BEYOND PHILOLOGY

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
OF LINGUISTICS, LITERARY STUDIES
AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

18/4

Edited by Martin Blaszk and Maciej Rataj

Beyond Philology is published in print and online:
<https://fil.ug.edu.pl/wydzial/instytuty_i_katedry/instytut_anglistyki
_i_amerykanistyki/czasopismo_naukowe_beyond_philology>,
<http://cwf.ug.edu.pl/ojs/index.php/beyond>.
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Beyond Philology is indexed by
  – The Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities
  – ERIH PLUS European Reference Index for the Humanities and
    Social Sciences
  – Index Copernicus
  – MLA International Bibliography
  – Norwegian Register for Scientific Journals, Series and Publishers

BEYOND PHILOLOGY 18/4

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Bi-accentism, translanguaging, or just a costume? Margaret Thatcher's pronunciation and its portrayal in films as a case of sociolinguistic boundaries and ideologies

MACIEJ RATAJ

Abstract

This paper discusses the extent to which some well-known traditional notions of English language studies, above all Received Pronunciation (RP), can be considered valid in light of present-day sociolinguistics. Language and superdiversity, translanguaging and related concepts are recent approaches to the variations that can be found in speech communities. Arguably, most speakers are not static but dynamic in that their linguistic repertoires consist of many styles and registers, as well as dialects, accents and/or separate languages. Terms such as *monolingual speakers*, *homogeneous speech communities*, separate named languages and dialects, even the names of accents, can only be considered as convenient approximations. Some of the most rigidly defined concepts seem to be those related to codified or standard dialects and accents. In this article, the example analyzed to illustrate the point is a comparison of the way in which the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, pronounced English in a Thames TV interview of

1987 and how her pronunciation was represented by two American actors: Meryl Streep in *The Iron Lady* (2011) and Gillian Anderson in Season 4 of *The Crown* (2020). The material aims to demonstrate the transcending of borders: those of RP and of individual bi- or multi-accentism.

Dwuakcentowość, transjęzyczność czy przebranie? Wymowa Margaret Thatcher i odzwierciedlenie jej w filmach jako przykład granic i ideologii w socjolingwistyce

Abstrakt

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest omówienie, w jakim stopniu pewne dobrze znane, używane tradycyjnie pojęcia, w szczególności akcent zwany Received Pronunciation, można uznać za odpowiednie w świetle współczesnej socjolingwistyki. Język a superróżnorodność, transjęzyczność i pokrewne pojęcia stanowią dość nowe podejścia do wariantywności we wspólnotach językowych. Można przyjąć za pewnik, iż większość użytkowników języka cechuje nie stałość, lecz dynamiczność: ich repertuary językowe składają się z licznych stylów, rejestrów, jak też dialektów, akcentów lub osobnych języków. Terminy takie jak *jednojęzyczni użytkownicy języka*, *jednorodne wspólnoty językowe*, osobne języki i dialekty, także nazwy akcentów można uznać najwyżej za poręczne przybliżenia czy uproszczenia. Wśród najmniej elastycznych pojęć są te dotyczące odmian językowych i akcentów skodyfikowanych, standardowych. By zilustrować postawioną tezę, autor porównał cechy angielskiej wymowy premier Wielkiej Brytanii Margaret Thatcher w wywiadzie dla Thames TV z 1987 r. i sposób, w jaki jej wymowę odtworzyły dwie grające ją aktorki amerykańskie: Meryl Streep w filmie *Żelazna Dama* (2011) i Gillian Anderson w odcinku czwartej serii serialu *The Crown* (2020). Celem prezentacji materiału badawczego jest unaocznienie przekraczania granic akcentu RP oraz indywidualnej dwu- lub wieloakcentowości.

1. Introduction

The Right Honourable Baroness Margaret Thatcher was the first
woman to serve as British Prime Minister (1979-1990). Loved by
many and disliked by many, called the "Iron Lady", widely dis-
cussed, admired, criticized, ridiculed, and parodied, Margaret
Thatcher was undoubtedly one of the most vivid figures of twen-
tieth-century politics. This article does not discuss her life, pol-
icies or legacy, nor does it make an attempt at a detailed analy-
sis of her individual manner of speaking. Instead, its aim is to
observe the sociophonetic borders that Thatcher crossed and
the way this crossing has been interpreted by two actors who
play her in dramas (as opposed to satires or comedies), with the
aim to explore this phenomenon in connection with some of the
latest theoretical developments in sociolinguistics which chal-
lenge many traditional concepts and their boundaries.

The article begins with a discussion of three notions: bi-ac-
centism, superdiversity – as described by scholars like Jan
Blommaert and Ben Rampton – and translanguaging, which is
connected to superdiversity. The following part is devoted to
a brief definition of Received Pronunciation (RP), a more detailed
description of which can be found in works devoted to English
phonetics and phonology like Gimson and Cruttenden (1994) or
Wells (1982), as well as histories of English (Crystal 2004). The
next part presents examples of Thatcher's pronunciation as well
as the way it was interpreted by Meryl Streep in *The Iron Lady*
(2011) and Gillian Anderson in Season 4 Episode 2 of *The Crown*
(2020). This will form the basis of a discussion of the different
challenges posed to traditional linguistic notions by superdiver-
sity and related concepts.

1.1. Bi-accentism

Bi-accentism can be defined as a narrower version of the more general phenomenon of bilingualism. A bilingual speaker is one who acquired two languages from their parents as a baby (one parent spoke language A, the other parent language B) or acquired one language from their parents and another from the speakers around them: peers, neighbours, friends of the family and subsequently the school system – the latter tends to be the case in immigrant families. Defined less rigidly than in the past, bilingualism may also refer to the linguistic repertoire of speakers who acquired one language as babies and migrated to an area where another language is spoken after they learnt to speak, e.g., at the age of seven or ten. Bidialectalism is a related phenomenon, the difference being that it concerns two codes which are mutually intelligible and non-autonomous, and that are perceived to be two varieties of the same language. In Great Britain a speaker with a parent from Scotland and a parent from Essex in the south of England is more than likely to acquire the regional features of both dialects of English. If one parent speaks Indian English and the other American English but they live in London, the child will have grown up exposed to at least three varieties of English. Since every dialect comprises its particular type of pronunciation, a bidialectal person is also bi-accented. However, it is also possible for a speaker to have acquired Standard English but with different standard or non-standard accents. As a result, the speaker is not only able to understand two different accents with ease but also – often unconsciously – switch between them in different circumstances, in different places and when interacting with different speakers.

There may be some disagreement as to whether bi-accentism can also appear in adulthood, for instance when a speaker aged 18 or above has moved from one dialect/accent area to another to work or study. It is important to note that according to some linguists, Standard English, which is associated with written usage and its grammar and vocabulary, should be separated

from matters of pronunciation, including the codified accent known as RP (Crystal 2004: 530, Trudgill 1999: 118). Thus, a speaker may be regarded as a native user of Standard English even if they do not speak with a standardized accent; in other words, separating standard dialects from pronunciation allows us to say that some speakers are bi- or multi-accented but not bidialectal.

1.2. Superdiversity

Traditional notions of bilingualism and bidialectalism assume that languages and dialects, together with their accents, are separate codes with rigidly defined boundaries and that speakers treat them as such, switching between or among them. This approach to language, convenient though it is, does not provide us with an accurate image of how human language actually functions not only among bilinguals but among all speakers.

A study of the sociology and culture of migration in London was behind the original concept of superdiversity described by Vertovec in 2007 (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 2, Blackledge and Creese 2017: 2, 5). This different approach moves away from "homogeneity, stability and boundedness as starting assumptions" and moves the linguistic spotlight onto "mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding" (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 3). Among the monoliths whose fixed boundaries are challenged by superdiversity are named languages, which can be regarded as politically motivated constructs supporting the ideas of nation states (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 4). Another questionable concept is that of speech communities, particularly those of native speakers, since they assume a degree of homogeneity which is hardly ever an accurate reflection of the rich tapestry of people and their individual language competence and use. This, in the su-perdiversity approach, is replaced by a consideration of the "linguistic repertoires" of individuals in which they take advantage of various linguistic genres, registers and other lexical, gram-

matical or phonological means at their disposal "bringing very different levels of personal commitment to the styles they speak (often 'putting on' different voices in parody, play etc), and of course this also applies with written uses of language" (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 5). This thought seems particularly apt in the context of portraying a speaker in a film and will be returned to below.

1.3. Translanguaging

The notion of language repertoires rather than knowing and using distinct languages is the basis of translanguaging, a concept related to or perhaps lying within the scope of language and superdiversity. Otheguy, García, and Reid (2015: 281) define it as follows: "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages" (quoted in: Blackledge and Creese 2017: 13). In the case of speakers traditionally referred to as bilingual or bidialectal, as well as speakers who are fluent in foreign languages and use these codes for different purposes, constructing a message in a particular social and situational context must be regarded as more profound than switching from one code to another like a machine: it is part of semiotics, communicating meaning together with extralinguistic signals such as body language (Blackledge and Creese 2017: 14). Translanguaging has been discussed above all in educational contexts with a view to studying the optimal ways of approaching multilingual students (mentioned by Sayers and Láncos 2017: 42).

1.4. Received Pronunciation

RP, despite being the most codified and widely described accent of English, often escapes attempts at a coherent and uncontroversial definition. Rather than trying to arrive at such a definition, it is perhaps better to mention two issues where attitudes

and ideologies clash the most. Firstly, RP is supposed to be an accent detached from regional features. Nonetheless, not only is it clearly connected to England, not Scotland, Wales or any other part of the UK, but it shares more features with south-eastern accents than with other varieties of English pronunciation (Giegerich 1992: 44); notable features include the lack of rhoticity, /ʌ/ clearly distinguished from /ʊ/ as in the minimal pair *luck* and *look*, /ɑː/ instead of /æ/ in words like *bath*, *pass* and the diphthong /əʊ/ starting with a mid-central vowel. An individual's accent may be slightly different from General RP, with only a few features of regional pronunciation and the majority of sounds typical of RP, in which case some linguists have attempted to devise labels like *Regional RP* (Gimson and Cruttenden 1994: 80-81, Wells 1982: 280-283, 297-301) to take this variation into account without imposing excessively rigid boundaries. Secondly, although RP was said to be an accent of the middle class or one devoid of strong class connotations, it soon became a marker of upper middle class or upper class speakers (Giegerich 1992: 44), people with particular backgrounds, educated in particular places and employed in particular professions (see section 2). The fact that for decades the BBC required a rather conservative or upper-class version of RP of its newsreaders and other announcers (Crystal 2004: 470) left its mark on popular attitudes towards RP in Britain and among foreign speakers of English abroad.

Although changes in RP have not been rapid, since the main objective of codification is to reduce linguistic synchronic variability and the speed of diachronic change, it should be borne in mind that the analysis undertaken in this paper deals with the RP of the 1980's, hence sources like Gimson and Cruttenden (1994) or Wells (1982) as used regularly in the main part of the analysis are wholly appropriate, perhaps even more so than a source dealing exclusively with the RP of the 2020s would be.

2. Margaret Thatcher's
pronunciation as a case study

Margaret Thatcher was a person who turned her way of speaking into a recognisable trademark. Born Margaret Roberts in Grantham, Lincolnshire in 1925, where she grew up among speakers of an East Midlands dialect and accent, Thatcher went to Oxford University, where she became increasingly involved in the activities of the Conservative Party. It is perhaps impossible to say with any degree of certainty when her pronunciation per se (as opposed to vocabulary, structures or speed of speaking) became her individual variety of a Conservative RP accent. What is certain, however, is that in Britain in the 1940s and 1950s, adopting an RP accent was more than welcome both at Oxford University (RP is still sometimes referred to as "Oxford English") and among the Conservatives, many of whom came from upper class or upper middle class families. RP was also often associated with men more than women as the accent of all-boys public schools such as Eton (Crystal 2004: 469) and a few decades earlier, with the upper ranks of the British army (as described by Henry Wyld in 1934, see Milroy 1999: 32-33). In other words, in many contexts RP was arguably more desirable than it is today and even its conservative version, which is usually associated with the royal family, was considered prestigious rather than "posh", "stiff upper lip" or socially "distant", attitudes that according to Crystal (2004: 472) appeared in the 1990s (see also Beal 2008: 29).

Thatcher succeeded in an environment dominated not only by the upper classes but also, perhaps more importantly, by men. In order to facilitate the process of breaking the glass ceiling and becoming the first woman Prime Minister of the UK, Thatcher adjusted her speech to the speech of the powerful men around her, in a process that sociolinguists call "accommodation" (Matthews 2007: 5) and in particular "upward convergence" (Kerswill 2001: 9). Wardhaugh (2006: 317) puts it as follows:

> There is also a very interesting example from English of a woman being advised to speak more like a man in order to fill a position previously filled only by men. Margaret Thatcher was told that her voice did not match her position as British Prime Minister: she sounded too "shrill". She was advised to lower the pitch of her voice, diminish its range, and speak more slowly, and thereby adopt an authoritative, almost monotonous delivery to make herself heard. She was successful to the extent that her new speaking style became a kind of trademark, one either very well-liked by her admirers or detested by her opponents.

Speaking "like a man" is interesting when we consider the fact that on some occasions parodies of Thatcher were done by male comedians: Harry Enfield in the comedy series *Harry and Paul*, the drag artist Baga Chipz in *RuPaul's Drag Race UK* and the voice of Steve Nallon in the satirical puppet show *Spitting Image*, both the 1980s original and the 2020 return of the show. The discussion below will not be concerned directly with the pitch of Thatcher's voice or her speed of speaking, even though it is sometimes impossible to separate such features from other aspects of pronunciation; rather, it will concentrate on the pronunciation of individual sounds.

3. Thatcher's pronunciation and its interpretation by Streep and Anderson

For the purposes of this article three video materials were analyzed: a 26-minute interview with Thatcher conducted by Jonathan Dimbleby on Thames TV and first aired on 4 June 1987 (ThamesTv 2018), scenes from the 2011 film *The Iron Lady*, starring Meryl Streep, and a 2020 episode of *The Crown* (Series 4, Episode 2), starring Gillian Anderson. In *The Iron Lady* Meryl Streep's performance follows two main timelines: Margaret Thatcher as an elderly lady (the film was completed over a year before Thatcher's death), constantly talking to the ghost of her husband Dennis, and a series of memories traversing her entire life, with Alexandra Roach playing the protagonist in her youth,

i.e., until the beginning of her political career. The words ana-
lyzed are only those said by Thatcher during her time as Prime
Minister, from 1979 to her last months in office in 1990. The
examined episode of *The Crown* takes place around the year
1980, when Thatcher and her husband were invited by the
Queen to Balmoral Castle amidst rising tensions in the cabinet
regarding spending cuts and other unpopular decisions made
by Thatcher at the time. By selecting those particular pieces of
the film and the series I made sure that the time depicted was
similar to the time when the Thames TV interview was pro-
duced.

An important disclaimer that must be made at this point is
that a phonetic analysis per se is not the most important point
of this paper: hence, I did not write down or transcribe every
word, nor did I use dedicated software to analyze the sound
waves. I noted down examples showing the presence or absence
of features typical of Conservative RP (also known as *Refined RP*
in Gimson and Cruttenden 1994) as opposed to changes which
were already taking place in RP in the last decades of the 20th
century (as described by Gimson and Cruttenden 1994, Kerswill
2007, Trudgill 2008). It could be argued that *conservative* and
refined or *upper-class* are not identical variants of RP, yet in
practice they share so many features that conflating these cat-
egories and using the terms interchangeably should not be seen
as controversial. Each example word provided below is accom-
panied by a time stamp. The amount of material studied and
the number of features discussed necessitated a less in-depth
analysis than one that would have been undertaken in a typical
paper on articulatory or acoustic phonetics. To provide an ex-
ample of the latter, van Buuren (1988) conducted a detailed
analysis of Thatcher's pronunciation in a fragment of an inter-
view on Dutch television; suffice it to say that just seventeen
lines of text provided him with enough material for an entire
paper on English pronunciation in connection with Thatcher's
individual accent and its implications for the listener. The focus
on sociophonetics in this paper, that is pronunciation as heard,

understood and interpreted by other speakers, is another argument for a simple study conducted by ear and by hand as opposed to one that could be made by means of speech analysis software.

The following section contains large fragments of the results, with particular emphasis laid on vowel sounds as the clearest indicators of accent variation, particularly regional (Giegerich 1992: 44). In some descriptions, lexical sets as devised by Wells (1982) are employed, all in capital letters, in order to facilitate the labelling of vowel phonemes. References to features which are older or more conservative than late 20th-century General RP are provided throughout.

3.1. Monophthong vowels

The first feature to discuss is the lack of HAPPY tensing: /ɪ/ is not realized as front close [i] in word final position or occasionally a morpheme final position inside a word but it is the vowel of KIT [ɪ] (Gimson and Cruttenden 1994: 82, 99, Trudgill 2008: 8-9). Thatcher uses this feature constantly, e.g., in *obviously* (0:38), *really* (0:55), *country* (1:17), *secondly* (1:57), *very* (2:01) and *undoubtedly* (3:57). Streep uses it in most instances, e.g., in *really* (57:33), *economy* (59:06), *Jeffrey* (59:30), *industry* (1:00:10) and *secretary* (1:11:20) but she also employs HAPPY tensing in some words, e.g., *guilty* (1:17:15). As for Anderson, HAPPY tensing is absent from some words, e.g., *very* (7:24), *hurry* (8:00), *especially* (11:38), *fundamentally* (29:40), whereas in many others it does occur: *opportunity* (7:20), *country* (7:40; 9:06) and *reality* (28:42).

The raising of the TRAP vowel /æ/ to a vowel close to DRESS [ɛ] is a feature typical of Conservative RP speakers, some of whom realize it as a diphthong [ɛə] or [ɛæ] (Gimson and Cruttenden 1994: 80, 103). Thatcher uses the raised monophthong realization in words like *married* (2:00), *happen* (3:21), *that* (3:26), *factor* (3:58), *shall* (4:55), *value* (7:04), *bad* (8:10) and *tax* (12:13), but not always: the TRAP vowel is clearly open, not

half-open, in: *factor* (3:21), *actual* (7:07) and *actually* (12:25). In Streep's speech the vowel is raised in some instances, e.g., *manage* (58:56), *that* (59:08), *fascist* (1:06:05), *stand* (1:08:45) and *families* (1:11:10), however it is usually open as in General RP, e.g., in *gang* (1:06:06) and *slackers* (1:17:21). In Anderson's pronunciation the raising can be heard only in *bag* (11:38), while all other occurrences contain the open vowel /æ/: *plans* (7:16), *stand* (8:21), *patronize* (9:00), *ambassadors* (9:40), *that* (18:23), *cabinet* (29:25) and *lack* (47:48).

The next feature is a degree of raising and lengthening of the RP vowel LOT /ɒ/ towards the vowel of THOUGHT /ɔː/. According to Gimson and Cruttenden (1994: 108-109), in selected words it is a feature of Conservative RP. Thatcher uses the raised and lengthened back vowel in some instances: *jobs* (1:57; 2:38), *go on* (2:54), *technology* (4:59), *longer* (5:48), *because* (8:23). However, in other cases it is /ɒ/ as in General RP: *lot* (1:57), *stop* (12:00), *colossal* (12:12), *possible* (14:21) and *communist* (16:09). Streep also uses the long and raised variant in some words, e.g., *wrong* (58:55; 1:14:15) or *prosper* (1:00:54); however, more often than not, she uses the General RP vowel /ɒ/, as in *slot* (1:16:20), *policies* (1:16:35) and *sovereignty* (1:17:45). Anderson, with the exception of the raised lengthened vowel in the word job (11:41), uses the short open vowel /ɒ/ consistently, e.g., in *borrowing* (7:28), *what* (8:20; 18:23), *country* (9:06), *God* (9:38) and *not* (21:12).

Lastly, the lack of GOOSE fronting is the use of the back vowel /uː/ instead of realizing it as a central [u̟ː] (Gimson and Cruttenden 1994: 114, Trudgill 2008: 7, see also Kerswill 2007). The central or even front realization of the vowel of GOOSE has become widespread among speakers in many parts of England, including those whose pronunciation is generally close to RP; hence the back realization of the vowel may be regarded as conservative. The lack of fronting is clear in Thatcher's speech, e.g., *continue* (1:06; 1:29), *do* (1:24; 2:44), *absolutely* (1:46), *school* (3:36), *fewer* (3:47), *reduce* (5:01), *communist* (16:09). Likewise, Streep pronounces /uː/ as a back vowel in *do* (59:07), *soon*

(1:07:35), *rue* (1:08:00), *unity* (1:14:00), as does Anderson in words like *solutions* (9:12), *rules* (11:58) and *do* (14:43).

3.2. Diphthongs

The analysis conducted for the purposes of this article originally included six RP diphthongs, however only the most note-worthy results are presented below. Firstly, the GOAT diphthong /əʊ/ beginning with a variant of a front vowel [ɛ], close to the DRESS vowel, is a distinguishing trait of Conservative RP (Gimson and Cruttenden 1994: 125), though interestingly, [oʊ] with a back and rounded initial vowel was pronounced by Conservative RP speakers in the more distant past (Trudgill 2008: 6, citing the 1962 edition of Gimson). Thatcher uses the fronted [ɛʊ] on a regular basis, e.g., in *hope* (1:26), *know* (2:22), *moment* (2:33), *most* (2:34), *ago* (3:40), *growth* (4:52) and *low* (6:40). In Streep's performance the first vowel is usually fronted as well, e.g., in *don't* (58:36), *chose* (59:02), *coal* (1:00:10) and *know* (1:02:00). Anderson, on the other hand, fronts the first vowel in some instances, e.g., *known* (7:40), *no* (11:28; 17:13), *don't* (12:15; 18:47), but not others, where she pronounces the GOAT diphthong as in General RP: *boldest* and *most* (7:35), *programmes* (7:37), *show* (12:10) and *whole* (18:23).

   Two other diphthongs which are typical markers of Conservative RP are the centring diphthongs, i.e., those in NEAR /ɪə/ and SQUARE /eə/. In both cases the schwa sound is clearly audible or realized as a full vowel, which contrasts with the more recent tendency to turn the sounds, particularly the SQUARE diphthong, into monophthongs (Gimson and Crut-tenden 1994: 132-133). The diphthong NEAR is pronounced by Thatcher in a conservative manner, e.g., in *clear* (1:46), *years* (2:51; 3:34), *year after year after year* (3:42), and so is the SQUARE diphthong, e.g., *fair* (7:17), *there* (7:32), *shares* (8:48), *affairs* (12:17, 12:19). Streep recreates this feature accurately; examples of the NEAR diphthong include *really* (57:33), *careers* (58:35), *hear* (1:17:35; 1:17:50), *here* (1:18:42), *realistically* (1:18:20), and

examples of the SQUARE diphthong are *where* (1:16:52), *care* (1:16:53) and *unprepared* (1:19:35). Likewise, Anderson pronounces the two sounds in a way close to Thatcher. The NEAR diphthong can be heard in *ideas* (9:09), *dear* (11:02), *hear* (13:40; 15:24), *here* (28:36), and the SQUARE diphthong in *wear* (11:57; 11:52), *care* (11:58) and *dare* (18:47).

The final centring diphthong that deserves a mention is CURE /ʊə/, the use of which has decreased significantly in RP over the past several decades, a process which is connected to the previous decline of the conservative diphthong /ɔə/ (Gimson and Cruttenden 1994: 134). The lack of monophthongization is perhaps not an upper-class feature but simply an older one. Although words with the CURE sound are not frequent and it is at times difficult to find a convincing number of instances, it is apparent that Thatcher herself, in the word *sure* (19:29), uses a monophthong, namely the THOUGHT /ɔː/ vowel. Streep does pronounce the CURE sound in *European* (1:17:48), probably owing to the preceding /j/, which generally constrains the process of monophthongization (Gimson and Cruttenden 1994: 134). Anderson's dialogue includes two examples, both of which contain the THOUGHT vowel: *poor* (48:24) and *endure* (58:31). The latter word has /j/; nonetheless, Anderson uses the monophthong variant.

3.3. Consonants and approximants

This section does not separate consonants from semi-vowels or approximants since at times the phonetic realizations cross the line between these categories of sounds. In the first instance, the approximant /r/ is realized as an alveolar tap [ɾ], particularly between vowels. It is important to note that Gimson and Cruttenden (1994: 187-188) do not label it as a feature of Conservative RP. Still, it is an older feature, a relic of the trilled [r] which can still be heard in Scottish English and some other British English accents. Thatcher often realizes the /r/ as a tap in the intervocalic position, e.g., in *very* (2:01; 2:30; 6:48),

everyone (12:40) and *every* (16:55), including as a linking /r/ in *there are* (19:40; 19:44). Occasionally, an ordinary approximant realization of intervocalic /r/ can also be heard, e.g., in *very* (2:14). In Streep's pronunciation the intervocalic tap occurs regularly, e.g., in *sorry* (57:44), *worrying* (1:07:23) and *America* (1:08:20), including the linking sound in *there are* (1:00:35)*, for a* (1:00:50) and *her own* (1:08:20). Anderson does not follow this pattern in that as far as the episode analyzed is concerned, she refrains from pronouncing a tapped variant of /r/ altogether.

One conservative shibboleth which is usually missing from Thatcher's pronunciation is the voiceless semi-vowel [ʍ] instead of [w] (sometimes described as [hw]) in words whose spelling contains the grapheme <wh>. Only one instance of the voiceless approximant can be heard in the interview, that is *why* (13:39). It is interesting that as far as the material analyzed is concerned, Streep pronounces [ʍ] more frequently than Thatcher, e.g., in *white* (1:09:10) and *what* (1:12:02), but not in words like *which* (1:06:10) or *what* (59:35). Anderson does not pronounce the voiceless variant whatsoever and thefollowing wh-words all contain a voiced [w]: *what* (7:32; 8:20; 11:40), *where* (10:57), *when* (11:52).

One feature which would perhaps require a lengthy description and will be discussed very briefly here is the use of the glottal stop [ʔ]. General and Conservative RP speakers avoid replacing the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ in some word positions with the glottal allophone, and indeed, the pronunciations of Thatcher, Streep and Anderson lack the glottal stop in this context. By contrast, the glottal stop preceding a word-initial vowel is common in speaking with emphasis; it is not an exclusive feature of RP. Thatcher pronounces it on several occasions, e.g., in *it* (5:02), *is* (5:05), *and* (5:31; 5:56), *obviously* (5:41), *always* (5:42), and *every* (16:55). Streep begins the word *I* with a glottal stop on three occasions (47:15; 1:25:20; 1:25:42), another word being *and* (58:55). Anderson uses this feature more than Streep, e.g., in *upper* (18:47), *am* (28:36), *anything* (29:15), *age* (47:40), *entitlement* (47:52).

3.4. Suprasegmentals and other features

One can agree with van Buuren (1988) that Thatcher's most characteristic suprasegmental and prosodic features are a rather monotonous, authoritative-sounding intonation with only a few rising tones and the quality known as breathy voice, particularly at the end of an utterance. Thatcher in the Thames TV interview uses those traits only to a certain degree, while both Streep and Anderson in scenes where the character of Thatcher becomes angry or anxious make them far more vivid. Throughout her performance in *The Crown* Anderson speaks exceedingly slowly, with numerous almost unnatural sounding pauses, in a very breathy voice and often gives the impression that her Thatcher is older than she was in the 1980s, visibly anxious, overworked and tired. It is a peculiar coincidence that Anderson's voice of sixty-year-old Thatcher sounds similar to Streep's voice of Thatcher in her eighties, i.e., in the main timeline of *The Iron Lady*.

4.   Discussion

4.1. Bi-accentism or trans-accentism?

In view of traditional linguistic categories, we may say simply that Thatcher herself and subsequently all those who played her in dramas or satirical parodies put on a different accent the way one puts on different clothes on different occasions. Here is a schematic representation of Thatcher's pronunciation in which she probably grew up speaking a form of East Midlands English in her working-class family and changed it into a form combining features of General RP and Conservative RP:

> Margaret Thatcher: Lincolnshire accent (probably) → RP (Conservative/General), narrow range or intonation, slow speed etc.

Meryl Streep, an educated native speaker of American English, was born in New Jersey and was exposed to the local pronunciation of American English. She speaks with a standardized American accent (General American). She observed Thatcher's pronunciation (as marked in curly brackets {…}) in order to play her accurately despite not being a native speaker of British English.

> Meryl Streep: American English pronunciation (local accents from New Jersey, a standard GA accent) → {Margaret Thatcher's accent}

Unlike Streep, Gillian Anderson can be considered bidialectal and bi-accented. She is American but spent a large part of her childhood in the UK. She also lived and worked in the USA before returning to the UK, and is known to speak British and American English equally fluently in interviews depending on where she is and to whom she speaks. Ben Smith of *Dialect Blog* devotes an entire blog post (Smith 26.04.2011) to Anderson's speech as an illustration of bi-accentism, noting that occasionally features of one of her accents can be heard in the other accent.

> Gillian Anderson: American English pronunciation (accents from Chicago, a standard GA accent) + British English (accents from London, RP/near-RP) → {Margaret Thatcher accent}

This method of classifying accent change appears to be neatly organized, however it leaves much to be desired. We do not know exactly which accent Thatcher used in her childhood or how she spoke on arrival at Oxford. Likewise, we do not know to what extent both actors discussed are native users of standard American English pronunciation or if they learnt it as adults, and whether Gillian Anderson really found it easier than Meryl Streep to play Thatcher just because she had lived in the UK as a child. Focusing on clear labels like *RP*, *GA* or *East Midlands* dialect or accent, imagining that a speaker switched from one

clearly defined code to another, changing her phonetics whole-sale when adopting or acting in another accent, does not, there-fore, seem to be a viable solution in describing speakers' indi-vidual linguistic journeys and choices.

Another problem, though less directly related to the topic at hand, is that of women's speech and men's speech. Claiming that women and men speak different varieties of English per-haps in a way comparable to Japanese (Wardhaugh 2006: 320) and that Thatcher abandoned her native "woman dialect" in fa-vour of the "man dialect" is also grossly inaccurate – to be fair, her idiolect did not sound exactly like the speech of male politi-cians around her.

4.2. Margaret Thatcher's pronunciation, superdiversity and translanguaging

The approach to language in society known as superdiversity arose thanks to the study of immigrants living in London. It is an interesting coincidence that Thatcher herself migrated from her hometown of Grantham to Oxford, where Standard English was required and RP allowed speakers to blend in rather than stand out, and subsequently to London, where as a member of the Conservative Party she was further motivated to cultivate her trademark speaking style based on a conservative variant of RP. The way Thatcher pronounced English, however, does not strictly follow the rules of what is commonly, though errone-ously, known as "the Queen's English", i.e., a conservative or aristocratic version of RP. Some Conservative RP shibboleths are present: the prevailing lack of HAPPY tensing or GOOSE fronting, the TRAP vowel raised to DRESS, the LOT vowel often made similar to the THOUGHT vowel, the diphthongs NEAR and SQUARE having clearly pronounced schwa vowels rather than being close to monophthongs, the GOAT diphthong beginning with a front mid vowel, not a central one. By contrast, some other features of a conservative variant of RP are missing: the CURE diphthong is substituted with the THOUGHT mono-

phthong, the flap consonant for intervocalic /r/ is used only occasionally, the /w/ in words like *which*, *what*, *where* is voiced, not voiceless or similar to [hw]. Speaking slowly, with few pauses, some strongly emphasized words and little variation in intonation is Thatcher's innovation as, arguably, it does not emulate either the Queen or any of the male politicians that surrounded her. Thatcher, with her story and multiple influences on her speech coming from different sources, wove the fabric of her speaking style out of various pronunciation features, some aristocratic, others generally standard but not upper-class, in order to perform successfully as a powerful politician and a voice of authority. That fabric became part of her semiotics, a message complementing the pitch of her voice and almost monotonous delivery; her body language: the degree of eye contact with her interlocutors, quick walking, deep curtsies to the Queen; her outfits, even her famous hairstyles.

Thatcher's accent is one interesting feature, however as regards the politicians around her, it is important to note that in her government some ministers spoke with accents other than RP, e.g., Norman Tebbit's pronunciation was that of Essex or Estuary English (Kerswill 2001: 57).

All of Thatcher's pronunciation features mentioned in this article were noticed and interpreted by the actors who played Thatcher. In parody and satire, the actor by definition shows an exaggerated, distorted image of the person they play. This in itself is an interesting topic (mocking of accents is mentioned by Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 8), but this is deliberately omitted from this study. In the dramas *The Iron Lady* and *The Crown*, on the other hand, despite a degree of poetic licence, the American actors perceived the character of Thatcher as a whole, received the semiotic message that she had carried by means of words, grammar, pronunciation, body language and other traits of importance to an actor, and used their own linguistic repertoire of active and passive knowledge of American English and British English to provide a rather truthful representation of Thatcher, her idiolect included. In the fragments

analyzed it is clear that some features of That-cher's accent were followed more diligently, some even exaggerated, while others were replaced with General RP (i.e., less conservative) features.

5. Conclusions

By weaving the aforementioned fabric of her semiotics, That-cher used translanguaging. Even though it did not involve separate, autonomous codes but varieties of the same language and their pronunciation, she took advantage of the different elements at her disposal in order to construct an image of herself to the outside world, part of the iron that made her "the Iron Lady". The American actors Meryl Streep and Gillian Anderson also constructed their own versions of Margaret Thatcher, though of course kept in check by their directors and having in mind the international target audience, perhaps not entirely familiar with the linguistic minutiae of Thatcher's speech or RP in general. To return to Blommaert and Rampton (2011: 5), linguistics should avoid discussing language varieties as monoliths:

> Research instead has to address the ways in which people take on different linguistic forms as they align and disaffiliate with different groups at different moments and stages. It has to investigate how they (try to) opt in and opt out, how they perform or play with linguistic signs of group belonging, and how they develop particular trajectories of group identification throughout their lives.

In this particular view of Thatcher's pronunciation and the actors that emulated her, even though for the sake of convenience I used such terms as *Standard English, General RP*, *Conservative RP, American English*, or *East Midlands/Lincolnshire English*, I hope to have shown that the individual linguistic histories of speakers and the way speakers play different roles throughout their lives may render such labels as names of dialects or accents perhaps not impractical or obsolete but more akin to convenient approximations that fail to do justice to the semiotic

complexity that speakers as individuals bring into their society, the communities in which they live and the networks in which they participate. After all, such labels are ideological constructs that facilitate our thinking but should not cloud our judgement in sociolinguistic research.

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LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

"Crossing the borders of own culture, stepping on frontiers": Textbooks and intercultural communication[1]

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Abstract

The article presents the results of an analysis of English textbooks used in Sweden and Poland and addresses questions related to their intercultural dimension. The textbooks were subject to content analysis performed with a tool created specifically for this study and providing both qualitative and quantitative data. The findings show some significant differences between textbooks used in the two countries, highlighting the ways Swedish textbooks promote issues related to an intercultural perspective and showing the relative drawbacks of the Polish sample in this respect. The comparative character of the analysis allows for reflection on the role of textbooks in crossing intercultural borders with regard to teaching particular values in different cultural contexts as well as improvements that might be made in this field. The conclusions resulting from the comparative analysis may prove both useful and inspirational for textbook authors and teachers and, in many ways, innovative in the context of promoting intercultural values in education.

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[1] The quotation used in the title comes from Nikitorowicz (2007: 47).

Keywords

"Przekraczanie granic własnej kultury, wychodzenie na pogranicza" – podręczniki i komunikacja międzykulturowa

Abstrakt

Artykuł przedstawia wyniki analizy polskich i szwedzkich podręczników w kontekście ich wymiaru międzykulturowego. Podręczniki zostały poddane analizie treści przeprowadzonej za pomocą narzędzia stworzonego specjalnie na potrzeby tego badania i dostarczającego zarówno danych jakościowych, jak i ilościowych. Wyniki świadczą o istotnych różnicach między podręcznikami używanymi w obu krajach, wskazując sposoby, w jakie szwedzkie podręczniki promują kwestie związane z perspektywą międzykulturową oraz słabe strony polskiej próby w tym aspekcie. Porównawczy charakter analizy pozwala na refleksję nad rolą podręczników w przekraczaniu granic międzykulturowych, nauczaniu wartości w różnych kontekstach kulturowych, a także na doskonalenie praktyki edukacyjnej w tej dziedzinie. Wnioski wynikające z analizy porównawczej mogą być przydatne zarówno dla autorów podręczników, jak i nauczycieli, jako inspirujące i pod wieloma względami innowacyjne w kontekście promowania wartości międzykulturowych w edukacji.

Słowa kluczowe

1. Introduction

Although contemporary education relies to a great degree on various teaching aids rooted in information technology, the use

of textbooks seems not to be at risk. Either in paper or in digital form, they are commonly used in classrooms all over the world, delivering a particular content which not only broadens learners' knowledge but also shapes their skills and attitudes. Whatever subjects the textbooks are intended for, they provide learners with factual information and transmit the system of norms and values which dominate in a given society (see e.g., Barrow 1990, Hatoss 2004, Woodward 1994). As it might be less evident in science-related subjects, the courses devoted to linguistic, social or cultural studies give significant opportunities to teach and learn dominant paradigms of culture. Thus, textbook research can be focused on specific didactic aspects but can also be directed towards a cultural perspective in order to "uncover cultural codes" (Pingel 2010: 76) or "to map the meanings encoded in the textual and visual choices made in the textbook" (Weninger 2018: para. 2). As foreign language acquisition is inseparable from learning the culture and has a significant impact on intercultural perspective (Damen 1987, Chamberlin-Quinlisk and Senyshyn 2012, Savva 2017), the focus of our analysis was on the way English textbooks in two countries, Poland and Sweden, promote particular socio-cultural values which might or might not contribute to opening up ways for intercultural understanding. The choice of the textbooks from these two countries was determined by their linguistic coverage, but the main reason for choosing Swedish textbooks resulted from the fact that they are designed and published by Swedish publishers, for the Swedish market. This factor makes them quite unique, as in most European countries, including Poland, schools use materials published for the global market by publishers operating worldwide (for example Macmillan, Pearson, Oxford University Press). Equally important was the fact that although in both countries the textbooks are designed to teach the same language, we assumed they might transmit different sets of values. The degree to which these sets of values are correlated with the intercultural dimension of education was the main aim of the analysis. The comparative character of the research might be its

additional asset, as, although textbooks have been subjected to a multi-faceted culture-related analysis (see below), not many of the studies focused on comparing transmitted values (Lee and Manzon 2014). We hope our analysis will contribute to fill this gap and play an inspirational role for researchers and teachers.

2. Theoretical framework

In connection with theory, the presented analysis anchored in critical pedagogy with its notion of a hidden curriculum on the one hand and concepts related to teaching intercultural values on the other. The hidden curriculum is defined as the element of education that refers to the *unspoken curriculum* (Holly, 1990), "unintended outcomes of the schooling process" (McLaren 2009: 75) or "unstated norms, values and beliefs that are transmitted to students through the underlying rules that structure routines and social relationships in school and classroom life" (Giroux 2001: 47). Thus, the elements of a hidden curriculum, although not planned or declared in the official program, shape the opinions and attitudes of the participants of the system of education, perpetuating in an indirect way the values and attitudes of the dominant culture (see Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, Chomczyńska-Rubacha and Pankowska 2011, Janowski 1989, Meighan 1993). In the context of textbooks and their intercultural aspects, a relevant explanation of the hidden curriculum was offered by Byram, Gribkova and Starkey (2002: 21), who stated as follows:

> Grammatical exercises can reinforce prejudice and stereotypes or challenge them. For instance female subjects may be linked to stereotypically female activities or actions (Mary likes cooking; John likes football); stereotyping generalizations may be encouraged about groups (The French like…; Germans are…; Older people…).

The hidden curriculum, particularly its presence in textbooks, has been the subject of numerous studies whose authors concentrated on such dimensions as gender, ethnicity or religion, to give just a few examples (for further examples see Ahmed and Narcy-Combes 2011, Aliakbari 2005, Barton and Sakwa 2012, Brugeilles and Cromer 2009, Chmura-Rutkowska *et al.* 2016, Harrison 1990, Lee 2011, Pogorzelska 2016).

Regarding the (inter)cultural aspects, our research draws upon the view of culture as consisting of five inter-correlated dimensions: products, practices, communities, perspective and persons (see Moran 2001). We focused on the last dimension – persons – as the direct subject of the examination. This choice was dictated by the fact that it is persons who "embody the culture and its communities in unique ways" (Moran 2001: 15). Another reason for choosing persons is their crucial role in developing the inter(cultural) competences of learners (Kim and Paek 2015, Moran, 2001), as investigating people's identity means also recognizing their multi-faceted cultural affiliation which can effectively combat "stereotyping which accompanies perceiving someone through a single identity" (Byram, Gribkova and Starkey 2002: 9).

3. Methodology

The focus on persons and values they represent in connection with the intercultural dimension created the conceptual ground for the research questions. In addition to the theoretical concepts listed above, the guiding principles of the methodology were derived from Byram, Gribkova and Starkey's (2002) definition of intercultural communication as based on "respect for individuals and equality of human rights as the democratic basis for social interaction [...]" (p. 9). Referring to developing the intercultural dimension in language teaching, Byram, Gribkova and Starkey's (2002: 10) stated that:

> [it] involves recognizing that the aims are: to give learners intercul-
> tural competence as well as linguistic competence; to prepare them
> for interaction with people of other cultures; to enable them to un-
> derstand and accept people from other cultures as individuals with
> other distinctive perspectives, values and behaviours; and to help
> them to see that such interaction is an enriching experience.

The above reflection on intercultural communication has been described metaphorically by another author as "crossing the borders of one's own culture, stepping on frontiers (cultural bor-derlines) to come back internally enriched [...]" (Nikito-rowicz 2007: 47).

Thus, the research questions arising from the theory were as follows:

1. What values do the selected characters embody in the textbooks used in Poland and in Sweden?
2. Is there a difference between the textbooks used in the two coun-tries in the values the characters present?
3. To what degree does the choice of characters in the textbooks allow the development of learners' intercultural competence and contribute to cultural understanding in the two countries?

All of the analyzed textbooks were chosen on the basis of Inter-net research in which the most popular textbooks in leading In-ternet bookshops were identified. Having selected the textbooks, we carried out interviews with teachers of secondary schools in Karlstad (Sweden) and Opole (Poland) which confirmed the choice of textbooks as a representative sample. Finally, the re-search was based on four textbooks from each country, further referred to as the "Polish sample" and the "Swedish sample". The selected textbooks represent the intermediate level, but it is worth mentioning that the widely used CEFR levels are not em-phasized in the Swedish curriculum, so finding the relevant sample for comparison posed a number of problems. Having chosen the Swedish textbooks at the mentioned language level, all used in the last classes of lower secondary education in

Sweden (last grade of primary school and the first grade of secondary school in Poland) and having made an initial analysis of the textbooks used in Poland at the same educational level, the potential irrelevance of such a comparison was verified. In the Polish sample the number of characters qualifying for the analysis was much lower than in the Swedish textbooks, so, if conducted, the Polish component of the analysis could severely lack relevant examples. Thus, the authors decided to choose textbooks used in Poland in secondary schools only, as in all the crucial aspects (the number of characters, length of texts and language level) they resembled the Swedish textbooks.

Concentrating on persons meant the authors of this article had to determine who exactly (what kind of textbook characters) would be subject to the analysis. The first idea to focus on all characters appearing in the books was modified after initial close reading and re-reading of the material. The main reason for this change was the adoption of a sociocultural approach to the exploration of content, which requires identifying "cultural themes" (personal, social, religion/ arts/ humanities, political systems/ institutions, environmental) in the examined material (Ramirez and Hall, 1990). It turned out that many of the characters presented on the pages of the textbooks are shown in ways that are hard to recognize or distinguish, which made it difficult or impossible to apply the sociocultural approach that required an examination of the different aspects of a person's identity. Because of this, the characters chosen for the analysis included those people who really existed and who could be defined as publicly known and/or famous. In some cases, when the characters' public existence was uncertain, we relied on Internet resources to confirm both their real existence and their public recognition. Such a choice of the examined characters gave us an opportunity to characterize them in a more detailed way, comprising different aspects of their identity (for example, if the textbook article lacked information on a known character's colour of skin or nationality, it was possible to complete this information using other sources). To a great degree, as the

assessment of characters was connected with the analysis of the values they represent, we relied on Lester's concepts of examining characters' values in literary texts, ba-sed on Rokeach's values classification (Lester 1982, Rokeach 1968, 1973), which recognizes instrumental and terminal values.

The textbooks were subject to content analysis performed with a tool created specifically for this study and providing both qualitative and quantitative data. The latter were obtained with the application of a coding book, comprising coding categories allowing the characters' description and frequency of appearance of their particular features (e.g., gender, nationality, ethnicity, colour of the skin, social role, profession) to be identified. All depictions of the selected persons were also subject to a qualitative analysis focused on the cultural themes they represented in relation to the intercultural dimension.

In our analysis a character qualified for further examination if his or her depiction was not just a simple mention but a "description beyond sentence level" (Toprak and Aksoyalp 2015: 96) In this way, the basic characters' features referring to the research questions were traceable. Thus, the characters elected for the study were present in passages defined as logical, consistent texts (such as emails, blog entries, advertisements, letters, reading passages, or short notes) and were distinguished individually rather than collectively (as a group or a pair). The length of the passages varied considerably as did the depth of the persons' description; however, for the purpose of the study the availability of information on each character's social role and activities within this role made them eligible for further examination.

4.   Results

4.1. Quantitative indicators

The first set of data comprised of quantitative indicators related to various aspects of the characters' identities. The main

categories used in the quantitative analysis were as follows: gender, geographical origin, colour of skin, main social role in the text, a number of social roles mentioned or indicated in the text and represented values. Out of the total number of 56 characters identified in the Polish textbooks and 59 in their Swedish counterparts, the distribution of the characters by their gender showed that although in both samples there is a predominance of male characters, the quantitative gap between textbooks is wider in the Polish sample. Women made up only a quarter of all figures in the Polish sample whereas in the Swedish sample their number was one third. What is interesting, in the Swedish textbooks there was a place for a drag queen, identified as queer and serving as an embodiment of the insufficiency of simple gender divisions (TB2: 24-27).[2] The results from this area of analysis are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Distribution of characters by their gender

Gender	Polish sample	Swedish sample
Men	75 %	66.1 %
Women	25 %	32.2 %
Queer	---	1.7 %

As for another important element of the characters' identities – their geographical origin, the distribution of that aspect was quite similar in both samples regarding general tendencies. Approximately 57 % of all the characters came from various European countries. The differences in the remaining 43 %, however, indicated more diversity in the textbooks used in Sweden, particularly concerning characters from African countries, as is illustrated in Table 2.

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[2] Information relating to the textbooks is followed by the assigned number of the book (TB) to which it relates to and the relevant pages. The titles of the textbooks to which each number is assigned are placed at the end of the text.

Table 2

Distribution of characters by their origin

Characters by their origin	Polish sample (representatives of 14 countries)	Swedish sample (representatives of 19 countries)
European countries	57.1 %	57.6 %
North American countries	35.7 %	28.8 %
Asian countries	---	1.7 %
African countries	5.3 %	10.1 %
Other continents	---	---

Moreover, the proportions related to skin colour distributed among the characters showed twice as many of them as black (17 %) in the Swedish sample, compared with 8.9 % in the text-books used in Poland.

During the coding process the characters were also examined with respect to their social roles. In connection with this, the coding focused on the main social role as indicated in the text as well as the total number of roles performed. In the whole analysis, 48 different social roles (related to the characters' professions, family or social status) were identified. The analysis of the number of social roles fulfilled by particular characters showed their quantitative predominance in the Swedish sample, where up to 30.5 % of the characters were described in reference to three or more social roles compared with 21.4 % by the same indicator in the Polish sample. Given the variety and dispersion of roles, the comparisons between the two samples were limited, but some regularities may be traced. Most of them will be discussed in the section devoted to the qualitative analysis, but as for the quantitative indicators, the visible traits are presented in Table 3. The categories identified were only presented in the table if their frequency exceeded 10 % in at least one sample.

Table 3

Distribution of characters by the specificity

of the main roles they perform

Main role related to	Polish sample	Swedish sample
artistic activity*	**30.5 %**	16.9 %
social activity**	8.9 %	**28.8 %**
inventing things	5.3 %	15.2 %
science	14.2 %	5 %
sport	12.5 %	10.2 %
other roles (e.g., family roles, business, various professions)	28.6 %	23.9 %
* The characters in this category: actor, actress, writer, composer, singer, musician, artist, designer, film director. ** The characters in this category: social campaigner or activist, politician, whistleblower.		

The main part of the presented analysis refers to values represented by the textbook characters who were chosen. Ascribing character to a specific value was done after we examined how the person was depicted, including behaviour, activities, declarations, or reactions to events. Following Lester and Rokeach's classification (see Lester 1982: 323-326), the characters were coded with regard to instrumental and terminal values. After the initial coding, we decided to focus only on terminal values, which indicated the person's life goals. This choice was determined by the fact that the instrumental values in numerous cases were similar to each other and their meaning could be interpreted in different ways. Thus, assigning a character to a concrete value (expressed in adjectives, like *intellectual, capable, creative*) was burdened with subjectivity and resulted in discrepancies during coding. On the other hand, coding terminal values allowed for a high interrater reliability and showed a high degree of compatibility as the interpretation referred to the main message carried by the character as described in the text. Moreover, in the context of this research, the terminal values were ones which could clearly indicate possible differences in the promoted systems of values in the two samples as well as

the intercultural potential of the characters. Table 4 below, presents the terminal values ascribed to the characters in both samples. The categories were distinguished and presented in the table only if their frequency exceeded 10 % in at least one sample.

Table 4

Distribution of characters by terminal values

Terminal values in the Polish sample	Terminal values in the Swedish sample
1. sense of accomplishment (53.5 %)	1. equality and freedom (33.1 %)
2. equality and freedom (10.7 %)	2. sense of accomplishment (15.2 %)
3. world of beauty* (3.6 %)	3. world of beauty (10.1 %)
*the "world of beauty" category refers to "beauty of nature, well-composed/well-formed world" (Lester 1982: 326). In the context of this research, the category comprised the characters whose activity was focused on environmental protection.	

In the Polish sample, the majority of characters (53.5 %) embodied a sense of accomplishment: they were shown as people who had succeeded, for example, in the entertainment business, science or sport. The same category (a sense of accomplishment) was ascribed only to about 15 % of the characters in the Swedish sample in which, in comparison, values related to equality and freedom distinguished a large proportion of the characters (33.1 %). The third position in the Swedish sample was occupied by characters whose activity was aimed at creating or preserving nature (10.1 %) whereas, in the case of the Polish sample, it was impossible to single out one coherent group in this category, as the representations were scattered among various other values.

4.2. Qualitative analysis

The qualitative analysis of the Polish and the Swedish textbooks revealed several tendencies regarding how various values are illustrated, which values predominate and which values are similar or different in both study groups. In the Polish sample there are two dominant values, while in the Swedish sample, three values are revealed. There is a clear difference, however, in the quality of representation of these particular values in both samples.

The value prevailing in the Polish textbooks is a sense of accomplishment, which is embodied in the characters described as people whose main feature is the achievement of success in science (by inventing or discovering something), art and entertainment (acting, directing, painting, creating music), business (setting up a successful company) or sport (being a champion, winning medals). In most cases the successes are described without any socio-cultural context – they are typical "success stories", supported with facts, yet lacking reflection on their possible cost, side-effects or long-term consequences for society. The exceptions are texts about people who somehow exceeded their limits determined by a disability and achieved spectacular success. In this category there is Christy Brown (suffering from cerebral palsy, the author of *My left foot*, TB8: 28), Helen Keller (a blind and deaf woman, an author and a speaker, TB8: 29) and Billy Bob Thornton (an actor from a disadvantaged social group, TB8: 29). Their stories are not just descriptions of "success for success" but are situated against a specific socio-cultural background, although brief in its description. In comparison, a sense of accomplishment is represented by far fewer characters in the Swedish sample. Nevertheless, the ones who reflect it are presented within quite a rich context, either related to exceeding one's own limits because of, for instance, disability (Margaret Maughan, the first gold medalist in the Paralympic Games in Britain, TB4: 94), being rejected (Jennie Finch, a softball player, TB4: 108), grieving after the death of a parent (Danil

Ishutin, a computer games champion, TB4: 95) or facing a life crisis (Jim Braddock, a boxer, TB6: 23). All of these people are shown through biographies in which their accomplishment is the result of some event, leading to other activities and posing questions to the value of the success itself. In the Swedish sample this category also includes characters whose accomplishment was related to improving the life of a particular community; for instance, the story of Peter Kariuki and Barrett Nash who created a safe, cheap, reliable and efficient motorbike taxi service in Rwanda (TB2: 98).

The leading values in the Swedish sample are equality and freedom. Analysis of the character selection made by the textbook authors indicated some interesting features. A distinctive group of textbook heroes are persons involved in actions aimed at promoting gender equality. One of them, the actress Emma Watson, is presented on the pages of the textbook as a United Nations Women Goodwill Ambassador, who delivers a speech to launch a UN campaign called HeForShe. In the speech she recalls her development as a feminist through different personal experiences, deconstructs the myths around feminism, lists areas of social life marked by gender inequality and finally invites men to participate in the feminist movement (TB2: 52). Moreover, promoting gender equality on the pages of the Swedish sample also includes questions related to sexual identity. The story of an unusual alliance between Welsh miners and LGBT activists who supported one another in the battle for their rights in the1980s can serve as an example of how these issues are presented. Apart from the description of the situation of the two social groups, similar in that they were both deprived of basic rights, it is also the story of human solidarity across divisions. Furthermore, equality in the Swedish sample was also promoted by characters whose activities are aimed at minimizing inequalities resulting from a lack of basic resources. Representative characters are, for example, young people from different African countries whose inventions or initiatives provided their communities with energy, food or economic support (TB2:

96-98). An example is Tolu-Sola-Aydemi, a teenage lobbyist who through his activities wanted to "raise awareness of important issues and push people in power to make changes" (TB2: 99).

What is more, in the context of equality and freedom, the issue of racism is explored in the Swedish sample with the examples of such leaders as Martin Luther King or Barack Obama. The authors of the texts describe these characters set against ideas promised by the American Dream, on the one hand, and the colonial context, on the other. Colonization, presented as a disaster both for Native Americans and Africans and resulting in slavery, serves as the background to introduce Martin Luther King through a famous speech he gave connected to this issue (TB4: 31). The topic is continued by presenting another character, Barack Obama, as the president trying to "get back to the original ideas that created the American Dream" (TB4: 33). Again, his ideas are not just described but expressed by the character himself in his speech (TB4: 33). The collection of the characters associated with freedom and equality with respect to race is enriched by the story of Mary Prince – whose autobiography as a black woman and slave was the first of its kind and played an important role in ending slavery in the British Empire (TB4: 82). Mary Prince's narrative in the textbook gives the readers not only an insight into her contribution to human rights issues but also to the injustice and cruelty of the everyday life of a slave (TB4: 84). Another character worth mentioning within the freedom and equality category is Harry Leslie Smith. The extracts of his speech, delivered in support of a National Health Service in Britain (TB2: 62), refer to him experiencing extreme poverty and witnessing terrible diseases, which tortured and/or killed people in his neighborhood and family, because of a lack of medical care, which was available only to the rich. Finally, on the pages of the Swedish sample, readers can find Edward Snowden, described as a whistleblower who, fed up and disgusted with his professional activity revealing the personal secrets of people and doing an illegal job for a legal government, decided to disclose to the general public what he was doing (TB7: 46).

Equality and freedom are embodied in the Polish sample by very few characters, none of whom are directly involved in promoting issues of equality, although a form of voice in the matter of gender equality can be found in the statement of a child psychologist who talks about the harmful effects on a child's personality of identifying girls with the colour pink and boys with the colour blue: it could lead to a limiting of their life choices. Nonetheless, her opinion is counterbalanced in the same paragraph with a reference to other experts who "argue that colours have no influence on our personalities" (TB3: 39). As for issues related to racism, a seemingly representative character is Nelson Mandela. However, in the text in which Mandela is introduced, readers are only given general information about his activity. Could this mean that the authors assumed that learners would have some basic knowledge about the situation in South Africa or that Polish teenagers are not interested in discussing social issues? For example, Mandela is presented as a person who dreamt "that one day all people in Africa would become equal", while his "involvement in politics and anti-white majority protests" (TB1: 241) is shown without any context. Readers might ask why Africa needs equality and what the reasons for the protests were, but the context of colonialism is not explained so that it is doubtful such a question would be raised.

A different illustration of the value of equality, this time regarding social and/or economic inequality, is Janina Ochojska. In the Polish sample she appears twice as the representative of a charity organization which helps people in countries affected by wars or natural disasters (TB1: 240; TB5: 9), however, her depiction also lacks any context: "Not only does she go to the aid of victims of natural disasters, but also builds wells for the inhabitants of South Sudan and helps the underprivileged in Poland" (TB5: 9). Again, it could be hypothesized that the potential context could, for example, comprise the Western contribution to environmental disaster or, in the case of Poland, developing an understanding of the reasons for people being "underprivileged", but these strands are missing, thus questions

regarding these issues are avoided. Equally superficial is a short reference to Gerald Holtom, the designer of the peace symbol. As we read, the symbol "spread all over the world, among others to the USA, where it was used as a symbol of peace and anti-war movements" (TB1: 241). The potential questions of why it fell on fertile ground in America or what war it was connected with are not addressed. An exception to this argument that the Polish sample lacks a clear social/cultural context representing the value of equality and freedom is a text which focuses on William Kamkwamba, a character actively working for his community; a person who "harnessed the wind" by building a wind-mill and providing his village with electricity (TB8: 79).

The third terminal value that appears to predominate in the Swedish textbooks and which is absent in the Polish textbooks is the world of beauty meaning the appreciation and protection of the natural environment. The Swedish sample shows characters who create innovative solutions for the environment (e.g., a bin from recycled materials for chewing gum, biodegradable cutlery, a carboard bicycle, clearing oceans of plastic garbage, creating clothes by upcycling old things or designing houses with respect for the environment). In comparison, in the textbooks used in Poland, only three out of the 56 characters identified are somehow engaged in rescuing animals; for instance, two of them run their own zoo, taking care of animals in need (TB5: 102; TB3: 65), while the environmental interest of the third character, Stella McCartney, is mentioned as just one among the other fields of her activity related mainly to designing clothes, operating stores, being a creative director and making perfumes and cosmetics (TB3: 114).

Examining the textbooks used in Poland, a tendency worth noticing is the appearance of characters who have the potential to convey an important message related to intercultural values, thus promoting socio-cultural diversity and sensitivity. Unfortunately, this potential is not pursued but is even neglected or erased. Descriptions of the same or similar characters in textbooks from the two countries can serve as a good illustration.

One of them is Emma Watson, whose presence in the Swedish sample was accompanied by a multidimensional introduction of gender equality issues. The same person in the Polish sample is presented as involved in designing fair-trade clothing, but also as "one of the most frequently photographed women in the world" (TB5: 54), drawing attention to her physical attributes and omitting her feminist engagement. Meanwhile, a person who could be an example of a woman who succeeded thanks to her great intellectual skills, Marie Skłodowska-Curie, is presented in one of the Polish textbooks in an irrelevant way. Her short biography is focused on her romantic life and not on her scientific achievements. The text begins as follows: "There were two loves in Marie Skłodowska-Curie's life", after which readers are given a description of the problems in her personal life and her love-affairs, such as her relationship with Pierre Curie ("a brilliant scientist") with whom she worked and went on long bicycle rides, as well as creating the ideal couple. Being the Nobel prize winner in Che-mistry and Physics is given simply as additional information to all the personal details (TB8: 37). The "intercultural potential" of characters seems to be neglected in other cases as well. The enterprise such as the Virtual Choir, created by Eric Whitacre, is described rather as a technical challenge than a powerful means of connecting and integrating people from all corners of the world (TB1: 149). In one of the tex books there is a story of a slave that could be compared with the one from the Swedish sample described above. Unfortunately, the story of Solomon Northup is limited to his description as a free black man who, having led a happy life, was kidnapped and sold as a slave. The fact that he was also an activist for abolitionism is not mentioned in the text (TB3: 102). Another character, Banksy, famous for his sharp criticism of politicians and politics, is depicted in a superficial way that does not give any insight into his very definite political views (TB3: 104). Moreover, the presentation of Mark Boyle is similar. He is described as a person living without money and serves as an illustration of an eccentric. Mark Boyle's attitude towards money,

rooted in his deep political engagement in the *Freeconomy Community,* is not mentioned in the text (TB3: 124). In this vein, Helen Keller is described as being politically active, without any reference to her involvement in the Socialist Party of America campaigns for women's suffrage, labor rights, socialism and antimilitarism (TB8: 29).

5. Discussion and conclusions

The comparative analysis of the two samples of didactic materials for teaching English from Poland and Sweden shows some significant differences with respect to the values which are promoted, particularly concerning the intercultural perspective.

Firstly, in the textbooks used in Sweden there is a smaller gender gap related to the number of characters, who also perform more social roles and are more culturally diverse as far as their origin and colour of skin is concerned. Learners see these characters as multi-dimensional and performing different social roles. Furthermore, as for the values represented by the characters, the difference between the two samples highlights two different approaches to what are viewed as desirable values and this difference has much to do with the intercultural dimension. The sense of accomplishment expressed by the characters in the Polish sample is related to promoting the value of economic success, a professional career and either material wealth or its symbolic dimension, like fame. The characters do not contest the world; they foster adjustment rather than any kind of transformation. On the other hand, in the Swedish sample the predominance of values connected with equality and freedom carries a contrasting message as they clearly embody faith in an individual's role in changing the world. Approximately a third of the characters are involved in social or political activity but the total number of the ones shown as engaged in various social actions is even higher reaching almost 50 % (while it is only 20 % in the Polish sample). In this group it is possible to distinguish people who fight for gender equality, including LGBT community

rights, racial discrimination or equal access to resources (energy, health system, jobs).

In contrast, in the Polish sample it is not possible to find explicit and clearly defined characters engaged in anything, let alone issues perceived as "controversial" (racial, gender, environmental). Most of the characters are presented without a wi-der context which would give the learners an opportunity to reflect on universal problems: violence, inequality, discrimination, colonization, poverty or refugee crises. The world shown through the lens of the textbook, without any references to current problems, is sterile and one-dimensional. It is striking too, how an analysis of textbooks in Poland in the 1980s fits the current Polish sample:

> The world around, without social inequalities and technological backlog, is demonstrated as complete and ready-to-use […] with all the problems solved and as such it remains immobilized in time, resembling a realized utopia. As there is nothing to change or repair in this world, it does not appear as a challenge or a field of potential activity […] (Szacka 1987: 144-145).

In the Polish sample the characters harmonize with this vision, being shown as if they are "ready-made", "complete" or "frozen" The focus is solely on accomplishment and unquestionable facts rather than the process of change allowing for variety and a multidimensional perspective. This may mean the development of the reflective skills of learners who are recipients of this kind of content will not be prompted or worse still, blocked, because they are not shown the complexity and intersectionality of different elements of personality. In comparison, the Swedish sample shows a number of characters who embody one textbook protagonist's words:

> There is freedom outside the box […]. The truth who you are is not defined by your clothes […] You are not your religion. You are not your skin color. You are not your gender, your politics, your career,

or your marital status. You are none of the superficial things that this world deems important (TB2: 24-27).

These words, expressed by one character of a Swedish textbook RuPaul (presented as a spokesperson for LGBT rights and a drag queen) are emblematic of other characters in the Swedish sample. Representing different cultural backgrounds, identities and minorities they make learners challenge their perception of cultural diversity and pave the way for deep intercultural understanding.

Moreover, as Byram *et al.* (2002: 22) noticed:

One important contribution to an intercultural perspective is the inclusion of vocabulary that helps learners talk about cultural diversity. This can include terms such as: human rights; equality; dignity; gender; bias; prejudice; stereotype; racism; ethnic minority; and the names of ethnic groups, including white groups.

Presenting characters in the way that dominates in the Polish sample actually deprives learners of this kind of vocabulary, limiting their ability to reflect on the issues mentioned above and, if need be, to express their views. In the Swedish sample, on the other hand, the characters, whose activity is often related to political or social activities, can have a substantial impact on raising students' awareness related to equality, democracy, solidarity, cultural diversity and allowing them to practice self-expression in these topics.

The two samples stem from different socio-cultural contexts but, as any learning is inseparably connected with an intercultural perspective, presenting the Swedish approach might be useful for both textbook authors and teachers as inspirational and, in many ways, innovative, providing learners with a chance to face and discuss intercultural issues in the classroom. In this way, crossing the borders of their familiar culture with its tradi-tions, habits but also stereotypes and prejudices, both teachers and students might enter cultural borderlines – the

moments of creative and enriching reflection opening ways for understanding and the acceptance of human diversity.

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ELF-sensitive teaching from the perspective of Polish trainee teachers

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Abstract

The advance of English as a lingua franca (ELF) is believed to carry implications for English language teaching and language assessment. The present contribution is an attitudinal study carried out among trainee teachers of English in a Polish university setting. The study sets out to investigate whether trainee teachers have a positive attitude towards ELF-sensitive teaching and whether their receptiveness (or lack thereof) to the concept in question is reflected in how they approach correcting language forms regarded as regular features of ELF. The findings show that there are elements of ELF pedagogy that respondents seem to be enthusiastic about – they readily acknowledge the importance of accommodation skills and they want students in the classroom to be exposed to many different non-standard English varieties. As regards the correction of non-standard English, respondents display a norm-driven approach, especially when teaching a student who they need to help pass an examination in the near future. In the conclusion of the paper, it is stated that respondents react positively to some aspects of ELF-sensitive teaching, but they show strong attachment to native-speaker norms, accuracy and the traditional notion of *error*, which is reflected in their approach to correcting non-standard language items.

Keywords

English as a lingua franca, ELF-sensitive teaching, features of ELF, correcting non-standard English

Język angielski jako *lingua franca* z perspektywy przyszłych nauczycieli anglistów

Abstrakt

Artykuł dotyczy tematu rozpowszechnienia języka angielskiego jako języka komunikacji międzynarodowej (*English as a lingua franca*, w skrócie *ELF*) i jego ewentualnych implikacji dla dydaktyki tego języka. W literaturze przedmiotu szereg badań poświęcono zmianom w podejściu do nauczania angielskiego, które, jak dowodzi się, powinny mieć miejsce, aby podczas lekcji języka angielskiego uczeń mógł być skutecznie przygotowywany do komunikacji międzynarodowej. Celem badania przedstawionego w tym artykule jest analiza, czy przyszli nauczyciele języka angielskiego akceptują postulaty dotyczące nauczania które czerpie z paradygmatu ELF oraz jakie jest ich podejście do niestandardowego użycia języka angielskiego przez uczniów. Badanie przeprowadzone zostało na grupie dziewięćdziesięciu trzech studentów studiów magisterskich kierunku nauczycielskiego. Wyniki badania pokazały, że respondenci akceptują niektóre z postulatów nowego paradygmatu, lecz niestandardowe użycie języka jest postrzegane przez nich w tradycyjny sposób jako błąd wymagający korekty ze strony nauczyciela.

Słowa kluczowe

język angielski jako *lingua franca*, dydaktyka ELF, niestandardowe użycie języka angielskiego

1. Literature review

Research on ELF (English as a lingua franca) is extensive and encompasses a number of areas of interest. As the focus of the

present paper is the involvement of ELF in ELT (English language teaching), the literature review section briefly discusses some of the strands of research related to ELF from the perspective of language pedagogy.

Early research on ELF was primarily concerned with the analysis of ELF-based communication at a range of linguistic levels. Empirical investigations, many of which based on the first ELF corpus, the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) (Seidlhofer 2001), identified language features that regularly occur in ELF interaction. Initially, it was assumed that the identification of language regularities – characteristic forms of ELF communication – may constitute a basis for the emergence and codification of a separate variety of English in the fullness of time. However, as more research has become available, the data have shown that apart from what is regular and stable across lingua franca interactions, ELF communication is characterized by fluidity and flexibility. Although the initial endeavour of codification has thus been questioned, the findings of these early studies carry implications for language pedagogy. From a language teaching perspective, it is suggested that forms which are emerging as systematic and frequent in ELF interaction should be considered ELF variants rather than errors (Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 2011: 289) and it is recommended that teachers do not correct them (Jenkins 2005: 67). What is expected, in turn, in order to make the ELT classroom more ELF-oriented, is a gradual shift in orientation from a focus on correctness and accuracy to that of appropriateness and intelligibility (Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2004, 2011).

The analysis of the implications that the advance of English as a means of international and intercultural communication carries for ELT and language assessment is another branch of ELF research. A number of terms have been offered in the literature to describe teaching practices that are based on the ELF perspective: ELF-aware (Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015), ELF-oriented (Takahashi 2014), ELF-informed (Vettorel 2016) and,

more recently, ELF-sensitive teaching (Sekanina 2020). [1] The point of departure of many studies oriented towards ELF teaching is that for the majority of learners of English in the Expanding Circle (Kachru 1985) their future interlocutors are likely to be NNSEs, [2] who significantly outnumber NSEs. This demographic shift is believed to carry implications for what happens at the classroom level. Some recommendations as to what an ELF classroom should look like include: exposing students to a wide selection of native and non-native varieties of English (Matsuda 2012), training students in the use of accommodation skills (Watterson 2008), liberating students from the focus on native-like pronunciation (Jenkins 2000, 2002) and using teaching materials that portray NNSE characters communicating with other NNSEs in non-Anglophone countries (Vettorel and Lopriore 2013).

ELF-oriented pedagogy is unlikely to be put into practice until it is acknowledged in the domain of assessment and testing. Hall (2014: 379) defines testing as "an activity which perhaps more than any other dictates what is taught". As explained by Jenkins (2006: 42), both teachers and learners are unlikely to take kindly to the principles of ELF unless they are reflected in the targets set by the language testing community. For this reason, a critical examination of the nature and purpose of English language testing has been called for (Jenkins 2006, Hall 2014). What has been suggested, instead of a close concentration on accuracy, is for examination boards to refrain from penalizing the use of language features identified as recurrent in ELF interaction (as has already been mentioned above), while rewarding the successful use of accommodation strategies and penalizing their absence (Jenkins 2006: 49). Also, tests are re-

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[1] These terms are used in the present paper interchangeably, but the most appropriate one seems to be ELF-*sensitive teaching*. As put by Sekanina (2020: 6), the term "is not linked to any proposed approach or framework of a pedagogy of ELF" and so it denotes a flexible, context-sensitive approach to ELT.

[2] The concepts of NSE (native speaker of English) and NNSE (non-native speaker of English) are recognized as imprecise, controversial and generally problematic (see Davies 1991). They are used in the present paper, however, as they are still commonly referred to in the ELT literature.

commended to include multiple native and non-native varieties of English for the assessment of receptive skills (Hall 2014: 384).

An ongoing line of research has investigated how different groups of respondents in the pedagogic environment have reacted to ELF. ELF-oriented attitudinal studies have been conducted, among others, on learners of English in a school setting (Ranta 2010, Szymańska-Tworek 2013), trainee teachers (Erling and Bartlett 2006) and in-service teachers (Grazzi and Lopriore 2020). Although the results of these studies reveal some differences between respondents in different countries, the strong overall tendency in most of the studies is preference for conformity to standard native-speaker norms. A powerful instrument in fostering awareness of ELF and initiating attitudinal shift is inclusion of ELF-oriented training as part of teacher education (Sifakis and Bayyurt 2015). Of particular interest are studies reporting on how pre-service and in-service teachers attending such training programmes re-evaluate their position and develop more flexible attitudes towards ELF (e.g., Vettorel and Corrizzato 2016). As pointed out by Vettorel and Corrizzato (2016: 506), teacher education is a first step for ELF to make its way into everyday classroom practice and to have a long-lasting impact there.

The present contribution fits into the tradition of attitudinal studies by investigating how trainee teachers of English in the Polish educational context respond to aspects of ELF-sensitive teaching.

2. Methodology

2.1. Inspiration for the study

The inspiration for the present research was Dewey (2012), whose study addresses the relationship between ELF-related beliefs and actual classroom practices among English language teachers. Dewey's research revealed a certain inconsistency in teachers' approaches to ELF. For instance, one of his respondents who acknowledged the relevance of ELF in teaching, turned

out to be, in practical terms, far more inclined to correct non-standard language than a respondent who disregarded the concept of ELF as "pie-in-the-sky". Based on this example, Dewey points out that teachers' declared receptiveness towards ELF as a concept may have little to do with how they approach the issues of correctness and acceptability. This complex interaction between the way teachers approach ELF in theory and in practice has served as an inspiration for the present study.

2.2. The aim of the study

The present contribution is an empirical study carried out in a Polish university setting. The paper sets out to investigate to what extent trainee teachers are supportive of aspects of ELF-sensitive teaching and whether this support (or lack thereof) is reflected in how they approach correcting non-standard language items identified in language corpora as salient features occurring in ELF interactions. Three main questions that guided the present study were:

(1)   What is the trainee teachers' general reception of ELF-sensitive teaching?
(2)   What is the trainee teachers' approach to correcting non-standard English?
(3)   Is the trainee teachers' receptiveness to ELF-sensitive teaching reflected in their approach to correcting non-standard English?

2.3. Respondent characteristics

The study took place in Poland – an Expanding Circle country. The subjects were post-graduate students enrolled in a Master's degree of the TEFL programme of the Philology Department (now Faculty of Humanities) of the University of Silesia in Katowice. The study concentrates on a sample of 93 participants; in terms of gender ratio, there were 80 women and 13 men. As part of their M.A. degree programme, students were required to attend a variety of modules on the theory and practice of TEFL,

including courses in ELT, SLA, linguistics, applied linguistics and psychology. The curriculum also included English language classes, academic writing and the history, culture and literature of English-speaking countries. The language of instruction in all of these courses is English. During practical English classes students typically practise one of the two varieties: Standard British English or Standard American English.

All participants have had teaching experience gained through a student teaching practice (practicum), which is an obligatory component of teacher education coursework and includes both classroom observation and their own individual teaching in schools. What is more, more than two-thirds of the participants have had at least some professional experience as teachers of English – they teach in private language schools or give private lessons to individual students. For this reason, the traditional distinction between "pre-service" and "in-service" teachers is not applicable to this population.

2.4. Data collection tool: questionnaire (statements)

The aim of this part of the study was to examine if trainee teachers have a positive attitude towards ELF-sensitive teaching. In his research, Dewey provided respondents with three terms (English as a lingua franca, English as a global language and World Englishes) and asked if they are relevant to teaching. An earlier study of this author (Szymańska-Tworek 2016), conducted on respondents of the same profile as in the present contribution (students pursuing their M.A. degree in ELT at the same university), showed that some trainee teachers are not familiar with the term English as a lingua franca. For this reason, in the present study I decided to avoid asking directly about ELF; instead, respondents were provided with fourteen statements that are based on some of the recommendations found in the research literature as to what an ELF-informed classroom should look like. In this way, the statements inquire into (i) exposure of students to multiple native and non-native varieties of English (statements 1, 2, 3 and 4), (ii) training students in

accommodation strategies (statements 5 and 6), (iii) the role of NSEs and NNSEs in the ELT classroom (statements 7 and 8), (iv) the importance of pronunciation and accent (statements 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13), and (v) exposure of trainee teachers to different varieties of English (statement 14). Respondents were asked to express how far they agreed with the statements on a 5-point scale from 1 = strongly disagree, to 5 = strongly agree. They were encouraged to think about their own teaching context(s) when responding to the statements.

2.5. Data collection tool: language evaluation task (sentences)

In the second part of the research respondents were provided with fifteen sentences that included non-standard language items selected from ELF corpora as characteristic features of ELF-based communication. This part of the study was also inspired by Dewey (2012), who asked his respondents to rate a number of utterances selected from ELF corpora in connection with the following areas: correctness, acceptability, intelligibility and importance to correct. In the present study, respondents were first required to decide how intelligible the sentences were on a 5-point scale from 1 = not at all intelligible, to 5 = very intelligible. Then, respondents were asked to decide how important it was to correct these sentences in the ELT classroom, using a 5-point scale from 1 = not at all important, to 5 = very important. In order to add a context so that respondents had a better sense of who they were (or were not) correcting, this task was divided into three parts. First, respondents were informed that the sentences to be ranked were produced by a student who was about to take her Matura examination.[3] In the second part of the task, participants were informed that the sentences

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[3] Matura, or *egzamin maturalny*, is a school-leaving examination in Poland, taken on completion of high school by students aged 18 or 19. As of 2015, a selected modern language – most commonly English – is one of the obligatory components of the examination. Although the examination is not compulsory, students must pass it in order to be able to apply for higher education courses.

were uttered by a student in a language school who worked as a travel guide and needed English to communicate with foreign tourists in the Polish city of Kraków. In the third part of the task, respondents were provided with information that the sentences were produced by a student in a language school who needed English to work as a babysitter in London. The instructions to the task differed only in that they described a different type of learner (Matura student, travel guide, babysitter), while the sentences were the same for all parts of the task. The sentences are presented and described in Table 1.

Table 1

Description of the sentences used in the evaluation task

The sentences used in the evaluation task	Features of ELF they contain
1) You remembered to feed the cat, isn't it? 2) The girl which sat beside him was his daughter. 3) Warsaw is Polish city. 4) I need to contact with my parents. 5) He like fast cars.	These sentences contain some of the lexicogrammatical features identified in VOICE (Seidlhofer 2004: 220) as regularities in ELF communication. These features include: - using non-standard forms in tag questions, - confusing the relative pronouns *who* and *which*, - omitting articles, - inserting redundant prepositions, - dropping the third person present tense -*s*, Seidlhofer (2004: 220) points out that all of the features "appear to be generally unproblematic and no obstacle to communicative success".
6) How long time did it take you to solve this problem? 7) I am interested to see the results of this study.	These include some of the characteristics of ELF lexicogrammar identified by Cogo and Dewey (2006: 65), namely: - increased explicitness, - preference for bare and/or full infinitive over the use of gerunds,

	Cogo and Dewey (2006: 64) observe that all lexicogrammatical features they identified are communicatively effective.
8) I am hating this awful weather!	This sentence includes a grammatical construction – the use of the progressive on the so-called stative verbs – which Ranta (2006) identifies as a salient feature in an academic ELF speech corpus. Ranta (2006: 110) emphasizes that this type of use of the progressive does not seem to cause misunderstanding in any of the instances in the data.
9) She gave me an advice that I'll never forget. 10) I am here since two o'clock. 11) I know that even if I would practice the rest of my life, I would never be good enough. 12) She plays the piano beautiful. 13) Yesterday my mum did a delicious chocolate cake.	These sentences come from Erling and Bartlett (2006), who described some of the linguistic features characteristic of English produced by students studying English at the Freie Universität Berlin. These are, among others: - a loss of distinction between countable and uncountable nouns, - the use of present tense for present perfect meaning, - an extended use of the modal verb would for expressing condition, - variations in adverb use, - a loss of distinction between word pairs that have similar meanings, e.g., *make/do*.
14) He suffers from claustrophobicy so he never travels on underground trains. 15) The research examined the effects of alcohol on long-term memory.	The last two sentences respondents were provided with contain lexical innovations identified by Pitzl, Breiteneder and Klimpfinger (2008) in their study that draws on a subcorpus of VOICE. The sentences contain examples of two categories of lexical innovations identified in the study, namely suffixation and backformation. Pitzl, Breiteneder and Klimpfinger

	(2008: 22) state that the lexical innovations identified in their data seem to be communicatively effective.

3.   Results and discussion

3.1.   The questionnaire (statements)

The first part of the present study was intended to examine trainee teachers' reception of ELF-sensitive teaching by asking them to relate to fourteen statements. The data for this part of the research are presented in Table 2.[4,5]

Table 2

Trainee teachers' reception of ELF-sensitive teaching

Statements	1	2	3	4	5	mean	SD
1. In the classroom pupils should have contact with many different native varieties of English (e.g., Australian English, Canadian English etc.).	3.2 %	12.9 %	26.9 %	30.1 %	26.9 %	3.65	1.11

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[4] The questionnaire was designed to examine if respondents have a positive attitude towards ELF-sensitive teaching. For most statements (12 out of 14) the response "strongly agree" indicates a positive disposition towards ELF pedagogy, while the response "strongly disagree" suggests a negative orientation towards it. However, there are two exceptions: statement 7 ("Pupils at school should be prepared for communication primarily with native-speakers.") and statement 13 ("It is important that teachers make a lot of effort to make their pupils sound as native as possible."). The response "strongly agree" in the case of these two statements suggests a negative disposition towards ELF teaching. For this reason, when calculating the overall mean rating for the whole questionnaire, the mean ratings of these two statements were reversed – they were calculated as 2.92 for statement 7 and 2.23 for statement 13 – so that the overall mean rating for all of the statements reflects to what extent respondents have a positive attitude towards ELF pedagogy.

[5] Cronbach's alpha respondents have calculated for the questionnaire, after the reversal of statements 7 and 13, amounts to 0.755, which renders the questionnaire internally consistent.

2. In the classroom pupils should have contact with many different nativized varieties of English (e.g., Indian English, Singaporean English etc.).	37.6 %	34.4 %	17.2 %	5.4 %	5.4 %	2.06	1.12
3. In the classroom pupils should have contact with many non-native varieties of English (e.g., German English, Russian English etc.).	32.3 %	26.9 %	28.0 %	7.5 %	5.4 %	2.27	1.15
4. Exposing pupils exclusively to British and American English in the classroom is insufficient to prepare them for international communication.	14.0 %	31.2 %	25.8 %	21.5 %	7.5 %	2.77	1.16
5. In the recordings that pupils listen to in the classroom there should be examples of non-understanding or miscommunication that was successfully overcome by the use of communication strategies.	0.0 %	6.5 %	29.0 %	35.5 %	29.0 %	3.87	0.91
6. It is important that teachers train pupils on how to behave in case of miscommunication by showing them different accommodation strategies, e.g., making things explicit, asking for repetition or topic change.	0.0 %	0.0 %	6.5 %	21.5 %	72.0 %	4.66	0.60

7. Pupils at school should be prepared for communication primarily with native speakers of English.	6.5 %	25.8 %	32.3 %	24.7 %	10.8 %	3.08	1.10
8. Textbooks used by schoolchildren should present many characters of non-native speakers using English in non-Anglo-phone contexts (e.g., French and German people in Spain).	6.5 %	28.0 %	33.3 %	28.0 %	4.3 %	2.96	1.00
9. My pupils do not have to sound native-like. It is more important that they are able to communicate effectively in English.	4.3 %	9.7 %	23.7 %	35.5 %	26.9 %	3.71	1.10
10. I don't think it is important to correct pupils' pronunciation mistakes if I under-stand what they are saying.	35.5 %	34.4 %	18.3 %	9.7 %	2.2 %	2.09	1.06
11. It doesn't bother me when my pupils substitute the sound /th/ (as in "Thurs-day") with /t/ or /f/ as long as they are intelligible.	25.8 %	37.6 %	17.2 %	17.2 %	2.2 %	2.32	1.10
12. It doesn't bother me when my pupils prefer to speak English with a Polish accent.	21.5 %	29.0 %	29.0 %	17.2 %	3.2 %	2.52	1.11
13. It is important that teachers make a lot of effort to make their pupils sound as native as possible.	2.2 %	5.4 %	25.8 %	46.2 %	20.4 %	3.77	0.91

14. My university teachers should acquaint me with different native and non-native accents and varieties of English.	1.1 %	4.3 %	19.4 %	41.9 %	33.3 %	4.02	0.90
Total – Statements						3.00	1.02

The data show that respondents reject the idea of exposing pupils[6] to nativized English and non-native English. Interestingly, the question about nativized varieties of English was assigned an even lower rating score (M = 2.06) than the question about non-native English (M = 2.27). This may be because examples of non-native English provided in parentheses in the questionnaire were German English and Russian English – presumably respondents showed more interest in these two variants of English because Germany and Russia are neighbouring countries to the respondents' native Poland. Most respondents (57 %)[7] acknowledge the need for pupils to be exposed to many different ENL (English as a native language) varieties of English, although nearly a half (45.2 %) state that exposing pupils exclusively to British and American English is sufficient to prepare them for international communication. The results suggest that respondents seem unenthusiastic about exposing pupils to non-ENL varieties.

64.5 % of respondents feel that pupils should listen to examples of non-understanding or miscommunication that was successfully overcome by the use of communication strategies and as many as 93.5 % of informants believe that teachers should train pupils on how to behave in case of miscommunication by showing them accommodation strategies. The positive response displayed by trainee teachers towards these two questions

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[6] When describing the results of the study, the terms *students* and *pupils* refer to learners in a school setting, while student teachers participating in the study are referred to as *trainee teachers* or *respondents*.

[7] The original 5-point Likert scale, with "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree" at the extremes, has been collated into three categories and presented as percentages.

shows that most of them acknowledge the need for pupils to be trained in how to handle non-understanding and communication breakdowns.

The statements about whether pupils should be prepared for communication primarily with native-speakers of English and whether textbooks should present non-native speakers in non-Anglophone contexts received a variety of responses. In the case of both questions, responses are roughly equally distributed between positive, negative and neutral ones, while extreme forms of agreement and disagreement tend to be avoided. This could be interpreted as a sign of a certain flexibility displayed by respondents, whose decision in this respect presumably depends on whether the figures of NSE and NNSE are or are not relevant to particular groups of students in their own context.

The attitudes that respondents display towards pronunciation teaching seem quite traditional. Although most respondents (62.4 %) state that the ability to be an effective communicator is more important than having a native-like accent, 69.9 % disagree with the idea that correcting pupils' pronunciation is not important, even when it is intelligible. The majority of respondents (63.4 %) find it problematic when a pupil substitutes the voiceless dental fricative sound /θ/ with [t] or [f].[8] The majority (66.6 %) declare it is important that teachers expend much effort to make pupils sound as native as possible. Although, of course, there is nothing inappropriate in teachers making an effort to teach pronunciation, the point made by ELF scholars is that classroom time spent on instilling native-like pronunciation in learners could be used more efficiently and productively, for instance on developing skills and competences which are shown by research to be crucial for international intel-

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[8] It is worth noting here that the sound /θ/ is not included in Jenkins's Lingua Franca Core (2000) – a pronunciation syllabus of phonological and phonetic features identified as crucial for international intelligibility – as her research shows that the mastery of this sound is not necessary for mutual intelligibility and thus various substitutions are permissible. What is more, the sound /θ/ has been acknowledged as exceptionally difficult to master because it does not occur in the majority of the world's languages and is even missing in some ENL varieties (Jenkins 1998: 122).

ligibility. The statement about pupils' preferences to speak L1-accented English obtained a more varied response – while a small majority (50.5 %) of respondents declare it would bother them if a pupil wanted to speak Polish-accented English, one-fifth of respondents claim they would accept it.

The last statement in the questionnaire inquired about respondents' preferences regarding their own language education, and more specifically, whether university teachers should acquaint them with different native and non-native accents and varieties of English. 75.2 % of respondents reacted positively to this statement, which means that although respondents displayed scepticism about exposing pupils to non-ENL varieties, they seem enthusiastic about getting to know accents and varieties from across the three Kachruvian circles for their own language development.

Summing up this part of the research, there are elements of ELF pedagogy that respondents seem to be enthusiastic about. These are, first and foremost, training pupils on how to behave in case of miscommunication, exposing them to examples of non-understanding that was successfully overcome with the use of communication strategies and raising pupils' awareness of accommodation skills. What is more, respondents acknowledge that being able to communicate effectively is more important than having a native-like accent. Most respondents also feel that the ELT classroom is a place where pupils should be exposed to many different ENL varieties, such as Australian English or Canadian English. Last but not least, respondents react positively to the idea of being acquainted with native and non-native English in their own language education.

In contrast to the above, respondents have a circumspect approach to some principles of ELF-sensitive teaching. Trainee teachers are critical of recommendations that mainly concern two aspects of ELF pedagogy: the presence of non-native English in the classroom and issues connected with pronunciation teaching and accentedness. As far as non-native English is concerned, respondents decidedly reject the idea that pupils should be exposed to either Outer- or Expanding-Circle English. The

statements concerning pronunciation also reveal respondents' traditional approaches to pronunciation teaching: the majority of respondents find it problematic if pupils substitute the sound /θ/ with /t/ or /f/ or if they want to speak L1-accented English, most respondents think it important to correct the pupils' pronunciation, even if it is intelligible, and finally, most respondents believe teachers need to make much effort to make pupils sound as native as possible.

3.2. The language evaluation task (sentences)

In the second part of the research, respondents were provided with sentences that include non-standard language forms identified as recurrent features in ELF interaction. First, respondents were asked if they found the sentences intelligible. The data are presented in Table 3.

Table 3
Sentences ranked on the intelligibility dimension

Sentences – Intelligibility	1	2	3	4	5	mean	SD
1. You remembered to feed the cat, isn't it?	9.7 %	20.4 %	23.7 %	24.7 %	21.5 %	3.28	1.28
2. The girl which sat beside him was his daughter.	2.2 %	9.7 %	17.2 %	34.4 %	36.6 %	3.94	1.06
3. Warsaw is Polish city.	4.3 %	1.1 %	11.8 %	20.4 %	62.4 %	4.35	1.03
4. I need to contact with my parents.	5.4 %	3.2 %	6.5 %	31.2 %	53.8 %	4.25	1.08
5. He like fast cars.	5.4 %	2.2 %	8.6 %	29.0 %	54.8 %	4.26	1.07
6. How long time did it take you to solve this problem?	2.2 %	9.7 %	10.8 %	37.6 %	39.8 %	4.03	1.05
7. I am interested to see the results of this study.	3.2 %	5.4 %	17.2 %	31.2 %	43.0 %	4.05	1.06

8. I am hating this awful weather!	6.5 %	5.4 %	19.4 %	30.1 %	38.7 %	3.89	1.17
9. She gave me an advice that I'll never forget.	3.2 %	1.1 %	11.8 %	24.7 %	59.1 %	4.35	0.96
10. I am here since two o'clock.	4.3 %	6.5 %	16.1 %	30.1 %	43.0 %	4.01	1.12
11. I know that even if I would practice the rest of my life, I would never be good enough.	2.2 %	6.5 %	16.1 %	43.0 %	32.3 %	3.97	0.97
12. She plays the piano beautiful.	2.2 %	15.1 %	16.1 %	23.7 %	43.0 %	3.90	1.18
13. Yesterday my mum did a delicious chocolate cake.	2.2 %	6.5 %	9.7 %	33.3 %	48.4 %	4.19	1.00
14. He suffers from claustrophobicy so he never travels on underground trains.	4.3 %	11.8 %	20.4 %	29.0 %	34.4 %	3.77	1.17
15. The research examined the effects of alcohol on long-term memory.	2.2 %	4.3 %	15.1 %	34.4 %	44.1 %	4.14	0.97
Total – Intelligibility						4.03	1.08

The data in Table 3 show that all the sentences were assigned high rating scores and the overall mean rating for intelligibility amounts to 4.03. It can be stated then that the respondents render the sentences highly intelligible.

The respondents were then asked to decide how important it is to correct these sentences in the ELT classroom, when produced by three students: a Matura student, a student who works as a travel guide in Kraków and a student whose plan is to work as a babysitter in London. The results are presented in the following Table 4, Table 5 and Table 6 for each student respectively.

Table 4
Sentences ranked according to how important it is
to correct them when produced by a Matura student

Sentences – Importance to correct (Matura student)	1	2	3	4	5	mean	SD
1. You remembered to feed the cat, isn't it?	0.0 %	0.0 %	8.6 %	28.0 %	63.4 %	4.55	0.65
2. The girl which sat beside him was his daughter.	1.1 %	4.3 %	20.4 %	37.6 %	36.6 %	4.04	0.92
3. Warsaw is Polish city.	4.3 %	19.4 %	14.0 %	37.6 %	24.7 %	3.59	1.18
4. I need to contact with my parents.	9.7 %	18.3 %	18.3 %	33.3 %	20.4 %	3.37	1.27
5. He like fast cars.	1.1 %	2.2 %	10.8 %	19.4 %	66.7 %	4.48	0.85
6. How long time did it take you to solve this problem?	1.1 %	4.3 %	16.1 %	38.7 %	39.8 %	4.12	0.91
7. I am interested to see the results of this study.	6.5 %	5.4 %	21.5 %	33.3 %	33.3 %	3.82	1.15
8. I am hating this awful weather!	1.1 %	0.0 %	5.4 %	33.3 %	60.2 %	4.52	0.70
9. She gave me an advice that I'll never forget.	5.4 %	10.8 %	16.1 %	38.7 %	29.0 %	3.75	1.15
10. I am here since two o'clock.	3.2 %	9.7 %	19.4 %	31.2 %	36.6 %	3.88	1.11
11. I know that even if I would practice the rest of my life, I would never be good enough.	2.2 %	3.2 %	19.4 %	41.9 %	33.3 %	4.01	0.93
12. She plays the piano beautiful.	0.0 %	4.3 %	11.8 %	35.5 %	48.4 %	4.28	0.84
13. Yesterday my mum did a delicious chocolate cake.	4.3 %	10.8 %	17.2 %	33.3 %	34.4 %	3.83	1.15

14. He suffers from claustrophobicy so he never travels on underground trains.	0.0 %	3.2 %	10.8 %	44.1 %	41.9 %	4.25	0.78
15. The research examined the effects of alcohol on long-term memory.	5.4 %	7.5 %	19.4 %	37.6 %	30.1 %	3.80	1.12
Total – Importance to correct (Matura student)						4.02	0.98

Table 5

Sentences ranked according to how important
it is to correct them when produced by a travel guide

Sentences – Importance to correct (travel guide)	1	2	3	4	5	mean	SD
1. You remembered to feed the cat, isn't it?	0.0 %	5.4 %	10.8 %	36.6 %	47.3 %	4.26	0.86
2. The girl which sat beside him was his daughter.	1.1 %	14.0 %	17.2 %	23.7 %	44.1 %	3.96	1.13
3. Warsaw is Polish city.	12.9 %	11.8 %	21.5 %	19.4 %	34.4 %	3.51	1.40
4. I need to contact with my parents.	10.8 %	17.2 %	20.4 %	29.0 %	22.6 %	3.35	1.30
5. He like fast cars.	7.5 %	8.6 %	14.0 %	25.8 %	44.1 %	3.90	1.27
6. How long time did it take you to solve this problem?	3.2 %	5.4 %	16.1 %	36.6 %	38.7 %	4.02	1.03
7. I am interested to see the results of this study.	5.4 %	20.4 %	21.5 %	28.0 %	24.7 %	3.46	1.22
8. I am hating this awful weather!	3.2 %	6.5 %	11.8 %	24.7 %	53.8 %	4.19	1.09
9. She gave me an advice that I'll never forget.	8.6 %	23.7 %	22.6 %	25.8 %	19.4 %	3.24	1.25
10. I am here since two o'clock.	7.5 %	10.8 %	18.3 %	25.8 %	37.6 %	3.75	1.27

	1	2	3	4	5		
11. I know that even if I would practice the rest of my life, I would never be good enough.	5.4 %	8.6 %	30.1 %	33.3 %	22.6 %	3.59	1.10
12. She plays the piano beautiful.	3.2 %	12.9 %	17.2 %	29.0 %	37.6 %	3.85	1.16
13. Yesterday my mum did a delicious chocolate cake.	9.7 %	11.8 %	26.9 %	31.2 %	20.4 %	3.41	1.22
14. He suffers from claustrophobicy so he never travels on underground trains.	2.2 %	1 1.8 %	18.3 %	33.3 %	34.4 %	3.86	1.09
15. The research examined the effects of alcohol on long-term memory.	9.7 %	14.0 %	28.0 %	23.7 %	24.7 %	3.40	1.27
Total – Importance to correct (travel guide)						3.72	1.18

Table 6

Sentences ranked according to how important it
is to correct them when produced by a babysitter

Sentences – Importance to correct (babysitter)	1	2	3	4	5	mean	SD
1. You remembered to feed the cat, isn't it?	0.0 %	9.7 %	9.7 %	34.4 %	46.2 %	4.17	0.96
2. The girl which sat beside him was his daughter.	3.2 %	14.0 %	21.5 %	28.0 %	33.3 %	3.74	1.16
3. Warsaw is Polish city.	14.0 %	14.0 %	24.7 %	28.0 %	19.4 %	3.25	1.31
4. I need to contact with my parents.	12.9 %	15.1 %	20.4 %	22.6 %	29.0 %	3.40	1.38
5. He like fast cars.	6.5 %	9.7 %	16.1 %	26.9 %	40.9 %	3.86	1.24
6. How long time did it take you to solve this problem?	4.3 %	14.0 %	18.3 %	34.4 %	29.0 %	3.70	1.16

7. I am interested to see the results of this study.	8.6 %	17.2 %	22.6 %	33.3 %	18.3 %	3.35	1.21
8. I am hating this awful weather!	2.2 %	9.7 %	10.8 %	28.0 %	49.5 %	4.13	1.09
9. She gave me an advice that I'll never forget.	9.7 %	18.3 %	29.0 %	29.0 %	14.0 %	3.19	1.18
10. I am here since two o'clock.	8.6 %	11.8 %	18.3 %	28.0 %	33.3 %	3.66	1.29
11. I know that even if I would practice the rest of my life, I would never be good enough.	1.1 %	20.4 %	25.8 %	31.2 %	21.5 %	3.52	1.08
12. She plays the piano beautiful.	1.1 %	12.9 %	19.4 %	31.2 %	35.5 %	3.87	1.08
13. Yesterday my mum did a delicious chocolate cake.	9.7 %	12.9 %	19.4 %	29.0 %	29.0 %	3.55	1.30
14. He suffers from claustrophobicy so he never travels on underground trains.	3.2 %	15.1 %	28.0 %	29.0 %	24.7 %	3.57	1.12
15. The research examined the effects of alcohol on long-term memory.	8.6 %	19.4 %	28.0 %	21.5 %	22.6 %	3.30	1.26
Total – Importance to correct (babysitter)						3.62	1.19

The data show that although respondents find the sentences highly intelligible, they also think it is important to correct them, especially if they are uttered by a student who is to take an examination in the near future (the overall mean rating for Matura student is 4.02). The non-standard language is considered less important to correct when produced by a travel guide (M = 3.72) and a babysitter (M = 3.62). This indicates that respondents' decisions to correct the non-standard features is, at least to some extent, dictated by whether the language skills of a given student are to be verified in the process of testing or not. Respondents are most inclined to correct the Matura

student and this attitude is not unexpected – after all, this is a student who is about to take a "high-stakes" state examination, where correctness is measured against traditional ENL rather than ELF language norms. Correcting non-native language items in the case of this student is, as was probably assumed by trainee teachers, responding to her immediate need, that is, helping her to pass the examination.

What is notable is that respondents are slightly more relaxed about correcting the travel guide and the babysitter. This may be dictated by the fact that both of these students need English for real-life communication in highly multilingual and multicultural contexts rather than for passing an examination. In the instruction to the task, respondents were informed that the student who is a travel guide "needs English to communicate with people who come to visit Kraków from all over the world", while the other student "needs English to work as a babysitter in London". These results may indicate that, because of the washback effect, testing practices dictate what in fact happens at the classroom level – respondents display a highly norm-driven approach when correcting the Matura student, most likely in order to satisfy examination requirements.

However, what also needs to be noted is that although respondents report less concern about correcting the travel guide and the babysitter, the overall mean ratings for both of these students are nevertheless high (M = 3.72 for travel guide and M = 3.62 for babysitter). Respondents were provided with information that the travel guide needs English to communicate with tourists who come to Kraków from across the world. This description presents the student as a regular participant of ELF communication who uses English to tell the legend of the Wawel Dragon to listeners from countries from across the Kachruvian circles, such as, Japan, Germany, Singapore and the US. Unlike in the case of the Matura student who needs grammatical accuracy to get through examinations, it can be argued that the travel guide could benefit from language instruction that prioritizes communicative efficacy, intelligibility and accommodation, as well as the development of sociolinguistic, discourse,

strategic and intercultural competence. Most respondents, however, insist on correcting the sentences provided in the study, also when they are uttered by the travel guide – 13 out of 15 sentences were ranked by the majority of respondents as important and very important to correct.

As far as the third student – the babysitter – is concerned, the sentences produced by her were ranked as the least important to correct, although the overall mean ratings for her and the travel guide differ only negligibly. Respondents were informed that this student needs English to work as a babysitter in London. The capital of the UK, although situated in an Inner-Circle country, is one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world where different varieties of English and different cultures coexist. During her stay in London, the student is likely to come into interaction with Britons, but also with Indians, Pakistanis, Nigerians, Jamaicans, Italians, Lithuanians, Turks and many other nations, all speaking English in their own way and with different levels of proficiency. From the perspective of ELF communication, the non-native language forms provided in the study have no negative effect on understanding. Again, however, most respondents insist on correcting the sentences – 12 out of 15 sentences were ranked by the majority of respondents as important and very important to correct when uttered by the babysitter.

In order to examine if the sentences considered as the least intelligible were the ones rendered the most important to correct, the correlation between intelligibility and importance to correct was checked. The result is presented in Table 7.

Table 7

Correlation between intelligibility and importance to correct

Total – Intelligibility	N	Spearman's rho	p-value
Total – Importance to correct	93	0.10	0.1605

The data presented in Table 7 show that the correlation is not statistically significant, which means that respondents' decisions to correct a given sentence was not dictated by their perception of how intelligible that sentence is. For example, the sentence "He like fast cars", in which the third person present tense -s is omitted, is considered as intelligible and very intelligible by 83.8 % of respondents (M = 4.26). At the same time, the sentence is ranked as important and very important to correct by 86.1 % of respondents in the case of the Matura student, 69.9 % in the case of the travel guide and 67.8 % in the case of the babysitter. The third person present tense -s is a feature commonly tested in many standardized examinations and respondents' insistence on correcting the sentence when produced by the Matura student does not come as unexpected. However, as communication and intelligibility are not hindered by the omission of the -s morpheme, it can be surmised that respondents' insistence on correcting the travel guide – a regular ELF interactant – is motivated by reasons other than intelligibility.

One of the aims of the study was to examine whether the degree of respondents' receptiveness to ELF pedagogy (exemplified by their responses to the statements in the first part of this research) is reflected in their approach to correcting non-standard use of English. The results for the Matura student, travel guide and babysitter are presented respectively in Table 8, Table 9 and Table 10.

Table 8

Correlation between receptiveness to ELF
and importance to correct (Matura student)

Total – Intelligibility	N	Spearman's rho	p-value
Total – Importance to correct	93	-0.20	0.0247

Table 9
Correlation between receptiveness to ELF
and importance to correct (travel guide)

Total – Intelligibility	N	Spearman's rho	p-value
Total – Importance to correct	93	0.00	0.4851

Table 10
Correlation between receptiveness to ELF
and importance to correct (babysitter)

Total – Intelligibility	N	Spearman's rho	p-value
Total – Importance to correct	93	-0.24	0.0112

The above data show that there is a statistically significant negative correlation between respondents' receptiveness to ELF sensitive teaching and their approach to correcting non-standard English in the case of the Matura student (Table 8). This indicates that the more ELF-oriented respondents were, the less often the sentences uttered by the Matura student were perceived as in need of correction. The correlation is, however, weak. The correlation between trainee teachers' receptiveness to ELF pedagogy and their willingness to correct was not confirmed in the case of the travel guide (Table 9). A statistically significant negative correlation reappears in Table 10, which refers to correcting non-standard language produced by the babysitter – the more ELF-friendly respondents were, the less often they decided that the sentences required correction. Again, as in the case of the Matura student, the correlation is weak. The results show that respondents' receptiveness to ELF-informed teaching is reflected in their approach to correction only to some extent. There is a tendency that more ELF-friendly participants are less likely to correct forms characteristic of ELF interaction, but there are exceptions.

4. Conclusions

In the first part of the present study, respondents were asked to relate to recommendations concerning ELF teaching. While respondents readily acknowledged the importance of accommodation skills to sensitize pupils to communication breakdowns and how to deal with them, generally speaking, they did not respond to the research items in pro-ELF ways. Most respondents displayed scepticism towards two principles which lie at the very heart of the ELF paradigm: providing students with exposure to multiple varieties of English and liberating students from the need to focus on native-like pronunciation. Respondents want to be acquainted with native and non-native English in their own language development, but they see no place for Outer- and Expanding-Circle English in school education – the inclusion of nativized and non-native English in ELT is decidedly rejected. The attitudes that respondents display towards pronunciation teaching also show little alignment with the ELF perspective – most respondents state that pupils' pronunciation should not deviate from native-speaker norms and teachers need to expend much effort to make pupils sound as native as possible. The picture emerging from these data is that respondents are not ELF-friendly, but they are not entirely negative towards ELF either. They reacted positively to some selected principles of ELF-informed teaching.

In the second part of the research respondents were provided with sentences that include non-standard language items selected from ELF corpora. Non-standard English was recognized by respondents as highly intelligible, and yet important to correct. Respondents' perception of how important it is to correct a given language form seems to be context-dependent – the sentences were considered in greater need for remediation if they were produced by a student who is expected to take an examination in English, whereas those uttered by students who need English for communication purposes in international contexts were less likely to get corrected. There seems to be a tendency for respondents to be slightly more relaxed about correction

when they teach students whose immediate learning need is to take part in communication amongst linguistically diverse groups of people. These results also point to the washback effect that testing practices have on what happens in the classroom – respondents display a highly norm-driven approach when working with a student who they need to help pass an examination in the near future.

However, although respondents are slightly less inclined to correct non-standard language uttered by students who need English mostly for ELF talk, they nevertheless attach considerable weight to correcting those students. Also, respondents' decisions to correct the non-native language is dictated by reasons other than intelligibility – the non-standard forms were ranked as important and very important to correct even when they were regarded as highly intelligible. Even though respondents make some allowances for the context in which students are likely to use the language, their approach to correction is traditional, i.e., based on standardized native-speaker norms.

One of the aims of the present study, as inspired by Dewey (2012), was to examine if respondents' receptiveness to ELF pedagogy (or lack thereof) is reflected in their approach to non-standard language. The results in this respect are not conclusive. There is a tendency that respondents who are in support of the ELF perspective are less likely to correct forms characteristic of ELF communication, but the tendency is not strong. This is what Dewey draws our attention to in his research – his study shows that even those teachers who are in full support of ELF conceptually may hold a conventional stance as far as correctness is concerned. In other words, as pointed out by Dewey, some teachers accept ELF in theory, but reject it in practice.

The same sentiment seems to be shared by the respondents in the present study. Even if some of them support ELF in an abstract, ideological way, they are against abandoning a NSE benchmark when correcting non-standard English. Respondents react positively to some aspects of ELF-sensitive teaching, but at the same time they show strong attachment to native-speaker norms, accuracy and the traditional concept of error,

which is reflected in their approaches to correcting non-standard uses of English. This preference for NSE standards may at least partly be related to language assessment practices, where traditionally correctness is measured against ENL rather than ELF language norms. Respondents may feel that adopting a less conventional approach to correcting of what they consider as "errors" is likely to put at risk a student's chance of successfully passing an examination.

In terms of future research, an interesting follow-up to this study would be to investigate whether trainee teachers develop a more flexible attitude to ELF and non-standard English after attending a course dedicated to the topic in question. The impact of ELF-oriented teacher education on teachers' beliefs and classroom practices is still an under-researched area, but the results of those research projects which have been carried out are promising. As remarked by Vettorel and Corrizzato (2016: 505), "[O]nce informed, teachers do acknowledge the importance of dealing with topics related to the current developments of English and their pedagogic implications".

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CLIL teachers and their (de)fossilized language competence

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Abstract

The article investigates traces of language (de)fossilization in a group of CLIL teachers. The data collected comes from an online self-check list including the most popular linguistic "troublemakers" Polish users of English experience on a daily basis based on an inventory compiled by Wysocka (2009). The sample consists of 10 teachers from two bilingual secondary schools in Upper Silesia, Poland. Each respondent is described in terms of their linguistic strengths and weaknesses and then an attempt is made to assess the level of their (de)fossilization, distinguishing three different concepts, namely fossilized language or emergent fossilization, localized fossilization or suspended competence and (de)fossilized language. Finally, some possible areas for future research are suggested.

Nauczyciele CLIL i ich (nie)sfosylizowana kompetencja językowa

Abstrakt

Celem artykułu jest zbadanie stopnia (nie)sfosylizowanej kompetencji językowej u nauczycieli CLIL. Zebrane dane pochodzą z przygotowanej ankiety online zawierającej listę najbardziej dokuczliwych problemów językowych, z którymi borykają się polscy użytkownicy języka angielskiego (Wysocka 2009). W skład próby wchodzi dziesięciu nauczycieli CLIL z 2 dwujęzycznych szkół ponadpodstawowych na terenie Górnego Śląska (Polska). Prezentując wyniki badań, wskazano na językowo mocne i słabe strony respondentów, a także podjęto próbę określenia stopnia fosylizacji języka wyodrębniające trzy różne postaci zjawiska. W podsumowaniu znajdują się wnioski oraz propozycje dalszych badań w tym zakresie.

Słowa kluczowe

CLIL, fosylizacja języka, nauczyciele CLIL

1. CLIL definition

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is a common term for a number of similar approaches in Europe to teach content subjects through a foreign language. Other terms used are Bilingual Content Teaching, Bilingual Subject Teaching, or Content-based Language Teaching (Wolff 2003: 211). The term CLIL is now the most commonly used and "it is based on the assumption that foreign languages are best learnt by focusing in the classroom not so much on language but on the content which is transmitted through language" (Wolff 2003: 11). The novelty of this approach is that classroom "content is not so much taken from everyday life but rather from content subjects, e.g., mathematics, biology, geography etc. conducted by CLIL teachers" (Wolff 2003: 211-222).

2. CLIL teachers

Following a EURYDICE report (2006), CLIL teachers are able to teach one or more subjects of the curriculum through a language other than the language usually used for tuition in a certain context as well as teach the language itself, i.e., to be a specialist in at least two areas. Apart from that, CLIL instructors are expected to possess a number of competences to support CLIL development in a variety of situations.

2.1. CLIL teachers' competences

Marsh, Maljers and Hartiala (2001: 78–80) divided the "idealized competencies" required of a CLIL teacher into the following:

(a) LANGUAGE/COMMUNICATION – sufficient target language knowledge and pragmatic skills for CLIL, – sufficient knowledge of the language used.
(b) THEORY – comprehension of the differences and similarities between the concepts of language learning and language acquisition.
(c) METHODOLOGY – ability to identify linguistic difficulties, – ability to use communication/interaction methods that facilitate the understanding of meaning, – ability to use strategies (e.g., repetition, echoing etc....) for correction and for modelling good language usage, – ability to use dual-focused activities which simultaneously cater for language and subject aspects.
(d) THE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT – ability to work with learners of diverse linguistic/cultural backgrounds.
(e) MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT – ability to adapt and exploit materials, – ability to select complementary materials on a given topic.
(f) ASSESSMENT – ability to develop and implement evaluation and assessment tools.

Andrews (1999: 163) claims that "the teacher of a language, like any educated user of that language, undoubtedly needs levels of implicit and explicit knowledge of grammar which will facilitate effective communication." On the other hand,

[E]ffective L2 teaching requires of the teacher more than just the possession of such knowledge and the ability to draw upon it for communicative purposes. The L2 teacher also needs to reflect upon that knowledge and ability, and upon his/her knowledge of the underlying systems of the language, in order to ensure that the learners receive maximally useful input for learning. (Andrews 1999: 167).

2.2. CLIL teachers in Poland

According to the latest regulations   concerning teacher training standards in Poland, all graduates should have a command of a foreign language at the B2 or B2+ level of the Council of Europe Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001). The former (Level B2) is intended to reflect the Vantage Level. This level refers to the fact that after having progressed slowly but steadily across the intermediate plateau, the learner is aware of the changes that have occurred and new perspectives that have been revealed because of these changes. The term *learner(s)* here refers to future teachers while *learner's competence(s)* reflects the language qualities prerequisite of future CLIL instructors.

Qualitatively speaking, the learner's language competence can be described in the following way:

Table 1
General learner competences: Level B2
(Council of Europe 2001)

Range
Has a sufficient range of language to be able to give clear descriptions, express viewpoints on most general topics, without much conspicuous searching for words, using some complex sentence forms to do so.
Accuracy
Shows a relatively high degree of grammatical control. Does not make errors which cause misunderstanding, and can correct most of his/her mistakes.

Fluency
Can produce stretches of language with a fairly even tempo; although he/she can be hesitant as he/she searches for patterns and expressions. There are few noticeably long pauses.
Interaction
Can initiate discourse, take his/her turn when appropriate and end conversation when he/she needs to, though he/she may not always do this elegantly. Can help the discussion along on familiar ground confirming comprehension, inviting others in, etc.
Coherence
Can use a limited number of cohesive devices to link his/her utterances into clear, coherent discourse, though there may be some "jumpiness" in a long contribution.

More precisely, in terms of language production, the learners' abilities are viewed from several perspectives:

Table 2
Specific learner competences: Level B2
(Council of Europe 2001)

General linguistic range
Can express him/herself clearly and without much sign of having to restrict what he/she wants to say. Has a sufficient range of language to be able to give clear descriptions, express viewpoints and develop arguments without much conspicuous searching for words, using some complex sentence forms to do so.
Vocabulary range
Has a good range of vocabulary for matters connected to his/her field and most general topics. Can vary formulation to avoid frequent repetition, but lexical gaps can still cause hesitation and circumlocution.
Vocabulary control
Lexical accuracy is generally high, though some confusion and incorrect word choice does occur without hindering communication.

Grammatical accuracy

Good grammatical control; occasional "slips" or non-systematic errors and minor flaws in sentence structure may still occur, but they are rare and can often be corrected in retrospect.

Shows a relatively high degree of grammatical control. Does not make mistakes which lead to misunderstanding.

Phonological control

Has acquired a clear, natural, pronunciation and intonation.

Orthographic control

Can produce clearly intelligible continuous writing which follows standard layout and paragraphing conventions. Spelling and punctuation are reasonably accurate but may show signs of mother tongue influence.

Sociolinguistic appropriateness

Can express him or herself confidently, clearly and politely in a formal or informal register, appropriate to the situation and person(s) concerned.

Can with some effort keep up with and contribute to group discussions even when speech is fast and colloquial.

Can sustain relationships with native speakers without unintentionally amusing or irritating them or requiring them to behave other than they would with a native speaker.

Can express him or herself appropriately in situations and avoid crass errors of formulation.

Flexibility

Can adjust what he/she says and the means of expressing it to the situation and the recipient and adopt a level of formality appropriate to the circumstances.

Can adjust to the changes of direction, style and emphasis normally found in conversation.

Can vary formulation of what he/she wants to say.

Turn-taking

Can intervene appropriately in discussion, exploiting appropriate language to do so.

Can initiate, maintain and end discourse appropriately with effective turn-taking.

Can initiate discourse, take his/her turn when appropriate and end conversation when he/she needs to, though he/she may not always do this elegantly.

Can use stock phrases (e.g., "That's a difficult question to answer") to gain time and keep the turn whilst formulating what to say.
Thematic development Can develop a clear description or narrative, expanding and supporting his/her main points with relevant supporting detail and examples.
Coherence and cohesion Can use a variety of linking words efficiently to mark clearly the relationships between ideas. Can use a limited number of cohesive devices to link his/her utterances into clear, coherent discourse, though there may be some "jumpiness" in a long contribution.
Spoken fluency Can communicate spontaneously, often showing remarkable fluency and ease of expression in even longer complex stretches of speech. Can produce stretches of language with a fairly even tempo; although he/she can be hesitant as he/she searches for patterns and expressions, there are few noticeably long pauses. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without imposing strain on either party.
Propositional precision Can pass on detailed information reliably.

Level B2+, called a Strong Vantage performance, continues to focus on the argument, effective social discourse and language awareness which appears at B2 (Vantage). However, the focus on argument and social discourse can also be interpreted as a new focus on discourse skills. This new degree of discourse competence shows itself in conversational management (co-operating strategies) by giving feedback on and following up statements and inferences by other speakers, as well as helping the development of the discussion; relating one's own contribution skillfully to those of other speakers.

Following Papaja (2015), teachers are now obliged to specialize in a second subject. If they choose the combination "non-language subject plus a foreign language", they have to reach

level C2 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, in the case of the language subject (Eurydice 2006). Accordingly, Level C2, termed "Mastery", does not imply native-speaker or near native-speaker competence, but a high degree of precision, appropriateness and ease with the language typical of proficient language users. The qualitative aspects of the spoken language used at the C2 Level are presented in Table 3.

Table 3
General learner competences: Level C2
(Council of Europe 2001)

Range
Shows great flexibility reformulating ideas in differing linguistic forms to convey finer shades of meaning precisely, to give emphasis, to differentiate and to eliminate ambiguity. Also has a good command of idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms.
Accuracy
Maintains consistent grammatical control of complex language, even while attention is otherwise engaged (e.g., in forward planning, in monitoring others' reactions).
Fluency
Can express him/herself spontaneously at length with a natural colloquial flow, avoiding or backtracking around any difficulty so smoothly that the interlocutor is hardly aware of it.
Interaction
Can interact with ease and skill, picking up and using non-verbal and intonational clues apparently effortlessly. Can interweave his/her contribution into the joint discourse with fully natural turn-taking, referencing, allusion making, etc.
Coherence
Can create coherent and cohesive discourse making full and appropriate use of a variety of organizational patterns and a wide range of connectors and other cohesive devices.

Communicative language competences of the C2 Level are more precise, refer to intuitive functional knowledge and control of the principles of the language usage (see Table 4).

Table 4

Specific learner competences: Level C2

(Council of Europe 2001)

General linguistic range   Can exploit a comprehensive and reliable mastery of a very wide range of language to formulate thoughts precisely, give emphasis, differentiate and eliminate ambiguity. No signs of having to restrict what he/she wants to say.
Vocabulary range   Has a good command of a very broad lexical repertoire including idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms; shows awareness of connotative levels of meaning.
Vocabulary control   Consistently correct and appropriate use of vocabulary.
Grammatical accuracy   Maintains consistent grammatical control of complex language, even while attention is otherwise engaged (e.g., in forward planning, in monitoring others' reactions).
Phonological control   Can vary intonation and place sentence stress correctly in order to express finer shades of meaning.
Orthographic control   Writing is orthographically free of error.
Sociolinguistic appropriateness   Has a good command of idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms with awareness of connotative levels of meaning.   Appreciates fully the sociolinguistic and sociocultural implications of language used by native speakers and can react accordingly.   Can mediate effectively between speakers of the target language and that of his/her community of origin taking account of sociocultural and sociolinguistic differences.
Flexibility   Shows great flexibility reformulating ideas in differing linguistic forms to give emphasis, to differentiate according to the situation, interlocutor, etc. and to eliminate ambiguity.
Turn-taking   Can select a suitable phrase from a readily available range of discourse functions to preface his/her remarks appropriately in order to get the floor, or to gain time and keep the floor whilst thinking.

| **Thematic development** |
| Can give elaborate descriptions and narratives, integrating sub-themes, developing particular points and rounding off with an appropriate conclusion. |
| **Coherence and cohesion** |
| Can create coherent and cohesive text making full and appropriate use of a variety of organizational patterns and a wide range of cohesive devices. |
| **Spoken fluency** |
| Can express him/herself at length with a natural, effortless, unhesitating flow. Pauses only to reflect on precisely the right words to express his/her thoughts or to find an appropriate example or explanation. |
| **Propositional precision** |
| Can convey finer shades of meaning precisely by using, with reasonable accuracy, a wide range of qualifying devices (e.g., adverbs expressing degree, clauses expressing limitations). Can give emphasis, differentiate and eliminate ambiguity. |

This mastery of language, being far from a full native competence, may, in fact, resemble very different degrees of the teacher's language command, i.e., complete success in the case of one language ability, and an imperfect knowledge as well as realization of certain "inadequate" features in terms of another language ability. This incomplete perfection or perfection of I completeness with reference to the quality of a teacher's output is tantamount to fossilization or fossilized language competence referred to as "permanent failure of L2 learners to develop complete mastery of TL norms" (Bartelt 1993: 127).

3. Language fossilization

Explanations of the concept of fossilization reflect 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), or

"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 that 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.

The aforementioned descriptions clearly demonstrate that fossilization is subject to changes, modifications and verifications. And, more precisely, it can be referred to as temporary, tendentious and regressive in character, resulting in language blockage and impediment, as well as incorrectness.

Following Han (2004), the sources of fossilization are numerous, and consist of cognitive, psychological, neuro-biological, socio-affective and environmental dimensions. Cognitively speaking, it is the *lack of access to Universal Grammar* (UG), *failure of parameter resetting* and *non-operation of UG learning principles* that are most frequently reported to bear an influence on the actual state of knowledge of the TL. This is particularly true of adult learners, whose lack of access to a full range of UG directly contributes to their incomplete L2 ultimate attainment. Stripped of those aspects of UG not incorporated into the L1, and deprived of *UG learning principles*, the learners have a limited knowledge of the TL and their process of learning is effortful and time-consuming.

From a psychological point of view, it is the learners' *reluctance to take the risk of restructuring,* their *natural tendency to focus on content, not on form,* and *transfer of training* that contribute to fossilization. In the first case, the learners give up and do not say words instead of making an attempt to form reformulations and language alterations. In the second, as Skehan (1998) claims, the meaning priority, especially evident in the case of adult learners, relegates the form of language into the category of secondary importance. This momentarily results in learners' tendencies to "say less but mean more", without exhaustive analyses and the use of the structure of an already deviant language. As long as communicative effectiveness is achieved, the erroneous structures are doomed to survive and stabilize, usually becoming nothing but syntactic fossils. And, finally, *transfer of training,* be it the actual examples of a teacher's bad language, or the result of textbook content and method, it is considered to be the source of misused and overused forms, constituting an "overture" to fossilized competence.

Taking into consideration the neuro-biological constraints triggering fossilization, much of the onus falls on *age* and *maturational constraints.* What is at issue is Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH), which, in its second version under the name of the Maturational State Hypothesis, holds that "early in life, humans have a superior language capacity. The capacity disappears or declines with maturation, i.e., even when it is used normally for L1 acquisition" (Long 2003:497). Once a speaker has reached this stage in life, their learning process becomes explicit and does not take place without a great deal of effort invested on their part. In addition, the lack of brain plasticity, which reduces its capacity for new forms of learning, leads to a non-fluent and non-native language construct.

As far as the socio-affective account of fossilization is concerned, *satisfaction of communicative needs* is given priority here. As can be seen from the evidence provided by Selinker (1974), a learner's self-confidence and perceptions of his/her language proficiency as sufficient to communicate in L2 stop him/her from learning. Even though the learners might be

aware of the language inconsistencies and deviant forms fixed in their linguistic repertoire, they usually do not make any effort to restructure them since the language they produce meets their expectations. Communicatively efficient as the language may seem to its actual users, it is, in fact, moving towards regression, on account of being used fragmentarily, and/or being abused.

The relationship between the environment and language fossilization rests on the *amount* and *quality of input* the learners are exposed to in the classroom. Typically, classroom input is very much limited and lacks in language variety. Most often, it comes from the teacher talk, student talk, and language materials at hand. Teacher talk, like foreigner talk, consists in adjustments at all language levels, and, by definition, is unnatural and artificial. In a similar vein, student talk is given undesirable attributes on account of its unnatural development. Lastly, the language materials widely-used in the classroom are non-authentic ones, hence the input they provide is confined, more often than not, within the contents of the coursebook, causing fossilization.

Although Selinker and Lakshmanan (1993) clearly state that there is no precise list of fossilizable language structures, it is presently believed that, despite the prominence given to pronunciation, namely, 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 FL 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 depending on a given FL learner.

4. Study description

The present study aims to examine the quality of teachers' linguistic competence as is apparent in CLIL classrooms, specifying the level of language fossilization. In particular, the area of investigation is the command of English the CLIL teachers are

"equipped with", and use on a daily basis while teaching general secondary school subjects.

4.1. Study participants

The study sample consisted of 10 secondary school CLIL teachers, 5 of which represented II LO in Sosnowiec (Group I), and the remaining 5 were affiliated to V LO in Dąbrowa Górnicza, Poland (Group II). Table 5 presents their full profiles.

Table 5
Sample description

Category	Gender	Age	Education and subject taught	Teaching experience	CLIL experience	Command of English
T1	F	29	History (MA)	5	2	B2
T2	F	33	Biology (MA)	10	5	B2
T3	F	33	Geography (MA)	11	5	B2
T4	F	49	Chemistry (MA)	25	6	B2
T5	F	56	Social Studies (MA)	30	8	B2
T6	F	31	Biology (MA)	7	7	B2
T7	F	38	Chemistry (MA)	15	7	B2
T8	F	38	Geography (MA)	14	5	B2
T9	F	41	Social Studies (MA) English Philology (PhD)	15	6	C1
T10	F	45	History (MA) English Philology (PhD)	20	6	C1

As seen from Table 5, the sample included female teachers with varied teaching experience, ranging from 5 to 30 years, including a number of years of CLIL teaching in each case. As regards the subjects taught, these overlapped with the respondents' education and the programme from which they graduated. The level of English was B2, except for two teachers representing two

disciplines, namely general education subjects and language.

4.2. Study tools

Staring with a short Internet interview centred on background information, such as age, sex, education, employment, teaching experience, including experience of CLIL teaching, and command of English, the study focused on language and was organized around a check-list designed by Wysocka (2009). This checklist was based on symptoms of fossilized language competence observed among advanced language users of English as an FL (see Appendix). Divided into two sections, the inventory allows for the "scanning" of all the components of linguistic competence, and commentary upon language with reference to both speaking and writing. The former encompasses grammar, lexis, morphology, phonology and fluency-related issues. The latter is organized in a similar way, operating in the same areas in the case of the first three, replacing phonology with punctuation and spelling, and fluency with text-coherence. As each section is sub-divided into several parts, each corresponding to the language areas affected by fossilization, completion of the table provides a possibility to raise not only teachers' language awareness, but also their awareness of fossilization. Due to its clear structure and content, the tool can be used individually and outside of the classroom environment, with no reference to a particular language course or form of instruction. Owing to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic and time restrictions, the self-check was conducted online, with the help of the MS Teams application.

4.3. Study results

Teacher 1 (a history teacher) – she does not assess her English spoken competence well, ticking almost all of the grammatical inaccuracies on the list as true for her. The only one left aside in this category included double negations. As for lexis, wrong words, as well as wrong phrases and expressions are indicated, which overlap with wrong prefixes and suffixes from the morphology section. Phonologically speaking, the teacher has problems with pronunciation (especially proper names), and stress. As regards fluency, she complains about too many silent pauses, numerous forms of repetitions and reformulations, as well as many unfinished sentences. Writing, surprisingly, gained a very good rating. The first three sections were not ticked by the teacher since they were treated as non-existent problems. The reason for this may be the teacher's situation, that is, she teaches history and provides almost no written information to students. The only facts given in writing are rewritten from the original (English) sources, and are always perfectly correct. Still, the teacher finds it difficult to spell and punctuate on her own, and marks all of the contents of these two sections as regular occurrences.

Teacher 2 (a biology teacher) assesses her speaking skills as mediocre. She speaks English in a very mechanical way, most often reading from slides or handouts, never producing language on her own. The exception to this "classroom rule" is reactions to learner's questions. Then, she experiences many problems, such as omission of articles, lack of subject-verb agreement, wrong word order and misuse of prepositions and examples of wrong tense use as well as misuse of conditionals in terms of grammar. Subsequently, vocabulary appears to be equally difficult for her as she indicates all the possible inaccuracies placed in this category. The same is true of morphological and phonological entries, which are also all ticked. What seems less troublesome for the teacher is fluency. She considers repetitions, reformulations and unfinished sentences exclusively, although occasionally she claims to be afraid to speak. As far as

written English is concerned, the teacher restricts herself to spelling and punctuation problems. She justifies her choice by stating that she has very few occasions to write in class and has no hesitation to do so, yet in a very limited way (only proper names that she is familiar with).

Teacher 3 (a geography teacher) is very skeptical about her spoken competence, signalling it next to every single entry within the scope of grammar, lexis, morphology, phonology and fluency. The opposite situation emerges from the data collected with reference to writing, where the number of linguistic items ticked by the teacher increased considerably, covering all grammatical, lexical and morphological problems, excluding spelling, punctuation and text-coherence and related difficulties. She justifies her fears of formulating English structures by having no time for reading as well as limited access to most of the English texts necessary for her work. Instead of the professional literature, the teacher bases her knowledge on excerpts only and/or simplified versions. What the teacher feels competent at is reflected in the specificity of the subject taught, namely, many proper names regularly used in the classroom, and geography-related terms.

Teacher 4 (a chemistry teacher) evaluates both her speaking and her writing poorly, choosing all the linguistic items from the list, and classifying them as difficult and of priority in terms of constant language practice. Some other comments given by the teacher in the case of speaking involved extremely weak grammar, a very limited range of vocabulary, insufficient knowledge of morphological rules, and problems with pronunciation. As a result, she admits to having difficulties with fluency while talking to students, reflected in repetitions, reformulations and a multitude of pauses. Writing appears to be equally problematic for the teacher, although she stresses the fact that rewriting information from original sources makes it much easier to function in the classroom.

Teacher 5 (a social studies teacher) is satisfied with her level of English in general. This is shown by the fact that she only marked a few areas of language loss and teacher despair. As

regards spoken competence, she is aware of article omission, wrong prepositions, problems with comparison, as well as the use of wrong phrases and expressions while speaking. In writing, her self-check results seem to be even more optimistic, showing only problems with spelling and pronunciation. The explanation given here is determined by classroom conditions, notably, relying on English sources exclusively, and rewriting from original texts accompanied by, at the same time, certainty that everything is linguistically correct.

Teacher 6 (a biology teacher) evaluates her command of English in a negative way. With regard to speaking, the teacher emphasizes the fact that she is afraid to reply to students when asked unexpectedly. She has no problems with the material that she is prepared to teach, but any attempts at "free speech", as she names it, are stressful, effortful and imperfect. The self-check list reflects the teacher's linguistic problems in the way she goes through it, classifying all grammatical and lexical items as difficult and susceptible to language deformity and deconstruction. Deformation is also the result of the teacher's morphologically-based utterances. Also, whenever she comes across new items, she has problems with pronunciation, and, more often than not, resorts to all types of pauses. No other forms of disfluencies are mentioned. As far as writing is concerned, the teacher ticks all the entries from the list commenting that she experiences all these problems when writing on her own. The exception to this rule is the situationof rewriting specific information during the lesson, which is far from being incorrect.

Teacher 7 (a chemistry teacher) does not complain much about the quality of the language that she uses in the classroom. The greatest difficulties are marked next to lexis, covering all the entries mentioned in the self-check list. What she "suffers from" is a lack of vocabulary which could be used in the classroom, excluding specific terminology that the teacher is well-equipped with. As regards written competence, the teacher admits that she does not write much in English. On the one hand, this is the reason why some of the linguistic areas are chosen as problematic by the teacher (mainly spelling and morphology-

related ones). On the other, she is aware of the fact that she does not read much either, which makes the situation worse.

Teacher 8 (a geography teacher) does not complain about language use at all. She does not signal any linguistic problems on the list. Instead, she offers a positive comment on her language competence. Among the most significant opinions related to speaking is the teacher's feeling that her English is fairly communicative and always well-received by her co-speakers. She gives examples of various trips during which she usually communicates with people very easily, and is praised by her interlocutors. This refers to her grammatical, lexical, morphological and phonological competences, and translates into her ease of communicating with students in the classroom. In a similar vein, the teacher is satisfied with her writing abilities. She claims that the source texts she uses on a daily basis constitute a solid foundation for presenting her own materials in a written form. In connection with this, she does not notice any obstacles in writing, feels comfortable in the classroom and forms a good rapport with her students.

Teacher 9 (a social studies teacher) shows self-confidence in English, in terms of both speaking and writing. This is indicated by the fact that she leaves the self-check unanswered. The only explanation given is the well-balanced "linguistic diet" the teacher is on, namely, constant contact with a native-speaker, and exposure to "living" English (thanks to her husband who is of British origin, and her bilingual children).

Teacher 10 (a history teacher) appears to be very self-confident about her command of English. It can be judged by comments placed next to the checklist items, giving information that everything "is OK". The teacher feels "safe" with both spoken and written modes of language as she has just completed her PhD thesis in English studies, and is exposed to a wide range of vocabulary as well as grammar. This helps her in day-to-day communication with students during CLIL lessons.

5.   Discussion of the results

First, referring back to the Council of Europe Common European Framework and its language learning outcomes in terms of language use, the teachers do not fully represent the competences ascribed to the B2 level. Most frequently recurring problems involve grammar (article omission), morphology (prefixes and suffixes), spelling and punctuation as well as pronunciation. As a result, the language produced lacks the control, confidence and spontaneity typical of that stage.

As far as the C1 level is concerned, it is difficult to relate its linguistic requirements to the two participants from the study who claim to be proficient in English and have no complaints about it.

Second, based on the data received from the study, it is clear that three different profiles for CLIL teachers emerge: dissatisfied with his/her present command of English, having mixed feelings about his/her competences, and self-confident about his/her level of English.

The first category includes four teachers who were subjects of the research (1, 3, 4 and 6). They assess their English skills in an unenthusiastic manner, pointing to a multitude of spoken and written imperfections, which may translate into a fossilized language competence: a process in which incorrect linguistic features become permanent in connection with the way a person speaks or writes a language and which also involves relative stability in the errors produced. It may be surmised that emergent fossilization can be observed here defined as a gradual growth of language problems and/or decline in the language.

The second type of teacher (2, 5 and 7) is representative of so-called localized fossilization comprising both ongoing errors that show little or no change and some linguistic areas that are still successfully realized. Yet another term for the situation exemplified here may be suspended competence understood as a zone of incapability referring to certain linguistic items (often erroneous) that make it difficult for teachers to perform in the target language.

The third teacher profile is represented by two teachers from the study (9 and 10). These study participants differ from the rest of the teachers in that the constraints imposed by the language are not for them. The evidence from the research confirms their feelings of being free from the language's limitations and, at the same time, an inability to produce the L2 target. On the contrary, the subjects, having unlimited access to native speakers, and concentrating on approximation to native-like proficiency, feel they are unlikely to fail.

6.   Conclusions

On the whole, bearing in mind the three different types of teachers revealed by the research and the ways they evaluated their own language, the study self-check list may be treated as a useful tool. Its clear structure is likely to encourage potential users to return to the contents of the list at intervals so that they can compare the results achieved and thereby monitor the quality of their linguistic competences.

Of course, the tool is not limited to CLIL teachers and may be used by any language users on the path of interlanguage development.

7.   Further studies

As regards suggestions for the future, a larger group of respondents, namely CLIL teachers, from secondary schools, should be taken into consideration. Additionally, it would seem a good idea to supplement studies using the questionnaire with observations allowing for a deeper insight into the classroom communication that occurs, including both the spoken and written output of teachers. Data collected in this way is likely to shed light on the quality of teacher English, tracing its stronger and weaker points, as well as potential (de)fossilizable language areas.

What may also be of interest for further study is the environment of primary school teachers and a comparison between

CLIL teachers at primary and secondary levels. The results obtained here may show similarities and differences in terms of language used in the classroom and provide plausible explanations of the possible symptoms of (de)fossilization.

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Appendix

Table 6
The study self-check (see Wysocka 2009)

CHECK-LIST

PART I ORAL PERFORMANCE
Read the following list of items, and put a tick [x] next to those you happen to produce/experience/use when speaking. A blank space has been left at the end of each section for any items not included which are true for you.

GRAMMAR	
omission of articles	
misuse of articles	
lack of subject-verb agreement	
lack of noun-pronoun agreement	
lack of subject/object-pronoun agreement	
wrong word order	
wrong structures	
wrong verb patterns	
wrong verb forms	
verb omission	
double verb	
omission of verb inflections	
subject omission	

wrong prepositions	
misuse of prepositions	
overuse of prepositions	
omission of prepositions	
problems with plural/singular forms	
wrong conjunctions	
omission of conjunctions	
wrong pronouns	
overuse of pronouns	
pronoun omission	
wrong use of relative pronouns	
omission of relative pronouns	
double negations	
problems with determiners	
problems with direct/indirect questions	
misuse of quantifiers	
wrong tense	
problems with reported speech	
problems with comparison	
problems with conditionals	
object omission	
other…	
LEXIS	
wrong words	
wrong phrases/expressions	
wrong phrasal verbs	
non-existent words/phrases	
other…	
MORPHOLOGY	
wrong prefixes	
wrong suffixes	
other…	
PHONOLOGY	
stress difficulties	
problems with pronunciation	
other…	
FLUENCY	
silent pauses	
vocal pauses	

double repetitions of language sequences	
triple repetitions of language sequences	
quadruple repetitions of language sequences	
all-purpose words	
reformulations in the form of synonym substitution	
reformulations in the form of information shift	
reformulations in the form of structure change	
reformulations aimed at self-correction	
reformulations resulting in deviations from TL norms	
fixed expressions	
unfinished sentences	
meaningless sentences	
other...	
PART II WRITTEN PERFORMANCE	
Read the following list of items, and put a tick [x] next to those you happen to produce/experience/use when writing. A blank space has been left at the end of each section for any items not included which are true for you.	
GRAMMAR	
omission of articles	
misuse of articles	
lack of subject-verb agreement	
lack of noun-pronoun agreement	
lack of subject/object-pronoun agreement	
wrong word order	
wrong structures	
wrong verb patterns	
wrong verb forms	
verb omission	
double verb	
omission of verb inflections	
subject omission	
wrong prepositions	
misuse of prepositions	
overuse of prepositions	
omission of prepositions	
problems with plural/singular forms	
wrong conjunctions	
omission of conjunctions	

wrong pronouns	
overuse of pronouns	
pronoun omission	
wrong use of relative pronouns	
omission of relative pronouns	
double negations	
problems with determiners	
problems with direct/indirect questions	
misuse of quantifiers	
wrong quantifiers	
wrong tense	
problems with reported speech	
problems with comparison	
problems with conditionals	
problems with passive	
problems with modals	
object omission	
other...	
LEXIS	
wrong words	
wrong phrases/expressions	
wrong phrasal verbs	
non-existent words/phrases	
other...	
MORPHOLOGY	
wrong prefixes	
wrong suffixes	
other...	
SPELLING	
too many letters in a word	
too few letters in a word	
letter substitution	
wrong order of letters	
small letters where capitalized are required	
word separation	
other...	
PUNCTUATION	
omission of apostrophes	
wrong use of apostrophes	

omission of commas	
wrong use of commas	
other...	
TEXT COHERENCE	
fixed expressions	
other...	

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EDUCATION

Terminology in education and research: Honneth's *Anerkennung* from the perspective of Norwegian, Danish, and English

JENS HAUGAN

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to discuss potential challenges related to the introduction (import or translation) and use of terminology from another language. This is exemplified by a discussion on a single term, *Anerkennung*, from Honneth's (1992) recognition theory, which is either easily adopted because of an already existing linguistic heritage (Danish, Norwegian, and partly Swedish) or translated (English) with compromises and specifications of the suggested term. The need for such a discussion arises from the fact that the same/identical (morphological) form of the term cannot necessarily be used in Norwegian, since Norwegian has two official written varieties and certain standardization principles that may differ for each of the varieties. The article addresses metalinguistic reflection and the responsibility of translators, researchers, educators, curriculum developers and language authorities in connection with these issues. With reference to the Educational Role of Language network and perspectives like language-beliefs, language-activity, language-affects, and language-thinking, the article attempts to show that reflection on and standardization of terminology in education may be even more important because of the

possible implications for understanding and use, and the consequences it may have.

Keywords

Terminologia w edukacji i badaniach naukowych: Niemieckojęzyczne pojęcie *Anerkennung* z perspektywy języka norweskiego w porównaniu do języków duńskiego, szwedzkiego i angielskiego

Abstrakt

Niniejszy artykuł ma na celu omówienie potencjalnych trudności związanych z wprowadzaniem (pożyczaniem lub tłumaczeniem) i uży-waniem terminologii obcojęzycznej. Omówionym tu przykładem jest termin *Anerkennung*, pochodzący z teorii uznania Axela Honnetha (1992), który został bądź przyjęty z łatwością w językach mających wspólne dziedzictwo z j. niemieckim (duńskim, norweskim, częściowo szwedzkim), bądź przetłumaczony z pewnymi ustępstwami i uszczegółowieniem proponowanego słowa, jak w przypadku języka angielskiego. Potrzeba omawiania niniejszego tematu wynika z faktu, iż słowo mające tę samą formę pod względem morfologii językowej nie zawsze może być stosowane w języku norweskim, jako że obowiązują w nim dwie odmiany standardowe, mające niekiedy różne zasady dotyczące kodyfikacji (poprawnościowe). Artykuł porusza kwestie ref-leksji metajęzykowej i odpowiedzialności spoczywającej na tłumaczach, badaczach, dydaktykach, twórcach programów nauczania i instytucjach władnych w zakresie języka. Nawiązując do sieci instytucji Educational Role of Language (Roli Edukacyjnej Języka) i perspektyw takich jak opinie o języku, aktywność językowa, aspekt emocjonalny języka i myślenie o języku, niniejszy artykuł stara się wykazać, że refleksja nad terminologią i jej kodyfikacja w edukacji może mieć jeszcze większe znaczenie z powodu implikacji, jakie niesie w zakresie językowego rozumienia, używania i ich konsekwencji.

Słowa kluczowe

terminologia, standaryzacja, tłumaczenie, badania edukacyjne, badania językoznawcze, dydaktyka językowa, Axel Honneth, teoria uznania, *Anerkennung*

1.   Introduction and background

This paper is a contribution to the overall task of the International Association for the Educational Role of Language (ERLA 2020) and the Educational Role of Language network (ERL Network 2020), the "main idea" of the network being "supporting cooperation between academics working on issues at the intersection of pedagogy and language" (ERL Network 2020).

   The ERL research areas are organized in four topics or "premises" (ERL Research 2020):

   Considering the fact(s) that every school determines
   – what students think OF language and – conversely – how language determines their views, i.e.; LANGUAGE(-)BELIEFS (incl. students' views on listening, speaking, reading, and writing)
   – what students do WITH language and – conversely – how language determines their actions i.e.; LANGUAGE(-)ACTIVITY (incl. students' actions consisting in listening, speaking, reading, and writing)
   – how students feel ABOUT language and – conversely – how language determines their emotions, i.e.; LANGUAGE(-)AFFECT (incl. students' emotions concerning listening, speaking, reading, and writing)
   – how students understand THROUGH language and – conversely – how language determines their thinking, i.e.; LANGUAGE(-)THINKING (incl. students' world image as shaped by listening, speaking, reading, and writing)
   – on the level of an individual, society, culture and reality, the point of this initiative consists in:
   – carrying out GLOBALLY COORDINATED STUDIES within and across various countries and their educational systems (assumed to differ within and across the four areas shown above), and

    – systematising research problems and methodologies applied in pedagogically-linguistic studies, and
    – engaging academics falling into the four areas wishing to cooperate within and across them, and
    – bringing the world of language and the world of educational science closer together.

With my personal background from teaching Norwegian linguistics and didactics in teacher education, I joined the ERL network in 2016 when it was established. During recent years, my focus has been on investigating aspects of the role of written languages in the Norwegian educational system. Relating to the ERL topics of language-beliefs, language-activity, language-affect and language-thinking, I have argued that it may be fruitful to apply perspectives from second-language teaching and learning when trying to understand the challenges that are mainly associated with the lesser used Norwegian written language Nynorsk (Haugan 2017). Nynorsk was legally recognized in 1885 when it was awarded equal rights to Danish. However, the subsequent revisions of Danish to Bokmålare are still – after more than one hundred and thirty-five years – a topic of great debate in Norwegian education and society.

In attempts to find theories that may be able to explain why most Norwegian pupils (and adults) claim that Nynorsk is difficult to learn or find it a cause for hatred, I found support in the approaches of Norton (2013) with concepts such as *motivation* and *investment* (Haugan 2019), and in Dörnyei (2009) with concepts like, for instance, *the ought self* on the one side and *the ideal self* on the other side (Haugan 2020a). Having reached a greater understanding of the mechanisms that may create learning challenges, I wanted to direct my attention to the didactic field, the main question being how we can facilitate better teaching methods in Nynorsk as an alternative written language.

Approximately 85 % of Norwegian pupils learn Nynorsk as their so-called second or alternative written language. By the end of lower and upper secondary school, these pupils are then

graded separately on this alternative written language. This has structural consequences in the way that formal teaching, especially of Nynorsk as the alternative written language, is postponed until and concentrated upon during lower and upper secondary school. Furthermore, the focus is mainly on formal grammar instead of less formal ways of language learning. The formal teaching of grammar is already a controversial topic where some researchers claim that it has little or no effect at all (Andrews et al. 2004, Braddock et al. 1963, Hillocks 1984), while others may be more positive with an appropriate approach or concrete goals for the tasks (Hertzberg 2007, Tonne and Sakshaug 2007; see also Hertzberg 1995 for a historic perspective in Norwegian). This is, however, not a topic for the present paper. Given the fact that there is a great deal of focus on grammar exercises in the teaching of Nynorsk as an alternative written language, and the fact that the majority of pupils already have little motivation to learn Nynorsk and may even 'hate' it, their investment (cf. Norton 2013) is usually low and, subsequently, the results are often not very good. Consequently, the pupils receive a lot of negative feedback from their teachers concerning their Nynorsk skills. This again compounds the pupils' negative attitude towards Nynorsk with the result that their motivation and investment might become even lower than before. This is obviously not the best situation for learning – or teaching. Low achievement and negative feedback are transformed into negative feelings and attitudes. There must be found, therefore, some alternative didactic approaches to improve this situation.

In connection with this, Jordet (2020) has applied Axel Honneth's (1992) social theory of recognition to learning in school and this may be fruitful when trying to develop better teaching didactics in Nynorsk as an alternative written language as well as other subjects. However, when trying to negotiate the theoretical world of Honneth and Jordet in order to find practical solutions for teaching didactics, as a teacher and researcher, I faced challenges in relation to terminology that made me realize that I would have to first of all negotiate issues related to the

theoretical or terminological basis for my work before I could try to apply the theory to my own field of teaching and didactic research.

Jordet (2020) has worked on applying and adapting Honneth's (1992) theory to the Norwegian school system. As a teacher of Norwegian grammar in Norway, I may feel this is satisfactory and try to use the relevant parts of Jordet's work in my own work. However, as a researcher, I am obliged to talk about this topic and publish in English. Additionally, the theory that Jordet's work is based on, is written in German within the field of social philosophy. Hence, as a researcher, I have to deal with terminology in (at least) three different languages, Norwegian, English and German. Furthermore, I would have to distinguish between Norwegian Nynorsk and Norwegian Bokmål in certain cases.

The goal of this paper, therefore, is to discuss the central theoretical term *Anerkennung* and its translations and adaptations, and possible interpretation(s) in order to create a platform for future didactics and research based on Honneth's (1992) theory of recognition and Jordet's (2020) application of this theory. The premise being that terminology is a very important role of language in education (and research).

The general question that is asked is to what degree it is unproblematic to more or less directly transfer or adapt a scientific term from German to the linguistically closely related Scandinavian languages Norwegian, Danish and Swedish. The more specific question I also want to ask is whether there should be more linguistic awareness and collaboration in the translation and adaption of terminology when it comes to the two official Norwegian languages, Bokmål and Nynorsk, in order to avoid unnecessary confusion within a given professional field. These questions are more rhetorical than concrete. I will try to show that the direct adaptation of the German term *Anerkennung* to Norwegian Bokmål *anerkjennelse* comes with certain challenges that are related to the close relationship between the Scandinavian languages and German, and that the strict standardization norms for Norwegian Nynorsk represent an extra challenge. The

translation of terminology should not only be an object for professional translators but also for terminologists representing the target language, researchers, educators and language policy makers. This is because translation of terminology is not only relevant within translation studies but also within cognitive linguistics, psycholinguistics, language learning and linguistics in general.

2. Problem and method

As mentioned above, the 'problem' that arises from having to deal with a theoretical model in several languages, lies in language itself. While it may feel more or less unproblematic to use a theory or method written in one language and apply it to contexts in the same language, it may be more challenging to use terminology from another language. Thelen (2015), for instance, distinguishes between *Translation* in general and *Translation-oriented Terminology*. It is easier to achieve broad "equivalence" (cf. Catford 1965, El-dali 2011) between a text in a source language (SL) and the translated text in the target language (TL) than on the level of single words and terms. Quite often, terms from the original language, at least when the source language is English, are transferred directly when it is thought to be difficult to find a term in the target language that covers the whole content of the original term (see e.g., Vikør 2007: 121-124). For instance, even though several more transparent Norwegian terms, like e.g., *tekstkompetanse* ('text competence') have been proposed for the English term *literacy* (see e.g., Skjelbred 2010), it has been rather difficult to manage without the English term (see also Haugan 2020b in this context). Even the almost identical Norwegian form *litterasitet* has not been widely adopted. As a consequence, one often has to explain the whole content of the term in certain contexts. For instance, Fjørtoft (2014: 71-99) spends a whole book chapter on discussing *literacy* in Norwegian as a school subject.

Obviously, precise terminology is important in research. When it comes to teaching and didactics, however, one often

needs to compromise and find more transparent terms that teachers and pupils are able to understand and relate to. One important part of language teaching and learning is not the language itself but the language about the language, i.e., the *metalanguage*, understood as "Second-level language (also called language of description) by which natural language (object language) is described" (Bussmann 1996: 303). Instead of the formal terms *noun* and *verb*, one might, for instance, use more transparent expressions like *thing-word* and *doing word,* at least in primary school, even though a noun does not have to refer to a thing and a verb is not necessarily a 'doing word' since verbs also may denote states and events, not only actions. While *subject* and *noun* are clearly different words in English, many Norwegian pupils (and students) have problems distinguishing between non-transparent terms like *substantiv* ('noun') and *subjekt* ('subject') that look and sound similar in Norwegian.

The Norwegian curriculum recently underwent a major revision (2020). In the draft for the new curriculum, the authors proposed, for instance, formulations like "bruke metaspråk om setningsstruktur, tekststruktur og sjanger" ([the pupil is expected to be able to] 'use metalanguage about sentence structure, text structure and genre') (Udir 2019). This was changed to "bruke fagspråk og kunnskap om grammatikk, tekststruktur og sjanger" ('use professional language and knowledge about grammar, text structure and genre') in the final version of the curriculum (competence goals and assessment after 10th grade, lower secondary school) (Udir 2020). Apparently, the term *metalanguage* was considered too difficult to understand for teachers and pupils to be used in the final, official curriculum. This is an example of a conscious choice of terminology by the curriculum developers.

Whether it is called metalanguage or professional language, the importance of learning to understand and use central terms in Norwegian as a school subject is explicitly expressed in the curriculum. It may here be mentioned that the Norwegian term *fagspråk* can be translated into English as *professional language,* while the corresponding Norwegian term *profesjonelt*

språk does not necessarily mean the same as (is not equivalent to) *fagspråk,* which should rather be translated as *domain language.* This illustrates one aspect of the challenges related to working with terminology in different languages. A reader with some knowledge of German might also have noticed that the Norwegian word *fagspråk* is a loan from German (*Fachsprache*). Even though German, Norwegian and English all belong to the family of the Germanic languages, English was heavily influenced by French during the Middle Ages, while Norwegian was heavily influenced by Low German through the time of the Hansa, making Norwegian and German even more 'compatible' (see e.g., König and Van der Auwera 1994). Furthermore, Norwegian academic language (actually Danish, since Danish was the only written 'Norwegian' language at that time) was more influenced by German scholars during the nineteenth century before English took over as the main provider or influencer of academic terminology after World War II. For instance, terms related to computer technology and social media are mainly English or translated directly from English.

I have tried here to illustrate the 'problem' when a switch has to be made between different languages to get the full understanding of certain domain-specific terms. Below, I will discuss the central term *Anerkennung* in Axel Honneth's (1992) theory of recognition, in order to demonstrate further how challenging translation of terminology may be, and also how terminology may play a role in language-beliefs, language-activity, language-affect, and language-thinking, to use perspectives from the Educational Role of Language initiative. I must emphasize that English is a foreign language to me and that my attempts to find English translations or synonyms may be a topic of discussion in itself. However, this only demonstrates the importance of the overall discussion on terminology across languages. Meanings, interpretations, synonyms, contexts etc. are all important parts of terminology in research and education and may influence language-beliefs, language-activity, language-affect, and language-thinking.

The discussion below concerns a small-scale case study since it deals with one single term, *Anerkennung*, from Axel Honneth's (1992) theory of recognition, compared to its translations into four other Germanic languages, English (*recognition*), Swedish (*erkännande*), Danish (*anerkendelse*) and Norwegian Bokmål (*anerkjennelse*) and the Norwegian written language Nynorsk (*anerkjenning*). As such, the study might fit the description of Gerring (2004: 341) (quoted in Schwandt and Gates 2018: 342) in that it is an: "In-depth study of a single unit (a relatively bounded phenomenon) where the scholar's aim is to elucidate features of a larger class of similar phenomena." One could also apply Stakes (1995: xi, 4) definition (quoted in Schwandt and Gates 2018: 342): "The study of a particularity and complexity of a single case. [...] Case study research is not sampling research. We do not study a case primarily to understand other cases. Our first obligation is to understand this one case."

This discussion about the term *Anerkennung* does not aim at generating hypotheses, developing theories, or testing hypotheses or theories (cf. Schwandt and Gates 2018: 346). Instead, it is, first and foremost, descriptive. To some degree, one could say: "The research objective is to develop a complete, detailed portrayal of some phenomenon, 'to get the story down for the possible benefit of policy makers, scholars, and other citizens' (Odell 2001: 162)" (Schwandt and Gates 2018: 346). From this perspective, the discussion may have an impact on professional or political decision making and language planning by raising awareness around the process of adapting terminology from another language and potential challenges in different professional fields.

The present discussion on the term *Anerkennung* is also a contribution to the field of translation studies. As El-dali (2011) shows, *translation* is a difficult term in itself. Attempts to define translation have varied over time, but most definitions are based on a form of "equivalence" between the source language (SL) or source text (ST) and the target language (TL) or target text (TT), e.g., as simply put as "[...] the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by the equivalent textual

material in another language (TL) (Catford 1965: 20, quoted in El-dali 2011: 31). The translation of a single term is not necessarily always a great challenge compared to different kinds of texts and genres. According to El-dali, (2011: 31) "Jakobson (1959) declares that all poetic art is, therefore, technically untranslatable. That is, the translator has to take the question of interpretation into account in addition to the problem of selecting a TL phrase which will have a roughly similar meaning. Exact translation is impossible." The discussion below will show that exact translation may, in fact, seem impossible – or at least challenging – in certain cases (also depending on the definition of 'exact'). However, the challenge may be even greater when certain target languages have grammatical restrictions that go beyond the ability to express equivalence of meaning.

Bassnett (1996) divides translation studies into four general areas of interest. Of these, translation and linguistics is the most – or only – relevant approach when it comes to a discussion on translations of the German term *Anerkennung* into other languages, since the practical and possibly partly philosophical challenge may be purely technical, i.e., limited by purely linguistic elements, at least when it comes to the relationship between Norwegian Bokmål and Nynorsk. Due to the "heritage" of a rather purist language view that dates back to the 18th century and the history of Nynorsk as a "new" Norwegian written language, Nynorsk is – from a morphological perspective – less flexible when it comes to word formation. The original goal was to, more or less, completely avoid prefixes and suffixes of German origin (e.g., *an-, be-, er-, -heit*). However, this has proved to be difficult because Nynorsk has not been adopted as the only written Norwegian language and Bokmål remains the dominant written form. Bokmål has, therefore, been a premise supplier in many ways when it comes to accepting word forms in Nynorsk that include German affixes. This paper is not about the history of Bokmål and Nynorsk, so it will not be discussed here further (see e.g., Haugan 2017, 2021), however, Nynorsk does have certain morphological and lexical limitations that a translator would have to deal with, and that do not apply to Bokmål in the

same way. Additionally, to my knowledge, this technical aspect of translation is not a frequent or typical topic in translation studies, as can be seen in e.g., El-dali (2010: 34), while Bell (1991: 13) writes:

> The relevance of linguistics to translation should never be in doubt. But it must immediately be made clear that we are referring in particular to '[...] those branches of linguistics which are concerned with the [...] social aspects of language use' and which locate the ST and TT firmly within their cultural contexts.

Linguistic purism may be a cultural phenomenon, but the consequences and the impact on the act of translation is usually purely technical and not (necessarily) a "social aspect of language use". Toury (1978: 200), quoted in El-dali (2010: 37), stated that "Translation is a kind of activity which inevitably involves at least two languages and two cultural traditions". This statement, although quite clear, may still be blurred when it comes to the situation between Bokmål and Nynorsk. When a foreign term is translated into Norwegian Bokmål and only afterwards into Norwegian Nynorsk, one may ask whether we are still talking about different languages and different cultures. Has the Nynorsk term been translated/transferred from Bokmål or from the original language? Bokmål and Nynorsk have traditionally been considered two written varieties of the same language, Norwegian. And from this perspective, one might also question the notion of different cultures. This is not the place to discuss these aspects since the discussion on a single term (*Anerkennung*) would not be enough to problematize this. However, the concept of different cultures may still apply if we accept the premise that that language norm (linguistic conventions) can also be said to be a cultural aspect, cf. El-dali (2010: 38) referring to several researchers from the late 1970s onwards:

> [...] translation is always controlled by the target culture; rather than arguing over the correct type of equivalence to strive for and how to achieve it, they insisted that the belief structures, value systems, literary and linguistic conventions, moral norms, and

political expediencies of the target culture always shape translations in powerful ways, in the process shaping translators' notions of "equivalence" as well.

Since I will be discussing the translation of one single German term into other Germanic languages and not the translation of Axel Honneth's works in general, it is useful to delimit this perspective within the field of translation studies, precisely because the cultural aspect is less important. Thelen (2015) distinguishes between *Translation*, *Translation-oriented Terminology* and *Theory-oriented Terminology*. Axel Honneth has coined a certain theoretical term in German that has to be translated into other languages. Hence, translators must deal with this challenge beyond the general act of translation, understood as "the actual practical translation work done by a translator who transfers source text into a target text" (Thelen 2015: 349). Thelen also describes Translation-oriented Terminology as:

> [...] the kind of terminology work done by translators, either monolingually (in order to analyse the meaning of a term in the source language and/or the meaning of an equivalent term in the target language) or bilingually or multilingually (in order to compare the results of the monolingual analyses to see if there is equivalence between them), but always with a view to translation, where effectiveness and efficiency of the translation process and speed are most important. (Thelen 2012: 132)

Translation of terminology is in many respects more challenging because "the professional specialist (non-literary) translator has less translation freedom when encountering a term than when dealing with a general language word" (Thelen 2015: 352). "[I]n the case of a word with more shades of synonymous meanings, he may choose a meaning to his liking in his translation, provided it fits in the context" (Thelen 2015: 352). According to Thelen, the object of Translation-oriented Terminology is translation and not terminology per se. Thelen's perspective is, first of all, on translation as a profession, i.e., a relatively neutral work process as the result of a professional assignment. This may, for

example, be the case for the translations of Honneth's books where a foreign publisher assigns the translation work to a professional translator who does not necessarily have any personal interest in or agenda linked to the topic of the text, cf. also Neubert's (2000: 9) definition of "subject knowledge", quoted in Thelen (1015: 374):

> Subject knowledge, i.e., encyclopaedic as well as highly specialist knowledge, is, of course, not necessarily active knowledge for them [i.e., translators (MT)], and available all the time, but they must know the ways and means of how to access this when they need it. Translators don't know everything and they need not know everything but they must know where to look for it and where to find it.

However, when a researcher adopts a theory with a certain set of terms coined in another language, the border to Theory-oriented Terminology may be crossed. Whereas there are some similarities between the different approaches, there are some small differences as regards aspects to be taken into account, cf. Thelen (2015: 359), whose ideas are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Thelan's table showing aspects of Theory-oriented Terminology and Translation-oriented Terminology and Translation

Theory-oriented Terminology	Translation-oriented Terminology & Translation
Aspects of language planning & policy	Translation brief (specific requirements of the commissioner of the translation)
When more languages are involved in one and the same area: options for correspondence on the points of domain-specific register (communication level, audience, [cognitive] linguistic & cultural specifics) and style	Options for correspondence between domain-specific register (communication level, audience, [cognitive] linguistic & cultural specifics) and style of Source language Text (SLT) and Target Language Text (TLT)

When there are two official written languages that are linguistically very close to each other and that partly or mostly can be said to belong to the same culture, like, for example, Norwegian Bokmål and Nynorsk, there may (or should) be aspects of language planning and policy involved. As regards the Scandinavian (mainland) languages, which share linguistic and cultural features with each other and also with German, one might also want to consider "correspondence". Terminological differences between Bokmål and Nynorsk and potentially the other Scandinavian languages due to a lack of meta-perspective and collaboration in the translation process is not necessarily a problem but it is also not a desirable situation. This meta-perspective on shared terminology is not an easy task. Obviously, it cannot be expected that a single professional translator can be responsible for taking terminology correspondence and potential language policy into account. Indeed, Martin (2006: 92), quoted in Thelen (2015: 363) states that:

> **The** [bold by author (MT)] (ideal) terminologist as an individual does not exist. The (ideal) terminologist is a team. In that team, actors such as domain experts, IT-developers, translators etc. play an important role. However, the most important role is that of the Sublanguage Expert who co-ordinates the several team members and acts as a catalyst being able to understand needs, to anticipate them and to see to it that they can be solved.

In connection with this, a further purpose of this article is to contribute as a member of a "team" to a discourse and a meta-perspective on the translation of terminology from other languages. This is in addition to the two questions posed in the introduction that form the basis of this research, which I will repeat here: To what degree is it unproblematic to transfer or adapt a scientific term from German to the linguistically closely related Scandinavian languages Norwegian, Danish and Swedish? What level of linguistic awareness and collaboration is necessary in the translation and adaption of terminology when it comes to the two official Norwegian languages Bokmål and

Nynorsk, in order to avoid unnecessary confusion within a given professional field?

3. Discussion

As mentioned above, I became acquainted with Axel Honneth's theory through its application to the Norwegian school system (Jordet 2020). Therefore, I believed this would be directly transferrable to Norwegian language didactics. From a pedagogical and didactic point of view, the most appealing term is the one central to the whole theory, *recognition*. Overall, I use the English term *recognition* more or less without hesitation. However, it was at the point when I discovered that the 'official' English term actually was *recognition*, that the 'trouble' began for me as a researcher. As long as I was trying to understand and apply the theory from a (general) Norwegian speaker's point of view, it was not too complicated. But when I had to think about how I would present my work within the *Educational Role of Language* network or other international forums, I struggled, not only because English is a foreign language to me, but also because it is much more complicated to transfer German terms into English and maintain their precision.

The main title of my colleague's book is "Anerkjennelse i skolen" (Jordet 2020), which translated into English means 'recognition in school'. For a native speaker of English, when the 'official' term *recognition* is used in the translation it may not be immediately clear what 'recognition in school' actually means. For a Norwegian speaker (or a speaker of German), the meaning of *anerkjennelse* (or *Anerkennung*) would probably be much more transparent with fewer possible interpretations of the term than in English. Nevertheless, one would still have to read and understand Honneth's (1992) or Jordet's (2020) approach to fully grasp the meaning of the term in a social or pedagogical context. But let us make the situation even more complicated. Jordet's book is written in Norwegian Bokmål, while I am a user of Nynorsk, the alternative official written variety of Norwegian. While Bokmål developed from Danish into Norwegian by gradual

changes to the Danish over time, Nynorsk was established based on Norwegian dialects and initially also with the ideal to remove as many non-Norwegian influences as possible, for instance, those from German (see Haugan 2017 for a short history and references). Therefore, affixes like *an-, er-, -else* do not necessarily represent 'good' Nynorsk (see e.g., Vikør 2007: 215-216). In modern Nynorsk, some words with typical German affixes are 'allowed' or 'tolerated' (Nynorsk became a little more 'tolerant' towards loans from Bokmål/German after 2001), while others are still 'banned' as violating the essence or ideal of Nynorsk. However, this 'system' is not consequential or easily predictable. On the one hand, Bokmål *beskrivelse* (Eng. *description*, via Danish from German *Beschreibung*) may have its Nynorsk counterpart *beskriving* with the prefix *be-* but without the suffix *-else* (or possibly/preferably some other lexical form/synonym like e.g., *skildring*). On the other hand, one could use *følelse* (Eng. *feeling*) with the suffix *-else* in both Bokmål and Nynorsk (even though some would avoid *følelse* and use the word/synonym *kjensle* instead). The Bokmål word *anerkjennelse* with as many as three (historically) non-Nordic affixes (*an-, er-, -else*), for Honneth's *Anerkennung* is, definitely, not a very good candidate when trying to apply or develop Norwegian terminology in Nynorsk teaching didactics. As a consequence, there are two different word forms in Bokmål and Nynorsk, *anerkjennelse* and *anerkjenning*, the Nynorsk form representing a hybrid and compromise. Furthermore, the two different derivational morphemes *-else* and *-ing*, despite their main function to build a noun from a verb, may have a slightly different semantic content which will be discussed later.

To someone who does not know Norwegian and the two official written varieties of Norwegian it may seem implausible, but it is possible to say almost anything in oral speech may violate official standards of written Norwegian, since most Norwegians speak their local or regional dialect and most dialects would not conform to the written standards in every aspect. The word *anerkjennelse* would pass in more or less any Norwegian dialect as a Norwegian word, but it would not necessarily be approved

as an official written Nynorsk word. The most obvious way to check this, would be to consult a dictionary and, fortunately, there is an officially approved online dictionary for Bokmål and Nynorsk (Bokmålsordboka | Nynorskordboka). Before taking a closer look at the dictionary and various meanings of the central term of Honneth's theory, however, I would like to draw the reader's attention to the different titles of Honneth's (1992) book in German, Norwegian, Danish, Swedish and English.

The original (main) title of Honneth's (1992) book is "Kampf um Anerkennung" ('struggle for recognition'). The first Danish book with some of Honneth's texts about the topic had the title "Behovet for anerkendelse" ('The need for recognition') (Honneth 2003a), while the official translation of Honneth's (1992) book had the title "Kamp om anerkendelse" (Honneth 2006a) (cf. the German title). This is basically also the title of the Norwegian translation from 2008, written in Bokmål: "Kamp om anerkjennelse" (Honneth 2008). While one would still have to study Honneth's definition and use of the German term *Anerkennung*, it is reasonable to believe that Danish (*anerkendelse*) and Norwegian (*anerkjennelse*) readers would have the same or a similar perception of the word/term (cf. also the ERL perspectives language-beliefs, language-activity, language-affect, and language-thinking). This is also in accordance with one of the simplest definitions of translation mentioned earlier: "[…] the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by the equivalent textual material in another language (TL)" (Catford, 1965: 20, quoted in El-dali 2011: 31). Interestingly, the Swedish translation (Honneth 2003b) of Honneth (2000) had the title "Erkännande". Readers with knowledge of German (or Danish/Norwegian) might question the idea that *Anerkennung / anerkjendelse / anerkjennelse* is absolutely the same as *Erkennung / erkendelse / erkjennelse*, i.e., "equivalent textual material". In Swedish, for example, *erkännande* can have both meanings and one would need to explain the actual meaning and use of the term in greater detail. It is the same for the English term *recognition*, which is chosen for the English translation (Honneth 1995) and which could have even more and different meanings depending

on the context. It is clear, therefore, that translators, whether professional translators or researchers who want to adopt foreign terminology, need certain competences, cf. e.g., the list of competences given in table form in Thelen (2015: 360-361).

I will now return to my original 'problem'. In order to understand the meaning or concept of *Anerkennung*, which has its direct counterpart *anerkjennelse* in Norwegian Bokmål ("equivalent textual material"), I consulted the Norwegian dictionary. The online dictionary Bokmålsordboka | Nynorskordboka which is a dictionary for both Norwegian Bokmål and Nynorsk. As a result, it makes it relatively easy to check whether a word exists in the same form in both standardized varieties of written Norwegian. As mentioned above, the form *anerkjennelse*, with the affixes *an-*, *be-* and *-else*, is normally not a preferred form in Nynorsk. Therefore, I was not surprised that it is not listed in the Nynorsk version of the dictionary. The Bokmål version lists three synonyms for *anerkjennelse*: *heder, ros, bifall* ('honour, praise, applause'). None of these synonyms are appropriate for the concept of *Anerkennung* in the sense that Honneth suggests. The Bokmål dictionary also has two examples of the use of *anerkjennelse*: "vinne anerkjennelse / arbeidet fortjener anerkjennelse" ('to win recognition / the work deserves recognition'). As a noun, *anerkjennelse* is here defined or described as having the main meaning 'recognition' or possibly 'appreciation'. After I started my investigation of the meaning of *anerkjennelse* in Norwegian in August 2020, the dictionary entry was edited (due to an ongoing revision process (Revisjonsprosjektet 2018-2023) and a second meaning was added: "det å anerkjenne noe; forståelse, aksept, samtykke (II) anerkjennelse av tegnspråk som eget språk" ('the action of recognizing something, understanding, acceptance, to consent; [example of use] recognition of sign language as a separate language').

This leads to another interesting fact about Norwegian and the relation between the two written varieties. As mentioned above, *anerkjennelse* would not be a good candidate for an official Nynorsk word. Changing *-else* into *-ing* would make it a 'better' candidate (i.e., *anerkjenning*), even though it would

still not fit entirely with the ideal of Nynorsk. When I first started
to look up these words in the official online dictionary in August
2020, there was no entry for *anerkjenning*, although it did ap-
pear as a second meaning under another German loanword
bekrefting ('confirmation, affirmation', German: *Bekräftigung,*
Bokmål: *bekreftelse*). The description was then: "verdsetjing,
barn treng bekrefting og oppleving av meistring" ('appreciation,
children need confirmation and experience of mastery'). A short
time after this initial search, *anerkjenning* appeared as a sepa-
rate entry with two meanings: "1 ros (I), heider, vyrdnad, hauste
internasjonal anerkjenning for boka si / få anerkjenning for ar-
beidet sitt; 2 det å anerkjenne (2) noko; medhald, aksept, for-
ståing anerkjenning av at elevar har kunnskap som læraren
manglar" ('praise, honour, respect, receive international praise
for his/her book / receive appreciation for his/her work; 2 to
recognize something; approval, acceptance, understanding,
recognition of the fact that pupils have knowledge that the
teacher lacks'). It is perhaps not that remarkable, but it may be
noticed that 'pupils' and 'teacher' are used to illustrate the
meaning of *anerkjennelse*, i.e., a pedagogical context. Indeed,
this could signal the fact that the noun *anerkjennelse/anerk-
jenning* is about to be perceived as a term that is related to ped-
agogy due to the impact of Honneth's theory in the field of ped-
agogy during the recent years.

The Norwegian term *anerkjennelse/anerkjenning* is, like the
German and English term, a derivation from a verb. The verb
can be used in both Bokmål and Nynorsk in the same form:
anerkjenne (German: *anerkennen,* with the root *kennen,* cf.
(northern English *ken,* 'to know'). However, from a normative
point of view, the verb is not a 'good' Nynorsk word because of
the two prefixes *an-* and *er-*. The definition/description of the
verb is similar in Bokmål and Nynorsk in the dictionary. The
Nynorsk version is given below:

   anerkjenne verb (gjennom bokmål, frå tysk *anerkennen*)
   1 sjå som rett eller gjeldande, samtykkje i
   anerkjenne ein stat / anerkjenne eit argument / anerkjenne eit krav

2 godkjenne, godta; akseptere
anerkjenne realitetane / anerkjenne dugleiken hennar / opposisjonen anerkjenner ikkje nederlaget
3 akte, setje høgt, rose, hylle
anerkjenne framifrå forskingsresultat

The dictionary entry states that *anerkjenne* is a loanword from German with three meanings: '1 see as correct or valid, approve; recognize a state, acknowledge an argument, accept a demand; 2 approve, accept; accept the realities, recognize her ability, the opposition does not acknowledge the defeat; 3 honour, appreciate, applause, pay tribute; recognize a great research result'. [my attempt to find suitable English translations for the Norwegian synonyms]

As mentioned previously, *anerkjennelse*, hence also *anerkjenne*, is not a 'good' word in Nynorsk from a purist point of view because of the non-Norwegian affixes, even though the verb has only two foreign affixes instead of three like the noun. However, when an older non-official dictionary with Nynorsk synonyms for Bokmål words (Rommetveit 1993) is checked, both *anerkjenne* and *anerkjennelse* are actually only listed as Bokmål words (Nynorsk became more 'tolerant' to loans from Bokmål after 2001). Trying to find a suitable Nynorsk term that covers Honneth's term and that can be used in Norwegian didactics is, therefore, a difficult task, while there are too many suggested Nynorsk synonyms for *anerkjenne* and *anerkjennelse* in Rommetveit (1993) to be cited here. However, the variety of uses listed in this dictionary may be a way to illustrate the whole concept of *anerkjenne/anerkjennelse* in Honneth's sense, while working with such synonyms in class may actually be a didactic way to make it easier for pupils and students to grasp the meaning of *anerkjenne/anerkjennelse* in social/pedagogic theory.

When I started to consider whether Honneth's (1992) theory (with Jordet's (2020) adaptation) would be a suitable approach in my quest for a better Nynorsk didactics, I not only had to think about what I would call the theory's main term in Nynorsk, I also had to think about how to translate the term into

English which would be the language of publication for my research. Before I went to other sources, my immediate intuition, as a non-native speaker of English, was that *appreciation* and *confirmation* (or possibly the more or less directly corresponding *acknowledgement*) might be the most suitable English terms for *Anerkennung /anerkjennelse /anerkjenning*. However, there is an English translation of Honneth's (1992) book: "The Struggle for Recognition" (Honneth 1995). The use of the English term *recognition* was at first surprising in the same way as the use of the Swedish term *erkännande*, which both may have the alternative meaning 'to identify something as already known' (and several more), which would make no sense in the context of giving a form of positive feedback to someone for something he or she has tried to achieve. I also spent a lot of time consulting English dictionaries (e.g., Oxford English Dictionary; Oxford Learner's Dictionaries) which led me to many different meanings and many synonyms with even more and different meanings. It is apparent, therefore, that the seemingly simple term *Anerkennung* is a linguistic and semantic challenge across languages when it comes to being precise and finding "equivalent textual material" in a target language. When checking the English translation (Honneth 1995), I was not surprised that the translator had found it necessary to write a fourteen-page long note and introduction to the book (Anderson 1995) (see e.g., also Munday, 2016: Ch. 9, *The role of the translator*). Anderson (1995: viii) starts his contribution with:

> Although most of the cases in which the original German terms defy easy translation are indicated within square brackets in the text, four cases deserve special attention here. In English, the word 'recognition' is ambiguous, referring either to 're-identification' or 'the granting of a certain status'. The former epistemic sense translates the German '*Wiedererkennung*', which is distinguished from the practical sense with which Honneth is concerned here, expressed in the word '*Anerkennung*'. Throughout the present translation 'recognition' and 'to recognize' are used in this latter sense, familiar from such expressions as 'The PLO has agreed to recognize the state of Israel'. It is perhaps useful for understanding Honneth's

claim that love respect, and esteem are three types of recognition to note that, in German, 'to recognize' individuals or groups is to ascribe them some *positive* status.

Due to the nature of the assignment, a translator always has to make a choice and 'land' on a specific translation of a term. Through this action, it can be said that the translator has a certain amount of power to shape the future discourse in a scientific field. "The notion that translators shape the text they translate, no matter how invisible or powerless they would like to be, has been the most ground-breaking insight to emerge from translation studies in the last few decades." (Arrojo 2017: 126). Therefore, Arrojo (2017: 126), referring to Nietzsche and Derrida, notices the meaning and concept constructing and transformative power of translation.

In certain cases, it may be especially difficult to decide the 'right' translation for a term. Honneth (2018) himself found it necessary to write a whole book of more than two hundred pages about the history and development of the term *Anerkennung*. And, of course, Honneth (2018: 10) himself is aware of the cross-linguistic and semantic challenges that are attached to the term *Anerkennung*:

> Wie schwierig die Aufgabe ist, die ich mir damit vorgenommen habe, ist schon an dem Umstand zu erkennen, dass die Idee der Anerkennung heute in verschiedenen Kontexten ganz unterschiedliche Assoziationen weckt.
> 'How difficult the task is that I have given myself, can already be seen by the fact that the idea of recognition today arouses very different associations in different contexts.' [my translation]

And Honneth (2018: 10):

> Einige dieser Differenzen hängen, wie sich noch zeigen wird, mit semantischen Eigenarten des Anerkennungsbegriffs in den jeweiligen nationalen Sprachkulturen zusammen.

'As will be shown later, some of these differences are related to the semantic characteristics of the term recognition in respective national language cultures.' [my translation]

Since recognition theory has gained some ground in social philosophy and pedagogy, the term *Anerkennung* has become more frequent. Even though I knew *Ankennung/anerkjennelse* as a common German and Norwegian word previously, (reveal-ing my ignorance of Fichtel's and Hegel's writings) I never associated it with philosophy or pedagogy before I was introduced to Honneth's theory. In addition to consulting Honneth's books I also consulted the internet to find out why I had not been aware of Honneth's theory and *Anerkennung* as a scientific term. I will refer to Wikipedia entries below to illustrate my point. It is not the content of these Wikipedia articles that is interesting, but the fact that there are entries on Wikipedia, which I take as a sign of familiarity with Honneth or the term *Anerkennung* and its corresponding translations, since the content of Wikipedia is generated by users who find it useful to publish online about certain topics that occupy or interest them.

When searching for the term *Anerkennung* on German Wikipedia (de.wikipedia.org), an extensive entry can be found that among other things tells the reader that the term has its own meaning or definition within at least five different domains: Law, Social and State Philosophy, Logic, Psychology, and Theology. Honneth is referred to under Social and State Philosophy and the article says that "In der Gegenwartsphilosophie wird Honneth mit dem Begriff Anerkennung eng verbunden" ('in contemporary philosophy, Honneth is mostly associated with the term Anerkennung'). Searching directly for the term *Recognition* on the English Wikipedia site (en.wikipedia.org) is much more complicated since one is led to a disambiguation page that lists many different uses of the term. The easier way is, therefore, to go via the German page and choose the corresponding English page, which leads us to "Recognition (Sociology)". The entry on this page is rather short and the only central name referred to

in the text is the philosopher Charles Taylor. However, Axel Honneth is listed under "See also".

Interestingly, the only other Germanic/Western language with an explicit entry about *Anerkennung* (*anerkendelse*) is Danish (da.wikipedia.org). The other two languages that can be chosen are Arabic and Farsi. As a meta comment, Wikipedia states that there are too few sources on the Danish page. However, the point is that the whole article is written on Danish Wikipedia because someone saw the need to document Honneth's theory. Also, we get to know that the Danish sociologist Rasmus Willig has had a central role in the intro-duction of Honneth's theory to Danish sociology.

In general, therefore, for the term *Anerkennung, anerkendelse, recognition*, there are only three Germanic entries on Wikipedia, which may show that the term is not, as yet, well-established in research and the educational system. Axel Honneth is, according to the German Wikipedia entry, considered one of the most important and well-known philosophers of today ("Er wird weltweit rezipiert und gehört zu den wichtigsten und bekanntesten Philosophen der Gegen-wart."), a formulation not found on the English page about him (the English entry is rather short). At the time of writing, Wikipedia has pages in twenty-one languages about Axel Honneth, among others, an entry written in Norwegian Bokmål (no.wikipedia.org) (it may be mentioned that Wikipedia also has pages in Norwegian Nynorsk: nn.wikipedia.org). The Norwegian text opens with the sentence: "Axel Honneth (født 18. juli 1949 i Essen) er en tysk professor og filosof og er først og fremmest [*sic*] kjent for sin aner-kjennelsesteori.» ('Axel Honneth (born 18. July 1949 in Essen) is a German professor and philosopher who is first of all known for his recognition theory.'). The form "frem-mest" in the Norwegian entry is not correct, and it is obvious that the Norwegian entry is based on the Danish entry: "Axel Honneth (født 18. juli 1949) er en tysk professor og filosof og er først og fremmest kendt for sin anerkendelsesteori." Both the Danish and the Norwegian Wikipedia entry suggest a link to Honneth's 'recognition theory' (*anerkendelsesteori, anerkjen-*

nelsesteori).   However, up to this time, there is no Wikipedia entry for this. Interestingly, the term *Anerkennungs-theorie* or *Recognition theory* associated with Honneth is not a Wikipedia entry at all, not even in German (although it is used with reference to Fichte, Hegel, and Honneth in other entries). As a term on the Danish and Norwegian Wikipedia pages it might stem from publications such as Knirsch (2013) and other publications, where it is used as a name for Honneth's approach.

I will now return to my initial 'problem', which was how to deal with the theory in Norwegian and how to find an appropriate term in Nynorsk to use in my further research and application in language didactics. As a personal user of Nynorsk and with Nynorsk as the alternative written language in a Norwegian context as my field of research, my first reaction to the Norwegian (Bokmål) term *anerkjennelse* was that this would definitely not work in a Nynorsk context due to normative restrictions (because of all the German affixes). To some extent, this is a somewhat artificial 'problem' and a result of Norwegian language policy and standardization routines (see e.g., Vikør 2007, Omdal and Vikør 2002). After all, it is not necessarily in itself more difficult to understand *anerkjenning* (Nynorsk) than *anerkjennelse* (Bokmål), the only difference being the derivational suffixes (-*ing, -else*) that transform the verb *anerkjenne* into a noun. Both forms of the word would be possible in Bokmål (with separate dictionary entries, cf. Jackendoff, 2015:31), while only the *ing*-form would be proper Nynorsk, or at least acceptable to some   degree.   In   Bokmål,   there   would   be a potential semantic difference between *anerkjennelse* as a term for the concept, and *anerkjenning*, which would be a verbal noun, cf. the parallel difference between *recognition* and *recognizing* in English. In Nynorsk, no such distinction is possible with *anerkjenning*. This form would have to serve both purposes/meanings.

To a user of Bokmål, the form *anerkjenning* may be perceived as (*das*) *Anerkennen* (versus (*die*) *Anerkennung*) or (*the*) *recognizing* (*of*) versus *recognition*. Cf. also Traxler (2012: 80): "The analysis   of   a   word   form   starts   with   an   analysis   of

subcomponents." Even though Bokmål and Nynorsk can be treated as different languages in certain contexts or discourses, the picture is much more complicated since both written varieties are Norwegian and represent the Norwegian language as a whole and/or parts of the Norwegian culture. While some lexical or morphologically different Nynorsk word forms may be unfamiliar to a Bokmål user, most Nynorsk users would generally be familiar with the vocabulary and grammar of Bokmål since Bokmål is the dominant written variety in Norwegian society. A Nynorsk user would not necessarily start to actively 'analyse' the word form *anerkjenning* in the same way as a Bokmål user since the Bokmål user might be tempted to look for semantic differences between the form with the suffix *-ing* and the possible form with the suffix *-else*, since the *ing*-form would usually focus more on the action/process and share semantics with the verb (cf. Hatch and Brown 1995: 220) while the *else*-form, even though it is abstract, would be more like a prototypical noun, cf. Langacker (2008: 103): "For nouns, the archetype functioning as category prototype is the conception of a physical object. For verbs, it is the conception of participants interacting energetically in a 'force-dynamic' event (Talmy 1988a)." As opposed to the form *anerkjennelse*, the form *anerkjenning* would, therefore, be potentially polysemic (cf. Evans and Green 2006: 329) and, therefore, ambiguous (see e.g., Gaskell 2005: 217). Hence, even though a discussion on the Norwegian forms *anerkjennelse* versus *anerkjenning* may look somewhat artificial it is something that a translator or terminologist would have to consider at some point. Both morphemes/suffixes, *-else* and *-ing*, can be used in Bokmål and Nynorsk in word-formation, but not necessarily in the same way. Word-formation can be seen as a semantic extension, cf. Ungerer (2007: 652):

> Just like additional meanings of simple lexical items, word-formation items can be understood as encoding extensions, based on category judgments, from a profiled linguistic unit. The only difference between simplex and word-formation items is that in the

latter, additional meaningful components, both lexical items and affixes, are added.

In the case of -*ing* as an affix in *anerkjenning* where it may result in two different meanings in Nynorsk, -*ing* would be a homonym, cf. Marslen-Wilson (2007: 183):

> The underlaying claim here is that the choice between "storage" and "computation" – i.e., between whole-form or decompositional access – is tipped towards storage by any characteristics of the complex derived (or inflected) form which would make it relatively slower to access in decomposed format (Bertram, Laine, et al., 2000). One such factor is affix homonymy, which would introduce additional competition into a decompositional access process, since the ambiguous morpheme would need to be evaluated against two sets of grammatically different possibilities – is the {-er} in *slower*, for example, agentive or comparative?

One could also look at this from the perspective of frequency since the form *anerkjennelse* is much more frequent in Norwegian in general (written and oral Norwegian) than the verbal noun *anerkjenning*. Referring to Forster & Taft's *frequency ordered bin search* (FOBS) model (Forster 1989, Forster and Bednall 1976, Taft and Forster 1975), Traxler (2008: 101) states:

> According to Taft and Forster's model, lexical access involves people using auditory (or visual) cues to search their long-term memories for a matching stimulus. This search process is organized so that people do not need to search the entire lexicon every time they need to look up a word. Instead, lexical (word from) representations are organized into *bins*. The bins are organized according to word frequency. High-frequency words are stored toward the "front" of the bin and are searched first; lower frequency words are stored toward the "back" of the bin and are searched later.

Traxler (2008: 102) also discusses the importance of morphemes. Applied to Norwegian, the suffix -*ing* would be more frequent in Nynorsk than in Bokmål and the suffix -*else* would be much less frequent in Nynorsk than in Bokmål. Even though

both -*ing* and -*else* belong to a so-called closed-class category, one could also look at this from the cognitive perspective of cognitive *attention*, (see e.g., Naish 2005). For instance, Talmy (2008: 29) mentions the properties of a morpheme as one factor that might set the strength of attention. The frequency approach could also be extended to include the perspective of *visual word recognition* where the difference between the two morphemes -*else* and -*ing* and their frequency may – potentially – be a cause of recognition challenges (see e.g., Rastle 2007).

The word *anerkjennelse* is well established in Bokmål and in Norwegian in general because of the shared (written) language history with Danish which has existed for several hundred years (mainly from ca.1500-1900). According to Kluge (1995), the German word *erkennen* dates back to the 8th century whereas the form *anerkennen* came into use in the 16th century, which means during the time when there was only Danish as an official written language in Denmark and Norway. Even though *kjenne* (Old Norse *kenna*) was a common form in older versions of German, English and Norwegian, the forms *anerkjenne* and *anerkjennelse* are loanwords from German in Danish and subsequently in Norwegian. Since *ankendelse* is already an established word in Danish and hence Norwegian (*anerkjennelse*), the adoption of the word as a term and concept for Honneth's approach is seemingly uncontroversial and unproblematic. Even though the Danish translation of Honneth's (1992) book also has an introduction (Willig 2006), cf. the obvious need for an introduction to the English translation (Anderson 1995), there are no linguistic/metalinguistic reflections about the term *anerkendelse* in the Danish introduction (nor are there such reflections in the introduction to Honneth (2003a) (Willig 2003). Neither are there such reflections in the introduction to the Swedish translation of Honneth (2003b) (Heidegren 2003), apart from references to Honneth's own reflections. The Norwegian translation (Honneth 2008) has no introduction at all. Apparently, no-one saw any need to place Honneth's terminology in a Norwegian context, not to mention the perspective of term banks (cf. e.g., Thelen 2015) and language planning.

Jordet's (2020) approach is not a translation of Honneth's (1992) theory, instead it is an application/adaption to the Norwegian school system. Consequently, Jordet must – to some degree – deal with the term *anerkjennelse* itself in order to lay the ground for his own approach (Jordet 2020: 86-88). However, Jordet's approach is not based directly on Honneth (1992), but on the Norwegian translation (Honneth 2008). The Norwegian translation has no introduction; therefore, nothing is known about possible considerations given to the translation process. As mentioned above, the word *anerkjennelse* is already an established word in Norwegian Bokmål since Bokmål is a modification and development of/from Danish. Since the Danish translation was published in 2006 while the Norwegian translation came two years later, in 2008, it might be thought that the Norwegian translator had used the Danish translation as a guide. However, the Norwegian translation appears to be more independent and truer to the German original since it often deviates from the Danish translation.

To reiterate, the German term *Anerkennung* is translated, or rather transferred/adapted, directly from German to *anerkjennelse* (Bokmål) and *anerkendelse* (Danish), respectively. In contrast, the three differentiations of the concept *Anerkennung* are different (at least in the foreword). While the Danish translation (Honneth 2006a: 21) has *kærlighed*, *ret* and *respekt* for Honneth's terms *Liebe*, *Recht,* and *Wertschätzung* (Honneth 1992: 8), the Norwegian translation is closer to the German terms with *kjærlighet*, *rett*, and *verdsetting* (Honneth 2008: 7). The English translation has the terms *love*, *rights,* and *esteem* (Honneth 1995: 1). The Danish word *respekt* is, of course, a possible synonym for the Norwegian word *verdsetting* (one could also have used *respekt* in Norwegian), but the Danish translator could actually have used the Danish word *værdsættelse* here (cf. chap. 5 in Honneth 2006a) instead of the Latin loan word *respekt*. *Respect/respekt*, on the other hand, would be the only word that would work in all of these languages (German, English, Danish and Norwegian). That being said, Honneth himself explicitly thanked the Danish translator for his effort when translating

the Hegelian terms into Danish (Honneth 2006b: 19-20). Interestingly, Honneth (1992) uses the term *Wertschätzung* in his foreword as the third differentiation of the concept of *Anerkennung* while he uses *Solidarität* in his heading for chapter 5 where he discusses his terms (1992: 148). All the other translators also use the same Latin loan word (English: *solidarity*, Danish: *solidaritet*, Norwegian: *solidaritet*). Despite the use of *Solidarität* in the heading of chapter 5, Honneth uses *Wertschätzung* and *soziale Wertschätzung* in his discussion, as do the Danish and Norwegian translators (*social værdsættelse* and *sosial verdsetting*, respectively).

When I noticed the translation of Honneth's term *Wertschätzung* to Bokmål *verdsetting*, I believed that perhaps *verdsettelse* would have been a more appropriate term (cf. the discussion on the derivational suffixes -*else* versus -*ing* in Bokmål above). And, of course, *verdsettelse* would be a direct loan from Danish *værdsættelse*, which in its turn is a loan/transfer from German *Wertschätzung*. Surprisingly, neither *verdsettelse* nor *verdsetting* are actually listed in the official dictionary for Bokmål (Bokmålsordboka) authorized by the Language Council of Norway (Språkrådet). *Verdsetting* is only listed in the Nynorsk dictionary (Nynorskordboka). Both *verdsettelse* and *verdsetting* are, however, entries in non-official dictionaries for Bokmål, like e.g., Det Norske Akademis Ordbok (NAOB).

Jordet (2020: 86) starts his chapter on the theoretical framework with the subheading "Begrepet anerkjennelse – langt mer enn ros" ('the term recognition – way more than praise'). By opening his introduction to Honneth's theory in this way, Jordet already presupposes that the word *anerkjennelse* could be associated with praise and not some other possible meanings/synonyms that have been discussed above (e.g., *accept*). This may be natural in the context of pupils, school and pedagogy. In spite of this, Jordet actually tries to explore the linguistic root of the German word *anerkennen*. Additionally, for some reason, Jordet also used a Danish dictionary (Ordbog over det danske sprog) to define the meaning of the Norwegian word *anerkjenne*. This is somewhat strange, although it makes no

difference since Danish and Norwegian use the word in the same way. However, even though it looks as if Jordet is trying to discuss the terms *anerkjennelse* and *anerkjenne*, his purpose is merely to widen the concept of the term in Honneth's (1992) sense and to differentiate it from the more 'traditional' use in pedagogic contexts which, according to Jordet and others, is often characterized by superficial praise (Jordet 2020: 86). There is no sign, therefore, that Jordet is questioning the term *anerkjennelse* as equivalent to or appropriate for the German *Anerkennung* itself. Indeed, why would he? Jordet is not a linguist nor a professional translator, and he is building his approach on the established use of the term in pedagogy and psychology (e.g., Schibbye 1996).

It is a matter of perspective whether *anerkjennelse* in Norwegian Bokmål should be considered a loanword or not. On formal grounds, the word is definitely 'inherited' via the shared history with the Danish written language. And on formal grounds, it is easy to identify, the German affixes giving away the origin of the word. However, the word has been in use for a very long time in Norwegian and one would normally not react to it unless one is occupied with linguistic purism, e.g., if one belongs to the minority of politically conscious/active users of Nynorsk that try to avoid non-Norwegian words as far as possible.

Now that the word *anerkjennelse* has come into focus as a term within social philosophy and consequently the pedagogic field, it also must be discussed as a term that might find its way into the curriculum and didactic theory and practise. Obviously, standardization of terminology is important within a professional domain, and, eventually, it is also a matter that official language institution(s) would want to comment upon and perhaps regulate (cf. chap. 7 in "Retningslingjer for normering", Språkrådet ('Guidelines for standardization'; The Language Council of Norway)). According to Vikør (2007: 216), standardization has the aim of avoiding (first of all) English terminology in Norwegian by trying to find appropriate Norwegian terms. Also, one would try – as far as this is possible – to find terms that are the same or similar across the Nordic languages, and,

obviously, be as alike as possible in the two written varieties Bokmål and Nynorsk. One background for the standardization policy and the need to develop Norwegian terminology is the fact that English, as the main 'supplier' of terminology in today's global society, did not have the same status in the school system previously. Today, Norwegian pupils learn English at school for twelve/thirteen years, and English is more or less ubiquitous in Norwegian society, so one should expect that the majority of Norwegian citizens can understand English. Hence, terminology work and standardization does not necessarily have to do with understanding, but to some degree with linguistic protectionism.

As has already been mentioned, *anerkjennelse* is an established word in Bokmål and in Norwegian in general. The word also seems to have become established in recent publications based on Honneth's term *Anerkennung*. Due to the standardization principles for Nynorsk, *anerkjennelse* is not a good candidate for a Nynorsk term, and *anerkjenning* is the official Nynorsk form of the word. As has already been discussed, some users of Bokmål may feel or perceive a semantic distinction between *anerkjennelse* and *anerkjenning*, the latter preferably being a verbal noun with focus on the action. But this is a general challenge in the relation between the two written varieties of Norwegian and not isolated to this term alone. From a common Nordic perspective, one could say that the terms *anerkendelse* (Danish), *anerkjennelse* (Bokmål), *anerkjenning* (Nynorsk) and possibly *erkännande* (Swedish) are 'acceptable' as Nordic representatives for the German *Anerkennung*. Some users of Nynorsk might still not feel comfortable using the term *anerkjenning*, but that will probably change over time when/if the term is used more often in educational contexts and in the professional literature. From an overall semantic perspective, one might wonder why Honneth chose the term *Anerkennung* for his approach. Obviously, he was bound by the history and tradition of Fichte, Hegel and others, so there was a century-long established discourse on the term *Anerkennung*. Therefore, Honneth (1992) found it necessary to differentiate between the three forms of

Anerkennung: Liebe, Recht, Solitarität/soziale Wertschätzung.
Personally, I am first of all a linguist and a teacher of Norwegian
linguistics and language didactics, and not a philosopher. But
one might wonder whether the term *Wertschätzung* ('esteem'),
possibly with modifying adjectives, could suffice to cover those
differentiations, e.g., 'affectional esteem', 'legal esteem' and 'so-
cial esteem': if not in social philosophy of the dimensions that
Honneth represents, at least from a practical and didactic point
of view, different forms of esteem would be easy to understand
and apply in the classroom. Nordic/Scandinavian pedagogic ap-
proaches also have much in common and the terms *verdsetting*
(Bokmål and Nynorsk), *værdsætning* (Danish), and *värdsättning*
(Swedish) would be possible choices. However, since *Wert-
schätzung* is used by Honneth as one of the three different forms
of *Anerkennung*, it is probably not possible to influence the fu-
ture development and implementation of the term in pedagogic
theory and practise.

4.   Conclusion

When introduced to Honneth's (1992) theory of recognition by
a Norwegian colleague of mine (Jordet 2020), my initial reaction
was that I found the application to pedagogy and didactics very
promising. Since my field of research focuses on Nynorsk as an
alternative written Norwegian language and I am a user of Ny-
norsk myself, I needed to reflect upon the fact that the Norwe-
gian Bokmål term *anerkjennelse* with three non-Nordic affixes
is – from a morphological perspective – not an 'appropriate' term
in Nynorsk. In my investigation of the term in German and in
this context related languages like English, Danish and Swe-
dish, I found it necessary to lift the discussion to a metalevel
dealing with terminology connected with translation and stand-
ardization in general. From a formal linguistic and semantic/et-
ymological point of view, one might question the choice and use
of certain translations in different languages. However, the use
of words and terminology also has a social-practise component,
i.e., when a word or term is established, it is not always neces-

sary or possible to change it; for instance, the English term *literacy* has proved to be rather resistant in Norwegian professional language despite numerous attempts to find 'better' or corresponding Norwegian terms. The term *anerkjennelse* is different to the term *literacy* in the way that *literacy* is a rather new term loaned from English academic language characterizing the discourse on teaching and learning in the new millennium, whereas *anerkjennelse* has been a well-established non-domain-specific Norwegian word for a long time, even though it has its origin in Danish and German. From a semantic point of view, the Bokmål version *anerkjennelse* and the Nynorsk version *anerkjenning* may have a slightly different interpretation or semantic focus. From a standardization point of view, on the other hand, one can say that these two spellings or forms are just different morphological representations of the same word in accordance with the general orthographic and morphological rules for Bokmål and Nynorsk. However, since 85 % of Norwegian pupils learn Bokmål as their main written language and Bokmål is the dominant language in all public communication, the Nynorsk term *anerkjenning* will probably still struggle and live its life in the shadow of the Bokmål version *anerkjennelse*. Seen from the perspective of the Educational Role of Language network, the pupils' *language-beliefs* could be affected in the way that they might believe that *anerkjennelse* and *anerkjenning* are not exactly the same; at least they might wonder why these terms do not have the same orthographic/lexical form. It might also have an effect on the pupils' *language-activity*, e.g., they might use the Bokmål term in their Nynorsk writing, or they might demand even more direct feedback from the teacher when seeing the term as a verbal noun with focus on the activity more than on the concept. This again may have an effect on the pupils' *language-affect*. The counter-term of *Anerkennung* ('recognition') has not been discussed in this paper. This term is *Missachtung* ('disrespect'), which may lead to different forms of 'violations' (Honneth 1992: chpt. 6). Hence, if the pupils feel disrespected, they may feel violated in some way. 'Violation' may potentially happen solely because of the terminology and

expectations associated with this terminology. As for the ERL perspective *language-thinking*, the use of terms like *Anerkennung* and *Missachtung* in itself creates a 'reality' that may affect the thinking of the pupils (without implying the whole of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Sapir 1949, Whorf 1956)). The pupils may think that recognition (in Honneth's sense) should always be there and be 'visible' through explicit actions. If they do not 'see' explicit recognition in the classroom, they may automatically think this is a sign of disrespect. The so-called Generation Z is often already perceived as feeling more easily 'violated' for different reasons than previous generations. The concrete understanding and use of the term(s) for *Anerkennung* and Honneth's (1992) terminology and their consequences will have to be subject to future studies in the classroom.

Underlying the considerations presented above, the general question I tried to answer in this paper was to what degree it is unproblematic to more or less directly transfer or adapt a scientific term from German to the linguistically closely related Scandinavian languages Norwegian, Danish and Swedish. I have tried to show that it would be useful if translators, researchers and language planners thought of themselves as members of a 'team' and have a meta-perspective when it comes to the translation and the use of certain scientific terms. The more specific question I asked was whether there should be more linguistic awareness and collaboration in the translation and adaption of terminology when it comes to the two official Norwegian languages Bokmål and Nynorsk in order to avoid unnecessary confusion within a given professional field. An investigation of the two morphemes -*else* and -*ing* revealed challenges that are not necessarily dealt with on a meta-level and that may be especially challenging for translators, researchers and language planners.

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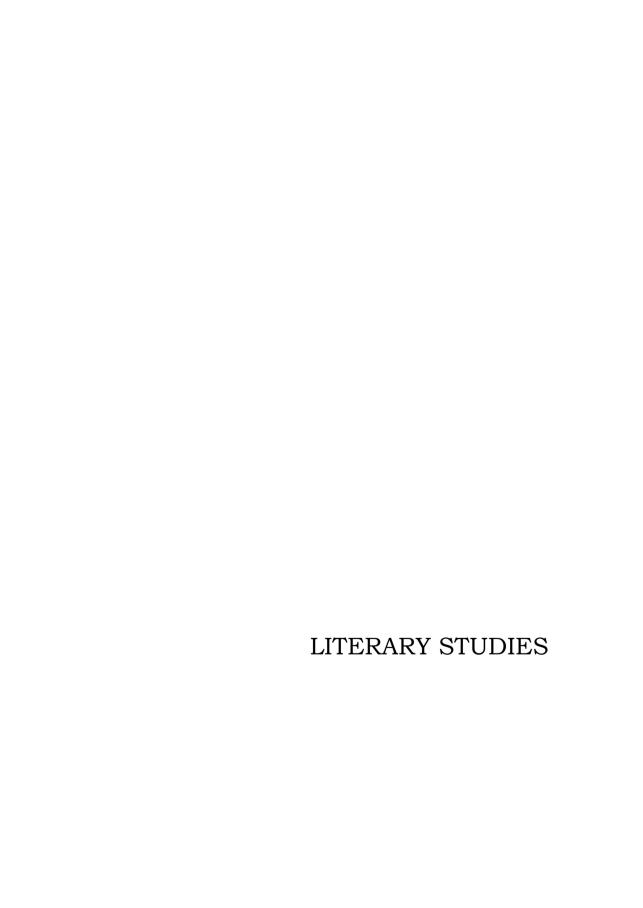   *Recognition (Sociology)* <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Recognition_(sociology)>.
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LITERARY STUDIES

Dublin à la Noir: Dermot Bolger's
The Journey Home

MARIA FENGLER

Abstract

The article discusses the presentation of Dublin in the novel *The Journey Home* by Dermot Bolger (1990) with reference to both the novel's historical and socio-economic setting in the 1980s and the literary tradition of urban representations, particularly Charles Dickens and the conventions of noir fiction. Drawing on the theoretical concepts of non-place (Marc Augé) and site (Edward S. Casey), it argues that the modernization of the city centre and the sprawling of Dublin's suburbs lead to the transformation of places, understood as locations of history, identity and community, into non-places/sites, i.e. non-differentiated, uniform spaces destructive of a sense of co-mmunity and political responsibility. An analysis of the descriptions of the city centre and suburbs demonstrates that in the novel the urban setting becomes at once a cause and a reflection of the psychological and social problems of the protagonists. In this way, far from being a passive location of the action, the city becomes an active force, which shapes the lives of the protagonists with the inevitability characteristic of literary noir.

Dublin à la noir: *The Journey Home* Dermota Bolgera

Abstrakt

Artykuł omawia obraz Dublina w powieści Dermota Bolgera *The Journey Home* (1990), zwracając uwagę zarówno na osadzenie powieści w historycznych i socjoekonomicznych realiach lat 1980-tych, jak i na literacką tradycję przedstawiania przestrzeni miejskich, zwłaszcza Charlesa Dickensa oraz konwencje powieści noir. Wychodząc od teoretycznych koncepcji „nie-miejsca" (Marc Augé) oraz „site" (Edward S. Casey), artykuł dowodzi, że modernizacja miejskiego centrum oraz rozrost przedmieść Dublina prowadzi do transformacji miejsc, rozumianych jako ośrodki historii, tożsamości i więzi społecznych, w nie-miejsca, a więc niezróżnicowane, zuniformizowane przestrzenie, które wywierają destrukcyjny wpływ na poczucie wspól-noty i politycznej odpowiedzialności. Analiza opisów centrum oraz przedmieść, jak również wpływu otoczenia na bohaterów, prowadzi do wniosku, że przestrzeń miejska ukazana w powieści staje się jednocześnie powodem i odbiciem problemów psychologicznych i społecznych. W ten sposób miasto przestaje być jedynie bierną lokalizacją fabuły, a staje się aktywną siłą, która determinuje życie bohaterów w sposób charakterystyczny dla poetyki noir.

At once central and peripheral, metropolitan and colonial, Dublin has always had a complex relationship with the island of which it is the capital. For most of its history it was an English speaking, Protestant urban enclave surrounded by the pre-

dominantly rural, Gaelic and Catholic population. The dialectical tensions of Dublin's position did not disappear, but perhaps intensified when, in the twentieth century, the city became the capital of independent Ireland. Its very hybridity and urbanity stood in marked contrast to the experience of the majority of the still mainly rural population. Neither did it fit with the Republican view of Irish identity, which located essential Catholic and Gaelic-speaking Irishness in the west of the island. Dublin's Georgian terraces, elegant squares, imposing public buildings and monuments such as Nelson's Pillar were not only perceived as alien but also constituted a constant reminder of British domination. In the 1950s and 60s, indeed as late as the 1980s, whole quarters of the eighteenth-century city were demolished to make way for modern offices, often with the enthusiastic approval of both local and central authorities.

The motivations for this neglect and destruction of historical heritage were not only ideological but also socio-economic. Already by the early 1900s, as recorded in the plays of Sean O'Casey, many of the Georgian terraces had been turned into tenements, where the Dublin working class lived in appalling conditions. Now the dilapidated sites were re-developed to show the modernity of the independent state, while the former inner-city dwellers were moved to better living conditions in the newly constructed corporation housing estates in the suburbs. Meanwhile, the city continued to grow at a rapid pace, owing to both the high fertility rates of Dublin families and in-migration from rural areas in search of jobs in factories, businesses and administration. Naturally, these demographic changes meant a large territorial expansion, with ever-growing Dublin suburbs swallowing the neighbouring countryside and old rural communities. At the same time, however, the infrastructure and services failed to keep up with a growing demand for council housing and social benefits, let alone community centres and leisure facilities. This contributed to widespread political clientelism and corruption. In the realities of the economic slump of the 1980s, the working class housing estates in the suburbs turned into what Siobhán Kilfeather has called "quintessential dystopia"

(Kilfeather 2005: 202), where unemployment led to violent crime, alcoholism and drug abuse, and emigration, yet again in Irish history, seemed the only option.

Hailed as "the best novel about Dublin since Joyce" (blurb), Dermot Bolger's *The Journey Home*, published in 1990, is an imaginative exploration of the psychological, social and political effects of these developments. It is a dark tale of deracination, urban alienation and moral, political and economic corruption, which employs noir conventions to paint a picture of the desperate lives of young Dubliners and offer a bitter critique of twentieth-century Ireland. The plot follows its young protagonists, Hano/Francis and Katie/Cait (the fact that they are both called by several different names or nicknames during the course of the novel is significant, as I will discuss later), as they run away from Dublin after the death of their friend Shay. Since they are hiding from the police, it is clear that they must have committed some kind of crime, which (obviously) is not revealed until the end of the novel. The events that led up to the bloody climax are gradually disclosed through Francis' and Shay's first-person accounts. These flashbacks not only reveal the psychological and social motivations behind the novel's sensational action, but also tell a history of Dublin and its citizens over four decades, from the late 1940s to the 1980s. It is especially Francis' account, charting the experience of two generations of his working-class family, that focuses in great detail on descriptions of the urban setting. In this way the character explicitly links the questions of identity and belonging with the physical and social changes that he observes in his Dublin suburb and the city at large.

The subjective first-person flashbacks are in turn interspersed with the third-person narrative of Francis' and Katie's escape across Ireland in search of refuge in the rural west, coinciding with the last days before a general election, "the third in eighteen months" (this is a comment on the perpetual political stalemate, but also a reference to real events, which would set the novel in 1982). Here again, the third-person narrator combines a noir-type social and political commentary on the

short-sighted and self-serving machinery of Irish politics with close attention to changes in the landscape. Like its capital, Ireland is also a country in transition, leaving its past behind but not offering much in way of a future. The descriptions of the setting juxtapose the timeless beauty of the landscape, the coastline, boglands and prehistoric dolmens, with constructions that are evidence of a changing culture and depressed economy. These include crumbling Victorian warehouses, factories which are either closed down or produce toxic waste, as well as dilapidated dance halls and ruined labourers' cottages, emblematic of an older rural culture, side by side with nondescript modern housing estates. Such a narrative strategy obviously serves to increase suspense, while at the same time it widens the scope of the novel's social critique, the journey across Ireland revealing signs of the same malaise that can be observed in the capital city.

As the title suggests, *The Journey Home*[1] is crucially preoccupied with the questions of home and homelessness, its protagonists paradoxically dogged by a profound feeling of alienation caused by the rapid modernization of the country and, at the same time, terrified of "being trapped" (*TJH* 81) by old forms and ways of life. Importantly, home is a concept that combines spatial, psychological and social categories: it is both a building in a particular locality and a sense of belonging to a particular family and community. This fundamental relation between place and individual identity is at the heart of the novel. Crucially, in all three narratives the setting is far more than a backdrop against which the events take place. Rather, the thrust of the exploration of modern Irish identity and the novel's scathing social critique is conveyed as much through extended descriptions of Dublin and the Irish countryside as the development of the characters and the plot. As a result, in *The Journey Home* the physical setting becomes at once a cause and a reflection of the psychological and social problems presented in the novel. In

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[1] Henceforth in the references the title will be abbreviated to *TJH*. All references are to: Dermot Bolger, *The Journey Home*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991.

this article, I am going to focus on the depiction of Dublin, the city centre and the suburbs, suggesting how, far from being a passive location for the action, the city becomes an active force, which shapes the lives of the protagonists with the inevitability characteristic of literary noir.

Although *The Journey Home* is not strictly speaking a hard-boiled crime story, it nevertheless shares important qualities of "a 'noir' sensibility", whose elements are defined by Andrew Pepper as "an unknowable, morally compromised protagonist who is implicated in the sordid world he inhabits, an overwhelming sense of fatalism and bleakness, and a sociopo-litical critique that yields nothing and goes nowhere" (Pepper 2010: 58).[2] Importantly, American noir, the novel's literary model, flourished during a period marked by a sense of "profound contingency", when it was widely felt that "the social order barely contained a fundamental moral chaos" (Cochran 2000: 3). This fear of encroaching chaos is reflected in the urban setting, one of the hallmarks of noir: the modern city depicted as a wasteland, "a man-made desert or cavern of lost humanity" (Cawelti 1976: 155), in which "evil has become endemic and pervasive", corrupting even the most respectable citizens and institutions (Cawelti 1976: 156). Bolger's portrayal of Dublin, as we shall see, clearly grows out of similar preoccupations and shares the same literary techniques.

John Cawelti cites the muckrakers and T.S. Eliot's *Waste Land* as literary antecedents of noir (Cawelti 1976: 154), but it was Charles Dickens who was the first writer to make the

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[2] Philip Simpson also points out that it is the conventions of shaping the fictional world and the protagonists, rather than the crime formula as such, that define literary noir: "the element of violent crime does not in and of itself define noir; rather, noir is stamped by its prevailing mood of pessimism, personal and societal failure, urban paranoia, the individual's disconnection from society, and cynicism. It addresses social issues, such as class inequities […]. Noir's universe is bleak, divested of meaning. Flawed human beings in these stories must somehow make moral decisions with no transcendent foundation of morality on which to base them. The consequences of those decisions are frequently fatal and always tragic to someone" (Simpson 2010: 189). Many elements in this description fit *The Journey Home* perfectly, as will be demonstrated in the present article.

rapidly expanding metropolis one of his chief literary subjects, focusing on the disturbing aspects of urban growth. Bolger's attitude to Dublin has been likened to that of Dickens to London[3] and there are important affinities between the two writers. One of the devices that Bolger shares with Dickens is a frequent use of metaphor and simile, which tend to animate the city, as if it was human, or at least "a living thing" (*TJH* 38). As Francis, the main protagonist of the novel, observes, "It is strange how a city grows into your senses, how you become attuned to its nuances like living with a lover. [...] [W]hen I'd walk home at dawn from work in the petrol station, I'd feel a sense of the suburb as being like a creature who'd switched itself off, leaving street lights and advertising slogans as sentinels" (*TJH* 22). The trope is persistent: at the start of the weekend Dublin is described as "moving towards the violent crescendo of its Friday night, taking to the twentieth century like the aborigine to whiskey" (*TJH* 35). Dublin houses "sleep" (*TJH* 82) or "nestle between the crossed arms of the cemetery" (*TJH* 114); abandoned factories look with "blind plate-glass eyes"; a "run-down hospital" seems "more human" (*TJH* 115), while the "ugly [...] bunkers of the civic offices" are described as "squatting" (*TJH* 163). In another telling simile, new estates "like a besieging army, [...] ring" (*TJH* 5) or "ensnare" old villages (*TJH* 61). When Francis looks back at the city from the cliffs, he sees "The whole of Dublin [...] glowing like a living thing sprawled out before his eyes, like the splintered bones of a corpse lit up in an X-ray. Hours before he had still been a part of it, one cell in a vibrant organism" (*TJH* 38). The comparisons here perfectly capture the in-between, limbo-like character of Bolger's Dublin: a vast organism both hectically alive and horrifyingly dead; a fascinating but monstrous, diseased body, both corrupt and corrupting. Needless to say, this strategy of metaphorization serves to strengthen the sense of the city as a protagonist, actively participating in the action of the novel.

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[3] According to Joseph O'Connor, "Bolger is to contemporary Dublin what Dickens was to Victorian London: archivist, reporter, sometimes infuriated lover." *The Family on Paradise Pier*, blurb.

Like Dickens – and noir writers after him – Bolger also portrays the capital in the throes of rapid change, a modernization tearing down and transforming the very fabric of the city centre, while urban sprawl devours the surrounding countryside and its traditional, close-knit communities. Bolger also follows the example of his literary predecessors in his preoccupation with the consequences of this chaotic erasure of the past, showing how it results in a sense of contingency and loss of agency which threaten the survival of "an urban community with a coherent collective sense of purpose" (Alter 2005: 49). In *The Journey Home* Dublin city centre, usually described at night, becomes a noir wasteland, a dispiriting labyrinth of "crumbling" (*TJH* 35) or "reeling" (*TJH* 36) alleyways, peopled by the homeless, the unemployed, the drunk, addicted and deranged. A frequent stylistic device is enumeration: lists of disjointed bits and fragments which build the cityscape. In this way spatial chaos created by the destruction of orderly urban space is accompanied by, or perhaps even conditions, moral and social chaos – the dissolution of all sense of urban community, of meaning, of direction:

> I drove slowly, with a sickness in my stomach, along the quays and down alleyways where dirty children huddled in groups with bags of glue and plastic cider bottles. Some spat at the slow car, others watched in mute indifference. […] At times we moved at a funeral pace and those badly lit alleyways could have been some ghostly apparition of a dead city which we were driving through. Murky lanes with broken street lights, the ragged edges of tumbledown buildings, a carpet of glass and condoms, of chip papers and plastic cartons, and, picked out in the headlights, the hunched figures of children and tramps wrapped in blankets or lying under cardboard, their hands raised to block the glare of headlights. (*TJH* 162-163)

> We walked across town, up along Capel Street and through the jumble of ruins that had been Ball's Alley and Parnell Street. Watchmen in huts surveyed the last few cars parked on the uneven gravel where houses once stood. A hot smell of grease and vinegar came from the chip shop left standing by itself. A man tried to sleep

in what was once a doorway; a deranged woman in slippers wandered happily by herself. We walked past the Black Church and through the park where a canal had once run. The flour mill was deserted now; the wives and children back among the lines of estates; the workers on the dole swapping memories of jail. The long, straight road home was ahead of us now, past the ominous black railings of the cemetery. (*TJH* 204)

It is highly significant that the Voters' Register office, where Shay and Francis meet for the first time – the only more or less "proper" job they have in the course of the novel – is equally dark and labyrinthine as the city centre. It is "a high, cold room partitioned by a warren of stacked shelving and three long benches besieged by chairs" (*TJH* 16), which Francis compares to a "crypt" (*TJH* 22). Far from performing any meaningful tasks, the staff spend their days in chronic boredom, mindlessly stamping and sorting "the endless procession of blue files" (*TJH* 22) as governments redraw the map of constituencies in order to gain an advantage. Mooney, the boss, dominating this "cramped office" (*TJH* 28) and presiding over the work lives of the desperate employees, is a bully and sexual harasser. Even he, however, turns out to be a victim as much as a persecutor, destructive, but also destroyed by the noir world he lives in: a Monaghan man exiled in Dublin, making up for the sterility of his life by petty cruelty. In a sense, the office reflects the city and its social and political relations in miniature, and is similarly at once morally corrupted and corrupting. The fact that it is located near Kilmainham Jail, where the leaders of the Easter Rising laid down their lives in 1916 in a blood sacrifice meant to awaken the Irish national spirit and inspire the fight for Irish independence, is an obvious comment on the failure of the Irish state to deliver on the hopes and ideals of the Rising. So is the name of the pub, Irish Martyrs Bar & Lounge, where Francis and Shay repair to for their lunchtime drink, daily intoxication numbing them to the stultifying tedium of the job.

The Journey Home does not restrict its social critique to documenting the transition and crisis transforming the city centre

into an urban wasteland, but also explores the effects of the uncontrolled growth of Dublin's sprawling suburbs. The main protagonists, Francis, Shay and Katie, all live in a suburb in the north of Dublin, closely modelled on the village of Finglas, where Bolger himself grew up. Significantly, however, while the depiction of the city centre often relies on topographically mimetic detail, real landmarks and actual street names, the suburb is never named. This not only frees the author from strict adherence to outside reality, allowing him to mould the space of the fictional world as it suits his imaginative purposes, but also stresses the universality of the presented issues. Katie, slightly younger, is perhaps the most obviously uprooted of the three: an orphan who finds that she needs to amputate the memories of her childhood in the rural west of Ireland in order to fit in the harsh reality of the capital city (this change of identity is reflected by the change of her name, from Gaelic Cait to Katie). Francis and Shay, however, though born and bred in a Dublin suburb, are also deracinated, if in more subtle ways. Even though their parents come from different backgrounds – inner city working class in Shay's case and a Kerry farm in Francis' and "would not have mixed, being from different worlds, with different sets of experiences" (*TJH* 5), both feel equally exiled in the suburb. In Shay's estate, its "backyards ringing with displaced Dublin accents", he "must have woken to the noise of pigeon lofts, that city man's sport" (*TJH* 6), while "his uncles and great aunts left behind in the Liberties […] welcomed him like a returned *émigré* to the courtyards of squalid Victorian flats and led him around ramshackled streets choked with traffic, pitying him the open spaces of the distant roads he played on" (*TJH* 8).

If Shay's family find it difficult to adjust to the suburban setting, Francis' parents, like other neighbours coming from rural areas, try to overcome the culture shock of moving to the city by making it as similar to the countryside they left behind as possible: "[they] transport[ed] their country habits from bedsits along the canal back to the laneways again. […] They planted trees in the image of their lost homeland, put down potato beds,

built timber hen-houses. I woke to the sound of chicks escaping through the wire mesh to scamper among rows of vegetables" (*TJH* 6). People like Francis' father choose to uproot themselves and move to Dublin in the hope of offering the prospect of better lives to their children. The city, however, remains an alien and inhospitable space, which they try to fend off not only by recreating surrogate farmyards in their tiny gardens, but also by keeping rural habits and routines, kneeling down every day to say the family rosary, tuning in to folk programmes on the radio, following the results of their native Gaelic football teams. From the beginning Francis – or Francy as he is called by his parents, a rural Irish, and hopelessly unfashionable, form of the name – is taught that his home is elsewhere. Yet during his visit to Kerry, seeing his father happy and relaxed milking a cow, Francis feels disoriented as if he has stumbled "into the Russian outback" (*TJH* 133). It is the first time he feels a gulf opening between him and his parents, a gulf that is going to widen until it is no longer possible to bridge it, their lives like "two dialects of a lost tongue growing ever more incomprehensible to each other" (*TJH* 118).

The process of Francis' alienation from his parents is exacerbated by the progressive modernization and urbanization of the suburb. When his parents move to the estate in 1951, it is still very much a village surrounded by green fields, even if bulldozers are already moving in to destroy the old labourers' cottages and new housing estates begin to "ring" the old centre "like a besieging army" (*TJH* 5). It is the submerged memory of this village, the lost possibility of a true home, which continues to haunt both Francis and Shay. With its pagan holy well and an ancient Celtic cross, the ruins of a Gothic church in an old graveyard, the post office, pub, skittle alley, a parochial hall and a cinema, the original village fully answers the description of an anthropological place as defined by Marc Augé: it is "a place of identity, of relations and of history" (1995: 52). Its inhabitants are a stable community, meeting at annual Corpus Christi processions, Christmas concerts and dances in the parochial hall, and preserving ancient customs and old local

legends. In the course of time, however, in two parallel pro-
cesses, as Francis and Shay grow up – and grow away from the
traditional worlds of their parents to embrace more internation-
ally-minded modernity – the village is also transformed. It be-
comes a modern "non-place".

Augé defines non-place as the opposite of place and its hu-
man, community-binding significance. It is a space (space itself
being a "non-symbolized" and abstract area or distance devoid
of any local meaning (Augé 1995: 82)) "formed in relation to cer-
tain ends (transport, transit, commerce, leisure)", which "create
solitary contractuality" (Augé 1995: 94). As examples, Augé
points to international hotels, supermarkets, air-ports and mo-
torways. The distinction between place and non-place is similar
to the distinction which the philosopher Edward Casey makes
between place and site. Like non-place, site is "place […] con-
sidered a mere 'modification' of space […] that is, leveled-down,
monotonous space for building and other human enterprises
[…], reduced to locations between which movements of physical
bodies occur" (Casey 1998: x). Place, by contrast, "brings with
it the very elements sheared off in the planiformity of site: iden-
tity, character, nuance, history" (Casey 1998: xiii). Casey also
points to another important aspect of place, namely the link be-
tween place, ethics and politics. The Greek words polis (city) and
ethea (habitat), as he notes, form the root of the modern words
politics and ethics, firmly connecting both concepts with the
idea of place. Similarly, rituals which bind individual people into
community need specific places where they can be properly per-
formed (Casey1998: xiv). Here again Casey's observation chime
with Augé's, whose concept of "solitary contractuality" associ-
ated with non-places clearly points to their destructiveness to
a sense of community.[4] Importantly, also, as the common ety-
mology suggests,a transformation of place into site/non-place
may have grave ethical and political consequences, leading to

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[4] It may also be noted that Augé's and Casey's concepts of place have
a lot in common with Eliade's description of ritually sacralized space marked
as "own" by a community (Eliade 1963: 32–58).

the deterioration of a sense of communal responsibility that should form the foundation of political life.

In *The Journey Home*, the first step on the road from place to non-place is the construction of a dual carriageway, one of Augé's prototypical non-places, which bisects the village. As lorries zoom through the old centre and overspeeding cars crash through the railings, the village loses its focal point, the meeting place necessary for the constitution of community. The carriageway thus becomes a vivid image of the way the anonymity and mindless speed of modernity destroy old places, which used to give a sense of identity to their inhabitants. The suburb is now divided into East and West, and young Francy, wandering by accident into the other half of the village, feels like "a West Berliner who'd strayed across the Iron Curtain" (*TJH* 27), a comparison clearly implying a double alienation. The village soon sports other non-places, such as new shopping centres, while the parochial hall falls into ruin. Trading the traditional for the modern, the local for the global, the suburb not only loses its identity and connection with the past, but also discards all the old community-building rituals and traditional social events. Its inhabitants also lose their connection with the natural world: in an effort to adapt to the urban and cosmopolitan modern world, the neighbours replace hedgerows with concrete walls, pave their gardens and give their houses fancy names:

> The world of the gardens had changed. Where neighbours once kept the city out with hedgerows and chickens, now they used broken glass cemented into concrete walls. A decade had worked its influence. The alder bushes were gone, the last of the hens butchered. Patios had appeared with crazy paving, mock Grecian fonts made of plastic, and everywhere, like a frozen river, concrete reigned. Porches had sprung up bearing ludicrous names, Ashbrook, Riverglade, The Dell, each neighbour jockeying to be the first to discard their past. (*TJH* 9)

In this context, the "unmodernized" though increasingly neglected garden at Francis' place becomes a symbol of his father's stubborn attempt to cling to his Kerryman identity, a refusal to

give in to the city. His attitude, however, produces a powerful sense of disorientation in his son, required to live simultaneously in two places and two times: the family home, where his father insists on preserving Irish country traditions, and the modern world of "the American films, the British programmes, the French clothes, the Dutch football" (*TJH* 80). At fourteen, he begins to go hitchhiking in the countryside mythologized by his father, enjoying the freedom to invent "other names, other lives" (*TJH* 147), trying to discover a sense of identity and a place where he could belong. The news he brings back home, however, is of a country in transition, an incomprehensible world of foreign tourists and fighting skinheads. Much later, when he is hiding from the police in the countryside – the traditional location of true Irishness – he realizes that "He was no prodigal returning home" but "an intruder in a landscape he could never call his own" (*TJH* 133). It is significant that the only person he truly befriends (and the only person who calls him by his real name, Francis) is an old Anglo-Irish Protestant, a woman just as dispossessed and isolated as he is. Incidentally, it is also this friendship that clinches his alienation from his father, who forbids him to meet the woman again.

Despite his sense of isolation and unstable identity, reflected in his name: Francy to his parents, Hano to Shay and their friends, Francis still feels a sense of identification with, and fidelity to, the lost village. In this, he is markedly different from the teenagers only a few years younger. Their disconnection from the local past is complete: they have never been told the old stories and legends, they have no recollection of the processions to the holy well or dances in the hall: to them, the "obscure images" from Francis' memories "would seem from another planet" (*TJH* 227). Even recent national history remains an alien concept, as evidenced by the graffiti-smeared monument to Eoghan Plunkett, a (fictional) hero of the Easter Rising of 1916, around which children gather to dance to reggae music from ghetto blasters. As Francis observes: "They were an autonomous world, a new nation with no connection to the housewives passing or the men coming home from work in the factories. And

little even in common with me, though I was only a few years older than them" (*TJH* 227).

The teenagers, Katie's friends, are not only cut off from the past and a sense of connection with the village and its people, but also deprived of a future, doomed to boredom, frustration and unemployment. This is again suggested by the descriptions of the setting: in the absence of community centres, their usual meeting places are, again symbolically, the graveyard or cavernous, abandoned factories. The latter, a reminder of the hopes raised by the industrialization policy of the 1960s, is where the teenagers drink cider, sniff glue, plan how to rob pensioners to get money for drugs, swallow ecstasy pills, and finally graduate to heroin and shared needles. Katie describes her friends as "violent, brutal stars", "burn[ing] out" (*TJH* 42) before their lives have a chance to start properly: ending up as heroin addicts, locked up in prison for brutal assaults, or in psychiatric hospitals, with damaged brains. It is significant that the only time they are relaxed and happy is when they go joyriding through the countryside to the beach outside Dublin, away from the "mishmash of shapes and plastic signs" (*TJH* 276), away from the dual carriageway and the empty shells of disused factories: "All the screaming and slagging stopped when we hit the shoreline, like we were at the end of a journey. When the wheels touched the sand there'd be silence, all of us just staring out at the sea" (*TJH* 40). The natural beauty and tranquillity of the seaside, which "belonged to nobody" (*TJH* 41), offers them temporary respite from their violent and hopeless existence.

The decline of the old order and the advent of the new is symbolically captured in Francis' description of the village centre: "The shopping centres ringed the edge of the hill – before us Plunkett Auctioneers'; behind us Plunkett Stores; down a lane to the left Plunkett Motors; and, beside the Protestant church across the bridge, Plunkett Undertakers on the right to complete the crucifixion. [...] Through the Gothic arch of the ruined church wall the shopping centre rose like a space-age monster" (*TJH* 74-75). While the Gothic ruins evoke the lost sense of the sacred, of history and community, the shopping centre is

a modern temple of consumerism, where human contact is reduced to "solitary contractuality" (Augé 1995: 94). The contrast between the two clearly acquires the force of a symbol. However, the suburb is also, as becomes more and more evident, a place owned and ruled by the Plunkett family: Pascal, the powerful, corrupt businessman, his brother Patrick, a member of parliament and a silent partner in all Pascal's business ventures, and Justin, Patrick's son. Justin, a pimp and drug dealer who provides drugs to Katie and her friends, is already groomed to become his father's political (and his uncle's business) successor. The family relationship is here obviously emblematic of the shady interpenetration of business and politics, corrupt politicians and businessmen equally profiting from the inadequacy and weakness of the central and local administration. This terrifying, grotesque three-headed beast becomes a nemesis presiding over the lives of both the protagonists and the whole suburb.

It is Pascal who (with Patrick's political influence) acquires planning permissions for land to be "rezoned" for residential housing; Pascal who buys out or intimidates family businesses. It is also Pascal who, in the absence of adequate social services, fills the void between the government and the citizen, providing loans to desperate people no bank would talk to. He then, of course, recovers the debt, plus interest, using the services of two gun-carrying gorillas. Like Francis, Pascal's tough guys have families to support, and no prospects for work. It is also Pascal who is the main employer in the area and so Francis inevitably has to turn to him when he is looking for work to support his mother and four younger siblings after his father's death. He then finds himself humiliated and isolated from the rest of the workers, progressively compromised, and finally sexually abused. Needless to say, in this noir world there is no point in complaining to the police, who are as much on the Plunketts' payroll as the rest of the suburb.

Shay, Francis' friend and role model, tries emigration, an obvious option which Francis is too scared to take. But instead of freedom and adventure, he meets other homeless and dislocated

people, and when, broke and homeless in Amsterdam, he stumbles into Patrick Plunkett, he is subjected to a harrowing sexual experience. Finally defeated after his unsuccessful attempt to seek a better life on the continent and failure to secure any job other than temporary stints as a kitchen porter or security guard (all in the black economy) back in Dublin, he becomes a drug courier working for Justin Plunkett. The way both Francis and Shay are drawn towards, and corrupted – sexually and morally – by the Plunketts has all the inevitability and sordidness of a classic noir. And it is in the inexorable way of a classic noir that the novel develops towards the double murder which sends Francis and Katie on their hopeless flight across Ireland.

But if Pascal and Patrick Plunkett are dark sources of corruption, they are too, in a sense, victims. Pascal, like Mooney, the bullying but pitiful boss from the Voters' Register office, is also a countryman, displaced and alienated in the urban setting. He has vowed to himself he will never be poor again, but for all his success, he is a desperately lonely man. As a homosexual, he cannot reveal his true identity and achieve personal happiness. As a working-class man who has made his money working on British building sites and selling saucepans to housewives, he is secretly despised not only by fashionable Dublin circles, but even by his more sophisticated brother, whom he put through college and whose career he has sponsored. Patrick, in turn, may appear to be a successful politician, but his craving for degradation shown during his encounter with Shay in the Netherlands might also suggest some deepseated uneasiness and sense of guilt. Only Justin, "the angel of death" (*TJH* 80), the heir to the dynasty, cut off even from the last vestiges of traditional moral norms and obligations, is devoid of any feeling of guilt and shame whatsoever.

Towards the end of the novel, the transformation from the old village into the noir wasteland ruled by the corrupt Plunkett dynasty is summarized in a passage in which Francis reminisces about old buildings and childhood neighbours. As he details the mismatched and disjointed fragments that have replaced the old order, spatial chaos once again comes to reflect

the loss of all sense of coherence, community and political responsibility:

> I walked slowly through the village, if village it could still be called. Plunkett Motors, Plunkett Undertakers, Plunkett House, the ugly façade replacing the Georgian mansion that once stood there. I surveyed the twisted wreckage of the main street which had been bought and sold by the Plunkett brothers: a mishmash of shapes and plastic signs; the ugliest fountain in the world which would be switched off after the election; the grotesque metal bridge over the carriageway. […]
>
> Home, before the Plunketts came. Home, before the family shops were bought or intimidated out; before the planning laws were twisted in the heady sixties; before the youngest TD in the Dail and his brother bought the lands that were rezoned. […] Home where a detective spoke without looking at you […]; where queues were already forming both inside and outside the prefabricated community centre for Patrick Plunkett's clinic – respectful worried faces, hoping for a reference there, a claim here, a word with the guards or health inspectors: the subtle everyday corruption upon which a dynasty was built. (*TJH* 276)

Home, then, understood as a place in Augé's and Casey's sense of the word, is irretrievably lost. It is thus not surprising that the only sense of identity and belonging possible in the world of the novel can be found in private, personal relationships – as in the concluding sentence, "When you hold me, Cait, I have reached home" (*TJH* 294). Given the inevitability of Francis' arrest, however, even this home can offer only temporary respite and consolation.

In conclusion, it should perhaps be noted that Bolger is no starry-eyed traditionalist, advocating a return to holy wells, country dances and national rituals as a remedy for the disintegration of intergenerational, social and national bonds. Rather, in documenting the transformation of Dublin into a noir wasteland of non-places, *The Journey Home* attacks the corruption and clientelism of Irish political life as well as a lack of vision for a truly modern Irish identity or a clear sense of direction

for the country's future development (other than as a theme park or a reserve of cheap labour for other European countries). In a typically noir fashion, however, it is a critique that identifies the roots of social malaise, but at the same time it "yields nothing and goes nowhere" (Pepper 2010: 58).

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