accompanied by a series of modifiers whose primary purpose is to narrow the meaning.

The examples are arranged in forms of tables divided into three sections. On the left side, the top box contains an example of circumlocution from the HCE Bible. Below the box, the literal translation is provided. The box on the right contains an equivalent from King James' Bible. Below the table, excerpts with the example of circumlocution from the HCE Bible and King James' Bible are provided.

Examples (1)–(3) include relative clauses where a general statement about particular people is expressed. This general statement allows to narrow the meaning of *peopo*, a more general word.

(1)

da peopo dat stay spesho fo God	Saints
the people that are special to God	
Da incense, dass jalike all da tings ***da peopo dat stay***	[…] *golden vials full of odors, which are the prayers of* ***saints****.*

spesho fo God *wen aks him fo do.* (p. 13)	(p. 2623)

(2)

da peopo dat not slaves	free
the people who are not slaves	
Da Wild Animal wen make everybody, da big an da small peopo, da rich peopo an da poor peopo, da slave guys an ***da peopo dat not slaves****, he wen make um get his mark on top dea right hand o on top dea forehead.* (p. 31)	*And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor,* ***free*** *and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads.* (p. 2636)

(3)

da peopo dat no trus	unbelieving
the people who do not trust	
But da peopo dat no do notting cuz dey scared, ***da peopo dat no trus****, dat ack pilau kine, dat kill oddas, dat fool aroun, dat make kahuna, dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods, an everybody dat bulai, dey goin go inside da sulfur lake dat stay burning. Dass wen dey mahke da second time.* (p. 51)	*But the fearful, and* ***unbelieving****, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.* (p. 2649)

Examples (4)–(13) contain relative clauses where an action is described. The description of an activity allows one to specify the class of people.

(4)

da peopo dat work fo him	servants
the people who work for him	

*God like Jesus make um clear to **da peopo dat work fo him**.* (p. 1)	*The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his **servants*** […] (p. 2615)

(5)

da peopo dat no do notting cuz dey scared	fearful
the people who do nothing because they are scared	
*But **da peopo dat no do notting cuz dey scared**, da peopo dat no trus, dat ack pilau kine, dat kill oddas, dat fool aroun, dat make kahuna, dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods, an everybody dat bulai, dey goin go inside da sulfur lake dat stay burning. Dass wen dey mahke da second time.* (p. 51)	*But the **fearful**, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.* (p. 2349)

(6)

da peopo dat make kahuna	sorcerers
the people who make kahuna	
*Outside da town get da peopo dat dey jalike dogs, **da peopo dat make kahuna**, da peopo dat fool aroun, da peopo dat like kill oddas, da peopo dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods, an everybody dat love fo bulai.* (p. 54)	*For without are dogs, and **sorcerers**, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.* (p. 2652)

(7)

da peopo dat fool aroun	whoremongers
the people who fool around	
Outside da town get da peopo	*For without are dogs, and sor-*

dat dey jalike dogs, da peopo dat make kahuna, ***da peopo dat fool aroun****, da peopo dat like kill oddas, da peopo dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods, an everybody dat love fo bulai.* (p. 54)	*cerers, and* ***whoremongers****, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.* (p. 2652)

(8)

da peopo dat like kill oddas	murderers
the people who like killing others	
Outside da town get da peopo dat dey jalike dogs, da peopo dat make kahuna, da peopo dat fool aroun, ***da peopo dat like kill oddas****, da peopo dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods, an everybody dat love fo bulai.* (p. 54)	*For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and* ***murderers****, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.* (p. 2652)

(9)

da peopo [...] dat ack pilau kine	abominable
the people [...] that act pilau kind of	
But da ***peopo*** *dat no do notting cuz dey scared, da peopo dat no trus, dat* ***ack pilau kine****, dat kill oddas, dat fool aroun, dat make kahuna, dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods, an everybody dat bulai, dey goin go inside da sulfur lake dat stay burning. Dass wen dey mahke da second time.* (p. 51)	*But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the* ***abominable****, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.* (p. 2649)

(10)

da first peopo dat give demself to God an his Baby Sheep Guy	redeemed
the first people who give themselves to God and his Baby Sheep Guy	
*Dey **da first peopo dat give demself to God an his Baby Sheep Guy**, jalike one gif.* (p. 32)	*These were **redeemed** from among men, being the first fruits unto God and to the Lamb.* (p. 2637)

(11)

all da peopo dat God's Baby Sheep Guy wen pick	chosen
all the people whom God's Sheep Guy picked	
***All da peopo dat God's Baby Sheep Guy wen pick** an tell dem fo come be his guys, dey do wat dey say dey goin do, an dey goin stay wit him.* (p. 40)	[…] *they that are with him are called, and **chosen**, and faithful.* (p. 2642)

(12)

all da peopo dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods	idolaters
all the people who go down and pray to the idol kind of gods	
***All da diffren peopos all ova da world** goin cry An feel sore inside cuz a him.* (p. 2)	[…] *and all **kindreds** of the earth shall wail because of him.* (p. 2616)

(13)

all da peopo all ova da world dat do da real bad kine stuff	abominations
all the people all over the world who do the real bad kind of stuff	

Da wahine get one sign on top her forehead wit her name, dat nobody know befo: "Babylon, da Big Town Da Mudda fo All da Wahines Dat Fool Aroun Da Mudda Fo ***All da Peopo All Ova da World Dat Do Da Real Bad Kine Stuff****.* (p. 39)	[...] *and upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and* ***abominations*** *of the earth.* (p. 2641)

As has already been stated, the phrases in (4)–(13) are coined by the addition of a relative clause with *dat.* Interestingly, there are two circumlocutions where the phrase with the word *guy* is used, namely, (11) and (12). By way of explanation, circumlocution (10), *God's Baby Sheep Guy*, is used. There are a few instances where there is a modifier preceding the head word, namely, examples (10)–(13).

Let us consider example (14). Even though it does not contain the word *dat*, it is an example of a relative clause. The action in this phrase is expressed by the reduced relative clause *playing plenny guitars*.

(14)

peopo playing plenny guitars	harpers
people playing plenty guitars	
Da sound I wen hear, jalike ***peopo playing plenny guitars.*** (p. 31)	*I heard the voice of* ***harpers*** *harping with their harps.* (p. 2636)

Contrary to the previous pattern, example (15) does not include any relative clause. In this case, a prepositional phrase is used in order to specify the meaning of *peopo*.

(15)

all da diffren peopos all ova da world	kindreds
all the different peoples all over the world	

All da diffren peopos all ova da world *goin cry* *An feel sore inside cuz a him.* (p. 2)	[...] *and all* ***kindreds*** *of the earth shall wail* *because of him.* (p. 2616)

All things considered, the process of modifying the basic meaning of the head word *peopo* consists in adding a relative clause after the noun. There are only minor exceptions where different grammatical structures might be used, namely, a reduced relative clause or a prepositional phrase. The process of circumlocution allows one to create a multiword lexeme which functions as if it were a single noun. All the examples in this section refer to particular groups of people.

4. Analysis of circumlocutions with *peopo*

As has already been stipulated, the word *peopo* comes from the English word *people*. In the creole, the word preserves the original English meaning. All the circumlocutions with *peopo* are listed in Table 9.

Table 9
Circumlocutions with the word *peopo*

Circumlocution	Number of occurrences
da peopo dat stay spesho fo God	9
da peopo dat not slaves	1
da peopo dat no trus	1
da peopo dat work fo him	2
da peopo dat no do notting cuz dey scared	1
da peopo dat make kahuna	1
da peopo dat fool aroun	1
da peopo dat like kill oddas	1
da peopo [...] dat ack pilau kine	1
da first peopo dat give demself to God an his Baby Sheep Guy	1
all da peopo dat God's Baby Sheep Guy wen pick	1

all da peopo dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods	2
all da peopo all ova da world dat do da real bad kine stuff	1
peopo playing plenny guitars	1
all da diffren peopos all ova da world	6
Total	30

The circumlocutions with *peopo* appear 30 times. This shows that only 14 per cent of all the occurrences of *peopo* are found in elaborate descriptions. The most frequent circumlocutions are *da peopo dat stay spesho fo God* and *all da diffren peopos all ova da world*.

The head word occurs with various modifiers which change its basic meaning. These words, together with the head word, are listed in Table 10.

Table 10

Word count for the circumlocutions with *peopo*

Word	Number of occurrences	Percentage
da	39	16.9
peopo	30	13.0
dat	23	10.0
all	17	7.4
God	13	5.6
fo	11	4.8
stay	9	3.9
spesho	9	3.9
ova	7	3.0
world	7	3.0
diffren	6	2.6
kine	4	1.7
to	3	1.3
an	3	1.3
no	2	0.9
work	2	0.9
him	2	0.9
do	2	0.9

baby	2	0.9
sheep	2	0.9
guy	2	0.9
go	2	0.9
down	2	0.9
pray	2	0.9
idol	2	0.9
not	1	0.4
slaves	1	0.4
trus	1	0.4
notting	1	0.4
cuz	1	0.4
dey	1	0.4
scared	1	0.4
make	1	0.4
kahuna	1	0.4
fool	1	0.4
aroun	1	0.4
like	1	0.4
kill	1	0.4
oddas	1	0.4
ack	1	0.4
pilau	1	0.4
first	1	0.4
give	1	0.4
demself	1	0.4
his	1	0.4
wen	1	0.4
pick	1	0.4
real	1	0.4
bad	1	0.4
stuff	1	0.4
playing	1	0.4
plenny	1	0.4
guitars	1	0.4
Total	231	

Despite the fact that the words *God*, *stay*, *speho*, *world*, *ova*, *diffren* and *kine* occur frequently, they cannot be treated as the most representative words used in the circumlocutions

because they occur only in a handful of instances. The words *da*, *dat* and *all* occur in most of the examples and they play important grammatical roles which allow HCE speakers to combine various content words into bigger clusters.

The content words are combined into phrases with the help of function words. Table 11 presents the total count of all word classes that are identified in the circumlocutions with *peopo*.

Table 11
Word class count for circumlocutions with *peopo*

Word class	Number of occurrences	Percentage
noun	66	28.6
article	39	16.9
preposition	24	10.4
relative pronoun	23	10.0
adjective	19	8.2
determiner	19	8.2
verb	16	6.9
auxiliary verb	10	4.3
conjunction	4	1.7
adverb	3	1.3
object pronoun	2	0.9
pronoun	2	0.9
gerund	1	0.4
personal pronoun	1	0.4
possessive pronoun	1	0.4
reflexive pronoun	1	0.4
Total	231	

As can be seen, the noun is the most frequent word class amongst all the listed word classes. It is due to the fact that nouns carry the most fundamental meaning for circumlocutions. Additionally, there are articles, prepositions, a relative pronoun, determiners, verbs and auxiliary verbs. Amongst these word classes, the adjective plays an important role as well, carrying some additional meaning. The remaining word

classes are used mainly to align nouns and adjectives into adequate structures.

Table 12 presents three structures which are possible for the head word *peopo*. The relative clause is the dominating one. This type of construction occurs as many as 28 times (93%), whereas a reduced relative clause and a prepositional phrase appear only once each.

Table 12
Grammatical structures of circumlocutions with *peopo*

Structure	Number of occurrences	Percentage
peopo + relative clause	28	93.0
peopo + reduced relative clause	1	3.5
peopo + prepositional phrase	1	3.5

The studied text does not present many examples of circumlocution with *peopo*. There are 15 circumlocutions; however, they are rarely used throughout the text. Table 13 presents the examples of circumlocution. The table includes their grammatical functions, their literal meanings and actual meanings.

Table 13
Circumlocutions with *peopo* in HCE: word classes

Word in HCE	Word class	Literal meaning	Actual meaning in HCE
peopo dat work fo him	noun	people that work for him	servants
peopo dat stay spesho fo God	noun	people that are special for God	saints
first peopo dat give demself to God an his Baby Sheep Guy	noun	first people that give themselves to God and Baby Sheep Guy	redeemed

all da peopo dat God's Baby Sheep Guy wen pick	noun	all the people that God's Baby Sheep Guy picked	chosen
peopo dat not slaves	noun	people that are not slaves	free
peopo dat no trus	noun	people that do not trust	unbelieving
peopo dat no do notting cuz dey scared	noun	people that do not do nothing cause they are scared	fearful
peopo dat make kahuna	noun	people that make kahuna	sorcerers
peopo dat fool around	noun	people that fool around	whoremongers
peopo dat like kill oddas	noun	people that like killing others	murderers
peopo playing plenny guitars	noun	people playing plenty guitars	harpers
diffren peopos all ova da world	noun	different people all over the world	kindreds
peopo dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods	noun	people that go down and pray to the idol kind of gods	idolaters
peopo all ova da world dat do da real bad kine stuff	noun	people all over the world that do the real bad kind of stuff	abominations
peopo dat ack pilau kine	noun	people that act a pilau kind of	abominable

All things considered, the phrases with the word *peopo* function as nouns. The grammatical construction that dominates in these examples is the relative clause. The head words are mostly modified by nouns and/or adjectives.

5. Conclusions

It appears that circumlocution in Hawai'i Creole English is a valuable linguistic device which enables the speakers of the creole to converse. Moreover, this communicative strategy allows HCE native speakers to bridge lexical gaps in their lexicon. The circumlocutions with *peopo* are used to achieve a greater degree of specificity and precision.

It is noteworthy that certain grammatical structures are favoured whereas other constructions do not appear to be so common. The vast majority of lexemes are coined via adding a relative clause to the head word. There are only single instances of different structures, that is, a reduced relative clause and a prepositional phrase.

This study demonstrates that the process of circumlocution is a popular means of communicating one's ideas. However, a deeper study is advised since the HCE Bible is a specific text where circumlocutions may be favoured. Thus real-life interviews with HCE speakers or a study of contemporary written texts in HCE would be vital to understanding grammatical structures of this creole.

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English as a lingua franca: Attitudes of Polish interpreting students

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Abstract

Recent decades have witnessed the growing presence of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in international communication, which has emerged as one of the major factors influencing the interpreting profession. What follows is the debate concerning presence of ELF in interpreter training. However, before any curricula modifications are introduced, what needs to be taken into consideration is the perspective of interpreting students – their expectations and preferences concerning the variety of English they want to work with during their studies.

The present study is an attempt to investigate attitudes displayed by English philology students enrolled in translation and interpreting programmes towards native and non-native English. The research tool was a questionnaire. The results suggest that the students might not necessarily welcome frequent exposure to ELF at the cost of Standard British or Standard American English during practical classes, including interpreting. However, it is hypothesized that the respondents' conservative attitude is not the result of a thorough understanding of ELF, but rather the reflection of insufficient knowledge and uncritical embrace of the stereotypical mass-culture narration that tends to romanticize certain varieties of English while dismissing others.

Keywords

interpreter training, English as a lingua franca, non-standard English, language attitudes

Angielski jako *lingua franca*: Postawy polskich studentów-tłumaczy

Abstrakt

W związku z rozpowszechnieniem języka angielskiego jako języka komunikacji międzynarodowej (*English as a lingua franca*, w skrócie *ELF*) coraz częściej w dyskusji na temat kształcenia na kierunkach tłumaczeniowych, pojawia się postulat szerszej obecności ELF w programie nauczania, w celu lepszego przygotowania studentów na kontakt z nienatywnymi odmianami języka angielskiego w ich przyszłej pracy zawodowej. W debacie tej jednak rzadko brana jest pod uwagę perspektywa samych studentów tłumaczy.

Niniejsze badanie ankietowe ma na celu ukazanie postaw, jakie studenci grup tłumaczeniowych na kierunku filologia angielska przybierają wobec natywnych (UK, US) oraz nienatywnej odmiany języka angielskiego (PL), oraz wobec swojego użycia tego języka. Wyniki ukazują stereotypowe i konserwatywne podejście studentów do badanych odmian języka, z silnym przywiązaniem do odmiany brytyjskiej uznawanej w wielu aspektach za lepszą. Wyniki sugerują, iż studenci mogą nie być gotowi na przyjęcie postulatów nowego paradygmatu nauczania, zakładającego równomierną ekspozycję na wiele różnych odmian języka angielskiego, w tym nienatywnych.

Słowa kluczowe

kształcenie tłumaczy języka angielskiego, angielski jako *lingua franca*, angielski nienatywny, postawy wobec języka

1. The spread of English as a lingua franca (ELF)

When discussing the status of English in a globalized world today, Seidlhofer (2011: 7) reflects: "for the first time in history, a language has reached truly global dimensions, across continents, domains, and social strata". We have come to the point when native speakers of English (NSE[1]) are significantly outnumbered by non-native speakers of English (NNSE): there are now five NNSE for each NSE (David Crystal at a lecture at Bangor University in 2012, cited in Albl-Mikasa 2014: 25). Today English is the lingua franca of business, tourism, politics, scientific research and many other domains that require professional international communication (Rogerson-Revell 2007). A frequently quoted definition of English as a lingua franca (ELF) is the one proposed by Seidlhofer (2011: 7), who describes ELF as "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option".

The unprecedented spread of English as a vehicular language of international and intercultural communication has prompted scholars to raise questions about the validity of existing pedagogical models that base heavily on what Galloway (2013: 786) terms as "native English speaker episteme". English language teaching has traditionally taken a native speaker as a default point of reference (Jenkins 1998, Spichtinger 2001, McKay 2003). However, as claimed by many (Cook 1999, Jenkins 2000, 2007, Matsuda 2003, Seidlhofer 2011), the traditional native speaker-based models have become of limited value in international communication because they do not prepare students for the future situational contexts of English

[1] The term "native speaker of English" (NSE) is used in the present paper to refer to Inner Circle uses and users of English, and "non-native speaker of English" (NNSE) as an umbrella term for Outer and Expanding Circle English. Although we are aware that defining linguistic nativity is problematic (Cook 1999, Davies 1991), we have decided to follow this dichotomy because it is the terminology which our respondents are most familiar with.

use. Scholars such as Jenkins (2000, 2007) and Seidlhofer (2011) advocate that, rather than focusing on mechanical mimicry of Received Pronunciation or General American accents, a present-day language classroom should equip students with the tools enabling them to communicate in a wide range of contexts across the three Kachruvian circles.[2] As argued by Friedrich (2012: 50), "[i]f the only constant in lingua franca situations is diversity, then we should anchor our practices in that assumption and educate students to encounter such diversity with respect, curiosity and wisdom".

2. ELF in the context of interpreting and interpreter training

The analysis of the implications that the spread of ELF has had on the field of translation and interpreting is a very recent object of study (Albl-Mikasa 2014: 19). While earlier research concentrated exclusively on the ways in which the interpreters' performance was impacted by a foreign accent, only a few studies explored the wider repercussions that ELF had on the interpreting activity (Albl-Mikasa, Guggisberg and Talirz 2017: 267). However, as the emergence of ELF has been identified as "one of the most significant issues for interpreting today" (Gentile and Albl-Mikasa 2017: 53), it seems that research on the

[2] In order to refer to different varieties of English, we employ Kachru's well-known concentric circles model (1985), which describes the role and use of English around the world by classifying countries into three broad categories: Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle. The Inner Circle includes countries where English is the native language or mother tongue, e.g. the United Kingdom or Australia. Outer Circle countries are former British or American colonies where English serves a number of institutionalized roles and often functions as either an official or a second language, e.g. India, Singapore, Malaysia or Nigeria. In Expanding Circle countries (e.g. Poland, France, Thailand or China), English does not have an official status and is learned as a foreign language. Its representations, such as *Polish English* or *French English*, are not classified as varieties of English. However, some scholars refer to them as *sub-varieties* (e.g. Jenkins 2005: 64) because of the increasing number of people who use them in multiple domains.

topic in question has gathered momentum. Albl-Mikasa, one of the leading researchers in the field of interpreting in the context of ELF, has announced the emergence of a new subdiscipline, namely ITELF, which is an acronym standing for "interpreting, translation and English as a lingua franca" (Albl-Mikasa 2014, 2017).

It seems that ELF is to remain a constant element of the meetings and events that require interpreters' services. It should come as no surprise, then, that the considerations of the ELF-oriented pedagogy have recently entered the field of interpreter training. As interpreter students are still predominantly trained for contexts in which native speakers communicate with other native speakers of different languages (Albl-Mikasa 2014: 33, Albl-Mikasa, Bartels, Mohler and Wick 2017: 216), more and more studies have called for the necessity to reconsider what interpreter training courses should look like in order to prepare interpreters-to-be for the ELF-saturated reality (e.g. Jones 2014, Chang and Wu 2014, Albl-Mikasa 2013, 2014). As put by Albl-Mikasa (2013: 12): "[i]n light of the growing number of nonnative English speakers at conferences and the implications reported by professional interpreters, there can be little doubt that interpreter training must undergo changes with a view to integrating an ELF orientation".

Albl-Mikasa (2013) provides a detailed proposal of modifications that could be introduced to interpreter training courses in order to make them more ELF-oriented. These include, among others, alterations to different dimensions of the interpreters' processing: comprehension (as interpreters must be able to understand NNES), production (interpreters should reconsider their production competence), as well as awareness raising practices (interpreter students need to be informed about ELF-related developments and their implications for the interpreting activity). As far as comprehension is concerned, Albl-Mikasa (2013: 7) recommends that interpreter students need to be exposed to a great variety of accents because "[t]he more they get used to the foreignness, the less such expres-

sions will appear odd and new", or, as aptly put by one of the interpreters in Albl-Mikasa's study: "[t]he 24th Chinese speaker may still be difficult to understand, but much less so than the first one" (Albl-Mikasa 2013: 7). Taking production into consideration, Albl-Mikasa (2013: 10) points out that interpreter students should be sensitized to be ready not to use sophisticated idiomatic expressions, when, for example, working for NNES listeners. As put by one of the respondents in Albl-Mikasa's study: "[w]hat is the use of throwing in expressions like "I would concur with the chairman" or "that's a sticky wicket," when no one understands them?" (Albl-Mikasa 2013: 7). Other studies offering recommendations and suggestions for an ELF orientation in interpreter training include Albl-Mikasa, Bartels, Mohler and Wick (2017) and Albl-Mikasa (2014).

3. Language attitudes of university students

In this discussion between academics and professionals on the need for an ELF pedagogy in interpreter training, one should not forget about the voice of university students, whose expectations and preferences concerning the kind of English they want to work with during their studies should be taken into consideration. Numerous language attitude studies have explored the perceptions of ELF displayed by university students majoring in English (e.g. Erling and Bartlett 2006, Margić and Širola 2009, Ozturk, Cecen and Altinmakas 2009, Wach 2011, Luo 2018), although, as far as we know, the vast majority of these studies have been conducted among students enrolled in teacher education programmes. Data supplied in these studies generally point to a traditional, native-speaker orientation displayed by the majority of university students, although considerable differences are visible between particular studies. What is interesting in the context of the present paper, Margić and Širola (2009) as well as Wach (2011) report that students' attitudes are, to a large extent, influenced by the content of uni-

versity courses they are enrolled in. For example, in the study by Wach (2011), students who received more intensive training in pronunciation and who were highly expected to achieve native-like standards, displayed less balanced attitudes towards native-speaker versus ELF pronunciation norms that a group of students whose pronunciation training was shorter in length. In the case of the latter group, although a preference for native-speaker pronunciation models still prevailed, the students were willing to acknowledge the value of ELF pronunciation norms in learning and teaching English, including their own language development.

As already pointed out, it seems to us that the vast majority of university students majoring in English whose attitudes were investigated in ELF-related attitudinal studies are students enrolled in teacher education programmes. The attitudes of interpreter students seem to be under-researched and hence the idea for the study presented in this paper. This research is an attempt to investigate attitudes displayed by the students enrolled in translation/interpreting programmes of English philology studies towards native and non-native English. The research questions are as follows: Are interpreter students aware of the phenomenon of English as a lingua franca? Do they envisage exposure to different varieties and sub-varieties (see footnote no. 2) of English in their future professional life? How do they perceive themselves and their teachers as NNES? In general, our study aims to explore: do interpreter students have sufficient knowledge and understanding of the place and role of English in the modern world to appreciate modifications to interpreting training advocated by the proponents of ELF?

4. Methodology

4.1. Participants

The study involved participation of 131 respondents from two higher education institutions in Poland: the University of Sile-

sia in Katowice (n = 91) and the University of Warsaw (n = 40). The participants were English philology students enrolled in translation and interpreting programmes, at both undergraduate and graduate level, who had completed at least 30 hours, i.e. one course of interpreting, at the moment of completing the questionnaire. The students from the University of Silesia (also referred to as US throughout the paper) had completed, on average, 150 hours of translation and 90 hours of interpreting classes at the moment of filling out the questionnaire. The students from the University of Warsaw (also referred to as UW hereafter) had completed, on average, 120 hours of translation and 60 hours of interpreting classes.

4.2. Research site

The study took place in Poland – an Expanding Circle country (see footnote no. 2). Typically, English philology studies in Poland offer a number of different specializations, including, among others, translation and interpreting programmes, teaching programmes and business programmes. Apart from courses in translation and interpreting, translation and interpreting programmes typically comprise courses in, among others, practical English skills (e.g. reading and listening comprehension, grammar, phonetics), linguistics and culture and literature of English-speaking countries. What needs to be stressed is that English philology students enrolled in translation and interpreting programmes are trained in both – translation and interpreting – since the aim of the programme is to prepare them to perform both of these roles on the market. During practical English classes, including phonetics, students typically practise one of the two varieties: Standard British or Standard American.

4.3. Questionnaire design

The tool of investigation in this study was a questionnaire modelled on the collection tools applied in the previous investigation by one of the authors of the present paper (Szymańska-Tworek 2016), i.e. a questionnaire consisting of 56 questions, 15 of which were re-used in the present study[3] (see Appendix). In order to qualify respondents for the study, the 15-item questionnaire was supplemented with two additional questions enquiring about the number of hours of interpreting and translation classes completed by the respondents at the moment of filling in the questionnaire. We decided not to ask the students directly about their attitude towards ELF, believing the answers would not show the true picture, but rather investigate their attitudes through a series of indirect questions. The questionnaire was divided into three sections consisting of multiple-choice and open questions:

1. The first part (questions 1 to 5) concerned students' knowledge of the concept of ELF as well as their awareness of the varietal diversity of the English-using world. The respondents were asked about the concept "English as a lingua franca" and the number of English (sub)varieties they can enumerate. In order to verify their declared knowledge, they were asked to provide a definition of ELF and to write down the (sub)varieties of English they know that exist. The respondents were also asked about whether they predict to use English more often with NSE, NNSE or equally often with both NSE and NNSE.
2. The second part of the questionnaire (questions 6 to 8) aimed to reveal the students' attitudes towards Inner Circle English (British and American) as well as *Polish English*, i.e. a subvariety of English spoken by the majority of the respondents themselves, their fellow students and teachers. The respond-

[3] The remaining questions were not included. The original study investigated trainee teachers, thus a number of questions enquired specifically about the context of teaching practice and were unsuited for the interpreting context.

ents were asked to write down adjectives that, in their opinion, best describe these three varieties of English.

3. In the third section (questions 9 to 15), we wanted to examine the aspirations of our respondents concerning their own English accent and their inclinations towards Standard English. We asked whether they prioritize native-like accent in their own use of English, i.e. whether they speak English with a non-native accent and, if so, if they perceive it as a problem; how important it is for them to sound like an NSE and to what extent, in their opinion, university teachers should focus on native-speaker pronunciation during classes.

4.4. Data analysis

When presenting the results of the study, the quantitative data are represented in the form of percentages for two groups separately (US and UW). The open-ended questions (2, 4, 6-8, 11, 13 and 15) were analyzed qualitatively. The responses were first coded using words and descriptive phrases and then categorized into themes. When presenting responses to open-ended questions, no differentiation is made between US and UW, because the responses provided by both groups are very similar. Also, due to space limitations, only the most frequent responses are presented. The presentation of the results is supported by quotations from the questionnaire, cited verbatim. The quotations were selected due to their representativeness. It has been our intention that the quotations included in the article represent strands of opinion rather than individual voices.

5. Study results

Questions 1 and 2: Are you familiar with the concept "English as a lingua franca"? If yes, please give a definition of "English as a lingua franca".

When it comes to the familiarity with the concept of ELF, 69.2% of the US respondents and 82.5% of the UW respondents stated that they were acquainted with this phenomenon, with the remaining 30.8% US and 17.5% UW admitting unfamiliarity. All of the definitions provided by the students were correct, but fairly basic. The typical definitions were as follows:

(1) *English as language spoken around the world in many different fields and understandable for most people*
(2) *English as a global language*
(3) *this is English used as an international language*

Questions 3 and 4: How many (sub)varieties of English do you know that exist? Please, enumerate them.

The respondents produced a heterogeneous set of answers when asked about their knowledge of the (sub)varieties of English, with the majority declaring knowledge of six or more.

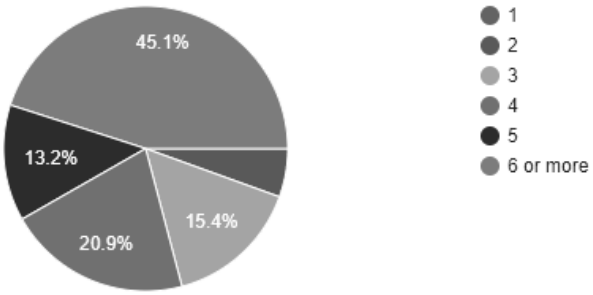

Figure 1
Number of English (sub)varieties the US respondents said they were familiar with

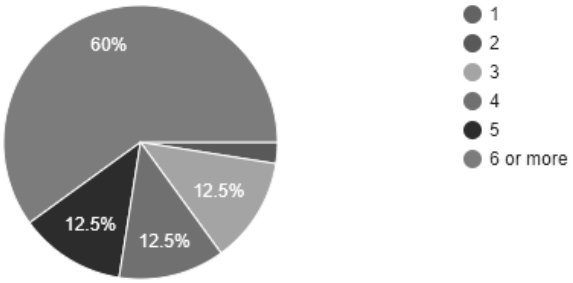

Figure 2
Number of English (sub)varieties the UW respondents said they were familiar with

The US respondents who stated that there were only two (sub)varieties of English (5.5%) enumerated British and American. The informants who indicated that there were three (15.4%) enumerated British and American, as well as one of the following: Australian, Canadian, Irish or South African. The subjects declaring the knowledge of four (20.9%) or five (13.2%) (sub)varieties mentioned: New Zealand, Scottish, Welsh, African American Vernacular English, Appalachian English, Cajun, Received Pronunciation, Scouse and Cockney. The respondents who indicated that they knew of six or more can be further divided into three clusters. The first one comprises students who gave examples of only Inner Circle English, the second includes the respondents who enumerated (sub)varieties from both Inner and Outer Circle countries (Malaysian English, Singaporean English, Jamaican English, Caribbean English, Asian English, "Hinglish"). The last cluster, consisting of only three respondents, provided examples from across the three Kachruvian circles, including Expanding Circle (Chinese English, Thai English and Mexican English).

The responses provided by the UW students are fairly similar. The students who stated that there were two, three, four and five (sub)varieties of English enumerated exclusively Inner Circle English. The UW respondents who enumerated six or more can be divided into two clusters. The students in the first

cluster gave examples of only Inner Circle English, while the respondents in the second cluster provided examples from both Inner and Outer Circle. No examples of Expanding Circle English were provided.

Question 5: I think I will probably use English more often with…

As regards the students' predictions concerning their use of English, the majority (40.7% US and 52.5% UW) declared they expected to use English most frequently with NNSE. Ranked second among the US students (24.2%) was the prediction to communicate most often with NSE. The second most numerous response among the UW respondents (27.5%) was the prediction to communicate equally often with NSE and NNSE.

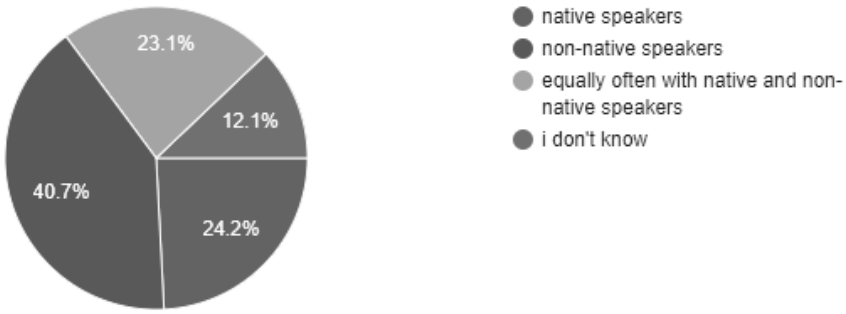

Figure 3
US respondents' predictions concerning their use of English

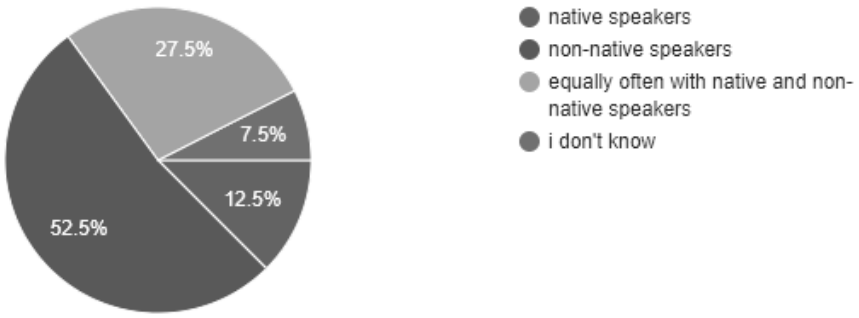

Figure 4
UW respondents' predictions concerning their use of English

Questions 6, 7 and 8: What adjectives would you use to describe British English? American English? English spoken by Polish people?

In the following series of questions, the respondents were asked to provide adjectives to describe two native varieties of English: British and American, and one non-native subvariety: English spoken by Polish people (so-called *Polish English*). The results are shown in Tables 1–6. All comments were divided into three categories: positive, negative and neutral, based on our judgment (ambiguous cases were consulted with other academic teachers until consensus was reached). The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of respondents who wrote down a particular word or phrase. Even though some of the words may be susceptible to different interpretations (e.g., "rough", "flat", "rigid" or "difficult" may be considered a neutral feature or criticism, depending on respondents' intentions), the general attitudes towards UK, US and Polish English are clearly visible. Regarding British English, the descriptors provided by the respondents were mainly positive: 59% (US) and 67.7% (UW). As regards American English, the majority (62.3% US and 68% UW) of the descriptors can be classified as neutral. The respondents associate British Eng-

lish mostly with sophistication, elegance, upper class, beauty, melodic sound, education, eloquence and formality, while American English is perceived as easy, common, informal, practical, friendly and casual.

Quite in contrast, when asked to describe Polish English the respondents provided mostly negative descriptors (55.2% US and 60.8% UW), calling it "harsh", "incorrect", "poor" or even "broken" or "nauseating". The respondents seem to associate Polish English – that is a sub-variety of English they hear most often in their fellow students and teachers and one they are likely to speak themselves – with simplicity, incorrectness, poor pronunciation, strong accent and sloppiness.

Table 1

US respondents' description of British English

Positive comments 118 = 59%	Neutral comments 61 = 30.5%	Negative comments 21 = 10.5%
sophisticated (33), posh (13), elegant (11), melodic (6), beautiful (5), intelligent (4), smooth (4), smart (3), attractive (2), gentle (2), interesting (2), nice (2), clear (2), accurate, amazing, awesome, better, classy, delicate, dignified, educational, elevated, eloquent, fanciful, fancy, flowerish, magnificent, more posh, nice accent, noble, polite, preferable, professional, refined, sexy, so-	soft (4), classic (3), royal (3), difficult (3), official (3), specific (3), academic (2), complex (2), complicated (2), formal (2), more complicated (2), non-rhotic (2), strong (2), tough (2), traditional (2), artistic, basic, common, deep, difficult to pronounce, diverse, easy to learn, economical, elaborate, fluent, free-flowing, Germanic, girly, high, language of the royalty, long, lordly, more difficult	difficult to understand (3), sometimes incomprehensible (2), artificial (2), pompous (2), cheeky, decadent, exaggerated, hard to grasp, harsh, high-strung, impertinent, irritating, odd, outrageous, sharp, unclear

phisticated in pronunciation, pleasant, poetic, sublime, subtle, sweet, upper-class	in grammar that AmE, more difficult pronunciation, old, round, rule-governed, serious, strict	

Table 2
UW respondents' description of British English

Positive comments 44 = 67.7%	Neutral comments 17 = 26.1%	Negative comments 4 = 6.2%
sophisticated (10), posh (6), elegant (5), attractive (2), distinguished (2), fancy (2), melodious (2), stylish (2), beautiful, bewitching, classy, excellent, fascinating, magnificent, melodic, nice to ear, opulent, pleasing, posh-sounding, superior, well-regarded	difficult (3), rigid (2), complex, complicated, elitist, formal, French-influenced, light, official, royal, soft, spacious, strict, universal	affected, crisp-sounding, hard to understand, phonetically-confusing

Table 3
US respondents' description of American English

Positive comments 43 = 25.7%	Neutral comments 104 = 62.3%	Negative comments 20 = 12%
clear (7), easy to understand (4), friendly (3), nice (3), colourful (2), more natural (2), professional (2), confident, easier to grasp, easier to un-	simple (13), easy (10), common (6), lazy (5), casual (4), popular (4), rhotic (4), easier (3), everyday language (3), laid-back (3), practi-	simplified (4), churlish, direct as a bullet to the head, exaggerated, harsh, horrible, irritating, less interesting, overextended, shal-

derstand, easy-going, efficient, elegant, happy, interesting, melodic, more friendly, natural, nice-sounding, pure, smart, spontaneous, understandable, very friendly	cal (3), rough (3), colloquial (2), fluent (2), plain (2), slangy (2), accessible, business-like, clipped, concrete, direct, dynamic, down to earth, easier than British, easier to pronounce, easy (taking into account grammar), easy to pronounce, explicit, expressive, fast, firm, fluid, free, heavy, informal, informal-sounding (even in formal contexts), light, more common, nasal, open, ordinary, popular, prevailing, quick, relaxed, shortened, simpler, soft, standard, straightforward, tough	low, sloppy, squeaky, too relaxed, unbearably nasal, unclear, untidy, unrefined

Table 4
UW respondents' description of American English

Positive comments 9 = 18%	Neutral comments 34 = 68%	Negative comments 7 = 14%
relaxed (3), clear, easy to understand, friendly, laid-back, trendy, understandable	common (6),ordinary (3), easier to pronounce (2), easy (2), fast (2), neutral (2), popular (2), casual,	artificial, boring, poor, simplified, sloppy, terrible, unpleasant

	down-to-earth, flat, informal, modern, tough, more popular, negligent, old-fashioned, prescriptive, prevailing, rough, soft, thick, unofficial	

Table 5
US respondents' description of English spoken by native speakers of Polish

Positive comments 9 = 6.2%	Neutral comments 56 = 38.6%	Negative comments 80 = 55.2%
fluent (3), clear, communicative, comprehensible, good, grammatically correct, sometimes really good	funny (9), hard (7), simple (6), careful (3), flat (2), square (2), tough (2), basic, cautious, complicated, different pronunciation, direct, diverse, easy, grammar-focused, hard to specify, hissing, influenced, monochromatic, Polglish, Polish accent, Ponglish, practical, recognizable, rigid, Russian-like, shy, sharp, Slavic accent, specific, straight, varied	harsh (5), rough (5), incorrect (4), awkward (2), bad (2), clumsy (2), heavily accented (2), incomplete (2), misspelled (2), not fluent (2), primitive (2), simplified (2), stiff (2), strange (2), unnatural (2), wrong (2), accentless, artificial, poor, bad pronunciation, broken, clumsy, full of bad accent, grammar and word-lacking, helpless, imperfect, incoherent, incomprehensible, incorrect, inelegant, it doesn't sound like English, low knowledge of vocabulary, mechani-

		cal, messy, neglectful, nauseating, not communicative, not fluent, often incorrect in pronunciation, poor as it comes to accent, poorly pronounced, poor vowel pronunciation, produced with difficulty, sloppy, strange accent, too exact, ungrammatical, unprofessional, ugly, 'wery gud akcent', without a proper accent, without this pleasant melody, with Polish accent (which destroys the beauty of this language), with a lot of mistakes, wrong usage of collocations and sentence structures

Table 6
UW respondents' description of English spoken by native speakers of Polish

Positive comments 12 = 23.5%	Neutral comments 8 = 15.7%	Negative comments 31 = 60.8%
understandable (3), correct (2), comprehensible, easy to understand, efficient, fluent, good, gram-	simple (2), formal (2), funny (2), hard, flat	imperfect (2), rough (2), angular, apprehensive, artificial, awkward, badly pronounced, broken,

matically communicative, natural		clumsy, discordant, embarrassing, harsh, not confident, not fluent, inaccurate, incorrectly pronounced, school-learned, their accent hurts my ears, painful, shaky, sloppy, stilted, ugly, unattractive, ungrammatical, unnatural, unpolished, weighty, weird

Questions 9, 10 and 11: Do you speak English with a Polish/non-native accent? If you do, is it a problem for you? Why?

When asked if they speak English with an L1-influenced accent, 35.6% of the US subjects and 45% of the UW subjects answered affirmatively, while 32.2% of the US respondents and 35% of the UW respondents answered negatively. No definitive answer was provided by 32.2% of the US students and 20% of the UW students.

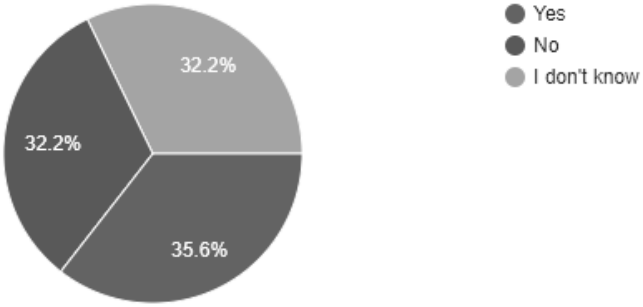

Figure 5
US respondents' evaluation of whether their English is L1-influenced

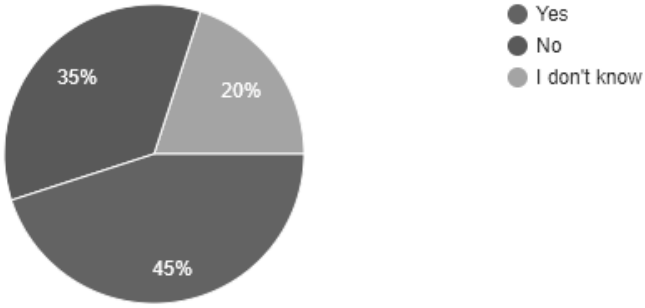

Figure 6
UW respondents' evaluation of whether their English is L1-influenced

Of those who claim to speak L1-influenced English, 40% of the US group and 45.2% of the UW group consider it a problem, 38.8% of the US students and 38.7% of the UW students find it unproblematic, while 21.3% of the US respondents and 16.1% of the UW respondents have no opinion.

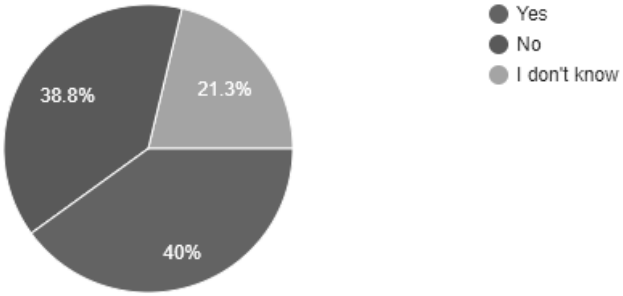

Figure 7
US respondents' evaluation of whether
their L1-influenced English is a problem for them

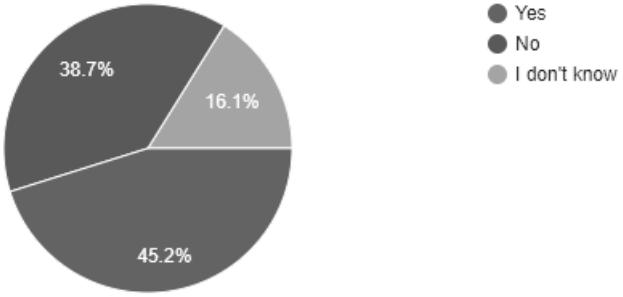

Figure 8
UW respondents' evaluation of whether
their L1-influenced English is a problem for them

The respondents who are not satisfied with their Polish-accented English provide the following arguments:

- speaking English with a non-native accent sounds unprofessional or uncultured;
- English with a Polish accent sounds bad;
- philology students are expected to sound native;
- it is undesirable when people can guess nationality basing on one's accent.

(4) *It might seem unprofessional for people I work with.*

(5) *Yes, because I think the more a person sounds like a native speaker, the more educated they seem. Speaking poorly makes you seem uncultured, like you haven't been places or met people from other countries.*
(6) *Because I don't like the sound of Polish English, it sounds stupid.*
(7) *Because it is frowned upon not to speak ideal English while studying it.*

The opinions of respondents who claim to accept their Polish-accented English cluster around two lines of reasoning:

– Polish-accented English does not affect one's communication skills;
– having an L1-influenced accent makes one's English sound original, interesting and unique.

(8) *I don't have an aspiration to sound more British than British themselves, as long as I'm understood by both native and non-native speakers of English I think it's enough. The point of knowing any language is to communicate. Of course if one day I acquire certain accent (for instance by means of staying abroad) then I will be very happy about it, but it's not my priority.*
(9) *The friend of mine has come to the conclusion that it is "sweet" when a Polish person speaks English with a Polish accent, it sounds peculiar and original.*

Question 12 and 13: How important is it for you to sound like a native speaker of English? Why?

Question 12 generated fairly homogeneous answers in both groups, as presented in Figures 9 and 10. A clear majority finds it very important (46.2% US and 40% UW) and important (35.2% US and 35% UW) to master native-like pronunciation.

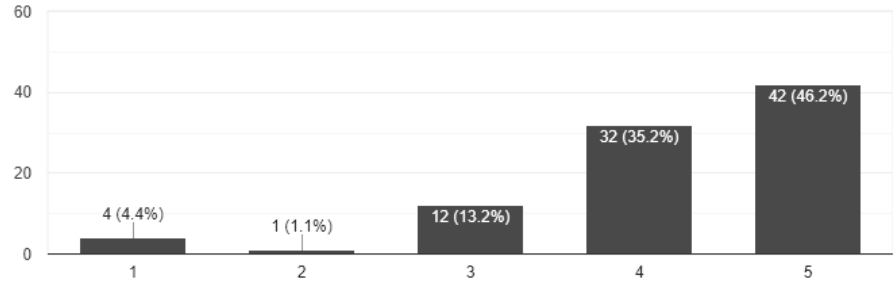

Figure 9
US respondents' desire to sound like a native speaker of English
(5 – it is very important, 1 – not important at all)

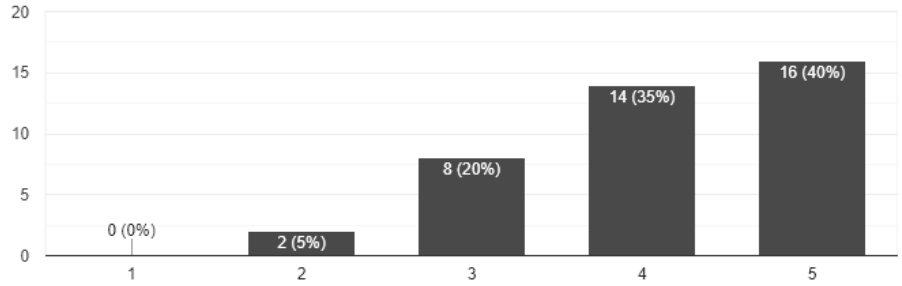

Figure 10
UW respondents' desire to sound like a native speaker of English
(5 – it is very important, 1 – not important at all)

The following reasons were provided by respondents who state that acquiring a native-speaker accent is important for them:

- speaking English with a native accent sounds professional/speaking with a non-native accent sounds unprofessional;
- native-like accent is more intelligible for both NSE and NNSE;
- developing a native-like accent is part and parcel of learning a foreign language;
- having a native accent shows that one is competent in their use of English;
- speaking with a native accent makes one more competitive on the job market;
- sounding like an NSE is important in interpreters' job;

- having a native accent makes people think that one is an NSE;
- it is undesirable when people can guess nationality based on one's foreign accent;
- sounding native makes one a more confident speaker;
- when one sounds native, others perceive him/her as more intelligent/well-educated.

Selected comments are as follows:

(10) *As an interpreter I want to be fluent and sound like a native speaker. Nativelike pronunciation is regarded as indicative of high status, prestige and professionalism*
(11) *The accent is an important part of learning language, in my opinion as important as vocabulary and grammar.*
(12) *I try to be as native-like as possible in order to be taken seriously.*
(13) *Because, I would like to be treated as someone intelligent. Also, I don't want to be associated with Polish when I'm abroad.*

As a counter perspective, the following is a quotation from one of the few respondents who claim not to attach importance to achieving a native-speaker accent:

(14) *As long as native and non-native speakers of English can understand me without any problems it is enough for me. What is more, in contacts with foreigners whose L1 is not English I discovered that they have serious problems with understanding RP. It is quite ironic – a lot of people whom I talked to aspire to sound British but most of them have real difficulties in comprehending utterances spoken in British accent. Therefore I think that especially in contacting non-native speakers it is better to choose one's 'natural' accent if I may say so. By 'natural' I mean not pretending to be British, American, etc. However, I believe it's very very very important to pay attention to phonetics and stick to the way words should be pronounced so that the speaker can be understood.*

A different comment, somehow reflective in tone, is as follows:

(15) *Because on the one hand I want to be treated as serious person, but on the other, I think that non-native elements in accent are quite beautiful, unique and intriguing. However, the majority of people look down on it and criticise.*

Questions 14 and 15: My university teachers put too much focus on native-speaker pronunciation. Why do you think so? Please, comment.

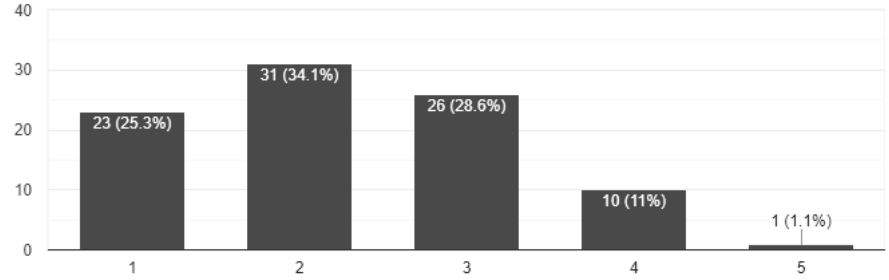

Figure 11
US respondents' opinion of whether their teachers put too much focus on native-speaker pronunciation
(5 – strongly agree, 1-strongly disagree)

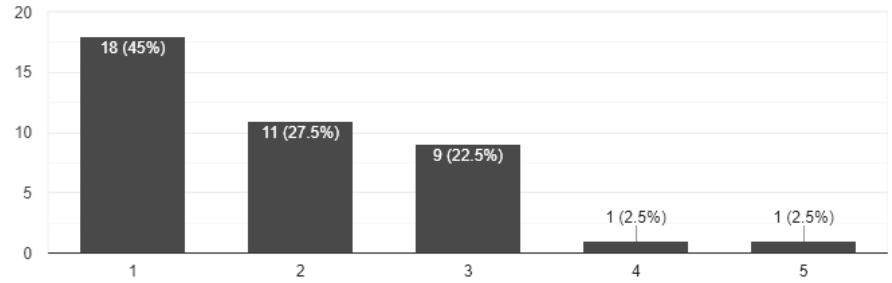

Figure 12
UW respondents' opinion of whether their teachers put too much focus on native-speaker pronunciation
(5 – strongly agree, 1-strongly disagree)

The answers to questions 14 and 15 reveal that the students expect from their university teachers not less but actually more focus on native-speaker pronunciation. A prevailing opinion is that university teachers put too little focus on instilling native-like pronunciation in students. The respondents from both universities complained that teachers do not correct their pronunciation or that correction takes place only during phonetics classes in the first year of their studies, but is otherwise neglected:

(16) *This is actually a problem because teachers don't put much attention to teaching proper pronunciation.*
(17) *I very rarely meet with comments concerning my accent. I know I should improve, but nobody seemed willing to guide me somehow.*
(18) *University teachers, apart from phonetics classes, don't motivate students to try to obtain native-speaker pronunciation.*

Criticism was also directed at university teachers for the lack of native-like accent:

(19) […] *when it comes to the accent of most of my teachers there is quite a lot of room for improvement. There were several whose accent is stunning and it was pure pleasure to listen to them […] but the rest have a clearly acquired accent which in most cases is not perfect. One of the teachers actually speaks worse accent than most of the students which is truly saddening* […]
(20) *At my faculty we only have one English native speaker and the rest of the teachers don't really have perfect accents themselves.*

6. Discussion and concluding remarks

For some time now we have been observing the growing role of non-standard English in international communication, which has emerged as one of the major factors influencing interpret-

ers' work. In Albl-Mikasa's (2013: 3) words, "no other development since the invention and introduction of the technology for simultaneous interpretation after World War II has changed the working conditions and professional self-image of conference interpreters to such a degree". ELF has become so common in international communication that now it constitutes the majority of interpreters' workload. Yet, at the same time, it is interpreting ELF, with its specific accents, unfamiliar phraseology, untypical syntax and mixed registers, that is declared particularly demanding by professional interpreters. The reaction to the changes affecting the interpreting market is the debate on modification of a traditional, native-speaker-oriented interpreting training, so that classroom practice reflects more the working conditions of professional interpreters. Does this global discussion resonate among interpreters-to-be?

As many as 69.2% of the US respondents and 82.5% of the UW respondents claim to be familiar with the term "English as a lingua franca" and are able to define it. Yet one must note that the subjects provide no more than surface definitions, which most often come down to pointing out that ELF is a language of global communication. Knowledge of six or more (sub)varieties of the English language is declared by 45.1% of the US students and 60% of the UW students. What is telling, however, is that the existence of Outer Circle English is acknowledged by only a handful of respondents and the examples of Expanding Circle English are provided merely by three of them. In general, the responses suggest no systematic knowledge in this area, which, taking into consideration the scope of the ELF phenomenon, should be expected of soon-to-be philology graduates, especially that most of them, as residents of an Expanding Circle country, are likely to work in Expanding Circle contexts, interpreting and translating from Italian English, Russian English, Chinese English etc. The second part of the questionnaire reveals that different (sub)varieties of English are not given equal recognition by the participants. The students associate English varieties with stereotypical fea-

tures allegedly exhibited by natives representing them. Asked about British English, the respondents produce an avalanche of positive comments, describing this variety as, among others, "sophisticated", "posh", "elegant" and "melodic", but also "magnificent" or "superior". American English receives a more moderate response, described as "simple", "easy", "clear", "common", "friendly" and "casual", with some criticism indicating its inferiority to the UK variety (e.g. "churlish", "simplified", "unrefined" or "sloppy"). In contrast, when asked to describe *Polish English*, the students provide mostly negative responses, calling it "harsh", "incorrect", "poor" or even "broken" and "nauseating". The students, having such an emotion-laden approach to native-speaker English, might not be motivated to devote time and effort to familiarizing themselves with Expanding and Outer Circle English. They might even openly oppose frequent presence of ELF during classes (both interpreting and practical language classes), since it occurs at the cost of less exposure to Standard British or Standard American.

The respondents' fondness of the native-speaker model finds reflection in their responses concerning their own English accent aspirations. Even though many of them predict to communicate mostly with NNSE (40.7% US and 52.5% UW), as much as 81.4% of the US respondents and 75% of the UW respondents find it important or very important to master a particular variety of English to the native-speaker pronunciation level. They expect teachers to put emphasis on this aspect of linguistic performance during most of the classes, not only the ones specifically devoted to pronunciation practice (59.4% US and 72.5% UW). They are critical of the pronunciation of an average Pole and the pronunciation exhibited by some of their teachers, not accepting performance below the level of native-like. As for their own pronunciation, 40.0% (US) and 45.2% (UW) of those who claim to speak English with a non-native accent consider it a problem, while 38.8% (US) and 38.7% (UW) of those who claim to speak English with a non-native accent find it unproblematic. They admit that their English

pronunciation is of sufficient quality to pursue their private or professional activities. Yet, still a large proportion of the students set for themselves an ambitious goal of speaking British or American English "like a native speaker", presumably believing that through acquiring a particular variety they would acquire the features associated with it, e.g. sophistication, intelligence or professionalism. Such a strong emphasis on pronunciation practice by the students might be surprising for interpreting practitioners. Many interpreters admit that given the complexities and technicalities of the source texts they work with, their own accent is actually the least of their worries. Moreover, though native-speaker accent might indeed give the (first) impression of professionalism, it may also occur to be an obstacle in interpreters' work. There is evidence that in international communication contexts native speakers are actually the least intelligible group of English users (Jenkins 2009, Deterding 2010), most likely because of their tendency to use the features of connected speech, e.g. elision, assimilation and weak forms (Jenkins 2009: 204). Having a native-like accent in some ELF communication contexts might prove to be not only confusing, but even harmful.[4] Since interpreters' work aims at clarity and precision of communication, native-like accent might not be as highly-rated by prospective clients as it is assumed by the students; by some it may be even perceived as an irritating quirk, especially when the native accent is imitated ineptly.

The overall impression emerging from this analysis is that the phenomenon of ELF and the debate surrounding it are not properly communicated to the English philology students. The students' view of the English language appears to be slightly anachronistic and their approach to linguistic education con-

[4] Deterding (2010: 7) provides an example of air-traffic communication, that is one in which international intelligibility is critically important. The official Aviation Radiotelephony Manual recommends that the numeral *thousand* is pronounced with a /t/ rather than /θ/. In this case, native-speaker pronunciation is officially not recommended.

servative, resembling that from a few decades ago when English textbooks presented only the so-called Received Pronunciation as standard pronunciation for the learners to emulate. In the respondents' answers, one can see an underlying assumption that English "belongs" only to NSE, rather than to all those who use it in global communication. Naturally, various voices can be heard in the debate on the role and place of ELF in the present-day world, not all of them in favour of the phenomenon in question. Yet the students' conservatism does not seem to be the result of a thorough contemplation of the problem, but rather insufficient knowledge and uncritical embrace of the stereotypical mass-culture narration that tends to romanticize certain varieties of English while dismissing others.

As a result, the students participating in the study seem not to be particularly interested in any reformulation of the traditional native-speaker-centered model of language education. The results of the study make us wonder whether the introduction of ELF-oriented activities into practical interpreting or language classes would prove effective if not accompanied by solid theoretical underpinning. Students entering a course in interpreting should be equipped with comprehensive and up-to-date knowledge of the specifics of the present-day English-speaking population in the context of the demands of the interpreting market. Otherwise, students might not understand the need to put detailed attention to Outer or Expanding Circle English and might not be motivated to work with non-native English throughout a substantial part of the interpreting course.

The study was carried out at two Polish universities. The results acquired at the University of Silesia and the University of Warsaw turned out to be very similar. The results are also consistent with the findings of the previous study by Szymańska-Tworek (2016) investigating attitudes among English philology students of teacher education programmes at the University of Silesia. Yet we are far from forming conclusions pertaining to all interpreting students in general. Taking into

consideration the limited scope of this investigation, the results should rather serve the interpreting teachers as the catalyst for reflection about their students' knowledge and attitudes towards ELF, and an invitation to further research in this matter, in other institutional and geographical settings.

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Appendix

Questionnaire

Have you attended any translation classes so far during your studies?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes, 30 h
- ☐ Yes, 60 h
- ☐ Yes, 90 h
- ☐ Yes, 120 h

- ☐ Yes, more than 120 h
- ☐ Other:

Have you attended any interpreting classes so far during your studies?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes, 30 h
- ☐ Yes, 60 h
- ☐ Yes, 90 h
- ☐ Yes, 120 h
- ☐ Yes, more than 120 h
- ☐ Other:

1. Are you familiar with the concept 'English as a lingua franca'?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes

2. If yes, please give a definition of 'English as a lingua franca'.

3. How many (sub)varieties of English do you know that exist?

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6 or more

4. Please enumerate them.

5. I think I will probably use English more often with:

- ☐ native speakers
- ☐ non-native speakers
- ☐ equally often with native and non-native speakers
- ☐ I don't know

6. What adjectives would you use to describe British English?

7. What adjectives would you use to describe American English?

8. What adjectives would you use to describe English spoken by Polish people?

9. Do you speak English with a Polish/non-native accent?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't know

10. If you speak English with a Polish/non-native accent, is it a problem for you?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't know

11. Explain why.

12. How important is it for you to sound like a native speaker of English?

☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5

1 - not important at all
5 - very important

13. Why? Please comment.

14. My university teachers put too much focus on native-speaker pronunciation.

☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5

1 - strongly disagree
5 - strongly agree

15. Why do you think so? Please comment.

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Poetry as a de-fossilizing force in teaching Polish grammar to the advanced users of Polish as a foreign language

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Abstract

The aim of the paper is to suggest ways of using poetry as a de-fossilizing force motivating students to reflect on grammar and its most problematic issues. Having presented learners' fossilized language competence in terms of grammar, involving examples of inaccuracies and/or understatements manifested by the advanced learners of Polish as a foreign language (146 students of the Polish Language Course attending the School of Polish Language and Culture at the University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland), suggestions for teachers of Polish as a foreign language and students themselves are offered. These include a few examples of activities based on poems believed to be perfect de-fossilizing teaching materials.

Keywords

grammar, fossilization, de-fossilizing force, poetry, teaching Polish as a foreign language

Poezja jako siła przeciwdziałająca fosylizacji w nauczaniu gramatyki języka polskiego wśród zaawansowanych użytkowników języka polskiego jako obcego

Abstrakt

Artykuł prezentuje sposób wykorzystania poezji jako siły przeciwdziałającej fosylizacji języka i motywującej użytkowników języka polskiego jako obcego do refleksji nad zagadnieniami gramatycznymi, które stwarzają im największe problemy. Chodzi tu o błędy gramatyczne oraz niedopowiedzenia, z jakimi najczęściej mają do czynienia badani. Grupę badanych stanowi 146 osób uczęszczających na kurs języka polskiego w Szkole Języka i Kultury Polskiej Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach. Przedstawione propozycje zawierają serię ćwiczeń skomponowanych w oparciu o autorskie teksty poetyckie, które pomogą zarówno nauczycielom, jak i uczniom pokonać poszczególne trudności językowe i tym samym staną się doskonałym materiałem ćwiczeniowym przeciwdziałającym fosylizacji języka.

Słowa kluczowe

gramatyka, fosylizacja, siła przeciwdziałająca fosylizacji, poezja, nauczanie języka polskiego jako obcego

1. Introduction

Considered in terms of what words and how words chain together to convey the meaning, grammar manifests itself in patterns, structures and orientations that are very often difficult to figure out (Willis 2005). Apparently, it becomes more and more troublesome at higher levels of linguistic development when the students' contact with grammar is more text rather than sentence based, and authentic language use they come in contact with operates on language-specific social and pragmatic norms that are simply too subtle to conceptualize consciously. What is needed in such a situation requires serious thought given to linguistic units, or, more specifically, grammatical as-

pects hidden in the text. The best way to do it in a text-based instruction is by means of poetry evoking a concentrated awareness of experience and/or a specific emotional response to the language and through the language being offered.

2. Poetry in a foreign language classroom

Following Szczęśniak (2009), poetry in teaching a foreign language is treated as an innovative potential aimed at developing students' linguistic and cognitive competences. In the former case, a well-prepared material, in the form of a text, is to influence lexis, grammar and morphology, as well as to become the basis of enhancing students' listening, reading, speaking and writing skills. The latter, on the other hand, giving social, cultural, and historical background, allows for acting, thinking and feeling in a foreign language, including openness to other languages, cultures and communities. Kozłowski (1991) goes even further and compares using poetry in a classroom to a multidimensional experience and a powerful effect on learners' literary, emotional, creative, aesthetic or critical competences, to name a few.

The more "attractive" the poem, the bigger influence on its receivers can be observed. What constitutes this text attractiveness is elaborated on by Burzyńska and Markowski (2006), according to whom it composes of directiveness, clarity, or, paradoxically, the lack of both, as well as thought-provoking and innovative ideas, or a metaphorical nature of the language itself.

More specifically, these are distinctive features of poetical texts, such as e.g. rhythms, rhymes, onomatopoeic expressions, assonances and alliterations that enrich the way the message is conveyed and the language in general is portrayed at the same time.

Working on a poetical text, as Szczęśniak (2009) has it, can start from just underlining given words to direct learners' attention to their spelling. Looking for prefixes or suffixes, di-

minutives and/or augmentatives, analogically, is to raise students' awareness of word formation and morphology. In the same vein, when asked to concentrate on certain parts of speech, such as verbs, nouns or adjectives and adverbs, the learners may develop their understanding of word order, as well as how words representing these parts of speech co-exist and form a larger unit referred to as a sentence.

The next step can be reading a poem and working on substituting given words or phrases, transforming parts and/or whole sentences, as well as coming up with new units. Practically, it may cover practicing plurals/singulars, inflections, tenses etc. Finally, the students may be asked to reflect on word or sentence relations, ponder over their double or metaphorical meaning, as well as go for writing their own lines according to suggested patterns, or just become involved into free writing as such. Being so diversified, poetry seems to be a part of not only a very interesting text-based task to implement during regular classes, but also a series of remedy classes when something goes wrong.

3. Types of poems

Taking all the above-mentioned into account, it is worth emphasizing that different poems serve different purposes, and can be used differently to promote language acquisition. The most common poem forms are picture poems and pattern poems.

3.1. Picture poems

According to Finch (2003), picture poems offer a visual perspective on the arrangement of words, and are, therefore, an effective means of encouraging learners to interact with the target vocabulary. How to do it in practice is perfectly explained by Mrożek (1999) – see Figure 1.

Przygotowujemy kartki z różnymi słowami, np. schody, kluski, jeż, wąż, kapelusz, drzewo. Uczestnicy losują kartki. Wylosowany przedmiot przedstawiają słowami tak umieszczonymi na kartce, żeby odzwierciedlały jego treść, np.

Figure 1
An example of a picture poem (Mrożek 1999: 125)

Such poems look like the object they describe. The structure is the shape of the object, and task completion comes from arranging words to match that shape.

Another type of a picture poem is the one in which the words outline the object being described. Again, these words can be sentences or collections of word-associations, and, thus, encourage the learners to interact and experiment with the language. One of the experiments is presented by Mrożek (1999) – see Figure 2.

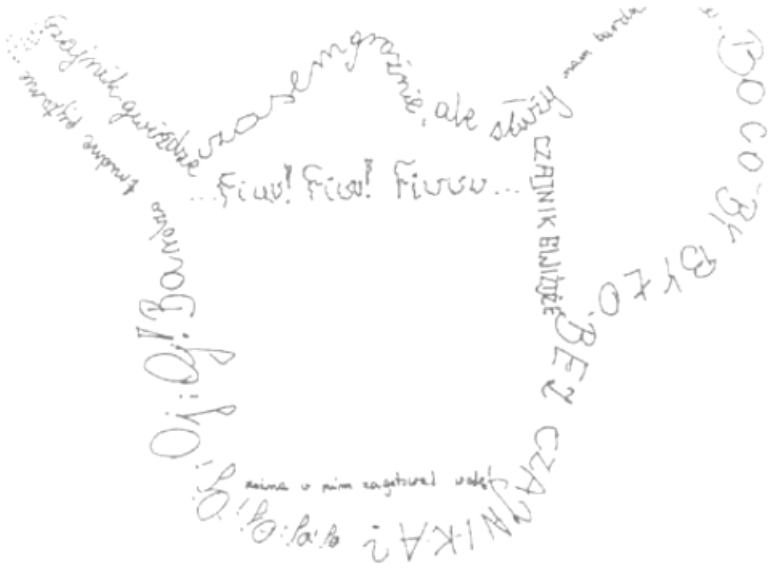

Figure 2
An example of a calligram poem (Mrożek 1999: 132)

Practically speaking, it means that in order to create it the students may be asked to think of a given word, and present the line that appears to bound a given object.

3.2. Pattern poems

Pattern poems, on the other hand, are believed to be especially successful in the foreign language classroom as they can be adopted to teaching grammar and sentence structure. Following Finch (2003), *patterns* in such poems usually consist of grammatical items (adjectives, adverbs, verbs etc.) metrical frameworks, phrases, or sentence structures, though they can also include acronyms. The very example offered by Mrożek (1999) shows a broad scope of the entries to be produced by the students giving them virtually a free hand (see Figure 3).

Uczestnicy wybierają słowo, temat, na który chcieliby napisać:
Np. DESZCZ
Układamy litery pionowo:
D.....
E.....
S.....
Z.....
C.....
Z.....
Zadanie polega na uzupełnieniu wersów własnym tekstem.

Figure 3
An example of a pattern poem (Mrożek 1999: 123)

Such experiments with the language guarantee not only great fun, but also a remedy for language mistakes which are the result of language fossilization and/or other problems.

4. Fossilization

Fossilization, being among other things, defined as a propensity for language behaviours lacking appropriate forms and features, takes on different forms reflecting its diversity and complexity.

To name a few, the phenomenon in question is perceived as:

- "ultimate attainment" (Selinker 1974: 36),
- "[…] non-progression of learning […]" (Selinker 1992: 257),
- "[…] cessation of further systematic development in the interlanguage" (Selinker and Han 1996),
- "[…] regular reappearance or re-emergence in IL productive performance of linguistic structures which were thought to have disappeared" (Selinker 1974: 36),
- "the long term persistence of plateaus of non-target-like structures in the interlanguage of non-native speakers" (Selinker and Lakshmanan 1993: 197).

More specifically, ultimate attainment stands for the end state the advanced learners reach well on their way to learning a language, denoting, at the same time, the lack of potential for further development. This inability to improve and/or develop in the language recurs under the label of a widely-understood non-progression or cessation of learning. Crucial as these notions are to the phenomenon of fossilization, they are not the only ones. As can be seen in the last two explanations, much of the onus also falls on a permanent retention and reappearance of (correct and/or incorrect) language habits and forms within the fossilized language competence.

4.1. Scope of fossilization

Although Selinker and Lakshmanan (1993) clearly state that there is no precise list of fossilizable language structures, it is presently believed that, despite prominence being given to pronunciation, namely the so-called "foreign accents", fossilization is expected to occur at phonological, morphological as well as syntactic levels. While foreign accents and examples of bad pronunciation in general are – to a greater or lesser extent – observable among foreign language learners irrespective of their L1 background and language, fossilizable language structures at the level of morphology and syntax are more L1 specific, and their frequency of occurrence is likely to differ with respect to the native language of a given foreign language learner. As the paper focuses on grammar, syntactic manifestations of fossilization are given priority here, and are subject to a thorough consideration.

4.1.1. L1-induced fossilization

Language difficulties non-native speakers of Polish experience are mainly syntacto-morphological in character and include the following ones (Wysocka 2007):

- prepositions, e.g. **Kupię na pani kawę*, **Idę do poczty*;
- pronouns, e.g. **Tamte mężczyźni*, **Widzę się z ją*;
- cases, e.g. **Ona ma duży pies*, **Potrzebuję krzesło*;
- word order, e.g. **Bardzo podoba się mi*, **To jest kot gruby*;
- tenses, e.g. **Tomek wczoraj ogląda film*;
- aspect, e.g. **Będę napisać*, **Jutro ona będzie kupić książkę*;
- verb inflections, e.g. **bylimy*, **jestemy*, **kupowuje*;
- degrees of adjectives, e.g. **bardziej lepszy*, **bliżejszy*, **zdrowiejszy*;
- plural forms, e.g. **człowieki*, **dziecka*, **studenty*, **profesory*;
- collocations, e.g. **robić sport*, **wziąć zdjęcie*, **mieć prysznic*;
- prefixes, e.g. **przyprać pranie*;
- suffixes, e.g. **inteligentność*.

In trying to find the reasons for the high frequency of the above-enumerated difficulties, Wysocka (2007) claims that it is L1-L2 distance and disparities that give rise to language problems of that kind. For example, Chinese learners form interrogatives placing question words at the end of utterances, it being a Chinese rule of question formation. English or German speaking students manifest their L1 habits in the use of prepositions, pronouns or word order, due to ambiguities which their mother tongues allow in the case of the first two, and a more fixed nature of the third one in comparison to Polish. The situations in which the motherese is devoid of the category of case (e.g. Norwegian), tense or verb inflections (e.g. Chinese) translate into inaccuracies in all these language spheres. Problems with aspect are typical of Germans learning Polish and result from the lack of equivalents to the German pluperfect in Polish. As regards Japanese learners of Polish, they have problems with verb conjugation and plurality. Difficulties with pre- and suffixation are numerous in the case of English speakers of Polish and can be boiled down to a variety of means of word formation in Polish.

More recently, studies conducted by Krawczuk (2008), Dilna (2008) or Dąbrowska and Pasieka (2008) add to the above-mentioned:

- government,
- syntactic combinability.

Problems with government most often derive from L1 interferences and range from Germanic and Romanian to Slavic languages. To name a few examples, native speakers of English would say: **spędzamy mniej swojego czasu na*, Czechs: **byłem z niej nie tylko rozczarowany* and Ukrainians: **tolerancja do kogoś* or **Mieszkam blisko od uniwersytetu* on account of apparently close, though incorrect solutions the languages suggest (Krawczuk 2008). Problems with word and sentence relations, on the other hand, stem from inappropriate accommodation (Markiewicz-Pławecka 2008). This consists in wrong combinations of modifiers and words or phrases modified, resulting in such expressions as **Po świętach połowa narodu otrzyma trudności z trawieniem* or **Brno jest drugie największe miasto.* Surprisingly, it is Slavic learners of Polish, Bulgarians in particular, who experience such difficulties most frequently.

4.1.2. TL-induced syntactic fossilization

Language behaviours resulting from the reverse situation, notably, Polish playing a role of the TL, seem to be influenced by the same mechanisms, that is, morpho-syntactic interferences, and reflect the following areas vulnerable to fossilization (Wysocka 2009):

- cases,
- subject-verb agreement,
- inflection.

Problems with cases stem from fixed rules of the noun declension system in Polish and previously-mentioned non-existence and/or its different realization in the first language, as in English or Russian where the former has the genitive only whereas

the latter has six (Wysocka 2007). The resultative forms include **Nie słuchaliśmy muzykę* or **Oddaj to Adam* (Korol 2008). Likewise, subject-verb agreement tends to be troublesome for foreign learners of Polish, including English speakers. The case of inflection, on the other hand, imposes on Korean speakers the linguistic behaviours they cannot translate from their mother tongue. As a result, they produce inaccurate utterances such as **Czas bardzo szybko minęła* or **Zjadłam dużo czekoladów* (Mielczarek and Lisowski 2008).

4.1.3. Other manifestations of fossilization

Other situations include occurrences during which the so called disfluencies occur in large numbers, are wide in scope and, hence, constitute language problems. Wysocka (2007) groups them as follows:

- pauses (filled and unfilled) prior to a potential grammar item,
- overuse of grammatically-based fixed expressions,
- overuse of English-based grammar.

The very categories are common to all non-native speakers of Polish as a foreign language, irrespective of their language background and the source language they operate on. Pauses, to start with, appear whenever learners encounter obstacles in expressing themselves grammatically. Their flow of speech is disrupted by pauses, repetitions and prolongations of sounds, syllables, words or phrases. Repetitions in the form of an overuse of certain routine formulas are observed whenever learners experience problems with finding a proper grammatical pattern. Finally, referring to English which, being a lingua franca, serves the role of a "walking stick", regardless of other languages acquired and/or learned, is reflected in over-reliance on certain grammatical points which learners consider to be universal and convenient in many situations.

5. Grammatical fossilization: the research proper

What grammatical (in)accuracies and (dis)fluencies responsible for and constituting grammatical fossilization reappear in speaking and writing has been the core objective of the study conducted among advanced users of Polish as a foreign language.

5.1. Subjects

The sample included 146 students of the Polish Language Course attending the School of Polish Language and Culture at the University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland. 8 different nationalities and languages the sample represented allowed for presenting them under the label of 3 different branches of the Indo-European language family, namely Germanic, Slavic and Romance. The first group (A) comprised 13 German (G), 16 Scandinavian (S) and 13 English (E) students of Polish as a foreign language (46 altogether). The second (B) was composed of 24 Ukrainians (U) and 25 Slovaks (Sl.), which made 49 in total, whereas the third group (C) consisted of 14 Italian (I), 18 Spanish (Sp.) and 19 French (F) course participants, that is 51 as a whole. As far as gender and age are concerned, group A was made up of 17 female and 29 male students aged 21-45, group B contained 21 females and 28 males between 24 and 49 years of age, while in group C the number of female representatives amounted to 25 and the male ones to 26 between the ages of 20 and 31. In terms of qualifications, groups A and B seemed homogeneous and included similar proportions of BA and MA degree holders, i.e. 25 versus 21 and 25 versus 24 respondents respectively. Group C, being younger in general, contained 27 BA students, 17 MA students as well as 7 subjects with no diplomas. As far as their language experience is concerned, it was not limited to studying Polish since 100% of the German, English, Italian, Spanish and French respondents worked as lecturers and/or teachers of their na-

tive languages in language schools in Poland; 9, 10, 4, 7 and 10 of them respectively having their BA in language and culture (teaching).

5.2. Tools

Text samples, which constituted the main source of the language material produced by the 146 respondents, were divided into oral and written assignments. In both cases, the tasks the subjects were confronted with covered a topic for discussion randomly chosen from a list of 100 quotations singled out for the purposes of the study.

As regards oral assignments, they focused on students' oral performance and were designed to record samples of the language output produced by the informants in the course of speaking. More specifically, the respondents were required to comment on one of the statements drawn from the list of the quotations. Each time, the responses recorded were the students' 3-minute spontaneous reactions to the topic.

As regards the written tasks, each of the students was asked to pick a slip of paper containing a topic for discussion. Having selected one of the quotations at a time, they were requested to write on the issues, being given a 30-minute time-limit.

5.3. Results

As far as speaking is concerned, the students' performance violated rules of grammar mainly as a result of an unfortunate choice and usage of language within the scope of previously-mentioned grammar patterns, structures and orientations ranging from a dozen to several hundred examples of a given violation (see Table 1).

Table 1
Symptoms of grammatical fossilization (speaking)

Fossilization symptom	Frequency of occurrence							
	G	S	E	U	Sl.	I	Sp.	F
Subject overuse	92	100	125	72	88	99	108	100
Lack of subject-verb agreement	97	108	95	95	95	100	95	95
Problems with case	77	69	76	67	71	71	72	68
Wrong prepositions	69	69	71	67	71	71	72	68
Problems with comparison	62	63	65	63	64	64	67	63
Misuse of pronouns	51	50	48	45	43	61	58	56
Problems with relative pronouns	37	31	38	31	34	35	31	30
Verb omission	11	14	19	19	21	21	14	12
Pauses	177	113	200	300	180	60	70	70
Repetitions	110	150	170	301	149	192	183	115
Overuse of grammatically-based fixed expressions	66	104	190	201	179	159	102	109
Unfinished words/phrases	34	46	70	91	99	100	49	31

Qualitatively speaking, on the other hand, what the students arrived at included the following utterances:

- **Ja myślę, że ja wygram ten mecz.*
- **Dzieci byli z nami na zawsze.*
- **On kupuje jego samochody.*
- **Ja się cieszę do ich przyjazdu.*
- **Byłoby bardzo przyjemniej tam być.*
- **Chcę ciebie powiedzieć.*
- **To jest droga, na którą poznasz kilka ciekawych ludzi.*

- **Zapytam jemu, zapytam jemu, czy jest chętny…*
- **To jest tak, bo dziewczyny byli, dziewczyny byli…*
- **Czy to jest warty?*

What should be paid attention to, however, is the type of influences determining the form of behaviours in question. Here, the most invasive seemed English and German impact, especially when it comes to the use of wrong pronouns, relative pronouns included.

Apart from that, the students' utterances reflected a number of disfluencies. These, by definition, are caused by pauses, all-purpose words, repetitions, reformulations, unfinished utterances, over-reliance on certain structures, redundant categories or meaningless expressions, and, depending on the language feature produced, can be either erroneous or non-erroneous. As the numbers prove, the Ukrainians were the least fluent among the participants in question, pausing, hesitating and repeating themselves almost ad infinitum. The English-speaking students followed the Ukrainians, over-relying on pauses and fixed language strings, slightly taking over the Slavs and Italians who occurred to be too repetitive and linguistically fixed, as well as they overused fixed expressions and frequently did not care to finish their sentences.

The students' writing samples, in comparison to speaking, were more diversified and broader in scope in terms of language areas misused and/or misfitted. All in all, it was grammar, lexis, spelling, punctuation and text-coherence that the subjects had problems with varying frequencies (see Table 2).

Table 2
Symptoms of grammatical fossilization (writing)

Fossilization symptom	Frequency of occurrence							
	G	S	E	U	Sl.	I	Sp.	F
Subject overuse	90	96	114	69	81	96	105	99
Lack of subject-verb agreement	90	96	95	80	89	90	93	87
Problems with case	75	70	75	66	65	70	70	70
Wrong prepositions	60	76	73	66	70	69	72	69
Wrong pronouns	32	39	59	31	59	49	40	41
Problems with relative pronouns	21	26	30	19	21	31	29	28
Problems with comparison	19	24	31	19	18	28	29	21
Overuse of grammatically-based fixed expressions	19	27	59	71	45	90	76	40

The following examples illustrate common errors made by the participants.

**Ja wiem, że ja…*
**One byli gorsze.*
**Często jest tak z takich sytuacjach.*
**To jest nich inicjatywa.*
**Mój sąsiad, które ja gram szachy…*
**Ja jestem bardzo lepszy z gramatyki.*
**On jest bardzo pilnie.*
**Moja żona jest w hospitalu/ospidalu.*
**Ja siedzę na publiczności.*
**Ja mam czuć, że Polska wygra.*
**To jest dzień który ja lubię.*

The Ukrainian and Slovak students seemed to be the least fossilized, having the biggest problems with the subject-verb con-

cord. The English- and Spanish-speaking subjects were the weakest, facing all types of grammatical problems.

What was observed was the overuse of grammatically-based fixed expressions making the written text incoherent. These ranged from several to almost one hundred occurrences. Irrespective of the observable frequency, though, the language produced was deprived of its factual quality most frequently in the case of the Italians or Spaniards who seemed to celebrate the very fact of speaking and writing as such, rather than conveying the message. The representatives of the remaining nationalities produced shorter text samples, so a smaller number of fixed expressions reappearing while writing may be the result of such a situation.

6. How to deal with grammatical problems?

In trying to avoid and/or overcome at least some of the above-listed difficulties, one should not either understate or undermine the power and benefits of language practice, be it the classroom or homework. The examples of assignments presented below, catering for the subjects' problems listed above, differ from the tasks included in the study and traditional course-books as they are based on poetry. They are believed to not only broaden the perspective of problem coverage, but also language mastery, developing grammatical competence and reflection on language at the same time irrespective of the course or study attended. The poems in question have been written by the present author, and range from shorter forms designed for the recognition of certain patterns to longer ones, combining recognition with production and/or production itself involving structure development or reconstruction, to name a few.

The first task is a recognition type exercise asking the learners to underline all the pronouns to be found in the text.

TASK 1. Przeczytaj wiersz i podkreśl wszystkie przyimki, które się w nim znajdują.

JAPOŃSKA RESTAURACJA

Może być z papieru
Byleby miała parawany
Za którymi
Wino rozbierze się
Przy nas do rosołu

(poem taken from Wysocka 2012)

Task 2 is an example of a recognition and production activity organized around pronouns and pronoun case declension.

TASK 2. Przeczytaj wiersz. Podkreśl zaimek znajdujący się w tekście i odmień go przez przypadki.

ŁĄKI

Codziennie rano
Pieszczą
moje brwi
Zielonym piórkiem

I kicham na wszystko

.....
.....
.....

(poem taken from Wysocka 2012)

As the instruction says, the learners are to underline the pronoun included in the poem and, then, follow patterns of pronominal declension in Polish.

A productive task, on the other hand, can take on a short form and be based on e.g. answering questions (Task 3) or a longer piece of work to reflect on one's own utterances (Task 4). The former can be designed in the following way:

TASK 3. Przeczytaj wiersz, wypisz wszystkie rzeczowniki w mianowniku, a następnie od każdego z nich utwórz formę odpowiadającą na niżej sformułowane pytania.

W PORCIE

Najpierw przypłynęły
zapach i oddech sztormu
głębokie jak Ocean Spokojny
i niespokojne jak Morze Czerwone
a gdy tylko przybiłeś do portu
zalały mnie ciepłe fale twoich myśli
i po raz pierwszy
żałowałam, że umiem pływać
.....
.....
.....

Z kim? Z czym? .....
Kogo? Czego? .....
O kim? O czym? .....

(poem taken from Wysocka 2010)

Here, it is the case of nouns that the learners are confronted with. First, they are asked to write down all the nouns in the nominative case, and then proceed to answering a few questions, each reflecting a different case in Polish.

A more demanding exercise, on the other hand, is threefold. It opens with a part devoted to all the adjectives presented in the text. What follows concerns the way the adjectives should be matched with the nouns given leaving the original forms unchanged. Finally, sentences are to be created on the basis of previously-formed adjective + noun combinations.

TASK 4. Przeczytaj wiersz, wypisz przymiotniki znajdujące się w tekście, połącz je odpowiednio z podanymi niżej rzeczownikami nie zmieniając istniejących form i utwórz po jednym zdaniu z każdym utworzonym połączeniem (przymiotnik+rzeczownik).

***

Chciałabym zamknąć
Oczy i uszy, usta i nos
I wyłączyć myślenie
A pilot z czerwonym
Guzikiem „włącz"
Schować gdzieś głęboko
Żebyś nie mógł
Mnie uruchomić
Przez parę ładnych,
Brzydkich dni.

nocy, liści, kolorem, znakiem, słów, paskiem

Przymiotniki:
.....
.....
.....
Przymiotniki z rzeczownikami:
.....
.....
.....
Zdania:
.....
.....
.....
.....

(poem taken from Wysocka 2010)

7. Conclusions

The tasks proposed in this paper exemplify several ways of dealing with the most frequent grammatical problems (re)appearing both in oral and written communication. Those

oriented on recognition are believed to help learners activate "old" stimuli (i.e. language rules and material previously learned) and, in general, perform better, especially when it comes to grammar patterns that are often troublesome. Time for reflection that such activities allow for seems to give learners a great opportunity for self-correction.

Using recognition and production tasks is considered bridging the gap between fixed misconceptions and wrong realizations of grammatical rules. As a result, a text is well-thought-out and well created.

Finally, productive tasks are offered here to minimize learner's grammatical problems through construction of patterns as well as structures. No matter what type of exercise we choose, the real language of poetry always provides food for thought and reflection, and, thus, is expected to serve as a de-fossilizing force, raising students' linguistic awareness, be it in terms of language comprehension and production or both.

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Omani ESL learners perception of their pronunciation needs

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to analyze Omani ESL learners perception of their pronunciation needs, problems related to Omani students' pronunciation and strategies which students use to learn pronunciation. The paper also investigates if Omani students are conscious of their pronunciation obstacles. In this study, the observation and perception of Omani university students from Ad Dakhiliyah Region were examined in order to determine their pronunciation needs. As far as English as a Second Language (ESL) classes are concerned, language skills are frequently taught separately and teachers focus more on some skills i.e. grammar, reading, writing and vocabulary than on pronunciation. Seidlhofer (2000) states that some researchers have noted that teachers treat pronunciation skills as the "Cinderella" of ESL teaching and pronunciation is regarded as an extra add-on. It is essential to investigate for a teacher what aspects and strategies of teaching pronunciation are the best for ESL students. The method of data collection was a questionnaire using the sample questions presented by Derwing and Rossiter (2002). The questionnaire was distributed among Omani university learners in Ad Dakhiliyah Region. Students were asked to fill in the questionnaire and return it the next day. The major research problem is focused on the possibility of improvement of pronunciation teaching strategies. The research was

conducted by the author during his professional work as a university lecturer in the Ad Dakhiliyah region in the Sultanate of Oman.

Keywords

ESL, pronunciation needs, Omani ESL learners, strategies for pronunciation problems

Postrzeganie własnych potrzeb w zakresie wymowy języka angielskiego przez studentów w Omanie

Abstrakt

Celem tego badania jest analiza percepcji omańskich uczniów uczących się języka angielskiego jako drugiego języka w zakresie ich potrzeb dotyczących wymowy – problemów związanych z wymową języka angielskiego, strategii, których używają w nauce wymowy. Artykuł wykazuje także czy studenci omańscy są świadomi przeszkód jakie napotykają w opanowywaniu wymowy angielskiej. W niniejszym badaniu wzięli udział studenci uniwersyteccy z regionu Ad Dakhiliyah. Podczas nauczania angielskiego jako drugiego języka nauczyciele często uczą umiejętności językowych osobno i koncentruja się bardziej na pozostałych umiejętnościach tj. gramatyce, czytaniu ze zrozumieniem, pisaniu i słownictwie. Seidlhofer (2000) stwierdza, że niektórzy badacze zauważyli, iż nauczyciele traktują umiejętności wymowy jako "Kopciuszka" w nauczaniu języka angielskiego jako drugiego a wymowa jest uważana za dodatkowe rozszerzenie. Dlatego niezbędne jest określenie przez nauczyciela jakie aspekty i strategie w nauczaniu wymowy są najlepsze dla uczniów. Narzędziem w zbieraniu danych do przeprowadzenia tego badania był kwestionariusz wykorzystujący przykładowe pytania przedstawione przez Derwing i Rossiter (2002). Kwestionariusz został rozdany studentom w regionie Ad Dakhiliyah i uczniowie zostali poproszeni o jego wypełnienie i zwrócenie go następnego dnia. Główny problem badawczy skupia się na możliwości poprawy strategii nauczania wymowy studentów arabskich. Badania zostały przeprowadzone przez autora podczas jego pobytu zawodowego jako wykładowcy uniwersyteckiego w regionie Ad Dakhiliyah w Sułtanacie Omanu.

Słowa kluczowe

nauczanie angielskiego jako drugiego języka, potrzeby związane z wymową, strategie dotyczace problemów z wymową języka angielskiego, studenci języka angielskiego w Omanie

1. Introduction

Researchers have not focused much on Omani ESL learners' strategies and their pronunciation needs. A significant number of educators teach pronunciation individually without paying much attention to some features of pronunciation (Yule 1989, Gilakjani 2011, Calvo Benzies 2013). Morley (1987) notices that for the last decades teachers who teach pronunciation have put emphasis on teaching suprasegmentals, i.e. intonation, rhythm and stress. On the other hand, teachers also stressed the importance of teaching segmental vowels and consonants. However, the significance of supersegmentals for communication in English is not clear (Levis 1999). Seidlhofer (2000) states that during ESL classes, educators teach language skills separately. Skills are concentrated on more than teaching pronunciation. Furthermore, pronunciation is ignored and some teachers believe that learning and teaching pronunciation skills ought to be postponed for the future when students achieve a higher level. It seems that pronunciation is regarded as an "add-on" which is frequently considered to be dull and not very beneficial by the teachers (Brown 2014). It is essential for pronunciation teachers to comprehend what aspects of pronunciation needs are significant for students. Then, it helps educators to focus on the pronunciation parts which learners regard as meaningful. Teachers ought to familiarize themselves with various techniques which ESL learners use to send their message when the pronunciation barrier is a problem in communication.

This study is based on ideas implemented by Derwing and Rossiter (2002). Fourteen years ago, Breitkreutz, Derwing and Rossiter (2001) conducted a survey to determine the nature and extent of pronunciation instruction in English-as-a-second-language (ESL) classrooms in Canada. The "era" of communicative language teaching (CLT) had marked a "fall from grace" for pronunciation instruction (Isaacs 2009: 2).

2. The history and scope of pronunciation teaching

Kelly (1969) calls pronunciation the "Cinderella" of foreign language teaching. Two general approaches to the teaching of pronunciation have been presented within the field of modern language teaching: (1) an intuitive-imitative approach and (2) an analytic-linguistic approach. An intuitive-imitative approach is defined as follows:

> It depends on the learner's ability to listen to and imitate the rhythms and sounds of the target language without the intervention of any explicit information; it also presupposes the availability of good models to listen to, a possibility that has been enhanced by the availability first of phonograph records, then of tape recorders and language labs in the mid-twentieth century, and more recently of audio- and videocassettes and compact discs. (Celce-Murcia, Briton and Goodwin 1996: 2)

On the other hand, an analytic-linguistic approach is explained by Celce-Murcia et al. (1996: 2) as follows:

> It utilizes information and tools such as a phonetic alphabet, articulatory descriptions, charts of vocal apparatus, contrastive information, and other aids to supplement listening, imitation, and production. It explicitly informs the learner of and focuses attention on the sounds and rhythms of the target language. This approach was developed to complement rather than to replace the intuitive-imitative approach, which was typically retained as the practice phase used in tandem with phonetic information.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, pronunciation is lectured with the help of intuition and imitation. This approach is defined as Direct Method. Students are to imitate a certain model. This could be a teacher or a audio recording (Celce-Murcia, Brinton, Goodwin, Grinder 2010). Asher's (1977) Total Physical Response (TPR) is another language teaching methodology. Its characteristic feature is the combination of language studying with physical movement. TPR is similar to models of first language acquisition where understanding comes before output. Asher's attention to developing comprehension skills before the student is taught how to speak brings him to so-called Comprehension Approach (Winitz 1981) which claims that

1. Comprehension abilities precede productive skills in learning a language;
2. The teaching of speaking should be delayed until comprehension skills are established;
3. Skills acquired through listening transfer to other skills;
4. Teaching should emphasize meaning rather than form
5. Teaching should minimize learner stress.
   (Richard and Rodgers 2014: 278)

By implementing Comprehension Approach in the classroom students spend a certain amount of time only on listening before they are allowed to talk. They can repeat the words which seem to be difficult to pronounce for them.

The first linguistic approach to the teaching of pronunciation was formed in the 1890s as the Reform Movement. Phoneticians such as Henry Sweet, Wilhelm Viëtor, and Paul Passy formed the International Phonetic Association in 1886 and developed the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The phoneticians advocated the following ideas and notions:

1. The spoken form of a language is primary and should be taught first.

2. The findings of phonetics should be applied to language teaching.
3. Teachers must have solid training in phonetics.
4. Learners should be given phonetic training to establish good speech habits.
   (Celce-Murcia, Briton and Goodwin 1996: 3)

Howatt (1984) believes that the Reform Movement played a significant role in the development of Audiolingualism in the United States and Oral Approach in Britain during the 1940s and 1950s. In both methods, pronunciation is very important and is taught explicitly from the beginning. The educator (or an audio recording) models a sound and learners repeat or imitate it. The teacher can also implement a technique which is called the minimal pair drill. This technique uses the contrast – words which are different by a single sound in the same position.

The introduction of the Cognitive Approach in the 1960s resulted in the downfall of Audiolingualism. This approach based on Chomsky's theory of transformational grammar which treated language as a rule-governed system paid attention to grammar and vocabulary. Thus, pronunciation teaching was discarded and learners had to rely on their intuition.

Caleb Gattengo introduced the Silent Way method in the 1970s. The goal of this method is to self-express in the target language. A learner should be independent and should develop his or her own ability to evaluate correctness. Teachers, on the other hand, should be silent most of the time and monitor students' errors. Peer correction is allowed so that students are believed to be comfortable with each other. It is also claimed that students can learn during sleeping. Teacher should be silent whenever possible. Therefore, educators use colored wooden rods, color-coded pronunciation charts and vocabulary charts (see Candlin and Mercer 2001: 153). Little emphasis was put on in the late 1970s when the Communicative Language Teaching method was introduced. CLT discard-

ed pronunciation treating it as a challenging characteristic due to the premise that teaching pronunciation would hamper communicative process and could be adverse to the learners' self-confidence (Binte Habib 2013). CLT was described by Richards and Rogers (1986: 66) as: an approach that aims to (a) make communicative competence the goal of language teaching and (b) develop procedures for the teaching of the four language skills that acknowledge the interdependence of language and communication. Furthermore, Richards and Rogers (1986: 72) distinguished three aspects which represent CLT classroom practice:

> One such element might be described as the communication principle: Activities that promote real communication promote learning. A second element is the task principle: Activities in which language is used for carrying out meaningful tasks promote learning. A third element is the meaningfulness principle: Language that is meaningful to the learner supports the learning process.

Another approach – Suggestopedia – is known for its usage of music to form a non-threatening atmosphere conducive to learning. Lozanov, who introduced this method, stated that language learning based on his method could be 25 times more effective than other methods (Lozanov 1978). Lozanov claims that Suggestopedia directs learners to "acts of communication" (Lozanov 1978: 109). The formation of the proper environment and the faith of students in the system is what characterizes Suggestopedia (Lozanov 1978: 154). The three methods that were introduced during the 1970s demonstrated interesting contrasts in the way they cope with pronunciation. In 1983 Krashen and Terrell published *The Natural Approach* which was composed of Krashen's theoretical viewpoints and Terrell's instructions how to implement the theoretical viewpoints in the classroom environment (Krashen and Terrell 1983). Krashen distinguished between conscious learning and

"acquisition". Candlin and Mercer (2001: 159) clarify this distinction as follows:

> Only language which is 'acquired' is seen as being available for natural language use. Language which has been 'learnt' can be used to monitor and correct output based on 'acquired' learning […] Learners 'acquire' new language by being exposed to 'comprehensible input'. Such input is defined by Krashen as being comprehensible to the learner but containing language just above the learner's current level. According to Krashen it is only comprehensible input which facilitates acquisition, learner output is essentially irrelevant. Also according to Krashen learners are only able to acquire new grammatical structures in a certain order. This is called the "Natural Order Hypothesis".

Moreover, Krashen believed that learning was determined by student's emotions and feelings and that students who are not motivated and self-confident enough or are distressed, do not do as well as learners who are self-confident and are willing to study. During the 1990s and 2000s two opposing approaches were sustained: the nativeness principle and the intelligibility principle. The first principle states that "it is both possible and desirable to achieve native-like pronunciation in a foreign language" (Levis 2005: 370); however, Flege (1999) and Scovel (2000) claim that it is impossible to achieve for average learners with the exception of some clever ones. On the other hand, Munro and Derwing (1995: 75) characterize intelligibility as "the extent to which a speaker's message is actually understood by a listener" or in other words: "learners simply need to be understood" (Levis 2005: 370). Researchers have long been paying attention to segmental and suprasegmental features of speech. Educators have begun to focus on teaching suprasegmental features of language (i.e. rhythm, stress, and intonation) (Celce-Murcia et al. 2010: 11). McNerney and Mendelsohn (1992: 186) describe how a course of pronunciation should be organized:

> A short term pronunciation course should focus first and foremost on suprasegmentals as they have the greatest impact on the comprehensibility of the learner's English. We have found that giving priority to the suprasegmental aspects of English not only improves learners' comprehensibility but is also less frustrating for students because greater change can be effected in a short time.

Nowadays pronunciation courses of instruction try to implement both segmental and suprasegmental features of pronunciation. The following chart illustrates the development of pronunciation teaching.

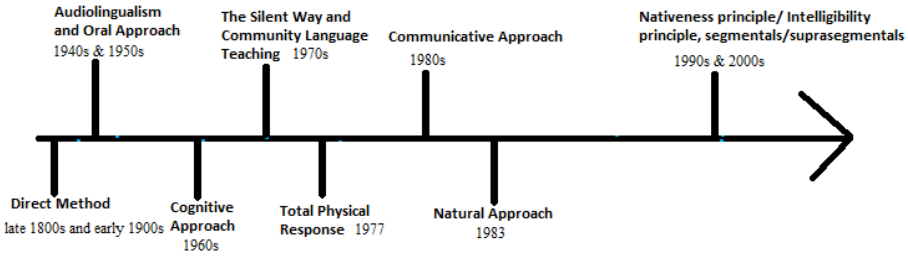

Figure 1
The history of pronunciation teaching

3. ESL Students' attitudes towards English varieties

In this section, students' attitudes towards English varieties will be explored. There are a few studies which reveal students' perception towards their accent preference. Flowerdew (1994) stated that students understand the speaker when he or she speaks with the same variety of English as students. Furthermore, Wilcox (1978) examined students of English from Singapore and noticed that it is easier for them to understand when they listen to a speaker who comes from the same country. However, another study conducted by Smith and Bisazza (1982) showed that Indians understood US speaker easier than their own variety.

Another aspect that affects students' attitude towards accent preference is the negative perception of second language speakers which frequently relates to stereotypes. Such stereotypes are based on the observation that speakers whose English is not a mother tongue are believed to come from a lower class (Brennan and Brennan 1981). Australian children qualified Italian and Vietnamese speakers of English as those coming from a lower economic class (Nesdale and Rooney 1996). Rubin and Smith (1990) found that native English speakers judged instructors as having poor teaching skills. All the above studies show that students base on their personal attitudes, perceptions and experiences they had within the classroom environment.

Ethnicity is another important factor that has a significant impact on students' attitude towards accent preference. Bresnahan et al. (2002) investigated learners in an American university and showed that clear accents were thought to be more positive when comparing them to less intelligible ones.

Lindemann's study (2002) showed that American English speakers had a negative attitude towards Korean speakers of English because of its non-nativeness. Moreover Lindermann (2003) investigated that if foreign English is observed as faulty English, it is associated with a lack of intelligence or education (see Kawanami and Kawanami 2009: 7-10).

4. Factors affecting Omani ESL learners pronunciation problems

Omani ESL learners experience certain pronunciation obstacles which are related to recognition and production of different English speech sounds (both vowels and consonants). Many of these issues concern the fairly complex orthographic system of the English language and the incoherent relationship between English and Arabic (here Omani Arabic). Omani Arabic often causes a significant difficulty in pronunciation of English due to the Arabic interference in the English language.

The English language consists of twenty-four consonants whilst Arabic consists of twenty-eight (see Table 1).

Table 1
English and Arabic consonant sounds
(Al Yaqoobi, Ali and Sulan 2016: 61)

Same consonant sounds in both languages	Different consonant sounds between languages	
	English	Arabic
/b/ , /d/ /ð/ , /f/ /h/ , /j/ /k/ , /l/ /m/ , /n/ /r/ , /s/ /ʃ/ , /t/ /ɵ/ , /w/ /z/ , /ʒ/	/ʤ/ /g/ /ʧ/ /ŋ/ /v/ /p/	ح /ḥ/ خ/ḵ/ ص/ṣ/ ض/ḍ/ ط/ṭ/ ظ/ẓ/ ع/ʿ/ غ/ġ/ ق/q/ ء/ʾ/

Omani ESL learners face difficulties in producing particular English sounds which are missing in Arabic. Certain consonant sounds are present in both English and Arabic but others are used only in one language. Thakur (2020: 29) found the following pronunciation problems in her study:

> The recurrent problems which surfaced in the spoken English of Omani learners involved in this study were pure vowel substitution for diphthongs /əʊ/ and /eɪ/, replacement of /p/ by /b/ sound, insertion of the vowel sound /ɪ/ while pluralizing the words, syllabification of initial and final consonant clusters, de-

letion of /s/ sound occuring as the final element from consonant clusters, the alternation between /ʤ/ and /g/, /ʒ/ and /ʤ/, /ʧ/ and /ʃ/ sounds, replacement of /t/ vt /ṯ/ sound, lengthening of certain vowel sounds, pronouncing 'r' in all phonetic environments, irregularities in the use of weak forms, and not following the rules of aspiration.

Omani learners encounter numerous significant difficulties in producing some English sounds. The major factors which cause these problems arise from the mother tongue interference (here Omani Arabic variety): confusing certain sounds which exist in the English language or due to the inexistence of some English sounds in Arabic. Finally, other difficulties concerning correct pronunciation are caused by the lack of learner's knowledge of the English pronunciation rules.

5. Students' strategies for dealing with pronunciation problems

According to Nunan (1993), teachers should know what their students want to learn and they should figure out how their students want to learn. Researchers have concentrated on the strategies learners use to cope with pronunciation problems. It is essential for teachers to know the strategies which ESL learners prefer to implement in their language studying. Peterson's study (2000) investigated twelve pronunciation learning strategies adult students of Spanish as a foreign language use to improve their pronunciation skills in Spanish. There were found 43 specific tactics. The results showed that students used the cognitive strategies, for example, practicing naturalistically and practicing with sounds. In contrast, students did not prefer strategies that were based on memory or compensation.

Derwing and Rossiter (2002) demonstrate that students use different strategies, such as paraphrase, self-repetition, writing or spelling, volume adjustment, speaking clearly and

slowing the speech rate when they encounter communication problems. Osburne (2003) examined fifty adult ESL students at colleges, universities and language institutes. The research was based on oral protocols to study L2 pronunciation. The research showed that the respondents used different techniques such as voice quality, individual sounds or clusters, individual syllables or words, prosodic structure, memory and imitation.

Savignon and Wang (2003) conducted a study in order to investigate students' attitudes concerning classroom practices. A questionnaire was the data collection method which was for their study. The findings showed that those students who had started studying English before entering high school had more negative attitude towards form-focused instruction than those who started learning English at high school (Kolokdaragh 2009). Fang and Lin's (2012) study investigated the nature of two learning contexts, computer-assisted pronunciation training (CAPT) and classroom-based pronunciation training (CBPT). One hundred twenty valid questionnaires were collected from college students who learned in CAPT and CBPT at one university in Taiwan. The study showed that in both learning contexts, the learners relied on memory and imitation.

Providing the research findings over two decades, the questions arise:

1. Are Omani ESL students conscious of their pronunciation obstacles?
2. What kind of techniques do they implement in order to study pronunciation?
3. What strategies do Omani students need to employ to improve their pronunciation?

6. The questionnaire and participants

A descriptive research design was used for this study. The questionnaire was based on Breitkreutz et al.'s (2001) study

and mostly on Kologdaragh's (2009) questionnaire which was modified by the author. The author decided to use this specific questionnaire because the questions presented in the above study help to show weaknesses of Omani students. Respondents in the study were 50 Omani ESL learners (20 females and 30 males) who attend English classes at universities and colleges in Ad Dakhiliyah Region in Oman. The age of students was from 18 to 27 and they all were the nationals of Oman. According to their education level, 22 students were at the intermediate level and upper-intermediate level of English. The questionnaire was based on Breitkreutz, Derwing and Rossiter's (2001) questions and the scale used in this study was yes/no. The questionnaire consists of 29 questions concerning information on several topics such as some background information, pronunciation problems, pronunciation learning strategies or techniques, student's learning needs, and open questions.

7. Results

The respondents were requested to respond to the questions concerning their pronunciation problems. 72% of respondents answered that they are conscious of their pronunciation problems and only 25% claimed that their problems with communication result from their pronunciation problems. Moreover, 9% of learners answered that it is difficult for other people to understand their pronunciation.

The study showed that the most favored pronunciation strategy or technique was paraphrasing (85%), asking a teacher (74%) and listening to music (65%), noticing contrast between native language and target language (54%), writing pronunciation of words in their native language (45%), paying attention to their own pronunciation and correcting it while speaking (38%), speaking slowly to have correct pronunciation (32%), trying to understand pronunciation rules (27%), pronouncing difficult words loudly (22%), paying attention to peo-

ple's mouth movement when they are speaking (18%), writing pronunciation rules in English (3%). 82% of respondents stated that they are not good at intonation and stress and 71% stated that they are not good at producing sounds that are absent in their native language. 86% of the learners answered that they did not take any pronunciation classes and 74% wanted to participate in pronunciation classes if they were offered.

As far as the open questions are concerned, the Omani ESL students were asked which aspect of pronunciation is more important: segmental or suprasegmental. Before the distribution of the questionnaire, both terms had been explained to the students. The learners could choose only one option when answering this question. 59% reported that both aspects are important, 21% – suprasegmental, 16% – segmental, and 4% of the respondents had no idea.

Moreover, the respondents were asked to enumerate other pronunciation problems they may have. Almost 55% of the learners did not know what other problems with pronunciation they have, 35% – the pronunciation of /b/ in place of /p/, 10% – the variety of English accents among native speakers.

The students were also asked to list other strategies or techniques to learn pronunciation. More than half of the respondents did not know what strategies they use, 35% mentioned watching films, 10% – listening to music and 5% – memorizing. It is interesting that the respondents did not mention any dictionary in learning pronunciation.

Finally, the Omani ESL learners were asked to suggest some techniques or strategies for teaching pronunciation so that the teacher would implement them. 64% of the respondents suggested watching films in English or playing music in class, 18% – teaching pronunciation rules, 10% – speaking slowly and repeating, and 8% – studying pronunciation from the very beginning.

8. Discussion and conclusions

In this research, I examined Omani ESL learners' perception of their pronunciation. The results of this study show that ESL learners do not focus much on learning pronunciation. Although students would like to participate in extra pronunciation classes, they have no opportunity or enough instruction. Furthermore, the results reveal that ESL Omani students are conscious of their pronunciation obstacles; however, ESL teachers might not be acquainted with the way how pronunciation strategies should be taught so that students can implement them and, as a result, cope with communication obstacles. When students face pronunciation difficulties, they tend to use paraphrasing and asking the teacher as the preferred techniques.

Numerous respondents mentioned that they face problems related to intonation and stress. None of the students who participated in this study mentioned the use of dictionary for learning pronunciation. Perhaps students are not familiar with phonetic transcription and as a result they are not able to study pronunciation using a dictionary. More than half of Omani students reported that both segmental and suprasegmental aspects of teaching pronunciation are equally important. Students do know what other aspects of pronunciation are difficult for them; however, some students enumerate the fact that they reverse the pronunciation of /b/ and /p/. Odisho (2005: 61) states that "this sound happens to be a source of a major problem for Arab learners of English". Odisho (2005: 61) provides two reasons: "First, Arabic does not have this sound as part of its phonology, in other words, it is phonologically irrelevant though phonetically the sound may occur in certain contexts. Second, English has hundreds, perhaps even thousands, of words whose meaning is distinguished or triggered by contrasts of /b/ and /p/. Teachers also expose Omani ESL learners to English varieties what students enumerate as another difficulty.

Watching films and listening to music are both very common techniques of improving students' pronunciation. Thus, most students suggested implementing both techniques in the classroom practice. Moreover, students prefer to write pronunciation of words in Arabic than in English. When teaching pronunciation, teachers should take into account the two aspects mentioned above because almost 50% of students who participated in the study prefer watching films and listening to music to improve their pronunciation.

In conclusion, I suggest the following recommendations for ESL programs and teachers in Oman. The first recommendation is that the implementation of phonetic transcription at the beginning level should be the primary goal of pronunciation instruction since the Omani students cannot read and write phonetic transcription of English (3% of students can write pronunciation rules in English).

Another recommendation is to let the students work with dictionaries during their classes since respondents of this study did not use dictionary to study pronunciation. If students are familiar with phonetic alphabet, they are able to learn how to pronounce words with the help of a dictionary.

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Appendix

Please answer the following questions:

1. Gender: a. Male b. Female
2. Your English level: a. Intermediate b. Upper-intermediate
3. What is your first language?
4. At what age did you start learning English?
5. How long have you been learning English?
6. Do you speak any other languages?
7. When I have problems communicating, it is more likely because of pronunciation problems.
8. I know my main pronunciation problem areas.
9. It is difficult for people to understand my pronunciation.
10. I have not taken any pronunciation courses.
11. I would take a pronunciation course if it were offered.
12. I listen to music/TV/films as much as possible.
13. I usually pronounce loudly words that are difficult.
14. I try to understand pronunciation rules.
15. I pay attention to my pronunciation when I am talking.
16. I speak slowly in order to have correct pronunciation.
17. I notice people's mouth movement when they are speaking in English.
18. I notice contrasts between my native language pronunciations and English language pronunciations.
19. I paraphrase what I want to say if the listener cannot understand me.
20. I write down the pronunciation of words in English.
21. I write down the pronunciation of words in my native language.
22. I can correct my pronunciation when I am speaking.
23. If I do not know how to pronounce a word, I ask a native speaker.
24. I am not good at pronouncing just the sounds that are absent in my native language.
25. I am not good at having correct intonation and stress.
26. Which one do you think is more important? Suprasegmental (stress, intonation, and accent), segmental (vowels, consonants), both or you have no idea?
27. What are other problems you have in pronunciation?
28. What are other strategies you use in your pronunciation?

29. What suggestions do you have for teachers? How should they teach pronunciation?

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Nynorsk and the L2 self

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Abstract

As part of an ongoing project (Educational Role of Language), this paper continues the quest (Haugan 2019b) for finding approaches to second language acquisition that might help understand the challenges for Norwegian pupils/students when trying to learn the alternative written language Nynorsk, in order to develop better teaching didactics.

Norway has two official written language varieties: *Bokmål* (Dano-Norwegian) and *Nynorsk* (New Norwegian). Normally, all Norwegian students must learn both varieties of the written Norwegian language in school, and at the end of secondary school, they obtain two separate grades in written Norwegian. However, one of the varieties is considered and taught as the main written language, whereas the other variety is the second or alternative written language.

Approximately 85 percent of the pupils in school have the Dano-Norwegian variety as their main written language and many of these pupils develop antipathies against the other variety with the result that they do not master it very well at the end of secondary school. In fact, many pupils achieve better results in English than in the alternative variety of their own so-called mother tongue.

In this paper, I will investigate the approach of Dörnyei (2009), i.e. a motivation-oriented theory of second language learning, and adapt it to learning Norwegian Nynorsk as an alternative written language. According to motivation-oriented L2 approaches, the notion of a L2 self or identity is an important part in trying to acquire/learn

a second language. I will claim that this part of language learning is crucial in the understanding of the challenges connected with learning Norwegian Nynorsk as an alternative language. Most language learners would be more motivated to acquire a second language than trying to have a second identity connected to a variety of the same language.

Since the content of this paper is a continuation and extension of the previous work in the same research project and network and I consider the general background crucial for the argumentation, certain parts of the presentation are borrowed or adapted from Haugan (2019b).

Keywords

language teaching, language learning, language acquisition, language didactics, language politics, identity, investment, motivation, social power, Nynorsk

Nynorsk i „ja" języka drugiego

Abstrakt

Jako część trwającego obecnie projektu (*Educational Role of Language* 'Edukacyjna Rola Języka'), ten artykuł stanowi kontynuację poszukiwań (Haugan 2019b) sposobów przyswajania drugiego języka, które mogą pomóc zrozumieć wyzwania, jakie stoją przed norweskimi uczniami w związku z nauką alternatywnego pisanego języka norweskiego (nynorsk), w celu rozwoju lepszej dydaktyki nauczania.

Norwegia ma dwie oficjalne odmiany języka norweskiego: bokmål („język książkowy", duńskonorweski) i nynorsk („nowonorweski"). Zwykle wszyscy uczniowie w Norwegii muszą uczyć się obu odmian pisanego języka norweskiego w szkole, a pod koniec szkoły średniej otrzymują dwa oddzielne stopnie z języka norweskiego. Jednakże jedna z odmian jest uznawana i nauczana jako główny język pisany, podczas gdy druga odmiana jest drugim lub alternatywnym językiem pisanym.

Około 85 procent uczniów w szkole uczy się odmiany duńsko-norweskiej jako głównego języka pisanego, a wielu z tych uczniów

rozwija u siebie antypatię do drugiej odmiany, w wyniku czego nie opanowują oni jej zbyt dobrze pod koniec szkoły średniej. W rzeczywistości, wielu uczniów osiąga lepsze wyniki w języku angielskim niż w drugiej odmianie własnego języka ojczystego.

W tym artykule zbadam podejście Dörnyei (2009), czyli teorię nauki języka obcego zorientowaną na motywację, i dostosuję ją do uczenia się odmiany języka norweskiego pisanego nynorsk. Według podejścia do nauki języka obcego zorientowanego na motywację, pojęcie „ja" lub tożsamości drugiego języka stanowi ważną część w opanowaniu drugiego języka. Będę dowodził, że ta część nauki języka obcego jest istotna w zrozumieniu wyzwań związanych z uczeniem się odmiany języka norweskiego nynorsk. Większość osób uczących się języka byłaby bardziej zmotywowana do uczenia się języka obcego niż podjęcia próby do zdobycia drugiej tożsamości związanej z odmianą tego samego języka.

Jako że treść tego artykułu stanowi kontynuację i rozszerzenie poprzedniego projektu badawczego i uważam, że ogólny kontekst jest istotny dla argumentacji, dlatego niektóre części zostały zapożyczone bądź zaadaptowane z Haugan (2019b).

Słowa kluczowe

nauczanie języka, nauka języka, przyswajanie języka, dydaktyka językowa, polityka językowa, tożsamość, inwestycja, motywacja, siła społeczna, nynorsk

1. Introduction

This paper is part of an ongoing project within the research network *Educational Role of Language* (ERL research; ERL 1, 2016; ERL 3, 2018; ERL 4, 2019). As a starting point for my research on the role of Nynorsk ("New Norwegian") as an alternative written language in education, I argued that learning Nynorsk can be said to have much in common with second language (L2) acquisition (Haugan 2016; 2017). Pursuing this approach, I then looked at Norton's (2013) L2 theory of motivation and investment and applied it to learning Nynorsk as an

alternative written language (Haugan 2018a, 2019b). For the fourth international ERL conference at the University of Craiova, Romania in June 2019 (ERL 4, 2019) I decided to follow the approach of Dörnyei (2009). My recent work has also been discussed at three Norwegian conferences on language and didactics (NNMF7 – *Morsmålsfaget som fag og forskningsfelt*, Trondheim; MONS18 – *Møte om norsk språk*, Trondheim; and SPINN – *Språkforskning Innafor*, Hamar).

I have given a general background of the Norwegian language situation in previous papers (Haugan, 2017, 2019b). Since this is an important part of the argument and the understanding of the topic, I will borrow some of my earlier formulations here to give the reader a short overview over the linguistic and didactic challenge in the Norwegian educational system.

Norway has two official written language varieties: *Bokmål* (Dano-Norwegian) and *Nynorsk* (New Norwegian) (see e.g. Wardhaugh 2010: chap. 2, Haugan 2017, 2019b). Unless one is exempt from learning (to write) the alternative variety (for instance because of dyslexia or because of another first language), all Norwegian pupils have to learn both varieties of the written Norwegian language at school. At the end of secondary school, the pupils receive two separate grades in written Norwegian. However, one of the varieties is considered and taught as the main written language (*hovudmål*), whereas the other variety is labelled the second or alternative written language (*sidemål*) (see Haugan 2017, 2019b).

Approximately 85 percent of the pupils in school have the Dano-Norwegian variety (Bokmål) as their main written language and many of these pupils develop antipathies against the other variety (Nynorsk) with the result that they do not master it very well at the end of secondary school. In fact, many pupils achieve better results in English than in the alternative variety of their own so-called mother tongue.

Teaching and learning Nynorsk as an alternative written variety of Norwegian comes with many challenges (see e.g.

Haugan 2017, 2019b, and references there). Therefore, teachers and learners need a better understanding of the conditions for teaching and learning the alternative written language. Since the two written varieties of Norwegian are taught within the same school subject (Norwegian), and since they are (officially/politically) considered being written varieties of the same first language ("mother tongue"), teachers and learners might not be aware of the benefits of approaches to second language acquisition that might help them achieve better results.

The topic of the present paper is an extension of Haugan (2019b) where I tried to both understand and explain the challenges for Nynorsk as an alternative written variety of Norwegian from the theoretical approach of among others Norton (2013) and her key terms *identity*, *investment*, *social power* and *motivation*. In this paper, I will look at Dörnyei's (2009) *L2 Motivational Self System* with the hypothesis that the notion of the L2 Self (*imagined identity* in Norton's model) is the crucial key to understanding the challenges of Nynorsk as an alternative written language in the Norwegian educational system.

Most pupils in Norway do not have a concrete "Nynorsk L2 Self" as a reference, and most pupils, I claim, do not even want to develop or relate to a "Nynorsk identity"; hence, motivation is low and there is a lack of desire to invest in learning Nynorsk. While it may be prestigious to learn and speak English with a certain British or American accent, most pupils of Eastern Norway would connect Nynorsk with Western Norwegian dialects and few pupils would want to adopt an alternative Western Norwegian identity.

It must be emphasized that Nynorsk is supposed to be a written language, meaning that there are not necessarily any explicit demands as to how one should pronounce every word in Nynorsk. The ideological background for Nynorsk as a written language is, among other things, that everyone is supposed to be allowed to use his or her individual dialect in speech. However, historically and practically Nynorsk has more in common with Western Norwegian dialects on a lexical

plan, and public broadcasting usually favours newscasters with Western Norwegian dialects when it comes to reading news in standardized Nynorsk. Therefore, Nynorsk is usually conceived as a form of Western Norwegian by most pupils in Eastern Norway. Another part of the linguistic picture is the fact that there is no official standard way of speaking Norwegian in general, but there is still a widely accepted unofficial standard based on the dialects in and around the capital of Oslo, usually called "standard Eastern Norwegian", which is relatively close to the major written language Bokmål (Dano-Norwegian).

From the perspective of the pupils as part of the educational system, it is also important to reflect upon the fact that the curriculum distinguishes between the two written varieties of Norwegian as the main linguistic form (*hovudmål*) and the alternative linguistic form (*sidemål*), meaning that teaching in all other subjects than Norwegian is conducted in the main form, which leads to a conception of the alternative form as a less important (or even unnecessary) form. Since approximately 85 % of the pupils have Bokmål as their main form, *sidemål* (the alternative form) is often synonymous with Nynorsk, totally ignoring the fact that there are 15 % of the Norwegian pupils that have Nynorsk as their main form and Bokmål as the alternative form or *sidemål*. From a more typological perspective, Nynorsk shares characteristics of so-called lesser-used languages (see e.g. the discussion in Walton 2015). Examining teaching and learning of Nynorsk from L2 perspectives may, therefore, yield some new insights compared to just looking at Nynorsk and Bokmål as two forms of one language that functions as the first language or "mother tongue" for most pupils in the Norwegian educational system.

2. Methodological and theoretical foundations

The present paper is a contribution to the work of the Educational Role of Language (ERL) network that was established in

2016 on the background of an initiative from the Division of Research on Childhood and School, Department of Education at the University of Gdańsk. I have been a member of the ERL network since 2016 and published several papers about this particular network and research project (Haugan 2017, 2018b, 2019b). The general information about the ERL network has not changed very much, nor has my main research question, i.e. what would be suitable approaches to understanding teaching and learning Nynorsk as an alternative written language in Norway. Therefore, part of the following short presentation of the ERL initiative is borrowed from Haugan (2018b, 2019b).

The Educational Role of Language (ERL) network consists of researchers from many fields, not only pedagogy, language teaching and linguistics, but also psychology, philosophy and other disciplines that may have an interest in the role of language in a broader perspective. The main goal of the ERL network is to bring together academics whose work and interests combine language and educational science. Following the rationale of the "linguistic turn", network members jointly study how language shapes our understanding of the world and people's functioning in it. There are numerous projects with different perspectives on language beliefs, language activity, language experience and/or language matrices of world interpretation. Hence, the network projects fall within the worldview, psychomotor, affective and/or cognitive domain.

At presents, four key areas build the scope of the ERL network:

- Language Beliefs,
- Language Activity,
- Language Affect,
- Language Matrices.

Language Beliefs are meant to represent students' views on listening, speaking, reading, and writing. *Language Activity* are

students' actions consisting in listening, speaking, reading, and writing. *Language Affect* (formerly *Language Experience*) deals with students' emotions concerning listening, speaking, reading, and writing, and *Language Matrices* is about students' world image as shaped by listening, speaking, reading, and writing (ERL network research website). In my research on Nynorsk as an alternative written variety of Norwegian, I try to relate to the main goals of the Educational Role of Language network.

As I stated in Haugan (2019b), *Educational* relates to *education*, i.e. in the context of the ERL network, a planned and organized municipal or state activity where children, adolescents or possibly adults are supposed to acquire and develop knowledge and skills according to certain curricula (see e.g. Schmidt et al. 2001). A curriculum is normally divided into general goals and concrete goals. General goals are often related to a general educational approach, which may be easier to understand by referring to the German distinction between the terms *Bildung* (liberal education) and *Ausbildung* (formal education, schooling) (see e.g. Schaffar and Uljens 2015). Simply put, one might say that the *Bildung* aspect of education is often associated with general expectations a society may have with regard to general knowledge about certain subjects. Lack of *Bildung* is often considered a negative personality trait by many members of a modern so-called "knowledge society" (see e.g. Hargreaves 2003, for a discussion on knowledge society). As for the Norwegian society, the recently revised national curriculum (Læreplanverket 2020) expects (as before) all pupils (with certain exceptions) to master both written varieties of Norwegian, Bokmål and Nynorsk, at the end of secondary school, since both varieties are a part of Norwegian society, culture and history. This may be considered the *Bildung* aspect of primary and secondary school. The general part of the Norwegian national curriculum (Læreplanverket 2020) states that:

> Opplæringen skal sikre at elevene blir trygge språkbrukere, at de utvikler sin språklige identitet, og at de kan bruke språk for å tenke, skape mening, kommunisere og knytte bånd til andre. Språk gir oss tilhørighet og kulturell bevissthet. I Norge er norsk og de samiske språkene sør-, lule- og nordsamisk likeverdige. Norsk omfatter de likestilte skriftspråkene bokmål og nynorsk. Norsk tegnspråk er anerkjent som et fullverdig språk i Norge. Kunnskap om samfunnets språklige mangfold gir alle elever verdifull innsikt i ulike uttrykksformer, ideer og tradisjoner. Alle elever skal få erfare at det å kunne flere språk er en ressurs i skolen og i samfunnet. (From 1.2 Identitet og kulturelt mangfold (Identity and cultural diversity))
>
> 'The education shall ensure that pupils become confident language users, that they develop their linguistic identity and that they can use language to think, create meaning, communicate and bond with others. Language gives us belonging and cultural awareness. In Norway, Norwegian and the Sami languages Southern, Lule Sami and Northern Sami equivalent. *Norwegian includes the equivalent written languages Bokmål and Nynorsk.* Norwegian sign language is recognized as a full language in Norway. The knowledge of society's linguistic diversity gives all pupils valuable insight into different forms of expression, ideas and traditions. All pupils shall get the chance to experience that knowing several languages is a resource in school and in society.'
>
> (My translation and emphasis, aided by Google Translate)

The general part of the curriculum for Norwegian as a school subject (Læreplan i norsk, NOR01-06) has not changed from the previous curriculum (Læreplan i norsk, NOR1-05) and states that:

> Norsk er et sentralt fag for kulturforståelse, kommunikasjon, danning og identitetsutvikling. Faget skal gi elevene tilgang til kulturens tekster, sjangre og språklige mangfold og skal bidra til at de utvikler språk for å tenke, kommunisere og lære. Faget norsk skal ruste elevene til å delta i demokratiske prosesser og skal forberede dem på et arbeidsliv som stiller krav om variert kompetanse i lesing, skriving og muntlig kommunikasjon.

> '*Norwegian is a central subject for cultural understanding, communication, formation and identity development.* The course will give students an access to the culture's texts, genres and linguistic diversity and will help them develop a language for thinking, communicating and learning. The subject Norwegian will equip students to participate in democratic processes and prepare them for a working life that requires varied competence in reading, writing and oral communication.'
>
> (My translation and emphasis, aided by Google Translate)

The general part of the curriculum for Norwegian as a school subject, thus, emphasizes that Norwegian is a central subject for cultural understanding, communication, education (here with the meaning of *Bildung*) and identity development. In the revised national curriculum (2020), one has chosen to introduce so-called *core elements* (*kjerneelement*). In the section for Norwegian as a school subject, one can read under *Tekst i kontekst* (text in context):

> De skal utforske og reflektere over skjønnlitteratur og sakprosa på bokmål og nynorsk, på svensk og dansk, og i oversatte tekster fra samiske og andre språk.
>
> 'They [the pupils] shall explore and reflect on fiction and non-fiction *in Bokmål and Nynorsk*, in Swedish and Danish, and in translated texts from Sami and other languages.'
>
> (My translation and emphasis, aided by Google Translate)

Under the core element "text creation", however, Bokmål and Nynorsk are referred to as "main written form" (*hovedmål*) and "alternative written form" (*sidemål*):

> Elevene skal få oppleve skriveopplæringen som meningsfull. De skal kunne skrive på hovedmål og sidemål i ulike sjangre og for ulike formål, og de skal kunne kombinere skrift med andre uttrykksformer.
>
> 'The pupils shall experience writing training as meaningful. They are expected to be able to *write in their main written language and their alternative written language* in different genres and for

> different purposes, and they are expected to be able to combine writing with other forms of expression.'
>
> (My translation and emphasis, aided by Google Translate)

Under "Being able to write", the curriculum states:

> Skriving i norsk innebærer å uttrykke seg med en stadig større språklig sikkerhet på både hovedmål og sidemål. Den første skriveopplæringen skal foregå på elevens hovedmål.
> 'Writing in Norwegian means expressing oneself with an ever-increasing linguistic certainty in both the main written language and the alternative written language. *The first writing instruction shall be in the pupil's main written language.*'
>
> (My translation and emphasis, aided by Google Translate)

When it comes to the *Ausbildung* (formal schooling) aspect of education, much less effort is put into teaching the alternative written variety, which is Nynorsk for circa 85 % of the pupils. The pupils receive separate grades in written Bokmål and Nynorsk only after tenth grade (lower secondary school) and thirteenth grade (upper secondary school).

From that perspective, one might say that the official educational system in Norway works according to double standards. By operating with official terms like "main language" (*hovudmål*) and alternative or "side language" (*sidemål*), the official curriculum seemingly treats the two varieties as having different values. This opens for an interpretation, by both teachers and pupils, that the alternative written language is less important than the main language. For most pupils – and Norwegian citizens in general, this means that Nynorsk is considered less important or even unnecessary and might also lead to explicit expressions of disrespect and hate.

Education is obviously also politics. National curricula are a state matter (they belong under the Ministry of Education and Research and the Directorate for Education and Training, see udir.no). The two written varieties of Norwegian have actually had official and equal status since 1885, and the distribu-

tion of Bokmål users and Nynorsk users was about to become relatively even before the Second World War. Even though it is not that easy to measure the actual number of those with Nynorsk as their main written language in the Norwegian society today, it is usually assumed that approximately 12-15 % or ca. 600 000 prefer to write Nynorsk (see e.g. Grepstad, 2015). 12-15 % may not seem a lot, but this is still a substantial number of potential voters in a democracy. Another perspective may be that operating with two official written languages in the educational system and in state matters has certainly also a financial aspect. A returning political question (mostly from conservatives) is, therefore, whether it is "worth" keeping two official written languages – with the obvious underlying rhetorical statement that the major form, Bokmål, should be the only official written Norwegian language.

As in Haugan (2019b), I will take a brief look at the second word of the ERL network name: *Role*. In the context of Nynorsk as an alternative written language in the Norwegian educational system, two questions may arise: what role does education play, and what part does language play? *Role* as a term may refer to a more or less active choice to have a certain place or status in a given situation (cf. e.g. Cambridge Dictionary). From the perspective of the Norwegian educational system, one might ask what impact the curriculum has on the treatment of the two written varieties of Norwegian. From the perspective of the individual student, then, one might ask about the status of language (either or both of the official written languages) in education. One aspect would be to what degree the state and official politics would play an active part in the language education of the students. Another aspect would be to what degree the individual student would play an active role in his or her own use of language(s). These two aspects meet at certain points in the educational system or in society; for instance, when failing at mastering the alternative written language, i.e. the lesser appreciated "side language", becomes

a hinder for entering higher education or obtaining jobs where this language is used as the main language.

The word *language* in the ERL network, on the other hand, may be self-explanatory. However, certain relevant questions arise when trying to relate this to Nynorsk as an alternative written language in the Norwegian educational system. For those pupils who learn Nynorsk as their main written language and, therefore, first (written) language, would it then be their so-called "mother tongue"? What "language" do Norwegians actually speak? In Norway, most people speak local or regional dialects instead of standard (written) language. Therefore, for most people, neither of the written varieties is an exact representation of the actual spoken language. Hence, both Bokmål and Nynorsk are Norwegian – as explicitly stated in official, political documents, and, at the same time, neither of them is (the only) Norwegian language.

As for the educational system, one frequently returning question is whether it would suffice that the students only learn to read the alternative written language instead of having to learn to write it too. Yet another question is the role and the impact of the written language in the pupils' actual learning activities. Now and then, it is claimed by some of those who want to remove the official status of Nynorsk as an equal language, that Nynorsk, being based on the dialects of "simple" people, due to the fact that the "founder" of Nynorsk, Ivar Aasen, more or less only collected words from rural areas outside major cities to form a genuine Norwegian language that was free(er) from Danish and German influence (see e.g. Haugen, 1965), is not equally suitable as a language in learning activities. Bokmål, on the other hand, being based on the Danish language with hundreds of years of development in academia and state affairs, is a much "better" language for critical and academic thinking and writing, some people claim (e.g. *Norsk språkforening*). There is indeed a crucial difference in the style of Nynorsk and Bokmål, since many of the complex nouns in Bokmål are preferably expressed as verbal construc-

tions, e.g. instead of "understanding is important" one would usually rather write "it is important to understand".

Another challenge in the Norwegian society and educational system is the total dominance of Bokmål in academic writing (and writing in general), leading to a situation where most students only know certain expressions and terminology in Bokmål, which might be an extra challenge when reading school texts in Nynorsk. From my personal experience with reading student papers, I notice that some students may even have problems dealing with as simple differences as, for instance, the Nynorsk word *forståing* (understanding) for the Bokmål version *forståelse*. In other cases, the difference may be greater, e.g. Nynorsk *dugleik* (skill) for Bokmål *ferdighet*. In many cases, especially in higher education, e.g. teacher education, students would have to write an academic essay on a certain subject using the alternative written language, and the students may fail the exam because of poor language skills even though the content of the paper might be acceptable. This, of course, also raises the questions whether it is "good" education to make students elaborate on academic subjects in a language they do not master very well.

From the perspective of my research on Nynorsk as an alternative written language, the title of the ERL network is highly relevant in itself. I decided to borrow the discussion above from Haugan (2019b) since it is still relevant here when one is interested in trying to understand the challenges for teachers and learners within the Norwegian educational system.

In the next section, I will relate my discussion on Nynorsk as an alternative written language to the research areas of the ERL network: Language Beliefs, Language Activity, Language Affect, and Language Matrices. While my previous work (Haugan, 2019b) focussed on motivation for learning Nynorsk as an alternative written language from the perspective of Norton's (2013) theory of motivation and investment, I will here investigate whether Dörnyei's (2009) notion of the L2 Self

might be a direct key to understanding the challenges for teachers and learners of Nynorsk as an alternative written language.

3. Discussion

As stated in Haugan (2019b), the ERL network has established certain premises for its research activities (see the ERL research link):

- what students think OF language, i.e. students' LANGUAGE BELIEFS (students' views on listening, speaking, reading, and writing);
- how students feel ABOUT language, i.e. students' LANGUAGE AFFECT (students' emotions concerning listening, speaking, reading, and writing);
- what students do WITH language, i.e. students' LANGUAGE ACTIVITY (students' actions consisting in listening, speaking, reading, and writing);
- how students perceive THROUGH language, i.e. students' LANGUAGE MATRICES (students' world image as shaped by listening, speaking, reading, and writing).

These perspectives are still relevant in my present approach. When looking at the ERL research premises, I noticed that they form some kind of causality chain (further explained in Haugan 2019b). What we believe will also have an impact on how we actually experience certain things. Usually, we also act in accordance with our beliefs and earlier experiences. In my previous work (Haugan 2019b), I considered the ERL concepts Language Beliefs, Language Experience/Affect and Language Activity a foundation for motivation. In the present approach, they are seen as the basis for identity and a basis for a possible L2 Self (Dörnyei 2009), an alternative language identity as a didactic ideal and goal.

The problem or dilemma of Nynorsk as an alternative written language are the similarities to a second language (L2) and

therefore the theoretical implications for learning it as a second language, and the similarities to Bokmål and the political conception of Nynorsk as a variety of the same Norwegian (L1) language, which then would be first language acquisition. Where would one place the concept of language identity or language self in this picture?

Identity or self has, among other things, to do with beliefs, cf. the ERL premises above. In Haugan (2019b), I asked how we could possibly investigate a student's language beliefs about Norwegian. To start with, all Norwegian children learn to locate Norway on a world map as "their" country. Furthermore, they learn that the name of the language in Norway is Norwegian, which is substantiated by the fact that there are books, websites or possibly phone apps named "Norsk ordbok", i.e. Norwegian dictionary. These things indicate that there exists a language that is called Norwegian and that this language is tightly connected to the country Norway. Relatively early, then, a Norwegian child would develop a feeling of *language identity* (Norton 2013, Dörnyei 2009) connected to the term Norwegian.

However, as a pupil and exposed to the national curriculum one soon also learns that there are two official Norwegian languages, Bokmål and Nynorsk. Hence, the belief about one language – a so-called "mother tongue" for citizens of Norway – is seriously challenged by the academic experience in school. The written language the majority of children start to learn in school is Bokmål, the name of this variety being a historical compromise from the time when the Danish version of Norwegian was not considered genuine Norwegian (see Haugan 2017). Suddenly, there is a terminology mismatch. There is *norsk* (Norwegian) as an adjective or as a possible name for the language, but the written language is called *Bokmål* (literally "book language").

During the first years in school, the children with Bokmål as their main language are usually not exposed to the alternative written language, *Nynorsk* (New Norwegian), to the same degree. Soon, therefore, most children – and teachers – begin

to distinguish between *Norsk* and *Nynorsk* in everyday speech, *Norsk* only referring to Bokmål, the most dominant written language and their main written language. This can be understood as a consequence of the relation between the ERL terms *Language Beliefs*, *Language Affect*, *Language Activity* and, subsequently, *Language Matrices*. The children already believe (know) they speak Norwegian, which is the official name of the language including all dialects and all written varieties and an adjective naming everything that is related to Norway as a noun. The language they learn to write in primary school, thus, should, naturally, be called Norwegian. Furthermore, the alternative variety is called New Norwegian, hence, the name pair Norwegian and New Norwegian. At this point, it is easy to understand from a linguistic point of view that the word Norwegian, which functions as an adjective and direct derivation from the word Norway, is the most natural word, whereas New Norwegian (Nynorsk) states that there is something new and different – and apparently unnecessary, at least from a child's point of view. In primary school, no children know about political history or language history. Their language identity is Norwegian, not "New" Norwegian (cf. Language Affect and Language Matrices).

This is also reflected in the use of Norwegian, i.e. *Language Activity*. The main written language, Bokmål for the majority of children, is used in all subjects in school, both in teaching, reading and writing. Bokmål is also the written language that is totally dominant outside school in more or less all public and private domains. The only language activity related to Nynorsk is usually sporadic listening to texts in Nynorsk read by the teacher in primary school. After some time, there is sporadic reading of texts in Nynorsk. In most cases, the pupils practice writing more frequently in Nynorsk first in lower secondary school. Hence, in an overall perspective, for the majority of Norwegian students there is minimal language activity related to Nynorsk – even though the Norwegian state and the curriculum, seen from a Bildung perspective, expect all stu-

dents to master both written varieties by the end of upper secondary school.

For the majority of Norwegian children/pupils the beliefs, experiences and activities related to Norwegian as a language are connected to Bokmål, which consequently becomes synonymous with Norwegian as a general term. Bokmål is the written language most pupils *believe* to be their natural language ("mother tongue"), *experience* to be used everywhere in the Norwegian society including the educational system, and *practice* (cf. activity) themselves on an everyday basis. Nynorsk, on the other hand, is more or less non-existent (from the perspective of the pupils) in everyday life – at least this is what many pupils seem to believe, since it is relatively easy to avoid reading texts in Nynorsk outside school. Experience and activities related to Nynorsk, thus, are related to mandatory school activities. Furthermore, more systematic teaching – and grading – in Nynorsk is postponed until the 8th – 10th grade in lower secondary school and is continued in upper secondary school where the pupils get a separate grade in Nynorsk.

Pupils normally do not share the state's official Bildung perspective on the necessity of mastering both written varieties of the Norwegian language. Pupils have their beliefs, experience and activity connected with Norwegian, which by the time they reach lower secondary school, when they are supposed to be officially graded in Nynorsk, is minimal. At the time of lower secondary school, most children also reach puberty, which often correlates with a general reluctance against mandatory tasks and other aspects of the adult world. At this stage in life and in education, many pupils develop a strong antipathy against learning Nynorsk (see e.g. Garrett 2010, on attitudes to language). Unfortunately, many teachers – being a part of the same educational system and society – share the same antipathy against the alternative language (see e.g. Nordal 2004, and Nordhagen 2006). Consequently, the beliefs about Nynorsk (language attitude) and the experience with this language are not necessarily corrected or altered in any way by

the teachers, i.e. the official educational system. On the contrary, the impression of Nynorsk as a legitimate "hate object" (language affect) may rather be confirmed and even strengthened.

Recurrently, even politicians, especially from the conservative parties, argue against keeping Nynorsk as a second/ alternative written language in the educational system. It may also be mentioned that many Norwegian newspapers do not allow their journalists to use Nynorsk – even though it has had status as an official and equal Norwegian language since 1885. This is yet another experience for the pupils that would strengthen their belief that Nynorsk is not an "important" part of the Norwegian society and it might even disappear in relatively short time. No wonder motivation to learn the alternative language may be very low. Accordingly, most pupils have lower grades or even fail in Nynorsk, which may have an impact on their future professional life. This is yet another experience that would turn the pupils against it and form the pupils' attitude to the alternative language. Seen on this background, it is easy to understand that most students do not find the motivation to invest (Norton 2013) very much in learning Nynorsk.

Large parts of the discussion and argumentation above are identical to the discussion in Haugan (2019b), but kept here as a starting point due to the same general topic, but slightly different approach. So what new insights would we get in Nynorsk as an alternative written language from the perspective of an alternative language self (L2 self)?

Dörnyei (2005, 2009) established a very fruitful *L2 Motivational Self System* as a holistic approach to second language acquisition. The concept of *motivation* comes from the field of psychology, so does the concept of the *self*. While *motivation* has been a relatively obvious term within the (more pragmatic or technical) traditional field of teaching and learning, it may not have been equally obvious to focus on the *self* from the perspective of classroom teaching where there are usually many pupils and motivation at best would be related to a col-

lective classroom self. When second language acquisition became a distinct research field, it became also clearer that there are individual differences in learning (cf. Dörnyei 2005).

Each pupil represents an individual or self. From the perspective of an ERL approach, this self would, among other things, consist of language beliefs, affect, activity and matrices. This can be related to the "the 'doing' sides of personality" (Dörnyei 2009:10, referring to Cantor 1990: 735). In a teaching and learning context, one would be interested in learning potential and development. The self would, then, be *status quo* while *quo vadis* would be possible selves or a future self (Dörnyei 2009, referring to Markus and Nurius 1986, Carver et al. 1994). *Possible selves* is a plural term and concept since there are usually several or many different possibilities to develop for the individual pupil. In an organized teaching and learning context, the link to Vygotsky's *zone of proximal development* is rather clear. Vygotsky (1978: 86) defines this zone as "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers".

I will argue that there are several practical and motivational challenges related to the ideal learning situation and the zone of proximal development or the development of possible selves.

One interesting perspective on the concept of possible selves is that they are supposed to represent "the individuals' ideas of what they *might* become, what they *would like* to become, and what they are *afraid of* becoming" (Dörnyei 2009: 11 with reference to Carver et al. 1994, Marcus and Nurius 1986). This can also be related to the perspectives of the Educational Role of Language network, i.e. Language Beliefs, Language Affect, Language Activity and Language Matrices. As a Norwegian pupil, at some point one has to reflect upon personal language identity based on beliefs, experience/affect, activity, and matrices. As a learner, the general, psychological questions in

this context would be: *Who am I? Who might I become in the future?*, and *Who would I like to become in the future?* As a language learner, more concretely the questions could be rephrased to: *Who am I as a language user?/ What language(s) do I speak? What languages might I be able to learn in the future?*, and *Who would I like to be as a language user in the future?*

The interesting didactic insight one can deduct from the distinction between potential selves and the future self is that potential selves are more directly related to the curriculum since they contain the notion of so-called *ought selves* (Dörnyei 2009: 12; Markus and Nurius 1986). Naturally, a curriculum consists of external learning goals, i.e. goals determined by someone else than the individual learner. The nature of a curriculum is to describe future selves based on more or less concrete and measurable learning goals pupils ought to/are expected to reach. When it comes to the individual pupil's motivation and subsequent investment in learning activities (Norton 2013), one can only hope (from a teacher's perspective) that some or one of the possible selves is attractive as a desirable future self in one way or another.

Nynorsk as an alternative written language is in most cases first of all solely a school subject and can often even be said to have more in common with foreign language learning than second language learning (Haugan 2017) since it is mainly restricted to teacher-led classroom activities. As mentioned before, Nynorsk as an alternative written language as a school subject is typically characterized by lack of motivation and investment and may even be a hate object (cf. Language Affect). Therefore, as teachers, one would most likely see this from the perspective of the proximal zone of development (Vygotsky 1978). What kind of teaching and guidance would have the potential to help the pupils on their way to an ought Nynorsk self – or possibly even a self-appointed, desirable future self? While the Anglo-American culture through music, television and movies could tempt Norwegian pupils with a huge variety of potential role models or even idols for a future L2 self, the

selection of Nynorsk role models is rather limited and – from the perspective (cf. Language Affect, Language Matrices) of many pupils with Eastern Norwegian dialects – non-existent. As mentioned before, there is no established standard way of speaking Nynorsk. The ideological background for Nynorsk has (to a large extent) been to use it as a written language while speaking one's individual local dialect. To the degree that there is some kind of consensus around the sound or way of speaking Nynorsk, this has been partly established by the Norwegian state broadcasting (NRK) by using newscasters from certain Western Norwegian areas (cf. language experience, matrices, beliefs), since Nynorsk traditionally and generally by many is conceived as a Western Norwegian variety. There are very few people who speak standardized Nynorsk and the Norwegian state broadcasting is the only institution who is committed by law to use at least 25 % Nynorsk in their productions. Therefore, for most pupils the only genuine oral Nynorsk reference would come from newscasters on state radio or TV channels. Obviously, children and young pupils are not the target group or the most active listeners when it comes to news programmes on TV or radio. Children programmes, on the other hand, are available everywhere and there are several private channels to choose between. Usually, one speaks dialect in these programmes, and, to the degree that there might be some standardization, this would most often be in the direction of Bokmål and Oslo-region dialects.

Returning to the concepts of possible selves and a (desirable) future self, Nynorsk struggles with another challenge. Partly due to national romanticism and the traditional way of teaching Nynorsk, there is usually a rather huge focus on the fact that the basis for Nynorsk as a standardized written language was developed by one man alone, Ivar Aasen – which is, of course, an important historic fact. However, since this work was done in the mid-1800s and there are only very few pictures of Ivar Aasen showing him as a rather old – not very handsome – man at the end of the 1800s, Ivar Aasen is, obvi-

ously, not able to compete with modern day role models and idols. Understandably, for many pupils the link between Nynorsk as a lesser used (some might argue hardly ever used) language and the two or three pictures of the very old Ivar Aasen in the teaching of Nynorsk as a school subject might even strengthen the opinion or experience of Nynorsk as an outdated and unnecessary alternative language in the modern Norwegian society. Most pupils would not easily imagine an alternative language identity with these components. It could be strong to claim that this would be a future self the pupils would be afraid of becoming, but there is certainly not much desirable about this possible or future self from the perspective of a young learner who already has a Norwegian speaking and writing identity.

Second language acquisition in the approaches of e.g. Dörnyei (2009) and Norton (2013) convincingly shows the importance of possible or future L2 selves or imagined identities as a crucial component of second language acquisition. In the context of Nynorsk as an alternative written language, this has, however, not been discussed very much, and this approach is not a common part of the education of teachers in Norwegian. While the curriculum explicitly states that Norway has two alternative written languages and that both of them have to be taught in school, the challenges and the public debate in many cases see entirely removing Nynorsk from the curriculum or making it a voluntary school subject as the only alternative instead of addressing the reason for these challenges.

One important part of active learning is self-regulation, i.e. consciously adjusting personal goals and behaviour according to learning progress and learning goals. This aspect is incorporated into Dörnyei's (2009) approach as *future self-guides*, based on the earlier mentioned distinction by Markus and Nurius (1986: 954) between three types of possible selves:

(1) ideal selves that we would very much like to become,
(2) selves that we could become,

(3) selves that we are afraid of becoming.

Dörnyei (2009: 15) quotes Pizzolato (2006: 58) stating: "Unlike goal theory, possible selves are explicitly related to a long-term developmental goal involving goal setting, volition (via adherence to associated schemas), and goal achievement, but are larger than any one or combination of these constructs". Dörnyei himself adds to this that "possible selves are 'self states' that people experience as reality" (2009: 16). Somewhere in the teaching and learning landscape, the Norwegian teacher would have to try to help the pupils identify a possible future Nynorsk self that would be realistic to achieve – or even better – that the pupils would very much like to become.

The practical component of the teaching and learning model would be *self-relevant imagery* (Dörnyei 2009: 15 referring to Markus 2006, Markus and Nurius 1986, Ruvolo and Markus 1992). Traditionally, Norwegian teachers have struggled finding "good" arguments that might convince or motivate their pupils to invest in learning Norwegian. In lack of a better argument, many teachers refer to the law stating that government employees in administrative positions would have to be able to write both official languages. Linking this to the concept of possible selves and an ideal future self a pupil would "very much like to become", this argument might not feel much self-relevant for most pupils, and the process of self-relevant imagery would probably stop rather quickly. Very few pupils would probably be able to imagine a position as a government employee writing formal letters as the most desirable possible self. For most pupils, a future scenario like this would most likely rather be of the "selves that we are afraid of becoming" kind. Furthermore, there will be a new Norwegian language law in 2020 where it might be stated that even state employees are allowed to use their preferred language variety in all written communication. Therefore, teachers might want to look for some better motivational arguments than positions as public servants.

Dörnyei (2009: 16f.) discusses the role of imagination and imagery and its motivational impact. As a teacher, it would obviously be important not to lead the pupils in the direction of imagining possible selves that they are afraid of becoming when trying to motivate them to learn Nynorsk as an alternative (second) Norwegian language. Language cannot simply be taught, language has to be acquired or learned in the sense that all the efforts a teacher may put into developing teaching lessons would have little or no effect if the pupils do not take an active and conscious part in their own learning process. For a teacher, then, it would be important to realize that "imaging one's own actions through the construction of elaborated possible selves achieving the desired goal may thus directly facilitate the translation of goals into intentions and instrumental actions" (Markus and Ruvolo 1989: 213, quoted by Dörnyei 2009: 16). Dörnyei (2009: 17), referring to Markus (2006) and Boyatzis and Akrivou (2006), sees the dream or image of a desired future as the core content of the ideal self. As discussed before, for most pupils that have to learn Nynorsk as an alternative written language in school due to the curriculum and no other external motivation, a Nynorsk self would not represent a dream or image of a desired future. From a theoretical perspective of L2 acquisition, it is obvious that the Norwegian language situation faces some serious challenges in the public school system.

Another interesting component of Dörnyei's (2009) L2 Motivational Self System is the reference to *self-discrepancy theory* (Higgins 1987, 1996). This is, naturally, closely related to the notion of a future self, i.e. the relation between *status quo* and *quo vadis*, as I have called it before. According to self-discrepancy theory, the pupils would be "motivated to reach a condition where the self-concept matches their personally relevant self-guides" (Dörnyei 2009: 18). One could say that this is also related to Vygotsky's zone of proximal development. However, since L2 acquisition is highly dependent on motivation and investment, self-discrepancy theory offers an interest-

ing approach to new didactic thinking in the teaching and learning of Nynorsk as an alternative written language. Dörnyei (2009: 18) states that:

> motivation in this sense involves the desire to reduce the discrepancy between one's actual self and the projected behavioural standards of the ideal/ought selves. Thus, future self-guides provide incentive, direction and impetus for action, and sufficient discrepancy between these and the actual self initiates distinctive self-regulatory strategies with the aim to reduce the discrepancy – future self-guides represent points of comparison to be reconciled through behaviour (Hoyle and Sherrill 2006).

Higgins (1986) and Dörnyei (2009: 18) also point out that there is a crucial distinction between ideal selves and ought selves. I find this distinction highly relevant for the understanding of Nynorsk as an alternative written language in the Norwegian school system. Dörnyei (2009: 18) states:

> Ideal self-guides have a *promotion* focus, concerned with hopes, aspirations, advancements, growth and accomplishments; whereas ought self-guides have a *prevention* focus, regulating the absence or presence of negative outcomes with failing to live up to various responsibilities and obligations.

Since the exposure to Nynorsk as an alternative written language for most pupils is limited to formal classroom teaching and there is a separate grade in Nynorsk after lower and upper secondary school having a potential impact on whether the pupils can attend higher education or not, the pupils' focus is usually on prevention, i.e. their only goal for Nynorsk as an alternative written language is to pass the test/exam and not to actually learn to master the language. There are usually no hopes, aspirations, advancements or growth for an ideal self-related to Nynorsk as an alternative written language. For most pupils, the only actual hope and possible accomplishment they would imagine is to simply pass and to not have to

use it ever again in the future. Public debates on this issue can take quite unpleasant forms in newspapers and online forums.

Again, from a theoretical point of view, Nynorsk as an alternative written language which is part of the Norwegian curriculum may seem to be "doomed" in a formal teaching and learning context. However, Dörnyei (2009) with his L2 Motivation Self System may help Norwegian teachers find new didactic approaches by reflecting on the theoretical basis for L2 acquisition. Dörnyei, for instance, also discusses conditions for the motivational capacity of ideal and ought selves, pointing out that certain conditions can enhance or hinder the motivational impact of the ideal and ought selves, the most important being (2009: 18):

1 availability of an elaborate and vivid future self image;
2 perceived plausibility;
3 harmony between the ideal and ought selves;
4 necessary activation / priming;
5 accompanying procedural strategies;
6 the offsetting impact of a feared self.

As Dörnyei (2009: 18) states, "The primary and obvious prerequisite for the motivational capacity of future self-guides is that they *need to exist*." Teachers of Nynorsk as an alternative written language should be aware of this. The pupils need help to develop a self-image with "a sufficient degree of elaborateness and vividness". Having an image of a public servant as the only possible future self has proven not to have much motivational power in the lower or upper secondary classroom. The pupils also need to feel that it is actually realistic and possible to reach the goals of the curriculum or even a Nynorsk self. This has an effect on self-esteem, current mood and optimism (Dörnyei 2009 quoting Segal 2006: 91). With low motivation and low investment, the pupils do not make much progress in their acquisition/learning of Nynorsk, which then,

naturally, results in bad feedback, which again has an impact on the perceived plausibility that it is realistic or possible to learn Nynorsk. If teachers are made aware of this vicious circle, they might want to develop Nynorsk tasks and tests that would focus on positive feelings like control and mastering.

Dörnyei (2009: 20) also points out that "the ought self is closely related to peer group norms and other normative pressures", and the so-called "norm of mediocrity" may be a typical part of young learners' ought self. Even so the individual pupil may have a certain interest in learning Nynorsk, there is this over hundred year long debate on Nynorsk as an alternative written language, where a common peer norm would be to hate Nynorsk and to put minimal effort in mastering it. It is normally not expected that pupils receive good grades in Nynorsk – not even by many teachers. Dörnyei (2009: 20) states that "Oyserman *et al.* (2006) found that among school children negative group images are often highly accessible, making social group membership feel like it conflicts with academic self-guides, and in such cases teenagers tend to regulate their behaviours to fit with their peers (Pizzolato 2006)." In general, there are very few pupils in the Eastern part of Norway who would develop an academic future self actively involving Nynorsk in one way or the other. If the interest in Nynorsk – against all odds (but it actually happens) – is on a very high level, a pupil would most likely consider changing the main written language to Nynorsk and the whole picture is changed. Certainly, there are pupils who like to achieve good results in all subjects, hence also in Nynorsk. In this case, it is likely that the future self contains a higher degree of general achievement than actual mastering of Nynorsk. However, since most peers do not expect to master Nynorsk at a very high level, expectations are generally lower than compared to other subjects. One could perhaps say that the harmony between the ideal and the ought self is not threatened very much in this context since expectations are low. The whole learning situation would probably gain from classroom discussions and

reflection, making the pupils aware of this challenge. But as Dörnyei (2009: 20) points out, the self-image must not only be developed, it has to be activated, too. It has to be a part of the working self-concept.

As mentioned before, Nynorsk as an alternative written language in the classroom struggles with being very much limited to classroom contexts only. This means that most pupils are very little exposed to Nynorsk outside school or even outside the particular Nynorsk class they may have once or a few times a week, or even more sporadically depending on the priorities of the teacher. Dörnyei (2009: 20f.), furthermore, states: "In order to translate the aroused motivational potential into action, he/she needs to have a roadmap of tasks and strategies to follow in order to approximate the ideal self." There are definitely teachers who teach Nynorsk as an alternative language rather regularly making it possible "to have a roadmap of tasks and strategies to follow". However, many pupils report that they have had very little organized teaching in Nynorsk through lower or upper secondary school. Naturally, it would have been rather difficult to develop concrete strategies for these pupils. Dörnyei (2009: 21) refers to Oyserman et al. (2006) who argue that "future self-guides are only effective if they are accompanied by a set of specific predeveloped and plausible action plans, which are cued automatically by the image". The challenge for Nynorsk as an alternative written language is, on the one side, that it is difficult to develop a concrete enough future self.

On the other side, there are both practical reasons related to the minimal amount of teaching and exposure, and the more attitude-related issue that Nynorsk in the eyes of many pupils suffers from having low or no status. This makes it difficult to develop concrete action plans.

The last condition Dörnyei chooses to mention is the "offset by feared self" (2009: 21f.). Referring to Oyserman and Markus (1990) he states that "a desired possible self will have maximal motivational effectiveness when it is offset or bal-

anced by a counteracting feared possible self in the same domain", and "for best effect the negative consequences of not achieving a desired end-state need to be elaborated and be cognitively available to individuals" (Dörnyei 2009: 22). This condition is interesting when applied to Nynorsk as an alternative written language. In most L2 acquisition contexts, there is often a motivation and desire for a future self to "blend in" and be a full member of the L2 community in one way or the other. Not achieving this goal can be related to some kind of fear because of the possible social consequences. For Nynorsk as an alternative written language the social consequences are more or less lacking or minimal. For most pupils the only goal they want to achieve is to pass the obligatory exam in order to finish school and start an education where Nynorsk in most cases is not a mandatory part of the curriculum. If failing the final exam in Nynorsk as an alternative written language is the only feared possible outcome it might be a relevant question – from a didactic point of view – to what degree the teacher should help the pupils elaborate this fear. Many pupils already struggle with understanding why there are two official written Norwegian languages and with accepting the fact that they have to learn Nynorsk at school. Tying the status and the use of Nynorsk for fear of not passing the final test would not exactly benefit the overall political situation. Dörnyei (2009: 22) referring to Oyserman et al. (2006) and Hoylen and Sherrill (2006) states that a balanced combination of pairs of countervailing selves would be most effective, i.e. a combination of both an approach and avoidance of tendencies is expected to be greater motivational factor than the hoped-for or feared self alone. The great challenge for Nynorsk as an alternative written language would be to elaborate a desirable hoped-for future self that is not solely related to passing the Nynorsk exam.

Dörnyei (2009) also discusses the concept of integration in L2 acquisition providing many perspectives that would be relevant in a discussion on Nynorsk as an alternative written language. Due to the length of the present paper, there is no

space for further elaboration at this point. But the discussion should have shown that Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System may be fruitful in the development of future political and didactic approaches to Nynorsk as an alternative written language.

4. Conclusions

In this paper, I have discussed the contribution of the Educational Role of Language (ERL) approach to studying language and Dörnyei's (2009) L2 Motivational Self System related to trying to understand the challenges that come with teaching and learning Nynorsk (New Norwegian) as an alternative written language. I have shown that the ERL perspectives of Language Beliefs, Language Experience/Affect, Language Activity and Language Matrixes are very useful tools and that the L2 Motivational Self System offers new valuable perspectives for politicians, curriculum developers, teachers – and pupils. Understanding motivation and language acquisition from the perspective of the L2 Motivational Self System would lead to more awareness around the teaching and learning situation and has the potential to help both teachers and pupils to achieve their goals.

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A non-pragmatic view on education

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Abstract

The point of this essay is to argue that education may improve its quality if its fundamental principles transcend the pragmatic targets, e.g. preparing the offspring to adult life, the psychosocial needs, manual, intellectual and vocational skills, etc, and deal with such essential problems as the sense of life, the nature of the world, the phenomenon of consciousness and its evolution, i.e. problems which typically become the subject of philosophical speculations and deliberations. The point of departure of the argument is the classical view that education should be seen as educing the potential of every individual learner. The possibility of such a qualitative improvement may result from the capacity of consciousness to generate complex motivational drives of learning which are rooted in the higher mental processes.

Key words

genuine interaction, cognitive appeal, higher mental processes, cognitive structure, educational domains of cognition, creation and coexistence, motivational drives of learning

Ponad pragmatyczne spojrzenie na edukację

Abstrakt

Tematem eseju jest przekonanie, że jakość edukacji można udoskonalić jeśli jej podstawowe zasady wykroczą ponad pragmatyczne cele, takie jak przygotowywanie do dorosłego życia, psychospołeczne potrzeby, fizyczne, intelektualne i zawodowe sprawności, i obejmą swoim zakresem tak podstawowe problemy jak sens życia, natura świata, zjawisko świadomości i jego ewolucja, czyli problemy które typowo są przedmiotem filozoficznych spekulacji i rozważań. Punktem wyjścia do tej argumentacji jest klasyczne rozumienie edukacji jako poszukiwania potencjału każdego indywidualnego ucznia. Możliwość takiego jakościowego udoskonalenia wynika z działania świadomości, która generuje złożone procesy motywacyjne zakorzenione w wyższych procesach umysłowych.

Słowa kluczowe

Autentyczna interakcja, emocjonalne zaangażowanie poznawcze, wyższe procesy umysłowe, kognitywna struktura umysłu, edukacyjne pola poznania, twórczości i współistnienia, motywacja uczenia się

1. Educational questions and expectations

Most generally, education is expected to help people in their attempts to discover their own nature and the nature of the world. The questions which trouble people may be briefly formulated as – what they are, where they are and why they are. These questions are inseparable from the questions about the world itself, i.e. what it is, why it is, and how to understand its existence if we transcend it beyond the familiar and potentially understandable universe of time and space. The scope of these questions is very broad and includes the obvious problems of the everyday existence as well as the problems of the sense of life and the sense of the existence of the world. The former kind consists of the expectations of help in such practical mat-

ters as preparing the offspring to cope with the hardships of life, to find their place in the society, to acquire the necessary manual and intellectual skills etc. Such attitude can be seen as a *pragmatic view on education*. The latter kind results from the realization that there are matters which exceed the practical targets of survival and that people are not satisfied with the popular conviction that the ultimate sense of existence is the existence itself. This type of approach will be referred to as a *non-pragmatic view on education*. It follows that in order to deal with such a broad range of problems and to account for both these kinds, it is necessary that the system of education should transcend the typical utilitarian ways of dealing with the learning processes and with the educational treatment.

The fundamental and unique source of all these questions and expectations is to be found in the capacity of the phenomenon of consciousness, which is practically realized by the self-consciousness of every individual human being. The phenomenon of consciousness has emerged in the world in the course of its evolution which is characterized by its internal structural changes from simple forms to the more and more structurally complex forms of existence. However, the assumption that the universe evolves in an orderly manner, according to definite rules triggers a new troublesome question, namely, whether the phenomenon of consciousness actually concludes these evolutionary changes, or whether it takes a new direction of its further evolution. The vision of the possible direction may significantly influence the people's expectations of help from education in these matters.

Such confusing and conflicting questions and problems concern every individual person, which may be seen as a natural characteristic of people. However, everybody approaches them in a different way, with a different insight into them, comes to different conclusions and lives with different convictions about the sense of their lives, different knowledge of the world, different perception of the works of art and a different approach to the coexistence with other people, other families,

tribes, nations or any other socially organized groups and communities. Practically speaking, everybody is in this respect different from everybody else in the world. These differences emerge because of the fact that the inborn capacity of self-consciousness is flexible. It changes constantly because of a virtually infinite and unpredictable number of factors, e.g. the influence of parents, the innate predispositions and talents, the influence of the convictions and personalities of others, the social and political systems of organizing the coexistence of people, the massive propaganda of the rulers, the various kinds of formal and institutionalized forms of education, the influence of the environment and experience, the individually specific motivational drives etc. All these factors may be regarded as a great variety of the ways people acquire their education, which lasts from birth till the end of their lives.

The flexibility of the self-consciousness of every individual and its openness to broadening its scope make it a natural target of educational processes which in terms of practical realization through teaching concerns the behavioural patterns, mental processes and the inborn feeling of the universal moral principles of coexistence. The fact that everybody is different from everybody else with respect to the readiness for changes leads to the individual character of the educational treatment. Education in this view can be defined as educing the potential of every individual learner. Its main purpose is to exploit all the personal characteristics, talents and predispositions and, in this way, change the learner's knowledge of the world, explore the talents in order to develop the learner's creative powers, and develop the learner's sensitivity to the peaceful and harmonious coexistence with others.

Thus, in accord with these main purposes, the following educational domains may be distinguished: the domain of cognition, which is gaining the objective knowledge of the world, the domain of creation, which is developing the creative faculties of people and searching for their innate talents, and the educational domain of coexistence, which is involved with

the universal moral principles. At the same time the aims of education are naturally involved with the mundane matters of everyday life, e.g. social relations, distribution of labour and all kinds of useful practical skills which are typically conducted by means of training and instruction and lead to definite vocations and specializations. It turns out that the expectations of help from education are tantamount to all queries which trouble people in their lives.

2. The complexity of teaching points

The great variety of the aims of the educational treatment may be ordered into hierarchies of their complexity of inclusion. For example, if the target is to teach how to use a computer to obtain some information, to write a text, to communicate etc. but the learner is not acquainted with the principles of working out a programme for any of these aims, the target is less complex than the one in which the main teaching point is working out programmes for any of these aims. Both these teaching points form a hierarchy of inclusion, i.e. anyone who learns how to work out a programme will, as a rule, be able to use it, but not everyone who is able to use it will be able to provide a programme for it. This kind of growing complexity may be established for any of the educational targets in any of the educational disciplines. For example, in language education everyone who has learnt how to construct written or spoken texts in a foreign language will be able to communicate, notwithstanding the circumstances of interaction, but the fact that a learner is able to send messages in the foreign language does not mean the ability to construct written or spoken texts in it. Consequently, the target of teaching how to construct texts is more complex than the one due to which the learner is only able to communicate, e.g. by means of body language, gestures, etc. In arithmetic the task to teach how to calculate the area of a circle is more complex than the task to teach multiplication etc.

The degree of the complexity of the teaching point determines the degree to which the teaching procedure requires individualization. The more complex the task, the more individualized the procedure will have to be. For example, in the education of music the targets which concern the rhythmic differences between particular compositions are more complex than the points which concern the physical aspects of performance, e.g. the position of the hands of the learner over the keyboard of the piano. Although both these tasks are important for the performance, the tasks which concern the rhythmic problems are more complex because whenever we deal with them we also instruct and train the learner in the physical problems of the adequate position of the hands. However, we can imagine the possibility of training the learner in the physical intricacies without explaining the rhythmic problems. At the same time the explanation of the rhythmic problems requires to a greater degree the individual contact between the teacher and the learner because everyone is in a different way sensitive to the issues of rhythm. Such an individual contact between the teacher and the learner is not that essential in teaching the physical side of the performance because the physical constitution of the learners is basically similar and, therefore, allows for training and instruction in a group.

The correlation between the complexity of the teaching point and the degree of the individualization of the educational treatment of this point has important consequences for the kind of the whole educational system. Because of the great variety of the educational targets which are so different according to their degree of complexity, and because of the corresponding degree of the necessary individualization of the teaching procedures, the whole system cannot be limited to the pragmatic aims only, even though the procedures of the pragmatic aims are easier to perform – the tasks are simpler, do not require individualization, may be practiced in large groups and the teaching materials will be similar for all the

learners in the group. Notwithstanding these convenient conditions there are serious disadvantages of such a system. First of all, the learners are likely to receive inadequate and crude answers to the serious questions about the nature of people and their sense of existence in the world. For example, in such serious matters the teaching points may be reduced to such mundane matters as popularity or entertainment, e.g. the learners may be trained how to give the impression of being spontaneous or how to become assertive to gain definite material advantages at all costs, or what to do in order to be admired etc.

A system of education which transcends the pragmatic targets in the domain of cognition appeals to the urge of learning the truth about the nature of people and to gain the objective knowledge of the world. In the domain of creation it appeals to the sensitivity and to the beauty of the works of art. In the domain of coexistence in a non-pragmatic system of education the learners ought to become aware of the fact that there are many other individuals around them who are equally self-conscious of their existence in the world and will attempt to search for the answers to the questions about the sense of their lives with a deeper insight into the nature of this existence. In the domain of cognition the learners will be expected to consider the knowledge of the world in a non-dogmatic way and the teaching points will deal with developing critical thinking. In the domain of creation the teaching points will focus on the ways to transcend the function of mere entertainment and prepare the learners to reach beyond the aesthetic pleasure of reception in their creative production.

3. Learning motivation and a non-pragmatic view

Education begins at birth and lasts for the whole life in connection with the learning processes. The educational treatment occurs either through intuitive self-education or in contact with the teacher. The learning processes correspond to the

motivational drives to gain knowledge, to create artefacts and to behave according to moral principles.[1] In the popular view the educational treatment is supposed to develop the intellectual capacity, manual skills and social awareness and behaviour. The usual agencies of education are explanation, instruction and training. The usual form of the teaching techniques and materials is a combination of these agencies.

There is a wildly accepted conviction that the basic function of education is to prepare the offspring to cope with matters of existence, so that they should manage to "get through life successfully" and to cooperate with others in this respect. In practice this function is realized by teaching how to fulfil the existential and psychosocial needs. The offspring is instructed and trained how to realize the needs which improve the quality of life such as comfort, health, entertainment, social position, power, prestige, accommodation, aesthetic pleasure, curiosity, satisfaction, relief of tension, excitement, security etc. The educational systems which care for all these needs are as a rule pragmatic in nature.

The psychosocial needs manifest various degrees of complexity which are reflected by the complexity of the teaching points. For instance, the needs of aesthetic pleasure or curiosity are more complex than the needs of security, comfort or excitement. The degree of complexity is marked by the inclusion of the less complex needs in the more complex ones. For example, whenever the need of curiosity is present, we may expect the needs of security or satisfaction, whereas the presence of the need of security does not imply the possible presence of the need of curiosity. In other words, one may be afraid of some danger which generates the need of security but not at all be interested in the origin of the danger, whereas the curiosity about its origin implies as a rule the need to be safe from it. Likewise, the need to have aesthetic pleasure of listening to a musical composition implies as a rule the need of satisfac-

[1] For a more extensive discussion of the hierarchy of learning motivation see Wenzel (1994), Rychło (2008) and Aleksandrowska (2015).

tion, whereas the need of satisfaction frequently does without any aesthetic pleasure.

From the organic point of view the pragmatic educational systems function as tools of the survival of the species and of the survival of particular individuals, social groups or communities. They perpetuate skills and behavioural patterns which prove successful in this respect and change them if they prove ineffective or harmful. This relation becomes different when the motivational drives of learning which are triggered by the existential and psychosocial needs transcend the requirements of the survival struggles. This new quality emerges thanks to the capacity of consciousness to activate the "higher mental processes" (Wenzel 2015) and make the individual open for the further development of the mind, notwithstanding the conditions and limitations imposed by the environment and by the physical and psychosocial needs. For example, the communication of the individuals becomes independent of time and space while sending and receiving messages. Also the message which is conveyed may be freed from the influence of the immediate circumstances of interaction, body language, degree of intimacy of the interlocutors, their intentions, expectations, age and a great number of other factors which influence the meaning of the message. The most spectacular manifestations of this capacity of the higher mental processes are the products of cognition and artistic creation which may be understood and interpreted by any number of successive generations irrespectively of the time and space between the authors and the addressee of these products.

The higher mental processes include a great number of characteristics which enable the motivational drives to transcend the practical needs. The most significant of them are generalizations, abstractions, notional comparisons and contrasts, criticism, logical speculation, notional clarification and reorganization in the mind, creative reconstruction of familiar ideas, creation of metaphors etc. These characteristics make it possible for the mind to become independent of the pragmatic

aims of the motivational drives and to act subjectively with the use of free will. Thanks to these characteristics of the higher mental processes, learning becomes involved in the creation of ideas and artistic forms which have never existed before and which stimulate the growth of complexity of the educational treatment.

Education is inseparable from the learning processes. In other words, there is no education if the individual does not learn. The individual learns when there is a change. The change may be either of the behavioural kind or of the mental kind. The former kind of learning occurs when, thanks to the educational treatment, there is a change of the probability of response to external stimuli, the latter kind of learning occurs when there is a change of the cognitive structure of the learner's mind.[2] The change of the probability of response to external stimuli characterizes behavioural patterns, whereas the change of the cognitive structure of the mind is characteristic of the development of the higher mental processes. Learning in the former case is definitely bound to the pragmatic targets of education. The latter kind of learning opens the possibility of transcending the pragmatic targets. This distinction is significant for the decisions concerning the educational treatment. The learning processes which involve the changes of the cognitive structure require principles and practical solutions adequate to the characteristics of the higher mental processes. It follows that such techniques as mechanical drilling or stimulus – response habit formation will not be effective if the targets are supposed to transcend the pragmatic level of education. In short, the study of the learning processes of pigeons, rats, dogs or monkeys is of no use for the educational treatment of the characteristics of the higher mental processes and consequently will not be effective in a non-pragmatic system of education.

[2] These two types of learning, known as *behavioural learning* and *mental learning* respectively, have been extensively discussed by Kurcz (1992: 98-170).

Any kind of learning, whether characterized by the change of the behavioural patterns or by the change of the cognitive structure of the mind occurs thanks to the motivational drives of learning. These drives push and prod the individual to acquire the new habits or to reshuffle their conceptual apparatus by the acquisition of new concepts. The motivational drives of learning are natural, organic pressures which do not depend on volition, rational calculation, speculation, perspectives of material advantages or reasoning. All such causes which may set the motivational drives in motion may as well not activate them. For example, volition as a possible cause to trigger the motivation to learn the rules of a game for the sake of entertainment or aesthetic pleasure may possibly fail unless the willingness is supported by some kind of an organic drive, e.g. competitive drive, a psychosocial need to impress others, an urge to learn the truth at all costs, etc. The same problem concerns other manifestations of higher mental processes. No persuasion, reasoning, explanation, argumentation on logical grounds are likely to activate learning motivation unless they cooperate with the organic, natural pressures.

In the educational perspective the causes which may possibly activate the learning motivation necessary to change the cognitive structure are more complex than the causes which may activate the changes of the behavioural patterns. For example, curiosity, volition or reasoning are more complex than hunger, fear or sexual drives. Because of their complexity they are more difficult to be used for the educational treatment than such organic causes as hunger or fear. We deal here with a specific paradox. On the one hand, the more complex the causes are, the easier they cooperate with the higher mental processes. On the other hand, however, this cooperation becomes more difficult to achieve by the educational treatment. For example, the psychosocial need of aesthetic pleasure is very complex and easily cooperates with such higher mental processes as the creation of metaphors, symbolizing and generalization. However, the usual agencies of education such as

explanation, instruction and training are not in a position to activate this cooperation. In other words, one cannot train or persuade the learner to gain aesthetic pleasure from a symphony or a poem. It follows that education at the level of the higher mental processes requires other, more complex agencies than the usual explanation, instruction or training, which are effective at the level of the behavioural patterns or habits.

The search for more complex educational agencies may be carried out on the basis of some outstanding products of the mind in the educational domains of cognition, creation and coexistence. All the evidenced instances of the outstanding achievements in these fields deal with the problems of the nature of existence, sense of life, the functions of knowledge and the artistic creation etc. in a larger context of causality and determinism than the direct cause-effect relations which are available for empirical observation, controlled experiments or statistics. Such products of the mind as great scientific works, philosophical debates, masterpieces of painting, sculpture, poetry, drama or music illustrate practically the potential ability of education to transcend the limitations of the practical, existential and psychosocial targets.

What has been possible to achieve by some outstanding products of the mind may become a general standard. The condition is that the principles of education should be elevated to the standards delimited by such products. The pragmatic targets, e.g. preparing the offspring to cope with matters of life should remain as an obvious and an indispensable part of education, but the dominant feature should be its foundation on the instances of the products of the mind which exceed these matters.

As it is, the general tendency seems to be directed towards the pragmatic systems of education in which the learning processes are limited to the realization of the psychosocial needs, whereas the sporadic great achievements of the mind are the products of some specially gifted individuals. The outstanding works are frequently created against the current educational

principles, only thanks to the intuition of some philosophers, scientists, artists and teachers. This tendency is strongly supported by the focus of science and arts on technological inventions e.g. in the field of electronics due to which the learners make use of ready-made programmes for communication, information, entertainment, social behaviour and employment. In this way education loses its individual character, the teaching techniques and materials become uniform and consequently the development of the higher mental processes falls into stagnation and decline.

4. Genuine interaction and the cognitive appeal of the teaching point

Transcending the pragmatic targets of education involves gaining knowledge, artistic creation and moral behaviour. Gaining knowledge is basically motivated by the urge of searching for truth, artistic creation is motivated by the urge of achieving perfection in conveying the message and the beauty of its form, moral behaviour is basically motivated by the individual's conscience. The instances of transcending the pragmatic targets of education in these domains result from the cooperation of the organic motivational drives with the higher mental processes generated by consciousness. The agencies of the educational treatment, i.e. procedures, teaching materials, particular tasks and teaching points etc. should deal with both these factors to make it possible at all to transcend the pragmatic aims of education, i.e. they should deal with the development of the higher mental processes and with educing the potential of the organic motivational drives. The key issue in both of them is the character of the learning processes, which should focus on the change of the cognitive structure of the mind.

Establishing such a system seems to be a feasible and realistic task. The first step in the domain of cognition is to introduce the teaching targets developing critical thinking, argumentation and a constant improvement of explanations and

speculations concerning the natural physical, chemical, biological and social phenomena grounded in empirical observation, data collection and statistics. The tools of these improvements are logical reasoning and the procedures of verification and falsification of explanatory theories. These procedures are dynamic and never final. The first step in the domain of creation is to leave the initiative of the educational treatment to the intuition and talents of the artists, i.e. poets, composers, painters etc. It is taken for granted that they would take care of the artistic workshop, and that they would educe the predispositions and talents of the learners. In the educational domain of coexistence the targets are universal moral principles and their place in the lives of the individuals. The educational treatment should deal with the social consent to such moral breaches as lying, stealing, killing etc. so as to prevent the communities, nations, tribes or families from wars, anarchy, unlawfulness, disintegration and all other kinds of social evils.

In all these domains the stress is on the individual relation between the learner and the teacher and the decisive role of the teacher in the choice of the teaching points and teaching materials according to the learner's predispositions, talents, personal characteristics and interests. In a way, the educational system which is based on transcending the utilitarian targets of learning deals with teaching in the strictest sense of this word. The teacher's main task is to explain the things to the learner and immediately make sure whether the learner grasps the subject matter of this explanation. It requires very close cooperation between the learner and the teacher as far as the teaching point is concerned. The teacher's talent, intuition and personal knowledge of the learner are essential to evoke the learner's willingness to further inquire about the subject matter of the teaching point without any special didactic techniques, tasks or activities which in the popular belief should motivate the learner. Instead, the motivating power should be found in the teaching point itself.

Professionally, the teacher needs the skill of precise, clear and brief explanation of the teaching point. In the domains of cognition and coexistence the basic procedure is a discussion during which the teacher, together with the learner, approach the teaching point by means of the falsification of unreasonable explanations and searching for logical fallacies in them. It is the teacher's task to control the balance between the inductive and deductive learning processes. There are moments when the teacher turns into a philosopher who approaches the nature of such phenomena as space, time, and the innate universal moral principles. In the domain of creation the teaching points are connected with the artistic workshop of a given discipline and with examining the learner's predispositions to this discipline. It should be noted that in all these domains the whole attention of the educational treatment is devoted to the essence of the teaching point, not to the methods, techniques, activities or any other ways of its presentation.

The significance of the interaction between the learner and the teacher makes it necessary for the interaction to be genuine, i.e. it should focus on the content of the subject matter of learning. It is in this respect different from artificial interaction in which the attention of the educational treatment is directed towards the organization of the procedure according to the principles and prescriptions of a definite method elaborated on some theoretical grounds and expected to deal with the subject matter in a uniform way, notwithstanding the differences between the learners, their personalities, characters, interests, experience and the previously acquired knowledge of the subject matter.

The distinction between genuine and artificial interaction should not be understood in terms of priorities, preferences, being out of date or in vogue, or in any other sense "better" or "worse". The point rests in the consequences for the teaching materials and procedures. Genuine interaction favours teaching materials and procedures which lead to conscious acquisition of knowledge through the changes of the cognitive struc-

ture, whereas artificial interaction promotes learning by habit formation and rote learning,[3] which are effective in dealing with immediate practical targets, e.g. colloquial expressions in teaching a foreign language. In practice we may observe a characteristic conflict between these two ways of learning. Rote learning and behavioural learning require speed of reflection while responding to stimuli, whereas meaningful learning and mental learning depend very strongly on the teacher's explanations of the rules and principles of performance. The decisive factor of mental learning is grasping the point of the subject matter of teaching, whereas learning by habit formation aims at the ability of doing things with the acquired habits. Genuine interaction leads to the acquisition of knowledge thanks to the exchange of ideas between the teacher and the learner, whereas artificial interaction leads to establishing behavioural patterns through organized activities. In genuine interaction the learners are expected to say, to write or to do what they themselves want to express and the teacher becomes a genuine partner of the interaction who is really interested in what the learner has to say, to write or to do (Wenzel 2001: 47-108).

It follows that the genuine interaction between the learner and the teacher depends on the motivating power of the teaching points and the teaching materials They must be able to stir the eagerness to acquire knowledge and the urge for artistic creation to the extent at which the learners do not care about the hardships, lack of time or lack of the perspective of material advantages. The teaching materials and the teaching points which can engage the learning motivation in such a complex way manifest a phenomenon which may be defined as "having cognitive appeal" (Wenzel 2001: 47). This phenomenon could be contrasted with the popular epithet which refers to the

[3] Another important distinction becomes relevant here, namely, into *rote* and *meaningful learning*; the main difference between them being the arbitrary relation (in rote) and nonarbitrary relation (in meaningful learning) of the acquired material to the cognitive structure (Ausubel 1968).

physical aspect of life, namely "sex appeal". Both kinds of appeal cause unusual excitement. However, while sex appeal excites the biological processes and particular emotions, cognitive appeal refers to the capacity of teaching points and teaching materials to excite the mind. Instead of drawing the learner's attention to the entertaining aspect of the teaching procedures, they appeal to the imagination which has its source in abstractions, generalizations and notional intricacies. Every subject of the educational curriculum has its own, specific teaching points which have the potential of evoking cognitive appeal. It is the teacher who discovers which points could appeal to which learners and finds ways to match the targets with the higher mental processes. Such teaching points and teaching materials must excite the mind so as to make the learner willing to study things beyond the level of information, the expectation of the programme and the requirements of the tests.

The search for the cognitive appeal of the teaching points and the teaching materials depends on the intuition of the teacher. The teacher's activities may not be particularly spectacular or impressive and appear frequently in the form of casual remarks concerning the teaching point. For example, during a class of social studies the teacher wants to make sure that the learners understand the nature of political propaganda and intends to develop the skill of critical thinking to prevent its consequences in social life. The discussion may begin with asking the learners what they think about changing the name of the subject "social studies" into "education for democracy". At its face value such a term could be accepted as proper. However, in the discussion the teacher elicits from the learners the idea that essentially there is no difference between this concept and such notions as "education for socialism", "education for nationalism", or any other ideology in which the learners are indoctrinated. Then the learners are expected to reformulate this notion and with the help of the teacher come to the idea that education is for developing critical thinking so

as to become immune to all kinds of demagoguery and propaganda.

If the learners show interest in the theme of political propaganda, which exceeds the usual requirements of the syllabus, the teacher may evoke the cognitive appeal by making allusions to other subjects of the curriculum, e.g. to political history or literature. For instance it may be a suggestion that we live with stereotyped interpretations which are imposed by the rulers. The teacher may mention the Shakespeare's drama Richard III according to which the king had murdered his nephew, committed several other crimes, and manifested cowardice by an attempt to escape from the battle at Bosworth on a horse for which he offered the whole kingdom. During the discussion the teacher may ask the learners, who ruled England at the time when Shakespeare wrote this play and elicit from them the observation that the black picture of the king could have been the effect of Tudor propaganda who deprived the York dynasty of power in an illegal way. If the learners start searching for information about those events of their own accord so as to learn the truth about them, and do it without the teacher's homework assignment, it is likely that this is the result of the cognitive appeal of the teaching point.

To further develop the theme of political propaganda the teacher may elicit from the learners their general knowledge about similar instances of political propaganda in other countries as well as in their native country, including modern times. Also, the theme may become a good starting point for a discussion on the relation between the propaganda of mass media and the political convictions of people. Such a discussion cannot be organized by means of teaching techniques, role-playing, entertaining activities etc. If, as a result of the discussion, the learners start asking critical questions, there is a good chance that the educational treatment and the learning process transcend the pragmatic level of direct advantages of education.

The teaching points and teaching materials of the domain of creation have their possible cognitive appeal when they

evoke in the learners sensitivity to poetry, music, arts, drama, and any other discipline of artistic creation. The main problem of the educational treatment rests in the fact that the learners lose interest in the work of art when they are in any way forced to become acquainted with it. The development of sensitivity to anything disagrees on principle with telling someone to appreciate it. The following example illustrates a possibility which may or may not be effective, depending on the teacher's talent to engage with the learner in genuine interaction and individualization of the procedure. The teaching material is a fragment of a novel by John Galsworthy, *The Forsyte Saga*, Interlude – The Indian Summer of a Forsyte.

> The stable clock struck the quarter past. The dog Balthasar stretched and looked up at his master. The thistledown no longer moved. The dog placed his chin over the sunlit foot. It did not stir. The dog withdrew his chin quickly, rose, and leaped in old Jolyon's lap, looked in his face, whined; then, leaping down, sat on his haunches gazing up. And suddenly he uttered a long, long haul. But the thistledown was still as death, and the face of his master.
> Summer – Summer – Summer
> The soundless footsteps on the grass
> (Galsworthy 1922: 437)

The teaching material functions here as an excuse for a discussion on its poetic character, in particular on its specific atmosphere. The learners are free to say whatever they feel that contributes to this atmosphere, without any instructions or suggestions of the teacher, who becomes a genuine participant of the discussion in which such elements may emerge as passing away, the dramatic parting of the dog with his master etc. The teacher may mention that the ability to observe such phenomena in nature and to combine them in a work of art signals that the person might have an artistic talent. The teacher may also suggest writing a composition in this vein.

However, it would be definitely beyond the school requirements and there will be no evaluation and grading.

5. Educing the potential of every individual learner

It turns out that any system of education, no matter whether only pragmatic or transcending the practical targets, concentrates on two inseparable aspects, or, metaphorically speaking, two faces which cannot exist without each other. These two sides are – educational treatment which is mostly realized by teaching and the corresponding learning processes. Both of them are characterized by growing complexity of inclusion. On the teaching side the growth of complexity concerns adequate procedures, target tasks, teaching points, and teaching materials. A special position on the teaching side may be granted to the intuitive self-education of the learner, who, by definition must take over most of the teacher's decisions. On the learning side we deal with mental and behavioural changes which signal effective learning and natural, organic motivational drives which may or may not be evoked, and may or may not cause effective learning.

A system of education which transcends the pragmatic targets retains its characteristic features which are concerned with all its practical function, e.g. social behaviour, training the offspring, developing manual and intellectual skills, etc. However, there are some additional features which enable the learner to deal with such phenomena as the truth of the knowledge of the world and of the nature of people, the beauty of artistic creation and the innate feeling of the significance of moral behaviour. These phenomena generate questions which exceed the usual, practical functions of education and consequently require learning processes and motivational drives which function beyond the survival and psychosocial needs. The fundamental feature in this respect is the cooperation of the natural, organic motivational drives with the higher mental processes. The learner has to overcome the natural inclination

to learn things with the perspective of direct practical advantages of the subject matter of learning and has to develop an urge to engage in the creation of metaphors and works of art, generalizations, critical thinking, elaborating explanatory theories and verify or falsify them. There are several conditions for the educational treatment to achieve this cooperation. Firstly, the interaction between the teacher and the learner must be genuine, not artificially organized, however interesting the organization might be. Secondly, the subject matter of learning must have cognitive appeal to the learner, i.e. it must excite the mind beyond the requirements of the programme and the teacher's expectations. Thirdly, the educational treatment must be individual because every learner has personal characteristics different from any other learner, and the teacher must be familiar with them. It might be tentatively stated that an educational system based on such non-pragmatic principles is in position to realize the classical postulate that education should be defined as educing the potential of every individual.

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