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Differentiating between machine translation and student translation: red flags and salient lexicogrammatical features

ABSTRACT

Machine translation enables students to produce work in the target L2 which may be superior to that which they could produce otherwise. The present study examines whether the use of machine translation can be detected by teachers. Seventeen native teachers compared and assessed the authorship of five human translations (HT) and five machine translations (MT) of Japanese news stories. Findings suggest that native teachers were able to detect which essays had been written using HT and which had been written using MT.

Keywords: SFL, machine translation.

Introduction

Negative sentiments of machine translation (MT) are borne out by Van Praag` who view it as a `challenge to [their] knowledge and expertise`, and a `nuisance and distraction`. Simply banning MT has been found to be ineffective as students will use it regardless (Kazemzadeh & Kashani, 2014). While exact figures pertaining to student use of MT will perhaps be confounded by worries around personal disclosure, a study at Duke University found that more than 88% of L2 students admitted to having used it, with 77% of instructors being opposed to its use (Clifford, Merschel, & Reisinger, 2013, p. 44). Elsewhere, Briggs (2018, p. 13) found that 57.5% of Korean students strongly agreed with the statement, `I do not need to learn to write in English because [online] translators can do the work for me`. Indeed, the notion that using MT even constitutes cheating or plagiarism appears to be up for debate. Using a five-point Likert Scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree, White and Heidrich (2013) received a mean of 3.59 when asking eighteen German students the degree to which they agreed with the statement, "I feel like I might have cheated" (p. 241).

The underlying epistemology for negative attitudes towards MT is perhaps better understood when viewed through the lens of the sociocultural paradigm espoused by Vygotsky (1978). Scaffolding refers to bridging the gap between what students can do on their own, and with the help of a more knowledgeable other. This largely goes against the cognitive apprenticeship model as elucidated by Gibbons (2008) which, “is particularly concerned with making thinking and the implicit processes of problem solving visible” (p. 169). Gibbons points out the importance of being “treated as apprentices in a disciplinary community, rather than as passive receivers of knowledge” (p. 170). It could be argued that the problem for educators wishing to utilize a Vygotskyian approach in the classroom is that MT turns students into the kinds of passive recipients which Gibbons alludes to. This is compounded by the fact that essays written in the student’s native language and subsequently machine translated, lack the cognitive engagement which takes place when the student does the translation by themselves.

The idea that MT has been five years away from being perfect for the last fifty years is often used to dismiss it (see for example, Lommel, 2019). News stories about botched machine translations serve to maintain the notion that MT is awkward, not to be trusted, and the source of much embarrassment (see for example, Sugiyama, 2019). Indeed, such criticisms are not limited to the lack of cognitive engagement, transference of skills to verbal communication, and sole use of the L1. While accepting that there are exceptions to the rule, Hall (1976) categorizes Japanese as a high context culture, suggesting that its message is often more implicit and less direct. This contrasts with the way in which trade languages, of which English is one, are required to be more specific and explicit due to the low degree of shared understanding (Hall, 1976). Given the status of English’s as a lingua franca, which has been estimated to be spoken by more non-native speakers than native speakers at a ratio of three to one, this is understandable (Crystal, 2003, p. 69). Hall’s concept dovetails with Davies and Ikeno (2002) discussion of the Japanese concept of ‘*aimai*’ (曖昧), which can be translated as ‘vague’, and is viewed as a concept which is not only tolerated, but also seen as a virtue of Japanese culture. While not explicitly using the term geographical determinism, Davis and Ikeno (2002) argue that the mountainous terrain of Japan formed communities into tight knit groups leading to a fear of ostracization, and a consequent hesitance to be too direct with one’s words.

Does MT have a place in the classroom?

Analysis has revealed that MT helps students with regard to tense choice, prepositions and “false friends” (Ebbert-Hübner & Maas, 2017). Garcia and Pena (2011) found that the lower a student’s ability was the higher their recourse to MT over writing words directly in the L2. The same study noted that blind marking indicated better results when MT was used despite a lower level of cognitive engagement as measured

through screen recordings. Elsewhere, Groves & Mundt (2015) demonstrated that the degree of MT accuracy is getting close to the minimum standard required for entry to many universities when measured using international testing standards, and able to produce work of similar accuracy as a mid-level L2 student.

This call for pragmatism over cognitive engagement is lent further support by Benda (2013) who points out how hiring decisions in Taiwan are not necessarily made on the basis of English ability, but on mere performance in exams. Benda suggests that we rethink the goals of English learning merely in terms of its social and cognitive elements, and reconsider them in light of the fact that many students may simply want to convey their point in the clearest and fit-for-purpose way possible. In a similar vein, White and Heidrich (2013) espouse The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) definition of technologically literate students in the 21st century as being, “productive global citizens [who] use appropriate technologies when interpreting messages, interacting with others, and producing written, oral, and visual messages” (p. 230). What is apparent therefore, is that there are perhaps two sides to the story of MT; those who view it as cheating and leading to a lack of cognitive engagement with the L2, and those who view it as a short-cut approach to getting the job done.

Purposes of the present study

The purpose of the present study is to investigate the extent to which native speakers of English can differentiate between a work produced by students, and a work produced via Google Translate.

Research questions

1. Can teachers differentiate between student translation and machine translation?
2. What linguistic evidence is this based on?

Literature review

While literature investigating the central theme of this investigation would appear to be a hitherto relatively uncharted territory, there is a sense that the task of differentiating between MT and student work is rather ambiguous, and points towards a current lack of reliable ways to identify translation plagiarism (see for example, Roberts, 2019). When comparing Google’s Neural Machine Translation (GNMT) system with human translators, Wu, Schuster, Chen, Le, & Norouzi (2016) found a wide distribution of ratings and cases of near identical phrasing and 60% fewer translation errors when compared with the previous phrase-based system human. The study’s conclusion indicated that raters had trouble distinguishing MT from HT. It should be noted however, that the source of some of this ambiguity was down to the differences in the ability of the translators

to completely understand the original language of the articles used in the study, leading to a degree of subjectivity. Such a view is supported by the sentiment that humans are still currently the best at detecting when MT has been used, and that, 'as of now, there are no reliable methods for spotting translation plagiarism' (Upwork.com). Conversely, Aharoni, Koppel, & Goldberg (2014) point out how distinguishing between MT and human translation is possible when examined at the level of such features as n-grams, function words, and the frequency of certain parts of speech. While this would appear to have some merit, it is important to point out that this particular study was carried out before the advent of neural machine translation in 2016 and compounded by the authors' caveat that differentiating MT from HT will become more difficult as MT itself becomes more sophisticated.

Indeed, the idea that MT could be considered 'sophisticated' does bear some weight. Even an early study by Lee and Liao (2011) found that MT helped reduce student errors when making translations and narrowed the gap between student proficiency. More recently, research by Google found that native speakers rated its translations at an average of 5.43 on a scale from 0 to 6 (McGuire, 2018). The launch of Google's Neural Machine Translation in September 2016 has heralded in a new era of accuracy which will arguably only get better with time (Schuster, Johnson, & Thorat, 2016). Based on deep learning through example-based machine translation, the system uses an artificial neural network which improves on the former system. Indeed, even without the improved system, early studies indicate that differentiating texts where MT has been used is not a straightforward task. In one study, 20 English texts were machine translated into Turkish before being edited, and then compared with 20 direct translations of the same text by professional translators. Using blind marking administered by four assistants, the texts were rated as being about the same in terms of overall acceptability (Çakır, 2013).

Given that both MT and L2 students will invariably make mistakes, it would appear that rationalizing the claim that a student has used MT may merely be down to a hunch. With regard to specifics, Somers et al., (2006), Williams (2006) and Niño (2009), have outlined nine areas of reported weakness with regard to MT such as: "grammatical inaccuracies", "literal translation", "difficulty with some idioms", and the rather vague, "errors that humans do not commit" (as cit. in Correa, 2014). For teachers all too familiar with the disparate range of essays turned in by students, the problem with this list should be quite clear; it could just as easily apply to students as it could MT.

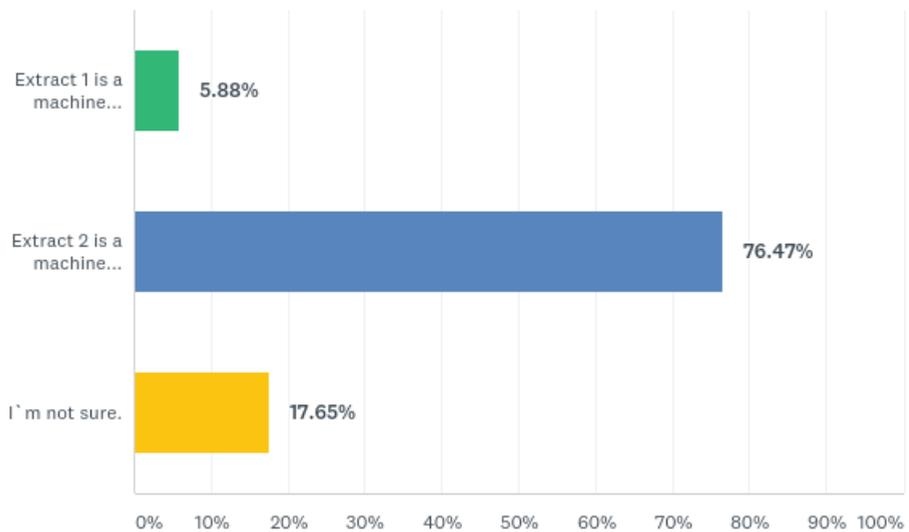
Method

Five L2 speakers of English from various work backgrounds whose native language is Japanese gave their consent to take part in the study. They were informed that their names would remain anonymous and that they were free to

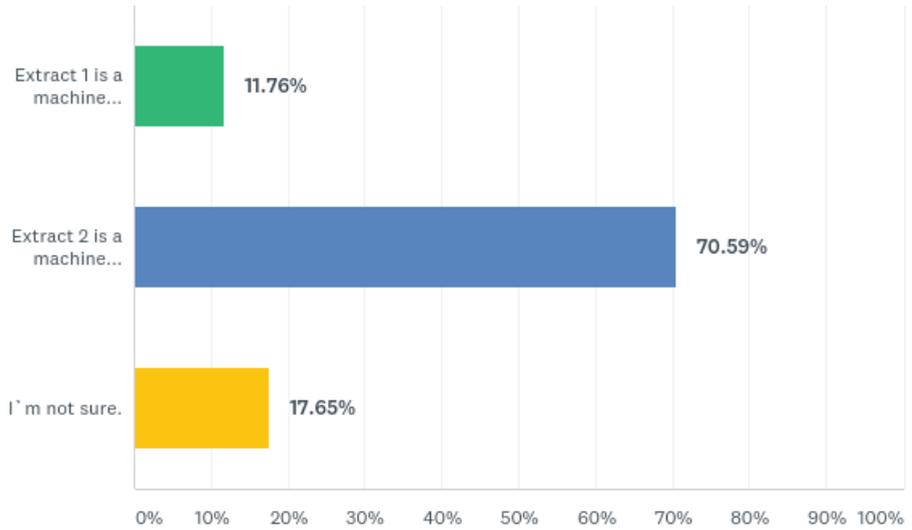
withdraw at any time. The ethical code of conduct outlined in BERA was adhered to throughout the study (BERA, 2011). The volunteers were tasked with translating one article each from the NHK website `優しい日本語で書いたニュース` while a translated version of the same story was also created using Google Translate (News Web Easy, 2019). The volunteers respective TOEIC scores for the extracts were: extract 1: 900, extract 2: 855, extract 3: 650, extract 4: 740, extract 5: 620. Using the website SurveyMonkey.com, a questionnaire asking people to choose which article they felt had been written using MT and why was sent out to native English teachers in Japan through social media and yielded seventeen responses (see appendices). Details of the survey can be found at this web link <https://www.surveymonkey.com/stories/SM-M78HX7WL/>.

Results and discussion

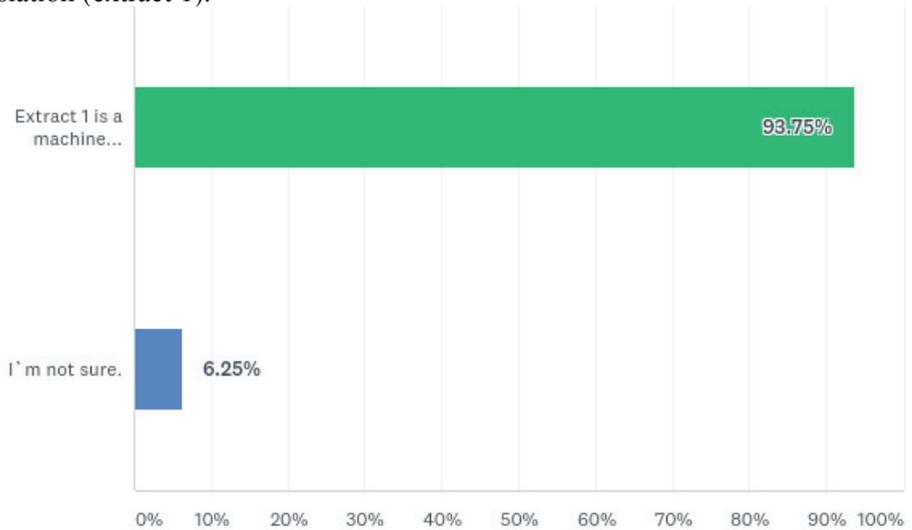
Extract one: percentage of respondents who correctly identified the machine translation (extract 2).



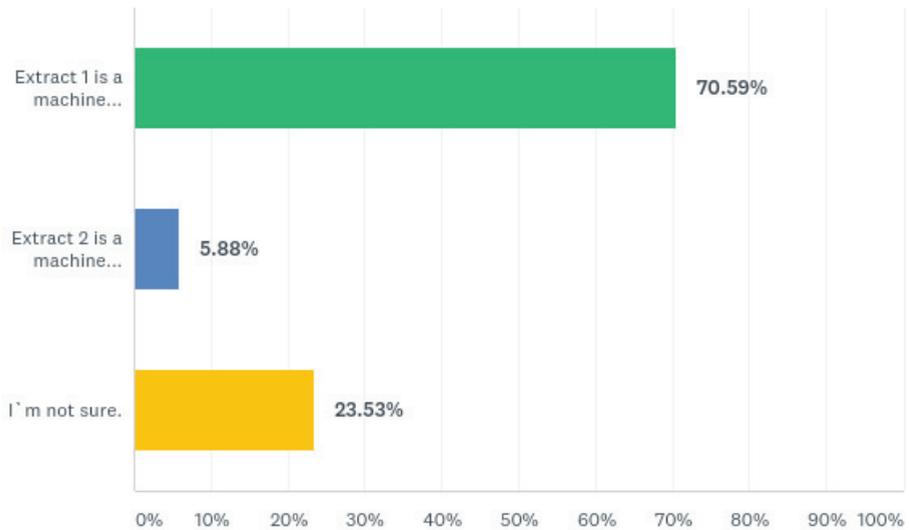
Extract two: percentage of respondents who correctly identified the machine translation (extract 2).



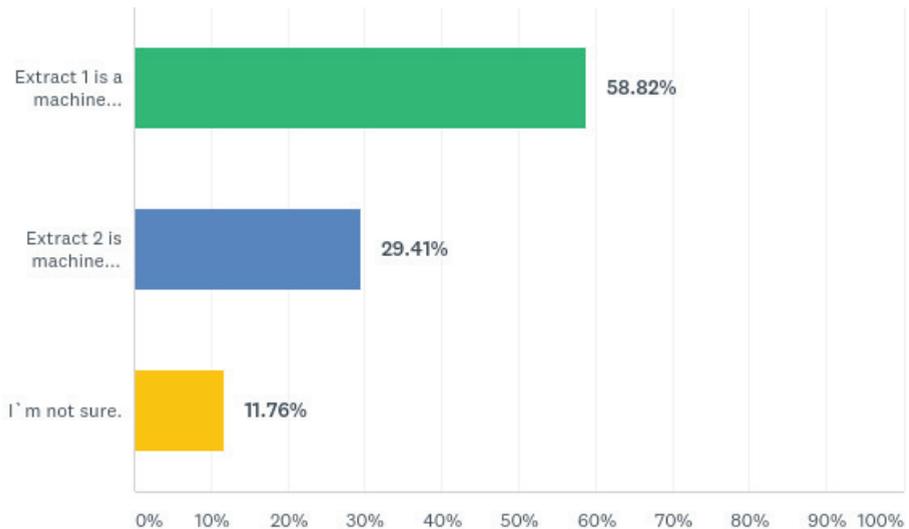
Extract three: percentage of respondents who correctly identified the machine translation (extract 1).



Extract four: percentage of respondents who correctly identified the machine translation (extract 1).



Extract five: percentage of respondents who correctly identified the machine translation (extract 1).



As can be seen from the above results, the majority of respondents were able to ascertain which extract had been written using MT, with the mean score for the five articles of 74.04% demonstrating a reasonable level of certainty. What is interesting to note is the disparity of 34.93% between the high detection rate of 93.75% in extract three, and the lower detection rate of 58.82% in extract five. While there may be various reasons for this, one possible explanation may simply

be the (understandable) matter of respondent fatigue or apathy towards the end of the task leading to a lower degree of decision-making prudence. An alternative explanation for this outlier may be the spelling mistake “students” in the MT version which contradicts points three and nine in the table below; perhaps a case of an MT red herring. In order to dig down into the reasons given for choosing one extract over the other, respondents were invited to leave comments on any salient lexical features, some of which have been highlighted verbatim as follows.

Fig 1.

Lexical features suggesting human translation.	Lexical features suggesting machine translation.
1. Common grammar mistakes made by Japanese speakers.	13. Technically correct but awkward sentences that sound like direct translations.
2. Simple sentence structure typical of students.	14. Advanced phrases not usually used by students.
3. I don't believe the machine would have gotten the spelling wrong (two similarly worded responses).	15. Inappropriate use of passive tense.
4. Seemed more typical of the Japanese learner of English.	16. Translating potential as passive.
5. I am pretty sure Google translate would not use mum' for 'mother'.	17. Unnatural use of “by all means”, suggest machine translation (two similarly worded responses).
6. Extract 1 has a suspicious ‘AI’s technology’ that is quite common in Japanese English dialect.	18. Random capital letter in first sentene (sic).
7. Typical learner errors. E.g., “in the same time”.	19. Inconsistency, “23th” and “famale”.
8. 1 contains more possible Japanese student errors.	20. The panda names change (sic).
9. Extract 2 has a spelling error that I believe Google cannot make.	21. I can't believe a human would write the sentence in extract 2 that starts “when I was born”.
10. The contraction also seems unlikely for Google.	22. Seems unlikely a student would mix up the subject here, Google Translate often does.
11. Typical learner errors.	23. Wrong pronouns.
12. Seemed to share a number of features with those typically made by my own students.	24. Inappropriate choice of subject pronouns.
	25. Unnatural use of personal pronouns.
	26. I suspect that Google can translate conditionals much more smoothly than students.

The comments above were highlighted as they were judged to be more specific than comments which could quite easily apply to either extract such as, “some of the verbs were wrong”. To a degree, these comments point to the idea of the native speaker “I know it when I see it” hunch, underpinned by the suggestion that Japanese L2 speakers of English make “typical” mistakes expressed through a kind of Japanese English “dialect” – see points 1,2,4,6,7,8, 11 and 12. With regard to the epistemological justifications used for determining

that MT was used, many respondents hedged their responses with phrases such as “I suspect”, “seems unlikely”, and “sound like” (sic) suggesting a degree of vacillation perhaps reflected less in the mean 14.12% of times “I’m not sure” was selected. Elsewhere, a few interesting red flags were pulled up such as the unusual capitalization of “Helping” (point 18), which a university level student could reasonably be expected to know not to do. A final point of interest (point 19), is the curious way in which the name of the panda in extract three changes names three times from “Aihama”, to “Ayahama”, and finally to, “Saihama”. One possible explanation for this is that – like many so called “kira kira” names which use rare kanji characters – the panda’s Chinese characters are also open to many interpretations, and Google Translate appears to have chosen them at random. It could reasonably be expected that a student would be consistent with participant names.

Passive voice.

A salient point drawn from the above comments, is the use of passive voice pointed out in points 15 and 16. Passive voice is defined by yourdictionary.com as a clause where the subject is acted on by the verb. Following an SFL approach, it would be more appropriate to say that the Goal (the participant receiving the action) comes before the process (verb), and the Actor (subject) comes after the process (Young & Fitzgerald, 2006). For example – ||the man (Goal) was bitten (material process) by the dog|| (Actor). While the question of whether active or

Fig 2.

	Use of passive voice in human translation.	Use of passive voice in machine translation.
Extract 1.	1. Kamaboko has to be place in refrigerator.	2. It could not be carried for a long time. 3. Kamaboko must be stored in a refrigerator. 4. A new fancy can be made. 5. It was made. 6. This kamaboko is sold at souvenir shops.
Extract 2.	7. He was saved. 8. [He] was rescued by a helicopter.	9. The man was helped by a helicopter. 10. After being suspended in the sea
Extract 3.		
Extract 4.	11. 10 languages can be translated.	12. The souvenir shop explanation was written in English. 13. The description of the Chinese restaurant was written in Japanese.
Extract 5.		14. Children can be contacted.

passive voice is more appropriate is not the focus of this paper, it has been marked up as a signifier of MT which warrants investigation. Looking at the following table, there is a ratio of 1 to 2.5 passive voice errors when comparing HT with MT respectively. A degree of leniency was necessary in order to make judgment calls on which clauses could fully warrant being called passive voice due to the inevitable nature of the un-grammatical clauses. For example, while the material process in the clause ||kamaboko has to be place in the refrigerator|| omits the necessary past participle, it was judged to be sufficiently different from the active process form ||you have to place the kamaboko in the refrigerator|| to warrant status as a passive voice error.

Inappropriate pronouns

The second salient point which emerged from the teacher comments was the inappropriate usage of pronouns (see points 19–25). While it is generally possible to rearrange the participants (who is involved), processes (verbs), and circumstances (where the action takes place) in a clause; the theme – or what comes at the start of the clause complex is less malleable. This is drawn out by Coffin, Donohue and North (2009) who point out the lack of opportunity to use voice, gesture or context to supplement meaning in written text, or for the interlocutor to interrupt or press for clarification as significant differences vis-à-vis spoken discourse. Theme is defined as extending to and including the first ideational element in a clause – in other words, the first process, participant or circumstance (ibid). As can be seen from the table below, the latter of these three – the participant (highlighted in italics), has been flagged up as inappropriate and confounding the speaker's message. A total of thirteen inappropriate participants were identified vis-à-vis two for the human translation.

While a university level student might also be expected to confuse pronouns in their writing, the above analysis shows that – in this case – Google Translate does so with more frequency. The text's lexical coherency is confused further through the way the participant in the non-finite dependent clauses change as follows, ||A man on the sailboat threw a lifejacket|| that allowed me to float in the water|| but the men couldn't catch it|| (points 2 and 3).

Discussion

Today's so-called digital immigrants (Prensky, 2001) may be entering a workforce where pragmatism in communication through apps and algorithms takes precedence over the ability to converse without recourse to the digital world. For classes focusing on higher order thinking skills however, the wholesale outsourcing of mental effort to computer software would appear to defeat the object of student's ability to think in English. For educators looking for red flags which suggest the use of MT in student work, the present study found some evidence that MT and HT differ in certain

Fig 3.

	Inappropriate participant use in human translation.	Inappropriate participant use in machine translation.
Extract 1.		1. It is OK without putting <i>it</i> in the refrigerator.
Extract 2.		2. [A man on the sailboat threw a lifejacket] that allowed <i>me</i> to float in the water. 3. The <i>men</i> couldn't catch it. 4. <i>Men</i> immediately took off the jeans. 5. <i>I</i> put air in my jeans. 6. <i>I</i> knew that I could use my pants instead of a life jacket. 7. <i>I</i> thought that I could not help if I did not have jeans. 8. <i>I'm</i> glad I had no holes in my jeans.
Extract 3.	9. Then showed <i>us</i> in a outside playground.	10. We have shown <i>it</i> at the playground outside. 11. <i>I</i> was born. 12. <i>I</i> grew up to 12kg. 13. I was very happy to see Saihama playing with <i>my mother</i> .
Extract 4.		
Extract 5.	14. <i>The idea of Osaka</i> made a decision.	15. <i>The country</i> could also bring a mobile phone to school.

respects. Usage of passive clause constructions was found to be used at a ratio of 1 to 2.5, and inappropriate participant choice at a ratio of 1 to 6.5 when comparing HT with MT respectively. MT was able to translate conditionals (point 21) much more smoothly than students, and use some more sophisticated phrasing which may be out of place in a lower level student's essay (point 14). Until software is developed which can distinguish HT from MT, continued identification of red flags will enable educators to have greater confidence with regard to the corporeality of the author.

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Eficacia de la política reguladora en el ámbito de la ortografía¹

ABSTRACT

The given study explores the subject of the effectiveness of the regulatory policy in the field of orthography introduced in recent years by the Royal Spanish Academy, the Polish Language Council and the French Academy. The main purpose of the work is to present the differences between the behaviour of the users of the three languages: Spanish, French and Polish against some normative provisions in the field of orthography and to suggest answers to a few key questions: Who shows the most favourable attitude towards the norms established by the linguistic institutions of their country? In what situations do speakers reject or accept new spelling forms?

Keywords: orthography, language policy, norm, usus

1. Política reguladora en el ámbito de la ortografía

Llama la atención la vaguedad del término *política* puesto que éste puede, por un lado, recurrir a la amplia área de la actividad institucional, ideológica, jurídica y organizativa asociada a la adquisición y el ejercicio del poder, pero por otro lado, también a la actividad consciente y tenaz de individuos y organizaciones. Esta polisemia se refleja en el idioma inglés que dispone de dos términos: *politics* y *policy*. Se supone que el significado de la frase *política lingüística*, tal como es analizada en el presente trabajo, coincide con el término inglés *language policy* (Pawłowski, 2006, p. 9).

La política lingüística es el conjunto de actividades planificadas, coordinadas y realizadas con el fin de tener impacto tanto en el lenguaje como en la actitud de los hablantes a la hora de usarlo.

¹ El presente artículo es una versión modificada de algunos fragmentos de nuestro trabajo anterior, no publicado (Klekok, 2017).

En la Europa unida la cultura y las cuestiones lingüísticas dejan en manos de los Estados miembros y sus instituciones dedicadas a la corrección lingüística, como la Real Academia Española, el Consejo del Idioma Polaco² o la Academia Francesa.

1.1. La reforma de la ortografía de la lengua española del 2010

En la última edición de la *Ortografía de la lengua española* (2010), entre otras varias modificaciones, se recomienda eliminar las tildes en el adverbio *solo*, en los pronombres demostrativos y no escribirlas nunca en la conjunción *o*. La presencia o ausencia de tilde, entre otros valores, permite distinguir palabras que poseen forma idéntica pero pueden hasta pertenecer a distintas categorías gramaticales³.

1.1.1. Eliminación de la tilde en el adverbio ‘solo’

Previamente a la *Ortografía* académica de 2010, se utilizaba tradicionalmente la tilde en la palabra *solo* para marcar su significado adverbial. La reforma ortográfica vigente indica que el lexema *solo* (sin tilde) puede funcionar tanto en calidad de adverbio, equivaliendo a *solamente* (del latín *SŌLUM*):

- (1) Solo llevaba un par de monedas en el bolsillo⁴

como adjetivo, en el sentido de *sin compañía* (del latín *SŌLUS*)

- (2) No me gusta estar solo⁵.

Según las reglas de acentuación actuales, en ambos casos, la ausencia de tilde se explica por el hecho de que se trata de palabra llana que termina en vocal. Como es bien sabido, antes se acentuaba gráficamente el adverbio (*sólo*) para que no se confundiera con el adjetivo, escrito sin tilde. A continuación citamos un ejemplo del uso necesario de la tilde, en contextos que generan ambigüedad interpretativa:

- (3) Trabaja sólo los domingos [= ‘trabaja solamente los domingos’]⁶

a diferencia de

- (4) Trabaja solo los domingos [= ‘trabaja sin compañía los domingos’]⁷.

² En español se usa también el nombre de *Consejo de la Lengua Polaca*.

³ Gómez Torrego (2007, p. 227).

⁴ Véase www.rae.es/consultas/el-adverbio-solo-y-los-pronombres-demostrativos-sin-tilde.

⁵ Véase www.rae.es/consultas/el-adverbio-solo-y-los-pronombres-demostrativos-sin-tilde.

⁶ Véase www.rae.es/consultas/el-adverbio-solo-y-los-pronombres-demostrativos-sin-tilde.

⁷ Véase www.rae.es/consultas/el-adverbio-solo-y-los-pronombres-demostrativos-sin-tilde.

Sin embargo, se recomienda suprimir el acento en casos de una confusión previsible, porque la posibilidad de que el contexto lingüístico (o extralingüístico) no permita desambiguar el enunciado es absolutamente mínima. En todo caso, una posible ambigüedad se puede evitar mediante el empleo de sinónimos del adverbio *solo* (como *solamente* o *únicamente*), proponiendo al mismo tiempo una puntuación apropiada, introduciendo algún elemento adicional o cambiando el orden de palabras para favorecer una interpretación adecuada⁸.

La sugerencia de la Real Academia Española es no tildar nunca el adverbio *solo*, aunque haya probabilidad de ambigüedad, entretanto la Academia Mexicana de la Lengua (García Bermejo, 2011, p. 43). recomienda tildarlo siempre. En cualquier caso, el empleo de la tilde queda a consideración de los usuarios y las dos formas han de considerarse como correctas en determinados contextos.

1.1.2. Acentuación de los latinismos

Existen diferentes maneras de introducir las referencias bibliográficas en un texto redactado por escrito. Para evitar una constante repetición del título de una misma fuente, se recurre a varias palabras latinas o sus abreviaturas, por ejemplo: *op. cit.*, *ibidem*, *ibid.*, para hacer alusión a los datos que ya habían sido presentados en el texto. Los latinismos que aparecen en redonda en el *Diccionario de la lengua española* de la Real Academia Española se someten a las mismas reglas de acentuación que las palabras españolas. Las palabras y expresiones latinas que están recogidas en cursiva o no figuran en el *Diccionario*, no se tildan y conservan su forma original (por ejemplo: *vox populi*, *carpe diem*) (Jaskot, 2009, p. 53).

El *Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas* (2005) de la Real Academia Española nos propone la siguiente definición de la palabra *ibidem* con la información sobre su escritura:

ibidem. Latinismo que significa literalmente ‘allí mismo, en el mismo lugar’. Se usa como adverbio en índices, notas o citas de impresos o manuscritos, para evitar repetir completa la referencia de una obra mencionada inmediatamente antes: «*Newton estaba entonces preocupado con otra “ocurrencia de su propia fantasía, sobre una manera de poner de manifiesto el movimiento diurno de la Tierra” (ibidem, 301)*» (GaDoncel *Principia* [Esp. 1983]). Su abreviatura es *ib.* o *ibíd.* Es errónea la forma esdrújula *íbidem*⁹.

La palabra ‘*ibidem*’ proviene del latín, pero su uso ya está bastante sancionado en el sistema español. La tilde normalmente desaparece cuando se presenta un caso de préstamo no adaptado de acuerdo con la nueva ortografía, tal como lo muestran las frases siguientes:

⁸ Véase http://www.rae.es/sites/default/files/Principales_novedades_de_la_Ortografia_de_la_lengua_espanola.pdf.

⁹ Véase <http://lema.rae.es/dpd/srv/search?key=ib%EDdem>.

(5) La reunión se suspendió por falta de *quorum* / La reunión se suspendió por falta de *cuórum*¹⁰.

Los latinismos solo se escriben con letra redonda y se someten a las reglas de acentuación gráfica del español cuando están totalmente adaptados al sistema ortográfico español, como sucede con los préstamos de otros idiomas. Así, *ibidem* ha de considerarse una palabra latina, mientras ‘ibíd.’ es la abreviatura de ‘ibidem’ (por ello conserva la tilde y lleva un punto abreviativo)¹¹.

1.2. Resoluciones ortográficas del Consejo del Idioma Polaco

La revolución ortográfica no tiene nada que ver con los procesos naturales que atraviesa, durante su historia, la lengua polaca. El alfabeto polaco deriva del alfabeto latino y los polacos llevan siglos ajustándolo a su propio idioma (en realidad desde el siglo XII). Centenares de años de esfuerzos con el fin de armonizar la ortografía polaca dieron como resultado un sistema bastante coherente y sobre todo consistente. Actualmente, los cambios introducidos al sistema de ortografía polaca son más bien cosméticos.

1.2.1. Forma de escribir el nombre de correo electrónico

Según la Resolución de la ortografía número 7 del Consejo del Idioma Polaco con respecto a la escritura del nombre de correo electrónico (aprobada en la XII reunión plenaria, el 21 de mayo de 2002) se adopta la forma *e-mail*, comúnmente: *mejl*¹². La palabra designa tanto la dirección del correo electrónico como el mensaje mandado mediante ese, es decir una carta electrónica. Recuérdese que la palabra en cuestión proviene del inglés *electronic mail* y tal vez bajo la influencia de su pronunciación inglesa proliferan en polaco sus distintas variantes incorrectas: *e-mejl*, *i-mejl*, *imejl* o *email*.

1.3. Las rectificaciones de la ortografía del Consejo Superior de la Lengua Francesa

La última reforma de la ortografía data de 1990. En octubre de 1989, Michel Rocard, jefe del gobierno francés por aquel entonces, fundó el Consejo Superior de la Lengua Francesa en París. A continuación, nombró los expertos para llevar a cabo cambios ortográficos referentes al guion, al plural de los sustantivos compuestos, al acento circunflejo, al participio pasado y a otras diversas anomalías. El resultado fue presentado a las instituciones lingüísticas de Bélgica y Quebec, y aprobado por la Academia Francesa. Las rectificaciones se publicaron en el Diario Oficial en diciembre de 1990.

¹⁰ Véase <http://www.rae.es/consultas/los-extranjerismos-y-latinismos-crudos-no-adapta-dos-deben-escribirse-en-cursiva>.

¹¹ Véase <http://palestrafilologica.blogspot.in/2014/02/ibid-ibid-ibidem.html>.

¹² Véase http://www.rjp.pan.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=79:zapis-nazwy-listu-elektronicznego&catid=43&Itemid=59.

La mayoría de los diccionarios ha adoptado la nueva ortografía, por ejemplo: *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, *Littré (Nouveau Littré y Petit Littré)*, los diccionarios *Hachette*. En cambio, *Le Nouveau Petit Robert 2010* solo ha incluido el 61% de los cambios. *Le Petit Larousse* introdujo un 39% en 2010. Al final, *Larousse Junior* y *Larousse des noms communs* en 2008 y *Petit Larousse* en 2012 incorporaron todas las palabras rectificadas para poder adaptarse al nuevo programa escolar¹³.

1.3.1. Acento grave o agudo en la ‘e’

Documentada por primera vez en el siglo XV, la palabra *évènement* viene del verbo latino que significa ‘llegar’, ‘ocurrir’. En realidad, se pronunciaba inicialmente [évènement] por una razón fonética obvia: delante de una sílaba que contiene una *e* muda, la vocal *e* se pronuncia [è] y no [é]. La primera reforma de la ortografía de 1878 cambió el acento agudo por el acento grave en la mayoría de las palabras. Sin embargo, la forma escrita *évènement* no apareció hasta la reforma ortográfica de 1990, cuando fue propuesta por la Academia Francesa. La institución recomendó ‘la nueva’ ortografía de *évènement*, añadiendo que la ortografía antigua (*événément*) no se considera errónea, pero nada la justifica¹⁴.

La función del acento agudo en la vocal *e* es la de marcar la pronunciación de tipo ‘*e* cerrada’, mientras que la *e* con el acento grave se pronuncia como una vocal abierta. Nos parece necesario recordar aquí las dos reglas generales. Según la primera: la vocal *e* recibe un acento agudo o grave solo si está ubicada al final de la sílaba gráfica; compárense: *étude* pero *es/poir*, *mé/prise* pero *mer/cure*, *inté/ressant* pero *intel/ligent*. De esta regla solo se admiten las siguientes excepciones: la *-s* final de la palabra no impide acentuar la vocal *e* que la precede: *accès*, *progrès* (con una *s* muda), *aloès*, *herpès* (con una *s* pronunciada). En algunas composiciones recientes, los dos elementos, independientemente del corte silábico, continúan siendo percibidos cada uno con su propio significado, y es el primer elemento el que lleva el acento agudo: *télé/spectateur* (contrario a *téles/cope*), *pré/scolaire* (contrario a *pres/crيره*), *dé/stabiliser* (contrario a *des/tituer*).

Según la segunda regla, la *e* recibe el acento grave solo si la precede otra letra y la sigue una sílaba con una *e* muda. De ahí vienen las alternancias: *aé/erer*, *il aè/ere*; *collè/ge*, *collè/gien*; *célè/bre*, *célè/brer*; *fidè/le*, *fidè/lité*; *rè/gle/ment*, *rè/gulier*; *oxygè/ne*, *oxygè/ner*, etc.

En las palabras *échelon*, *élever*, etc. la vocal *e* está en posición inicial. La excepción la constituyen las palabras formadas con los prefijos *dé-* o *pré-* (*se démener*, *prévenir*), y algunas palabras más como *médecin*, *ère*, *èche*. Las pocas

¹³ Véase http://www.cahiers-pedagogiques.com/IMG/pdf/GuidePratiqueOrthographeRectifie_e-2-09-2011.pdf.

¹⁴ Véase <http://www.lalanguefrancaise.com/evenement-ou-evenement-orthographe>.

anomalías que sufre la aplicación de estas reglas son, por ejemplo, las siguientes: *un évènement, je considérerai, puissé-je*¹⁵.

Los diccionarios *Larousse* y *Le Petit Robert* han ido incorporando una serie de cambios propuestos por la reforma de 1990. Sin embargo, la ortografía de la palabra *évènement* no apareció en 1990, aunque había sido admitida por la Academia Francesa ya en el año 1979. Actualmente, los diccionarios ofrecen ambas formas como equivalentes. De hecho, es correcto escribir *évènement* con un acento agudo y *èvènement* con un acento grave, pese a que para la Academia Francesa es la forma *évènement* la que ha de tomarse de referencia¹⁶.

Una comparación sobre el empleo de las dos formas en la literatura francesa desde 1800 muestra que la frecuencia de *évènement* (con un acento agudo) sigue siendo más alta. Sin embargo, *èvènement* con un acento grave ha vuelto a aparecer en los últimos años¹⁷:

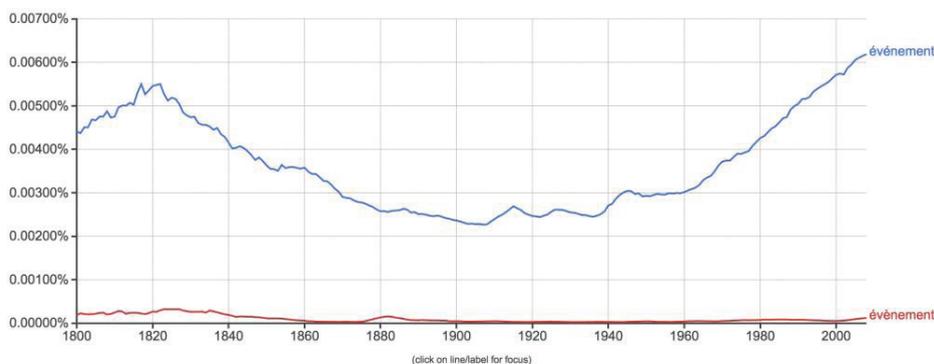


Diagrama 1. Ngram de Google

2. Análisis de la eficacia de la normativa ortográfica

En Polonia en 1916, el Departamento de Religión y Educación Pública decidió que el asunto de la ortografía fuera urgente y se pidió a la Academia de Ciencias que la normalizara. Las reglas ortográficas que propuso la institución alcanzaron el rango de norma nacional, pero en aquel momento, a principios del siglo XX, no tuvieron el impacto esperado. La mayoría de los hablantes daba predilección a las reglas antiguas (Polański, 2004, p. 35). Un siglo después, se debería volver a plantear la pregunta de si los usuarios siguen siendo tradicionalistas, se han hecho normativistas o siguen sus propios criterios.

¹⁵ *Conseil supérieur de la langue française* (1990, pp. 10–11).

¹⁶ Véase <http://www.projet-voltaire.fr/culture-generale/evenement-evenement-orthogra-phe-accent-aigu-grave/>.

¹⁷ Véase <https://www.lalanguefrancaise.com/evenement-ou-evenement-orthographe>.

2.1. Corpus

Orientándonos por razones metodológicas hacia un enfoque más práctico, en el presente estudio se investigará únicamente la tendencia a aceptar o rechazar las disposiciones normativas concretas de la RAE, el Consejo del Idioma Polaco y la Academia Francesa, manifestada en la ortografía de los usuarios de español, francés y polaco.

Al presentar nuestro corpus trilingüe, cabe poner de relieve que está orientado a dos lenguajes específicos: científico y periodístico. Se supone que para ellos el conocimiento de las normativas debería ser indispensable, porque ejercen una influencia que está contribuyendo a que los lectores adopten las normas lingüísticas. En total, se han reunido 231 textos, en los que encontramos 101 artículos científicos (los en español están datados los años 2012 a 2017, los en francés y polaco los años 2008 a 2017) y 130 artículos de prensa. El corpus periodístico está constituido por artículos disponibles en las páginas web de tres diarios en cada lengua (español: *El País* 2013–2017, *El Mundo* 2011–2017, *ABC* 2016–2017; polaco: *Kurier Lubelski* 2010–2014, *Dziennik Wschodni* 2016–2017, *Rzeczpospolita* 2016–2017; francés: *Le Monde* 2017, *Le Figaro* 2014–2017, *Libération* 2017).

El mero objetivo del presente trabajo es comprobar si las normativas suelen tener impacto en la ortografía de los usuarios de una misma lengua, especialmente de un grupo de gente (aquí periodistas y científicos) cuyo lenguaje se ha de considerar como un modelo a imitar por el resto de la comunidad lingüística.

El análisis cuantitativo de los datos registrados nos llevará a elaborar un coeficiente que dé cuenta de cómo se infringen las reglas de ortografía y que permita establecer el carácter de las tendencias ortográficas que manifiestan las lenguas tratadas aquí.

Puesto que el presente trabajo es un estudio de algunas unidades aisladas, nuestro corpus ha sido elaborado en función de algunas pautas clave que presentamos brevemente en las líneas que siguen. En primer lugar, cabe explicarse que en los textos españoles se investiga la palabra *solo/sólo*, en su sentido adverbial o adjetival, pero únicamente cuando su uso lleva a ambigüedad. Por este motivo, varios ejemplos han sido descartados del censo, como es el caso de la siguiente oración:

(6) Los estereotipos son casi siempre el resultado de una comparación hecha desde un solo punto de vista (Álvarez González, 2015, p. 334).

En segundo lugar, se analizará la escritura de la palabra *ibidem* en español. Luego, se someterán al análisis las formas del nombre del correo electrónico presentes en los textos escritos por polacos. Al final, veremos cuál de las dos formas *évènement* o *événement* aparece con más frecuencia en los textos en francés y explicaremos las causas de la predilección de los hablantes.

A parte de ello, el carácter contrastivo del presente estudio nos obliga a analizar textos escritos por los españoles, franceses y polacos en español, y luego, textos en francés escritos por los españoles, franceses y polacos. De este modo, pretendemos haber constituido un corpus de textos equilibrado, que cumple con requisitos metodológicos. La siguiente tabla recapitula las proporciones de uso entre distintas formas que acaban de describirse:

Tabla 1. Número de ejemplos textuales

	artículos científicos			artículos de prensa
	autores españoles	autores polacos	autores franceses	
solo/sólo	83	78	39	67
ibídem/ <i>ibidem</i> / <i>ibídem</i> / <i>ibidem</i> / <i>ibídem</i>	59	40	56	12
e-mail/mejl/mail	0	78	0	78
évènement/événement	54	89	88	66

Cabe explicarse que, teniendo en cuenta la claridad metodológica de nuestro análisis, prescindimos de formas que aparecen en citas textuales. Por ello, no forman parte del censo ejemplos como el siguiente:

(7) Dostałam Pani maila i jestem gotowa pomóc tym studentkom w nauce (Biernacka, 2011, p. 98)¹⁸.

2.2. Censo de datos e interpretación de los resultados

Se trata de 887 ejemplos textuales censados en 231 artículos científicos y periodísticos.

La grafía del español es más sencilla que la del polaco o francés. De hecho, las reformas ortográficas eliminan rasgos gráficos que no tienen mucha justificación y dan prioridad al criterio fonológico. Lógico es que la gente esté más dispuesta a dejar de tildar la palabra *solo*, si la ausencia de tildes se encuentra entre los errores más comunes de los usuarios. La siguiente tabla recapitula el comportamiento de los usuarios frente a la ortografía de la palabra *solo* y en la mayoría de los casos confirma nuestra suposición:

Tabla 2.

	artículos científicos			artículos de prensa		
	autores españoles	autores polacos	autores franceses	<i>El País</i>	<i>El Mundo</i>	<i>ABC</i>
solo	72%	85%	31%	96%	32%	82%
sólo	28%	15%	69%	4%	68%	18%

¹⁸ Se trata de un fragmento de correo electrónico analizado por la autora. En el resto del texto solo recurre a la etiqueta correcta, es decir *e-mail*.

Según se puede observar en los datos, los franceses siguen tildando *solo* y dan importancia a una antigua costumbre en la escritura. Los científicos españoles y polacos adoptan con frecuencia la ortografía sugerida por la RAE y son pocas las veces cuando solucionan un contexto ambiguo acentuando la palabra en cuestión:

(8) Según pudimos confirmar, la identificación actual entre el Éxodo y la formación de un estado judío en Palestina se produjo sólo después del Holocausto, con el buque denominado “Éxodo 1947”, por los refugiados que se embarcaron en él para llegar a Palestina (Linde-Usiekiewicz & Kacprzak, 2016, p. 56).

A continuación, citamos unos ejemplos representativos, seleccionados según el criterio de falta de coherencia, es decir enunciados sacados de textos en que la ausencia de acento es normalmente un caso excepcional:

(9) María Teresa se adaptaba al estilo no sólo de sus predecesoras, sino al estilo de Francia. (...) El caso del vestuario en los espectáculos franceses tiene mucha relevancia, no solo con los ballets y óperas, sino también en otro tipo de fiestas como carnavales, mascaradas o torneos. (...) La lucha por legitimarse como herederos, ya no sólo de los territorios de la monarquía hispánica, sino como herederos del Imperio, llegó más allá de los escenarios y las fiestas cortesanas (Martínez, 2016, pp. 113–138).

(10) Su realidad está mostrada en el estado de sospecha permanente, es sólo parcialmente perceptible. (...) Las palabras sirven para crear la realidad, pero francamente solo pintan el decorado a medida del hombre. (...) Lo hacen para manifestar su opinión sobre la realidad, no sólo para contar unas historias (Grzesiak, 2012, p. 71).

En esos dos ejemplos, la ausencia de tilde parece injustificada, un efecto de inconsecuencia desde la perspectiva de coherencia del texto. En el ejemplo número 11 la palabra *solo* recibe un carácter adjetival, acuñando el sentido de *sin compañía* y esta es la razón de la supresión de la tilde:

(11) Una de ellas es que cuando hago esta película, hace unos cuantos años, soy muy joven todavía, trabajas un poco solo, no tienes una percepción de lo que se hace, menos todavía en España y ahora que lo estás mencionando, en España en esta época, no hay una percepción ni generacional ni tampoco temática (Berhier, 2015, p.164).

En los textos periodísticos se observan divergencias en el uso de la tilde. Los libros de estilo de *El País*¹⁹, *El Mundo* y *ABC* suelen recomendar *sólo* (al contrario del *MARCA* donde se aconseja *solo* sin tilde).

Los resultados del censo demuestran que los periodistas no se someten consecuentemente a los requisitos editoriales. Aparentemente, en *El País* y *ABC* se opta más por no tildar *solo*, de acuerdo con las recomendaciones de la RAE.

¹⁹ Véase https://elpais.com/sociedad/2014/05/10/actualidad/1399739605_201787.html: *vuelve a admitir la acentuación de sólo como adverbio, por entender que facilita la desambiguación de mensajes periodísticos, sobre todo en los titulares.*

Otra de las características observadas en la prensa cotidiana es la carencia de referencias. Son escasos los ejemplos de uso de la palabra *ibidem*. En nuestro censo llegamos a identificar apenas 12 ocurrencias. Encontramos una explicación de esta ausencia en *Manual de estilo del diario “El País” de España*:

ibidem. Palabra latina que significa ‘en el mismo lugar’. No debe emplearse en un texto noticioso (El País, 1996, p. 245).

La tabla que sigue acentúa la tendencia de los usuarios a recurrir muy frecuentemente a las formas latinas, escritas sin tilde pero en cursiva:

Tabla 3.

	artículos científicos			artículos de prensa		
	autores españoles	autores polacos	autores franceses	<i>El País</i>	<i>El Mundo</i>	<i>ABC</i>
ibidem / ibid.	2%			33%	20%	75%
<i>ibidem/ ibid.</i>	58%	90%	100%	33%		
<i>ibidem</i>	2%					
ibídem/ibíd.	5%	8%		33%	80%	25%
<i>ibídem</i>	34%	3%				

Por un lado esto se debe al estilo cuidado de registro culto y formal, no obstante, recogemos algunos textos donde la falta de coherencia es flagrante y dentro de un mismo aparecen diferentes formas para marcar este tipo de referencias: *ibíd.*, *ibídem*, *ibíd.*, *ibídem*, *Íbid.*

La siguiente tabla muestra el comportamiento de los polacos frente a la escritura del nombre de correo electrónico.

Tabla 4.

	artículos científicos	artículos de prensa		
		<i>Kurier Lubelski</i>	<i>Dziennik Wschodni</i>	<i>Rzeczpospolita</i>
mejl	10%	79%	0%	72%
e-mail	55%	18%	81%	21%
mail	35%	4%	19%	7%

La mayoría de los usuarios suelen emplear las formas aceptadas por el Consejo del Idioma Polaco. Resulta curioso que una autora, después de haber citado en su artículo la resolución del Consejo sobre el uso correcto de las palabras *e-mail* y *mejl*, prefiera seguir las recomendaciones de unos diccionarios y buscando un sinónimo de *list elektroniczny* recurre a la forma *mail*. Al mismo tiempo, es la única autora incluida en el censo que se sirve de esta palabra (Norwa, 2014, pp. 3–4).

Se puede observar que dos de los diarios optan por una forma coloquial *mejł* y uno, *Dziennik Wschodni*, lo evita completamente, como si fuera del registro no aceptable en el periódico.

En Francia, desde el año 1990, las dos ortografías, la tradicional y la rectificada son admisibles. Sin embargo, la reforma tiene más éxito fuera de Francia. Los profesores no están obligados a exigir nuevas reglas.

En 2015, el *Boletín Oficial sobre los nuevos programas de enseñanza* precisa de nuevo que el punto de referencia en la enseñanza son las rectificaciones publicadas en 1990²⁰. La opinión de que “la reforma es completamente ignorada”²¹ la confirman los resultados del censo:

Tabla 5.

	artículos científicos			artículos de prensa		
	autores españoles	autores polacos	autores franceses	<i>Le Monde</i>	<i>Le Figaro</i>	<i>Libération</i>
événement	13%	1%				
évènement	87%	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%

De la tablas que acabamos de presentar se desprende que los franceses no tienen ninguna duda en cuanto a la escritura de la palabra *évènement*, con acento agudo, pese a las recomendaciones de la Academia Francesa que fomenta el uso del acento grave y la forma *événement*.

Los ejemplos siguientes, atestiguados en un texto escrito por un español resaltan el hecho de que el uso de la grafía *événements*, que representa solamente un 13%, es más bien casual que premeditada:

(12) À cet égard il faut rappeler que certains événements géopolitiques tel la chute du Mur de Berlin ou encore la disparition de l'ancienne URSS, au-delà de leur répercussion mondiale vont déclencher d'intenses flux migratoires au sein desquels nous retrouverons des écrivains et des écrivaines dont la transposition fictive de leurs expériences de vie correspondent à ce corpus énoncé comme ectopique ou atlas de xénographies (Mangada Cañas, 2016, p. 278).

(13) Dans le cas qui nous occupe les deux événements historiques évoqués auparavant vont avoir une implication directe dans la genèse de sa vocation comme écrivaine (Mangada Cañas, 2016, p. 278).

(14) À cet égard, la coordonnée spatiale du récit, de même que le reste des structures narratives, présente une bipolarité caractéristique qui fait basculer indifféremment l'emplacement de la narration entre la ville de Paris et son Moscou natal pour évoquer et situer des événements importants de sa vie (Mangada Cañas, 2016, p. 281).

²⁰ Véase <http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2016/02/04/01016-20160204ARTFIG00080-la-reforme-de-l-orthographe-de-1990-fait-son-entree-dans-les-manuels-de8230-2016.php>.

²¹ Véase <http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2009/12/21/01016-20091221ARTFIG00660-la-reforme-de-l-orthographe-mieux-appliquee-a-l-etranger.php>.

Finalmente, en los diagramas que siguen, presentamos los resultados enteros del análisis del corpus, según el tipo de lenguaje:

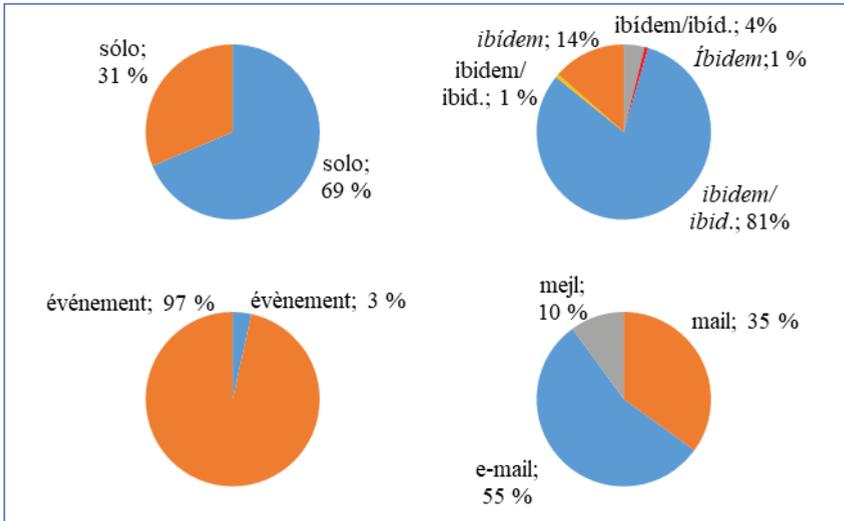


Diagrama 2. Lenguaje científico

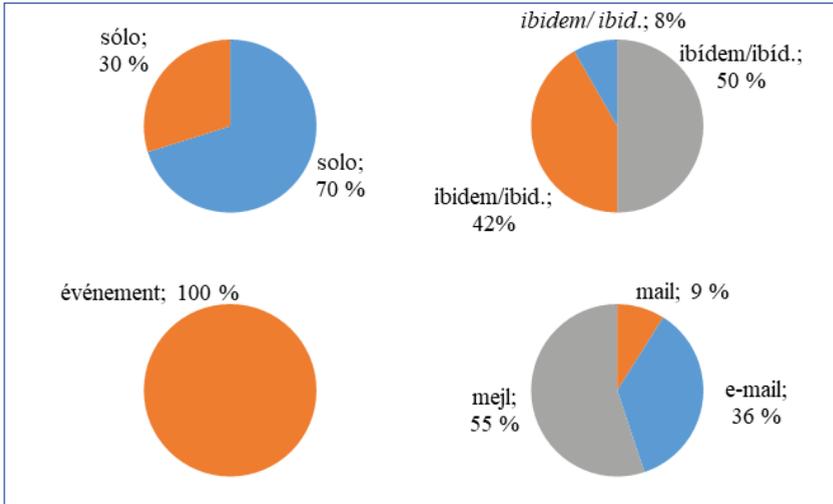


Diagrama 3. Lenguaje periodístico

De los diagramas se desprende que el comportamiento de los científicos y el de los periodistas manifiestan muchas similitudes. Ambos grupos ignoran la existencia de la nueva ortografía en francés (los valores son de 3% y 0% respectivamente) y no son consecuentes a la hora de acentuar las palabra *solo* en español (tan solo lo hace menos que la tercera parte).

El lenguaje periodístico español se caracteriza por la tendencia a evitar las palabras latinas (apenas 8% de la totalidad del corpus periodístico y hasta 81% del científico) y el polaco por el uso de formas coloquiales *mej!*; esta frecuencia roza el 55% en comparación con el 10% en artículos científicos.

El análisis del corpus trilingüe nos proporciona algunas conclusiones muy interesantes. La lengua más conservadora es el francés donde se pueden observar hasta el 97% de casos de la ortografía tradicional (en comparación con los casos contrarios), resultado que no se iguala en absoluto en ninguno de los dos idiomas restantes. Es interesante observar a este respecto que los franceses también manifiestan una cierta devoción a la tradición en los textos científicos escritos en español.

La reforma de la ortografía española tiene varios partidarios y no nota ninguna oposición radical considerable. Los usuarios españoles en 75% de las situaciones recurren a la escritura recomendada, cuando los franceses lo hacen de manera diferente, empleando una forma rutinaria: 69% tilda *solo* y todos (100% de los casos del censo) dan predilección a las palabras latinas en detrimento de las españolas en las referencias.

En más de la mitad de los casos los polacos siguen las recomendaciones del Consejo del Idioma Polaco, aunque no es la única autoridad que se toma en consideración. Son más fieles a la RAE frente a la cuestión de acentuación (se trata de un 85% de los casos de adaptación a la nueva ortografía). Sin embargo, coinciden con los habitantes de Francia y España en la actitud frente a los preceptos de la Academia Francesa ya que tampoco les hacen demasiado caso. Resulta que son escasos los ejemplos de *évènements* escritos como los académicos lo quisieran.

3. Conclusiones

El análisis de la política reguladora en el ámbito ortográfico, en España, Polonia y Francia, y los datos recogidos en nuestro corpus lingüístico nos permiten afirmar que la tendencia a simplificar la ortografía y constituir unas reglas claras es propia tanto del hablante medio como de las instituciones lingüísticas. Ambos se esfuerzan por alcanzar los objetivos comunicativos con el menor esfuerzo posible.

El cumplimiento con las normas debería ser imprescindible para el lenguaje de los medios de comunicación y el discurso científico. Tal vez por ello podemos observar que las instituciones lingüísticas dedicadas a la corrección no son las únicas fuentes de esas normas que se observan en los textos de prensa o investigación. De hecho, junto a la Real Academia Española, el Consejo del Idioma Polaco y la Academia Francesa, los periodistas y científicos siguen las reglas propuestas en las entradas de los diccionarios.

Es por ello por lo que las reformas ortográficas llevadas a cabo en distintos países no conocen un pleno éxito. Naturalmente, una parte de la culpa la tiene el carácter mismo de esas reformas. Así, en los documentos normativos los hablantes

se enfrentan varias veces a consejos, recomendaciones, propuestas, sugerencias y opiniones en vez de las reglas, mientras que, a menudo, los diccionarios ofrecen ambas formas de una misma palabra, marcadas explícitamente como admisibles.

Lo visto más arriba nos permite dividir los usuarios de la lengua en tres grupos en función de su comportamiento hacia las normas. Al primero pertenecen los tradicionalistas que no tienen intención de cambiar sus costumbres ortográficas, aunque este cambio sea razonable. En el segundo están los legalistas, fijados en las normas dictadas por diferentes autoridades en la materia. El tercer grupo representa, sea una falta de reconocimiento de las reglas, sea una cierta libertad hacia ellas o hasta un malabarismo a la hora de recurrir a las normas ortográficas.

Según podemos deducir del estudio de los datos, el comportamiento de los hablantes de los tres idiomas estudiados aquí hacia el francés, se parece mucho. Por otro lado, el español se adapta mejor que las dos lenguas restantes a las recomendaciones de las instituciones dedicadas a la corrección lingüística. A este respecto es significativo ese titular de prensa: *La RAE reconoce su 'derrota' contra los acentos de "sólo"*²² que ilustra que sigue habiendo numerosas personas que no se atienden a la nueva ortografía española del 2010.

Finalmente, no sorprende el resultado de la comparación de los lenguajes periodístico y científico. Los periodistas recurren con más frecuencia a las formas coloquiales, evitan las referencias, especialmente las latinas. No obstante, cuando nos trasladamos al campo de acentuación su comportamiento no difiere notablemente de lo observado en los científicos.

Nuestro corpus tiene un carácter discontinuo. No obstante, se debe tener en cuenta el hecho de que los resultados numéricos que acabamos de presentar vienen del análisis de hasta 888 ejemplos textuales lo que consideramos ser una muestra considerable y científicamente relevante.

Nuestras consideraciones no pretenden agotar la materia de ninguna de las maneras sino dar pistas para una investigación más general y más detallada que abarque más contextos y más lenguas.

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Catering to Multiple Audiences: Language Diversity in Singapore's Chinatown Food Stall Displays

ABSTRACT

The visibility of bilingualism and multilingualism has increased in the urban landscape of major cities, a phenomenon commonly attributed to a globalized world economy, increasingly fluid national boundaries, and the subsequent contact between people, languages, and cultures. This is no truer than in countries such as Singapore, which has a history of cultural multilingualism driven by economic imperatives. Our study employs a mixed methods approach to present the diversity of language variation on signboards in Singapore's Chinatown having resulted from the area's culture and history, which dates back to the early 19th century. Following our examination of display practices, we observed that the dominant languages represented were Chinese and English, while the other official language (in this case, Tamil) was represented. Chinese dialects such as Hokkien and Cantonese, which were transliterated, were also widely represented. Reasons and explanations for the chosen languages on the signboards were elicited through consultations with hawkers. As a result, this study found that the exclusivist use of Chinese together with Chinese dialects is associated with an ethnic affiliation and territoriality commonly encountered in ethnically-marked neighborhoods, while the global language of English is used as a commodity catering to foreign and non-Chinese patrons.

Keywords: Linguistic landscape, Singapore, Chinatown, bilingualism, multilingualism

Introduction

Globalization is occurring in major cities around the world. This phenomenon has many effects on languages including: (a) the development of new language

patterns (i.e., internet slang) and practices (i.e., writing on Facebook) resulting from the rise of the Internet as a major virtual social platform; (b) the spread of new varieties of English that are spoken widely by language users; and (c) the occurrence of language diversity due to urban migration and global networking (Kroon, Blommaert, & Jie, 2014). With the frequent migration of various language users and the invention of technologies such as smartphones and tablets, certain languages are becoming *lingua franca* in major cities. Nevertheless, the local languages in those cities are still regularly used by locals, which leads to the increased visibility of bilingualism and multilingualism in the urban landscape and demonstrates the impact of modernity and a globalized lifestyle.

According to the literature in the field of linguistic landscape, most research on such dynamics have concentrated on urbanized Western societies, such as Friesland and the Basque Country (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006), the Netherlands (Edelman, 2014), and Washington DC (Lou, 2016), which reflects the lack of research conducted in Asian societies. To address this gap, the current study examines the issue of globalized and local language representation in a historical area located in a major, contemporary city in Southeast Asia. It aims to understand the diversity of language variation displayed in the landscape of Singapore and show evidence of the maintenance of local languages in this multilingual context. Specifically, we examine the visibility of bilingualism and multilingualism on signboards collected from Singapore's Chinatown, chosen as the survey site due to its cultural and historical significance dating back to the early 19th century. Employing a mixed methods approach, this study aligns with recent linguistic landscape work that has underlined the need for methodologies designed to examine the interplay of languages in the linguistic landscape and the role of sign authors and designers as part of the complex understanding of signage practices (Blommaert, 2013; Malinowski, 2009).

This paper begins by briefly illuminating the sociolinguistic background of Singapore and the history of Chinatown. It then discusses the linguistic landscape framework utilized in this study and research procedures. Focusing on Singapore's multilingual Chinatown, we present an analysis of the signboards and summarize the key findings and reflections on the indexicality of bilingualism and multilingualism in the landscape.

Sociolinguistic background of Singapore

Singapore is a multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual city-state that lies off the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula in Southeast Asia. The city has a population of 5.7 million, consisting of Chinese (74.4%), Malays (13.4%), Indians (9.0%), and other ethnicities (3.2%) (Singapore Department of Statistics, 2019). Singapore has four official languages: Malay, Mandarin Chinese, Tamil, and English (Article 153A of the Constitution of the Republic of Singapore). English is widely spoken

and is the language of education and administration. Singapore implements a bilingual policy in schools where English is learnt as a first language while mother tongues are taught to different ethnic groups (Mandarin Chinese for the Chinese,¹ Malay for the Malays, and Tamil for the Indians) (Wee, 2014). The aim behind the maintenance of mother tongues is to promote the usage of local languages and thereby enhance ethnolinguistic vitality (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) through the preservation of traditional cultures and values (David, 2008). In addition to the four official languages, about another 20 languages are used by the population although not encouraged by state decree in the official language policy of the country. Due to the varieties of languages found in Singapore, the city's urban landscape is filled with a multitude of signs, consisting of bilingual and multilingual texts. This fast-growing practice of adding bilingual and multilingual signs to the country's urban landscape illustrates the diversity of languages in modern Singapore.

History of Singapore's Chinatown

Singapore's Chinatown was founded in 1819 with a population of only 150 (Singapore Archives, 1983). By 1829, the population had increased quickly with Chinese as the dominant ethnic group. Six distinctive districts – Kreta Ayer, Ann Siang Hill, Telok Ayer, Bukit Pasoh, Tanjong Pagar, and Boat Quay – made up Chinatown (Tan, 1990). *Niu Che Shui* or Bullock Cart Water was the original name for Chinatown; a Fujian term still used by older Singaporeans today. Chinatown was referred to by this name because fresh water in bullock-drawn carts was used to wash the streets of Chinatown in earlier times.

During the early 19th century, an influx of migrants arrived from the Fujian and Guangdong provinces of China to settle in Singapore (Singapore Archives, 1983). These Chinese migrants set up their homes in the region southwest of Singapore River, known as Telok Ayer today. More migrants flooded in, resulting in Sir Stamford Raffles² allocation of different areas for each clan group³ (Chinatown Singapore, 2012). The Hokkiens dominated the area around Telok Ayer, the Teochews settled along the Singapore River, Clarke Quay, while the Cantonese and the Hakkas moved further down to the Kreta Ayer area. These clan groups had their own dialect, which unintentionally segregated them into different occupations: the Hokkiens were among the first to settle down and

¹ Chinese has two written scripts: traditional Chinese and simplified Chinese. Traditional Chinese were previously taught in the schools in Singapore but since 1969, it was replaced by simplified Chinese, which is now used for official publications (Shang & Guo, 2017).

² Sir Stamford Raffles is known as the 'Father of Singapore' because he founded the city of Singapore in 1819.

³ A clan is a group of people, usually with the same dialect or place of origins, who assemble in regular gatherings to socialize during festivals and get aid from the community.

become business owners; the Teochews specialized in agriculture; the Cantonese became miners, goldsmiths, and tailors; and the Hakkas dominated the trade of pawnbroking.

Kreta Ayer is the epicenter of Chinatown with enterprises ranging from large businesses to small hawkers and entertainment for residents (Tan, 1990). The main shopping area at Kreta Ayer is based around Smith Street, Temple Street, and Trengganu Street. The dialect used for communication at Kreta Ayer is mostly Cantonese because the Cantonese lived there under Raffles' allocation. In 1942, during the Second World War, Kreta Ayer suffered badly from heavy and frequent Japanese air raids. Chinatown after the war, including Kreta Ayer, gradually recovered and entered its 'golden age' during the 1950s. Businesses started to recover, modern Chinese fashion was introduced, various festivals were celebrated, and the streets became a profitable earning place for many hawkers.

As Chinatown provided a cheap source of convenience goods and authentic meals, issues such as water and environmental pollution, traffic obstruction, and disease were evident (Yeoh & Kong, 1994). To resolve these issues, a licensing and relocation policy was introduced to keep track of the number and types of hawkers as well as to relocate them. For relocation purposes, Chinatown Complex was built in 1983 along Smith Street. Chinatown Complex is a vast multistorey building where the first level hosts shops selling clothes and antiques, and the second level houses the hawkers who used to crowd the streets during the 1950s. At first, many hawkers refused to relocate as they feared they would lose business in the complex; however, the strict implementation of policy forced the hawkers to move into Chinatown Complex. As most of them had been selling on the streets during the 1950s, the dialects used today in daily communication are those originating from their respective clan groups. Mandarin Chinese is nowadays commonly spoken due to the increasing number of recent migrants from mainland China who primarily communicate in this variety. For mutual communication, Singaporeans also speak Mandarin Chinese with the migrants.

Thus, the diversity of languages spoken in Singapore's Chinatown can be traced back to the past migration history of various Chinese clan groups. Together with the spoken languages of present-day Singapore, this diversity of languages has added color to the cultural characteristics of Singapore's Chinatown.

Linguistic Landscape Framework

A relatively new inquiry in sociolinguistics, linguistic landscape research, has gained much attention in recent years. The term 'linguistic landscape' was first introduced by Landry and Bourhis who defined it as:

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form

the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25).

Under the umbrella of this definition, the linguistic landscape has two basic functions: it serves to reflect the linguistic characteristics of a geographical region; and it symbolizes the value and status of the in-group language within that sociolinguistic setting (Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Shohamy, 2006). Much work has been done in this area, particularly in relation to bilingualism and multilingualism (Ben Said, 2019; Gorter, 2006; Huebner, 2006; Shang & Guo, 2017).

In a foundational quantitative study, Backhaus (2007) examined the linguistic landscape of Tokyo by focusing on urban language contact in the written form; that is the languages on signboards. He found that certain parts of Tokyo were explicitly planned to be multilingual by the Metropolitan Government to serve both the Japanese population and foreigners. Backhaus concluded that this unique perspective of having various competing languages showed how they interact and interfere with one another in a given space. Taylor-Leech (2012) argues that the languages displayed on signs in Dili are an index of identity and reflection of how language practices are usually influenced by language policy (Kasanga, 2010). Portuguese and Tetum are seen on official signs whereas English and Indonesian spread across non-official signs. This display of languages does not suggest the language policy of Dili has failed, but reflects its country's diversity of ethnocultural identity as a product of past colonialism. Lai (2013) analyses three types of signs in the city of Hong Kong: monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual. She notes that almost half the signs are bilingual and multilingual, with Chinese and English as the most common combination of languages. Even though English stands as a language of international communication and local identity, Chinese remains the dominant written language on signs due to Hong Kong's change of sovereignty from Britain to China (Lai, 2013).

These studies demonstrate that the diversity of languages in a particular landscape is a reflection of that landscape's identity. To contribute further to the literature in this area, our study in Singapore's Chinatown will examine how globalized and localized languages are represented in a historical area and include opinions from hawkers in that area. It also addresses the needs to look into the tension between the use of Mandarin Chinese (globalized language) and Chinese dialects (localized languages) in the Chinese community (Rappa & Wee, 2006; Wee, 2014). Employing a mixed methods approach, three research questions have been developed to serve as a framework for the study:

- (i) What languages are displayed on the stall signboards in Singapore's Chinatown?
- (ii) Which combinations of languages can be found on the signs?
- (iii) To what extent did the hawkers influence the content of the signboards in their establishment?

Research procedure

This paper is a synchronic study; hence, the data was collected in Chinatown Complex in one day to maintain consistency. There are several levels in Chinatown Complex as it is a multistorey building, but only the food stalls on level 2 were chosen for the focus of this study because the signboards of these food stalls displayed a variety of languages that reflects the historical and cultural background of the location. Each food stall's main signboard was photographed using a digital camera. In sum, a total of 210 signboards were collected and used for analysis. All the signboards were categorized as non-official type because the stalls were privately owned by the hawkers.

Consultations with three respective hawkers were held after the photographing session to elicit their reasons and explanations for the choice of languages used on the signboards and names for the stalls. The consultations were conducted in either Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese to encourage an authentic conversation in the vernacular used by hawkers. Although assurance to protect confidentiality of the hawkers was provided, others were reluctant to speak as they feared reporters and health authorities. As there were no audio/video recordings during the consultations, fieldnotes were jotted down.

Before analyzing the data collected, a corpus of photos was developed. All Chinese characters found on the signboards were typed in Hanyu pinyin and then translated into English so that both authors could obtain a clear description of the stalls' name. Following the quantitative methodology used by Lai (2013), all signboards were firstly categorized by the number of languages displayed (i.e. monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual), then the different languages written on the signboards were recorded and calculated for language variation. In each category (monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual), the reasons for the hawkers' chosen languages were discussed to elicit a general impression of the linguistic landscape of Singapore's Chinatown in relation to aspects of bilingualism and multilingualism.

Survey Results

The results of the survey of signboards collected at Chinatown Complex are separated into two categories: (1) the number of languages displayed, and (2) language variety.

The number of languages displayed

Some methodological rules were determined when categorizing the number of languages displayed on the signboards. This study follows Lai's (2013) analysis where the terms 'monolingual', 'bilingual', and 'multilingual' respectively refer to one language for monolingual signboards; two languages, including transliteration⁴

⁴ In this context, transliteration means Chinese dialects, such as Hokkien and Cantonese, are written using Romanised alphabets according to their respective pronunciation. It differs from

for bilingual signboards; and three or more languages, including transliteration, for multilingual signboards. The results of the 210 signboards collected are as follows:

Table 1: Three categories of signboards

Number of languages displayed	Number of signboards	Percentage (%)
Monolingual	58	27.62
Bilingual	144	68.57
Multilingual	8	3.81
Total	210	100

As shown in Table 1, more than half the total collection of signboards photographed are bilingual signboards (68.57%). This figure indexes the bilingual practices of the hawkers in Chinatown Complex. Most hawkers communicate daily in either Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese and speak to foreign customers in basic English. Monolingual signboards (27.62%) are less than half the number of the bilingual signboards, and only 3.81% are multilingual signboards. The multilingual figure is significantly smaller than the other types of signboard displays, which gives the impression that even though four official languages are practiced in Singapore, the language variation displayed on the signboards at Chinatown Complex is rather limited. Rationale for this figure will be explored further in consultations with the respective hawkers at the later section.

Language variety

Once the results for the types of signboards were obtained, we further classified them according to which languages contributed to each type. The classification results are discussed in the following three sections.

Monolingual signboards

As shown in Table 2, the majority of monolingual signboards are written using Chinese (traditional/simplified characters) (16.67%). This figure is as expected because many of the hawkers are pioneer migrants who came to Singapore during the early 1950s and became street hawkers. As discussed earlier, these pioneer migrants at Kreta Ayer are of Cantonese origin and their main language of communication is Cantonese, which is usually written in traditional Chinese characters as following the trend in Hong Kong (Zhao & Baldauf, 2008). In addition, the use of traditional Chinese characters may be a representation

Hanyu pinyin because Hanyu pinyin is the romanization of Chinese, which is read according to Mandarin Chinese pronunciation.

Table 2: Languages represented on monolingual signboards

Languages	Number of signboards	Percentage (%)
English	10	4.46
Chinese (traditional/simplified characters)	35	16.67
Chinese (transliteration)	1	0.48
Chinese (traditional/simplified characters with transliteration)	10	4.76
Malay	2	0.95
Total	58	27.62

of the Chinese culture, which most pioneer migrants have a strong emotional attachment to their Chinese traditions (Shang & Guo, 2017). This explains the reasons behind written traditional/simplified Chinese characters on the signboards. It also demonstrates how these hawkers maintain their respective language of communication in Singapore's multilingual environment.

There are 10 (4.76%) signboards written only in English and 10 (4.76%) in Chinese (traditional/simplified characters with transliteration). There are also two signboards (0.95%) written in the Malay language, which is rather unusual in Chinatown Complex because the hawkers who historically dominated the complex are Chinese. Inclusion of the Malay language in this predominantly Chinese linguistic landscape most likely targets the second dominant ethnicity of Singapore (i.e. Malays) and/or catering for foreign customers who come from neighboring countries where Indonesian and the Malay language are spoken (i.e., Malaysia, Brunei, and Indonesia).

Bilingual signboards

Table 3: Languages represented on bilingual signboards

Languages	Number of signboards	Percentage (%)
English + Chinese (traditional/simplified characters)	53	25.24
English + Chinese (transliteration)	3	1.43
English + Chinese (traditional/simplified characters with transliteration)	82	39.05
English + Japanese	1	0.48
English + Malay	1	0.48
English + German	1	0.48
English + Arabic	1	0.48
Malay + Chinese (traditional/simplified characters)	1	0.48
Malay + Chinese (traditional/simplified characters with transliteration)	1	0.48
Total	144	68.57

As demonstrated in Table 3, the combination of English and Chinese (traditional/simplified characters with transliteration) is the most common (39.05%) among the bilingual signboards. As transliteration written in pinyin is a notation of the pronunciation of traditional/simplified characters, these signboards are classified as dual languages that tells locals and foreign customers the type of dishes served in the particular stall. The duplication most likely functions as decoration and maybe linked to the *kiasu* syndrome of Singapore, as suggested by Shang and Guo (2017). The *kiasu* syndrome refers to people afraid of losing out when comparing to others (Hwang, Ang, & Francesco, 2002). The second most common combination of languages is English and Chinese (traditional/simplified characters only) (25.24%).

For the remaining bilingual signboards, various languages including Japanese, Malay, German, and Arabic are also displayed together with English or Chinese (traditional/simplified characters with transliteration). These combinations of languages have only one signboard each (0.48%). Japanese, Malay, German, and Arabic are classified under minority languages found at Chinatown Complex as they are rare. This is due to the strong Chinese cultural and historical influences in Singapore's Chinatown, as well as the government promotion of Chinese (i.e. Speak Mandarin Campaign)⁵ to maintain a dominantly Chinese ascendancy in Singapore (Lim, 2009; Teo, 2005; Wee, 2003).

Multilingual signboards

Table 4: Languages represented on multilingual signboards

Languages	Number of signboards	Percentage (%)
English + Malay + Chinese (traditional/simplified characters)	3	1.43
English + Malay + Chinese (traditional/simplified characters with transliteration)	3	1.43
English + Malay + Arabic	2	0.95
Total	8	3.81

Table 4 shows there are only eight multilingual signboards (3.81%). Of these, the most common combination of languages is English, Malay, and Chinese. This figure is rather low for a multilingual country such as Singapore with four official languages. Due to the chosen survey site of Chinatown and its strong Chinese

⁵ Speak Mandarin Campaign was first launched in 1979 by ex-Prime Minister, the late Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, to encourage the Singaporean Chinese community to use more Mandarin Chinese and less of other Chinese dialects.

heritage, it is understandable that most of the hawkers are of Chinese origin. The language of communication, both with one another and regular customers is mostly in Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese, while English, a global language, is used with the younger customers and foreign tourists.

During the consultations, the hawkers stated that they inherited their business from their parents or parent-in-law, from the 1950s, and it is therefore preferably to retain the original Chinese names of the stalls when moving from the streets into the complex. This characteristic of loyalty displayed by the hawkers, indexes historical authenticity (Haarmann, 1986). In addition, it becomes a marketing strategy (i.e. a selling incentive or factor), where the name of the stall and its historical reputation helps to generate customer loyalty. Many hawkers claimed customers return regularly to their stalls because of the name and the traditional dishes served.

Summary of survey results

To sum up, the signboards collected on level 2 of Chinatown Complex are categorized according to the number of languages displayed—monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual signboards. The most common among them are bilingual signboards positioned at the front of food stalls. In terms of language variety, Chinese and English are the languages most frequently written on the signboards, which align with Shang and Guo's (2017) survey that these languages are the most vibrant languages in Singapore's linguistic landscape. The frequent use of them also reflects Chinatown's historical background. Other languages, such as Japanese and German, are also found in the collection but are rare.

Discussion

As noted in the statistical results above, the dominant language written on the signboards at Chinatown Complex is Chinese, followed by English. Other languages such as Malay, German, Japanese, and Arabic have a low record of appearance. This breakdown reflects the strong Chinese cultural influence that has been maintained in Chinatown to the present day. The language variety for each type of signboard is now discussed through observation of the display of language usage while consultations from the hawkers provided evidence to support their choice of languages.

Monolingual signboards

Based on the collection of monolingual signboards, we observed three common features: language choices and keywords, font (i.e. size and color), and visuals (i.e. images).



Figure 1. A signboard written only in Chinese.

Language choice is limited for monolingual signboards. Keywords are kept to a minimum and are short but ‘catchy’. An example is demonstrated in Figure 1 – the Chinese characters on the signboard are read as *Jiu Ji Zhou Pin* in Mandarin Chinese, which means *Nine Porridge*. The signboard tells us that the stall sells congee, a delicacy. The Chinese characters can also be read in Cantonese as *Kau Kei Juk Ban*. *Jiu/Kau*, the first character, symbolizes the name of this stall, nine (9). *Ji/Kei*, the second character is a common suffix attached to the shop’s name in a Cantonese business and is an important trademark to signify the Cantonese origins. *Zhou/Juk*, the third character means congee and *Pin/Ban*, the last character represents a product (delicacy). *Jiu Ji Zhou Pin / Kau Kei Juk Ban* is written in simplified Chinese characters.

According to the hawker displaying this sign, his family started selling porridge in the street in the 1950s. They originated from Guangzhou, a city in Southern China where Cantonese is spoken as the main language of communication. He is part of the family’s second generation who inherited the business. He kept the same stall name even after moving into Chinatown Complex to ensure regular customers could remember his family’s business from the first generation. As observed at the stall, most of the customers who order food speak either Cantonese or Mandarin Chinese to the hawker. Therefore, the Chinese characters written on the signboard is described as a language of solidarity and power because it interpellates an ethnically Chinese clientele specifically where Cantonese or Mandarin Chinese plays a prominent role in the community. So (1998) posits that such prominent language can be regarded as a language of solidarity to ensure a great appeal for the local community. Figure 1 is evidence of the interplay of language choice with solidarity.

In terms of font as devised by Scollon and Scollon (2003), the font size and color for monolingual signboards are kept minimal and simple. Figure 2 demonstrates

a signboard written only in English. The name of the stall, *Milk Shake Juice House*, is written in red capital letters, slightly slanted against a light blue background, and placed on the left side of the signboard. The minimal keywords of the stall attract locals and foreigners easily because the font size is big and easy to see.



Figure 2. A signboard written only in English.

Another common feature found on monolingual signboards is visuals. Images are usually included as they act as an important icon/symbol for customers to understand the types of food sold at the respective stalls. In Figure 2, although there are no Chinese characters for the name of the stall, customers could easily know it is a beverage stall due to the images of canned drinks and fruits. However, the signboard does not clearly indicate the name of each juice and drink sold, and this may cause speculation for foreign customers unfamiliar with the types of drinks available in Singapore's Chinatown.

Overall, we observed that the language choice for monolingual signboards is usually limited and while the colors are conventional, keywords are kept short and catchy with a large font size that stands out on the signboards. Images are used to symbolize the dishes served.



Figure 3. A signboard written in Chinese and transliteration of Cantonese.



Figure 4. A signboard written in Chinese and transliteration of Hokkien.

When comparing Figures 3 and 4, there are many similarities. First, in bilingual signboards, the hierarchy of which language appears on top of another is important as it reflects the language ideology of the respective stall. Given that Chinatown Complex is a Chinese dominant building, the preferred language appearing at the top of both signboards is Chinese written in either traditional or simplified characters. In Figure 3, *Lin Ji Zhu Chao* is written on top of the English lexis, *Lam Kee Delight*. *Lin*, the first character represents the name of the hawker, which is transliterated in Cantonese as *Lam*. *Ji*, the second character signifies an important trademark in the Cantonese culture (as discussed in Figure 1). *Zhu Chao* is translated as stir-fry. For Figure 4, the Chinese characters read as *An Zhen Shou Gong Bao Bing* are placed on top of the English lexis. *An Zhen* is the name of the hawker that has been transliterated into Hokkien as *Ann Chin*. *Shou Gong* means handmade and *Bao Bing* is the name of the snack sold at the stall. *Bao Bing* is also known as *popiah*⁶ in Hokkien, a common local snack sold in Malaysia and Singapore. Both signboards implicitly index the importance and prestige of Chinese in comparison to English, particularly in this space where Chinese has more symbolic power and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). There is also evidence from both signboards that the hawkers harbor Chinese culture with more emphasis and prominence despite being in a country where English is the interethnic language of communication. Such evidence is found in Shang and Guo's (2017) survey that shop owners in Singapore prioritize Chinese to convey important information to customers.

Another similarity observed in the bilingual signboards is the size and color of the font. In Figure 3, *Lin Ji Zhu Chao* is written in red against a white background. The font size of the Chinese characters is bigger than the English lexis. In Figure 4, the Chinese characters of *An Zhen Shou Gong Bao Bing* are written in yellow and are a bigger font size than *Ann Chin*. The color red is used

⁶ *Popiah* is a Fujian-style fresh spring roll (steamed turnip, shredded omelet, slices of carrot, bean sprouts, and fresh lettuce are wrapped in a soft, thin paper-like crepe).

extensively in both signboards. In Chinese culture, red is a vital color symbolizing good fortune and joy. Red is usually associated with warmth, energy, salience and foregrounding (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2002). As Kress and van Leeuwen (2002) emphasize, color is influential in creating the complexity of meanings where the product makers, in this context the hawkers, wish to capture the attention of their customers.

A third similarity found in Figures 3 and 4 is historicity. In Figure 3, below *Lam Kee Delight* is written the year when the stall started its business (*Since 1965*). Consultation with the hawker revealed that the reason that date is used. The first generation of the stall, who originated from Guangzhou, have been operating the culinary business since the 1960s along the streets. The hawker includes *Since 1965* on the signboard to inform customers of the historicity of the business and project its authenticity. As Guangzhou is a Cantonese speaking region in China, the dishes sold at *Lam Kee Delight* is based on Cantonese culture (e.g., *Hong Kong Style Steamed Fish Head*). In Figure 4, the year the hawker started the business (*Since 1958*) is aligning with the English text, *Ann Chin*. According to the hawker, his family originated from Fujian, a Southeast province in China, and started the business in the 1950s in the streets of Chinatown. This explains why the name of the stall is spelt in Hokkien instead of Cantonese, as Fujian is a *Min*⁷ speaking province. The snack, *Bao Bing* is also related to the history of the family's origins (Fujian) as it is a Fujian snack.

Overall, the origins and history of how the business started is closely related to the name written on the signboard. Despite Singapore being a multilingual country, the importance of local languages is explicit on the bilingual signboards in Chinatown Complex with the hierarchy of Chinese placed at the top in a larger font size than English.



Figure 5. A multilingual (Chinese-English-Malay) signboard.

⁷ *Min* is one of the Chinese dialects spoken in the province of Fujian, China. In Taiwan and Southeast Asia, *Min* is commonly known as Hokkien.



Figure 6. A signboard written in Chinese, English, and Malay.

There are a number of similarities between the signboards in Figures 5 and 6. First, the code preference explicitly shows both signboards display Chinese dominance because Chinese is placed above English/Malay. Such preference is also found in Shang and Guo's (2017) study that shop owners in Singapore tend to reserve the top placing on their signboards for Chinese names. In Figure 5, the name of the stall, *Quan Neng Qiao Ma Ma*, is translated as *Super Mummy*. *Quan Neng*, the first two Chinese characters mean almighty; *Qiao*, the third Chinese character represents smart; and *Ma Ma*, the final two Chinese characters signify mother. *Quan Neng Qiao Ma Ma* is positioned on top of *Super Mummy* and has a larger font size. In Figure 6, the Chinese characters are read as *Da Li Jia Dong Li Sha*. *Da Li* is translated as *Terry*, the name of the hawkker; *Jia Dong* is *Katong*, a suburb in Singapore; and *Li Sha* means *Laksa*, the dish sold at the stall. The Chinese identity in this Chinese dominated complex is seen in the hierarchy of languages with Standard Chinese on top of English/Malay in a larger font. This is evidence that Standard Chinese plays a vital role as an everyday language (Lai, 2013; Shang & Guo, 2017) for the hawkkers and their customers.

Another characteristic worth mentioning is the Malay lexis being treated as an English lexis. *Laksa*, the name of the dish sold in both stalls, is a popular spicy noodle soup dish that originates from the Peranakan⁸ culture. There are different varieties of laksa sold in Southeast Asia, but Singapore is popular for its *Katong laksa*⁹. In Figure 5, a picture of laksa is shown on the extension signboard below (the third picture from the left). This is an important visual aid for foreign customers unfamiliar, but wanting to order the signature Singapore dish. This

⁸ *Peranakan* is a term used for the descendants of the 15th to 17th century Chinese immigrants to British Malaya and Indonesia archipelago. These Chinese immigrants practice the Nusantara culture.

⁹ *Katong laksa* is a dish which the noodles are normally cut into small strands and they are served with bean curbs and slices of fish cake or prawn in rich thick coconut gravy.

example reinforces the significance of images on multilingual signboards and highlights the preponderance of images alongside text on the dataset of signs collected (Kasanga, 2015). In Figure 6, the hawkker precisely states *Katong laksa* to indicate the specific variety of laksa served. This evidence shows the importance of providing specific information to avoid confusion among customers.

Our overall observation was that in this Chinese dominated landscape, the exclusive role of local languages is demonstrated through the hierarchy of languages displayed on the signboards and is affiliated with ethnic identity.

Conclusion

To summarize the findings, we refer back to the research questions developed during the survey. In response to the first question, figures from the data analysis have demonstrated a variety of languages used on the signboards at Chinatown Complex. The dominant languages are Chinese and English, which show significantly that Singapore's Chinatown practices bilingualism consistent with the majority in Singapore, favouring these two languages among the four official ones. The study also shows that other Chinese dialects, such as Hokkien and Cantonese, are commonly spoken in Singapore's Chinatown, a locality that represents a 'sanctuary' for languages marginalized by the official language policy of the country. Although minority language combination was found in the collection of signboards, they were scarce when compared to other language combinations.

In terms of language mixes and choices, we conclude that bilingualism is practiced most frequently in Chinatown Complex, which suggests that the landscape of Singapore's Chinatown is more bilingual than multilingual. Many hawkkers have their signboards written in two languages to ensure both locals and foreigners can understand the type of dishes served. Chinese is used as a language of solidarity and power – most locals are able to read the signboards in Chinese characters or transliteration (other Chinese dialects). The use of Chinese both in traditional and simplified characters, and in pinyin form serves as an index of group cohesiveness and denotes a close-knit community which is predominantly ethnically Chinese. Historical influences also play an important role in the choice of languages. Due to the heritage of family businesses, the transliteration of Cantonese and Hokkien are frequently observed on the signboards. They are positioned higher than English because they serve as a common language between hawkkers and customers. English serves as a marker of internationalism and a form of commodity to advertise businesses to non-local audiences. Pictures of food are included on the signboards as visual aids for foreign and new customers.

The findings of this paper do not reflect the overall impression of the multilingual landscape of Singapore as an international tourist destination and vibrant financial hub. However, the results signify the importance and power of Chinese language and dialects used in Singapore's Chinatown as a symbolic

marker of ethnolinguistic identity (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). This phenomenon aligns with Singapore's past Prime Minister, Goh Chok Tong's description of Chinese as "a valuable asset" in the economic market (The Straits Times, as cited in Wee, 2003, p. 216). As this paper uses the mixed methods approach, the results hope to provide a resolution to the complication between 'symbolic' and 'indexical' meanings identified by Scollon and Scollon (2003). The results also constitute a starting point to further explore how bilingualism and multilingualism are practiced in parts of Singapore other than Chinatown.

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Computer-assisted assessment: Application of computerised testing at the Institute of English Studies at the University of Lodz, Poland

ABSTRACT

Numerous researchers have noticed the need for better measurement of students' stated learning outcomes (Conole & Warburton, 2005). One of the reasons is the increasing number of university students, which has led to the necessity of finding an efficient form of assessment. One of the ways of testing, which is rapidly gaining popularity among academic staff, is computer-assisted assessment (CAA). The aim of the following paper is to briefly discuss the notion of CAA and the observed positive impacts it has exerted on the testing process at the Institute of English Studies at the University of Lodz, Poland, and to consider several pedagogical implications related to the use of this type of assessment within the institution. The findings were observed by the author of the paper and are not based on empirical data.

Keywords: computer-assisted assessment, computer assisted testing systems, computerised testing, computer-based assessment, ICT

1. Introduction

Within the past few decades one can notice a considerable upsurge in the use of technology in higher education. Given the fast pace of today's world, such a situation no longer seems surprising. In fact, it could be said that technology has become an indispensable component of many university classes. E-learning, blended learning, countless learning applications, multimedia and online learning tools – all of these prove how the face of higher education has altered over the past decades and gained a fresher look. Therefore, it only seems natural that more and more universities have called for the implementation of computers in the process of students' learning and final assessment. The ever growing use of computers in higher education seems inevitable. Fuentes et al. (2014) add that:

Due to the rapid [...] development of ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) in the last few years, e-learning has become a fully consolidated reality in the vast majority of higher schools and universities around the world. In the US, for example, over 6.7 million university students took at least one online course in 2012 [...]. In Spain, meanwhile, almost 90% of universities have an institutional e-learning platform and over 60% of the traditional on-site courses use it as an additional learning resource (p. 977).

There are several advantages resulting from the use of computers when examining students. Thurlow et al. (2010) talk about efficient administration, student preference, improved writing performance and immediate results (2010, p. 1). Conole and Warburton (2005) stress the following positive aspects: a considerable reduction of the assessment load and the innovative form of assessment – one of the many advantages of CAA which will be elaborated on in further parts of the article.

The following paper aims at discussing the concept of CAA and presenting the advantages resulting from the introduction of computerised testing at the Institute of English Studies at the University of Lodz, Poland. Mention will also be made of the limitations and challenges faced by students and also academic staff responsible for the running of computer-assisted assessment.

2. Defining computer-assisted assessment

Bull & McKenna (2004, p. 1) define CAA as “the use of computers to deliver, mark and analyse assignments or examinations. It also includes the collation and analysis of optically captured data gathered from machines such as optical mark readers (OMRs)”. Apart from optical mark readers Conole & Warburton (2005) also mention portfolio collection, which means that a computer is used to collate students’ scripts or written work.

Researchers point out that CAA is often referred to as computer-based assessment. The notion of CBA stands for the implementation of a computer program responsible for marking the answers generated by students and fed into the system. In computer-based assessment students are expected to complete their examination at workstations and then their answers are automatically marked by the system (Bull, 1999). Optical mark reading, on the other hand, relies on a computer to capture answers from surveys, questionnaires, multiple-choice questions that were completed on paper. When describing CBA, Conole and Warburton (2005) point out that it can be further divided into stand-alone applications which need only one computer, applications that can easily function on private networks and, finally, applications that can be used within public networks, for instance the web.

Bull and McKenna (2004) mention other terms which are closely connected with computer-assisted learning, for instance: computerised assessment, compu-

ter-aided assessment or web-based assessment. The two last terms fall into the category of screen-based assessment. CAA is frequently applied to objective test questions, such as true/false or multiple choice.

Looking at the numerous, at times quite complex terms associated with CAA might initially lead to some degree of confusion or even distrust among academics and students. However, as Bull and Danson (2004) add, “while the terminology – and individual interpretations of it may vary, the underlying strategies and practices for making effective use of computers for student assessment remain constant” (p. 3). In practice CAA can be applied for different purposes, for instance to generate exam questions including, among others, multiple choice, true/false, matching or transformations. Moreover, thanks to this way of testing, students can take their exams on computers or on other mobile devices. Most importantly, though, CAA allows for automated grading, which helps teachers save considerable amounts of time which can be devoted to other tasks.

At this point it is vital to discuss the three aspects of CAA – it can be summative, formative or diagnostic. As far as the first category is concerned, the main aim is to guarantee quantitative grading. Bull and McKenna (2004) mention some examples of summative assessment, such as end-of module exams or graded coursework. The researchers add that it can also include feedback provided to the student. The aim of summative assessment is to “summarize the level of competence the student achieved at the end (or at a certain point) of the learning process by means of a particular grade or certification” (Fuentes et al. 2014, p. 977). This way academic teachers instantly see students’ achievement in a given subject.

Formative assessment, on the other hand, is aimed at providing students with detailed feedback which could later help them progress (Mackenzie et al., 2004). Fuentes et al. (2014) define it as systematic action intended to

provide feedback to the student on their progress and identify weaknesses and gaps to be corrected. [...] the emphasis [...] is to provide the student with written or oral feedback from the teacher rather than a numerical mark (p. 976).

Formative assessment gives the students a chance to see how well they have progressed with regard to their understanding and knowledge of a given subject. It can be “monitored by the tutor, used purely for self-assessment, or used to contribute marks to a module grade” (Bull & McKenna 2004, p. xiv).

Finally, diagnostic assessment refers to the process of evaluating students’ prior knowledge at the beginning of the semester or academic year. The aim is to provide the lecturer with information about what the students already know in terms of skills or the content of the course that they want to join.

3. Computer Assisted Testing Systems (CATS)

Every semester, at the end of their Integrated Skills class (a class in Practical English), undergraduate English philology students at the Institute of English Studies sit a computerised exam. In order to pass, students need to receive a satisfactory mark in all of the following components: speaking, reading, writing, use of English and listening. The tasks students have to perform include, among others, multiple choice, transformations, open close and multiple matching. Before 2010 students took their Practical English exam once a year, which negatively impacted how systematic they were. The coordinator of the subject decided to introduce more frequent assessment at the end of every semester. CATS were introduced at the Institute in 2015. Before that time, all the tests, apart from the oral one, were paper-based. The introduction of a computerised form of assessing students' knowledge has revolutionized the whole process of exams at the Institute of English Studies and dramatically reduced the administrative load on the academics.

Prior to mentioning any tangible benefits resulting from the application of computerised tests, mention should be made of the system per se. CATS comprise 2 separate tests: a placement test and also a computerised Integrated Skills test for BA students. The former is administered at the beginning of the BA program, while the latter at the end of each semester. The placement test was first used in 2012 and has been modified three times since then. So far, more than 1200 students have successfully taken the test, including Erasmus and Mobility Direct students.

The Integrated Skills test is a computerised version of the pen and pencil test and includes all the Skills and Functions components, apart from the speaking test. The introduction of CATS was preceded by a pilot test in 2015, which made it possible to detect any possible flaws in the system and react accordingly. One of the changes introduced to the test is providing the students with the opportunity of approaching the test in any sequence that may be more comfortable or suitable for them. They can also go back to previous questions as many times as they want. This way, the computerised version bears a close resemblance to the pen and pencil test.

Once the students save their tests, the system automatically counts their points. The key is constructed in a way which makes it possible to keep track of students' answers and add any new items that students managed to create themselves. Additionally, students have access to the test only within the Institute (intranet). Every student receives their own unique login and a password for each session once they enter the examination room. The site administrator is immediately informed about any attempts to log into the exam session from outside the Institute.

It is worth mentioning that the Institute of English Studies at the University of Lodz, Poland, is the first institute in the country to have introduced such a form

of examining English philology students. Hence, there is a need to promote this system and encourage other institutes to follow suit as there are significant benefits connected with its use. Literature on the subject of computerized test, after a period of skeptical initial reviews some twenty to thirty years previously, abounds in accounts of numerous benefits that seem to fall in several broad categories. Firstly, expedience in deployment and issues of testing ecology and economy are discussed in almost every account of computerized and computer based assessment (Bachman, 2000; Russell & Haney, 2000; Chalhoub-Deville, 2001; Galaczi, 2010). Process control, insights into examiner and examinee testing behaviours are then often mentioned (Bunderson, Dilkon & Olsen, 1989; Schegel & Gilliland, 2007) with security and confidentiality (Russell & Haney, 2000) and research opportunities (Scheuermann & Guimarães Pereira, 2008; ITC, 2005) as additional avenues worth exploring.

3.1. Benefits of CAA at the Institute of English Studies

The Computer Assisted Testing Systems at the Institute of English Studies at Lodz University, or CATS for short, is a system consisting of several interrelated sub-systems. The front-end CATS interface for student-test interactions is the portion of the system immediately visible to students, and several back-end modules for the development, management and scoring provisions are the backbone of the system.

The work with the system begins with the exam manager creating a new exam and defining levels and types of tasks within the exam. With this accomplished, the manager then assigns developers from amongst the teaching staff to write particular exam tasks through the developer module of CATS with e-mails immediately notifying them of their role in the pending exam. Subsequently, other staff members are assigned the roles of markers and raters, while some others are appointed as exam monitors. One of the first merits resulting from the implementation of CAA can be observed before students embark on their classes. Those who wish to complete their BA program at the Institute of English Studies at the University of Lodz are asked to complete a placement test that automatically assigns them to the right level of their Integrated Skills class. There are six levels depending on the students' level of linguistic advancement. The students are allowed to complete their tests at home; however, they are informed that any attempts at cheating will result in being placed in a group which might be too challenging and too advanced, which, in turn, might lead to failing the course.

Prior to the introduction of computerised versions of the placement test, students were asked to come to the university before the beginning of the academic year and complete a paper-based test. This meant that several academic teachers were obliged to provide assistance during the process of testing and marking, which was extremely time-consuming. Another disadvantage was the fact that there were some students who did not take the placement test. Hence, they were

asked to take the test at a different time, which necessitated additional staff supervising these students.

One of the salient and practical advantages of using computerised testing, as reported by Kearney et al. (2004, p. 235), is that it allows for an economic use of time and also to test “a large student cohort with the facility of automated marking of responses”. Since the introduction of CATS at the Institute of English Studies, the process of administering and, most importantly, marking hundreds of exam papers has become much smoother and faster. Academic teachers no longer need to devote long hours to marking piles of exam papers. Additionally, the risk of making a mistake has been considerably reduced (Marriott & Toeh, 2012). The right answers are fed into the system and the computer corrects students’ papers according to the provided key. The only two components that need to be assessed by the academic teachers are writing and speaking. Previously, teachers were asked to collect students’ writing and mark it by hand. Now, they can do so with the help of a specially designed computer program, which allows them to provide each student with constructive feedback which they can later use to improve their writing.

The tool is called Script Assist®, and it comprises a portion of the software available to the examiners under the examiner portion of the CATS. It provides the script marker with a set of functions to annotate the script, comment and mark the script on a pre-selected scale or set of scales. One portion of the screen is afforded to the script and script annotation tools, and the other holds the performance descriptors broken down into categories with additional space for comments for each category. Needless to say, markers are encouraged to provide exhaustive comments to justify their choices.

It should also be stressed that teachers can access students’ writing from the comfort of their own home, which was not possible a few years ago. All they need to do is log in and they automatically receive access to their set of students’ essays. As for oral exams, students are assessed by two examiners who evaluate their performance according to a set of specified criteria. The format of the spoken exam has not been changed. Students enter the examination room, draw their questions, produce a monologue and then engage in a dialogue. As yet, there have been no plans to computerize this part of the Practical English Exam, even though considerable effort is expended to provide digital assessments to this area of the test. Apart from mock exam sessions organized prior to the main event, the Speaking Paper is a traditional face-to-face exam, where the students are assessed by two raters in the presence of a third administrator taking care of paperwork. The mock exams, however, are digitally registered and fed into an EPSS (Electronic Performance Support System) for training purposes (Krakowian, 2015). As observed by academic teachers and the authorities of the Institute of English Studies at the University of Lodz, owing to CAA, the process

of testing students has become more organized and efficient. This is in part due to managing student flow and examiner duties and responsibilities via a coherent examiner portion of the system, but also through process control mechanisms that are available through easily affordable test statistics, with information on exam performance feeding into different stages of the examination procedure. Test statistics include such classical (CTT) indices as facility value (FV) and discrimination indices (D1-3 and point biserial DI), as well modern, logic-based examiner-test interaction statistics (MTT).

The exam session usually starts at the very beginning of June. There are two days devoted to Practical English exams – the first day starts with computerized testing. On the second day students take their spoken exam. All the testing is carried out at the Institute. After accessing the CATS in one of the designated computer labs in the building, students receive one time access codes which they use to access their exams. The whole procedure takes no more than a few minutes. Once the students log into the system, they have two hours to complete the exam which is comprised of four parts: use of English, writing, reading and listening. Also, computerised tests have helped to reduce instances of cheating, as reported by exam supervisors. Students take their exams in small rooms, which facilitates meticulous supervision. Additionally, students are mixed up according to their levels. It might happen that there will be students who attended module 1, 3 and 5 in the same room. Hence, it is virtually impossible to copy another students' paper.

Automating the process of scoring students' exam papers makes it possible for the students to obtain their test results much faster (Marriott & Toeh, 2012). Bull and Danson (2004, p. 5) point out that “automated marking is highly desirable from both the point of view of the educator, and if students are properly informed about the capabilities and benefits of the CAA – the learner”. Hence, academics do not need to engage in the time-consuming process of repetitive and manual scoring of all the exam papers. Students also receive extensive feedback from the examiners on their written work – not only with regard to the number of points they score for their essays but also constructive comments on how well they did. Students have a chance to see which areas they still need to work on and which they excel in. Although this information was earlier available in pen-and-paper editions of the test, access to it was limited to the times when the papers were made available for inspection at designated times and under teacher supervision. Now, the scripts can be viewed both in the faculty building and from the comfort of the students' homes alongside other data on the student performance in the CATS exam. Summary data and data relating to performance in individual portions of the exam is also digitally available to the student. Mention should also be made of the fact that the introduction of computerised testing provides abundant and, most importantly, easy access for the academic teacher data that could be used to learn more about the students and to monitor their progress in a more thorough

way. The system stores the scores from every part of the exam which can later be meticulously analyzed, especially when compared to the students' final grade obtained in the Practical English class. This way, academic teachers can take on a more personalized approach to each student and place greater emphasis on the components that still need to be improved. In addition to this, Bartram (2006) says that thanks to the application of computer software, examiners see how long it took the student to complete the test and whether they changed their answers during the exam.

Finally, one cannot forget about the financial aspect of implementing computerised testing. Since its introduction in 2015, CAA has helped to save a considerable amount of money that would normally be devoted to printing exam papers. Every year there are around 300 students taking their end-of-semester exams in Practical English at the Institute of English Studies. Each part, excluding speaking and writing, comprises at least 3–4 sheets of paper. Hence, thanks to computer-assisted assessment the Institute has managed to reduce paper usage and storage (Marriott & Toeh, 2012). Summing up, one can see that the costs of each exam session are very high. Introducing computer-assisted assessment has profoundly impacted the Institute's budget helping to save money by transferring the exams to virtual reality.

3.2. Challenges associated with CAA

Despite all the advantages resulting from the application of computerised testing, there are certain shortcomings that also merit further discussion. To start with, creating and implementing CAA can be incredibly time-consuming. In fact, it might initially take even longer than preparing pen and pencil exams (Bull & McKenna, 2004; Marriott & Teoh, 2012; Fuentes et al., 2014). In course of time, however, the benefits become much more tangible.

It goes without saying that the team responsible for the whole process need to be knowledgeable and able to react quickly in case of technical problems (Bull & McKenna, 2004; Boeve et al., 2015). It is essential that there is an exam coordinator allocated to each examination room before the test begins. Such a person, or even a team, should meticulously monitor hardware and software to guarantee that the assessment runs smoothly. One of the problems arising at the very beginning of the exam are log-in problems. Although students receive their separate log-in details for the exam, it sometimes happens that they experience difficulty accessing their papers as the system rejects their password. What is more, computers are liable to crash or to hang. Networks can suddenly fail to work for no obvious reason. Hence, it is necessary that there is an additional person in each examination room who could successfully address these technical issues.

In one of her articles on CAA in higher education institutions (HEI's), Bull (1997) mentioned cultural and organisational barriers. Although the presence of

computerised exams at university level is more widespread than ever before there is still a certain degree of reluctance on the lecturers' and, even more surprisingly, on students' part. Not all academics are ready to adopt technology in their everyday practice. This unwillingness might result from the already considerable workload. Taking on even more duties such as familiarizing themselves with the exam format and preparing new tasks that could be included in the exam might seem like a daunting prospect to some academics. This is why it is vital that lecturers receive sufficient technical support from the coordinator of the exam.

Prior to the introduction of, first the online learning platform and, then, computerised tests, academic teachers running Integrated Skills classes at the Institute of English Studies were provided with extensive training in using the new learning tool and also in CATS. The training sessions took place at the University but also included online materials that teachers could access from the comfort of their home. During the training in computerised testing academic teachers learnt about the different modules of CATS. The first one was the student's module. Teachers could see what the exam looks like from the perspective of the student and what tasks they need to complete. The second one was the developer's module. Teachers were instructed how they can contribute to the already existing bank of exam tasks that can be used in future exam sessions. There is also the examiner's module used for assessing students' exams. Since reading, listening and use of English are automatically assessed by the computer, teachers only assess students' written work.

It is not only academic teachers but also students who need to get acquainted with the new exam format, otherwise they may experience anxiety (Marriott & Teoh, 2012). Prior to the implementation of CATS in 2015, all the students were invited to participate in a voluntary mock exam. The main aim was to guarantee a smooth transition from pen and pencil tests to computer-based exams, to help students become more familiar with the new format and, ideally, resolve any possible doubts. It should be mentioned that some students were far from enthusiastic at the prospect of changing the form of the exam. Some of them voiced their scepticism as they feared that the new exam could adversely affect their final grade as, in their opinion, they lacked the necessary IT skills, an issue that will be addressed in further parts of the article.

3.3. Pedagogical issues

When discussing the possible dangers pertaining to online assessment, Brown et al. (1997) mention the notion of cognitive conflict. The term refers to a situation in which students are obliged to perform online tasks during the course but then are asked to sit paper-based examinations. In other words, testing students in one system and training them in another is simply not fair and should be avoided at all costs. Ehrman (1998) also places emphasis on integrating not only the structure

but also the delivery of the course with the introduction of new technology as only this can guarantee effective CAA.

At this point it should be stressed that students at the Institute of English Studies are trained in online tasks on a regular basis. During the semester they are asked to actively participate in activities that appear on Moodle, a learning platform. The online tasks created by academic teachers include, among others, joining online discussions and presenting one's point of view on a given topic, completing multiple choice questions based on the materials covered, doing multiple matching or open cloze exercises. The tasks that students complete closely correlate with those that appear in the exams. Hence, students are provided with sufficient exposure to the types of exercises they will have to do during the exam session. Such practices are necessary if the institution implementing CAA wants to ensure a smooth running of the assessment process. In fact, there have been several studies investigating online quizzes and their impact on students' academic performance. As Kılıçkaya (2017, p. 61) reports, researchers have shown a great deal of interest in students' attitude to online quizzes (Lu, 2009; Dumova, 2012; Dashtestani, 2015; Arora et al., 2015) but also in the influence of quizzes on students' academic achievement and preparation for the classes (Galizzi, 2010; Kibble, 2011; McDaniel et al., 2012; Brown & Talon, 2015). The findings showed that online quizzes exerted a positive impact on students' attitudes to these assessment tools and also increased the subjects' motivation and achievement.

In their work on computer-assisted assessment, Bull & McKenna (2004) also raise the issue of information technology (IT) skills. Most students who enter university already possess a set of IT skills. Therefore, it is crucial to make sure that CAA places more emphasis on students' knowledge and understanding of the material to be tested rather than on their ability to correctly apply IT skills. In practice this means test designers should bear in mind that the exam tasks should be easy to complete even by students who do not feel confident when using computers. Thomas and Milligan (2003) stress that it is students' knowledge that should be tested and not their ability to click on the right buttons. This again leads us to the necessity of exposing students to exam-like tasks during the course, which would certainly provide them with more practice opportunities and help them gain the necessary IT skills.

Thought must also be given to the fact that mere application of computers in the process of testing university students is not enough to significantly improve their learning. Fuentes et al. (2014) call for a careful design of the examination and the need for formative feedback. In other words, transferring pen and pencil tests to virtual reality may prove to be an insufficient way to help students to become more proficient. Conole and Warburton (2005) call for the investigation of the new forms of evaluation which might result from the application of new technologies. This might mean gradually moving away from the beaten track and

slowly implementing new forms of exercises or activities that will be included in end-of-semester examinations.

4. Conclusion

The aim of this article has been to elaborate on the observed advantages and disadvantages pertaining to the application of computerised testing at the Institute of English Studies at the University of Lodz, Poland. Despite the several limitations or dangers connected with computerised testing, it seems that the advantages clearly outweigh all the disadvantages. Providing it is used correctly, CAA can be a powerful tool for student learning, building new activities into assessment and reducing marking time (Bull & McKenna, 2004, p. xiv).

As observed by the authorities of the Institute, the coordinators of the Practical English exam and the academic teachers supervising the exam session, including the author of this paper who has been running the course in Integrated Skills for the past ten years, the Institute has benefitted greatly thanks to the application on the new testing system from a financial and organizational perspective. Academic staff are no longer deluged with pen and pencil tests waiting to be marked. Another advantage is that the risk of making a mistake while scoring a significant amount of students' work has also been eliminated. Not only did it allow academic staff to regularly monitor their students' progress, thanks to more frequent assessment, but it also made the whole process smooth and efficient.

The application of CAA at any higher institution should be preceded by a comprehensive analysis regarding the costs, technical support, forms of training for academic staff and students, procedures and methods of its implementation. Bull and McKenna (2004, p. 9) also point to the need for high level coordination which is required of academic teachers, support staff, administrators and computer services. It should be borne in mind that, initially, introducing CAA might be time-consuming and costly, however, in time, these obstacles pale into insignificance compared to the benefits they produce. Clearly, there are several issues which need to be considered when administering computerised tests in future years to make online assessment at the Institute of English Studies as efficient as possible. The range of questions, sufficient technical support, students' and academic teachers' beliefs are only a few of these. However, it should be stressed that the existing system, with all its limitations, has turned out to be highly effective and has greatly facilitated students' summative and formative assessment.

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The Fourth Space as an Escape from Colliding Cultures in Mohja Kahf's *The Girl in the Tangerine Scarf*

ABSTRACT

The main axis of Arab American literature is its portrayal of the experiences that Arab Americans go through in their daily life inside and outside the USA. Taking Mohja Kahf's novel as a literary sample, this paper examines the extent to which triple consciousness, faith development, and existentialist thought forge Khadra's perplexity in understanding her identity – she struggles to explore her true self in two different cultural realms i.e., Mecca and Indianapolis. By employing points of view and criticism of well-known scholars and critics such as Erik Erikson, Henri Tajfel and James Fowler, this paper concludes that Khadra, as an escape from her psychological unrest in two incompatible cultures, locates herself in what I call as the fourth space.

Keywords: Mohja Kahf, arab american, fourth space, identity, triple consciousness

Introduction

Diaspora is a complex notion; its figures are always in continuous struggle to reconcile the host-country they are living in and the motherland they are attached to, whether for cultural, political, and in some cases, religious reasons. William Safran (1991) draws attention to some of the main tenets of the term diaspora and the characteristics of its societies. He argues that there are six features with which to categorize a diasporic society. These are:

A construction of a collective memory, vision and myth about their homeland of origin, a specific transition from the centre to the foreign and the periphery, a feeling of alienation as a result of non-belonging to or non-acceptance by the host community, a vivid desire to return to the ideal homeland, being embedded in nationalism and having the will to contribute to the homeland's security and prosperity, and finally, a constant attachment to the motherland and its people (pp. 83–84).

Safran's conceptualisation of diaspora is greatly reflected in *The Girl in the Tangerine Scarf*. The novel is written in a form of a bildungsroman by Arab American author of Syrian origin Mohja Kahf. It revolves around the life of an Arab-Muslim girl named Khadra Shamy and her journey to self-discovery. She comes to the USA with her parents from Syria as immigrants. Khadra grows up in a strict Muslim community in the city of Indianapolis where the children are brought up thinking of only one definition of Islam and rejecting all differences. The novel portrays the hardship that Muslims characters of different nationalities go through in the USA to better position themselves in the wider American society. It ties in an impressive range of issues that circumscribe their daily life – mainly political and cultural. As the novel progresses, Khadra goes through several experiences, giving her the ability to exploring her true self as opposed to the identity that she inherited from her parents and reconsidering the meaning of life from different angle.

Mohja Kahf weaves her novel in a way that shows the extent to which diasporic figures find it difficult to understand their self-identity and develop sufficient sense of belonging given their dual identities. She is an example of the type of Arab American authors who discuss and assess the daily lives of Arab Americans in their literary production that emerged quickly in recent times. Steven Salaita (2011), for instance, discusses the quickly escalating visibility of Arab American literature in the USA, describing it as “a product of the twentieth century which started to develop exponentially only in the past thirty years” (p. 3). This diasporic literature projects various concerns and preoccupations that surround the life of Arab Americans, especially in the years following the events of 9/11.

Arab Americans have always struggled to negotiate their religious, political, cultural, and social identity in the dominant US culture. Their quest to position themselves between two incompatible cultures, namely American and Arab, adds more perplexities to their sense of belonging. Arab American women, particularly Muslims, unlike their male counterpart, find it difficult to manage their daily life without being visible by their dress code, such as the veil, or committed to Arab traditional culture that is characterized by gender roles and patriarchy. In addition, the burden of being a woman with dual national backgrounds, like the case of Khadra Shamy in the novel, functions as a major factor that causes psychological perplexity and cultural disturbance in understanding identity. Arab American women authors, therefore, celebrate their writings by humanizing Arab and Arab American women and voice their concerns to reach international prominence. Mohja Kahf, for instance, projects her voice in *The Girl in the Tangerine Scarf* through her female protagonist Khadra. She attempts to open up new channels to present the Arab American woman in all aspects of life from a female writer's perspective. Kahf points out that the figure of Arab American woman is constructed in narratives to suffer a triangular socio-cultural status that consequently positions

her in a fragile condition. This includes the perception of her as “a victim of gender oppression [...] as an escapee from her intrinsically oppressive culture [...] and as the pawn of Arab male power” (Kahf, as cit. in Amel & Majaj, 2000, p. 17). In this context, through the analysis of Khadra’s experiences in Kahf’s novel, and as a mere reflection to Kahf’s claim, I aim to broaden the horizon of what constitute Arab American woman’s fragile condition. I argue that there are three basic factors: triple consciousness, faith development, and existentialist thought. The amalgamation of these components causes Khadra to position herself in what I call as the fourth space.

The study of Kahf’s novel is based on two approaches. The first approach is featured with critical, descriptive, and analytical tendency by which to understand the personality of Khadra and her interaction with the surrounding environment. This is to better examine the extent to which cultural and social circumstances pave the way for the latter to locate herself in the fourth space. The second approach, while it leads to examining the existentialist entity of Khadra, is designed with psychology-related conceptual framework – such as triple consciousness – and social identity theoretical points of view to investigate how the protagonist of the novel socially locates herself in relation to other groups. Relevantly, Social Identity Theory suggests that individual’s identity is not only achieved through differentiation or identification with group of individuals who share a distinct or common outlook, but also through recognizable performative repertoires that are expressive and embodied. It underlies the idea that the formation of identity can be considered as a long interiorizing process through which the personality is exposed to different conflicts and imbalance that should be interpreted and processed by the individual so that he/she can negotiate the requirements of life and society, and consequently, develop.

Deconstructing the Fourth Space: Triple Consciousness, Faith Development, and Existentialism.

The quest to explore identity for Khadra starts when she questions her sense of belonging. The social and cultural rejection she gets from the wider American society in the city of Indianapolis, and the struggle she goes through when encountering the Arab culture and strict Islamic conventions in Mecca, pave the way for her to embrace the choice of isolating herself into a space in which she could re-define her identity, re-consider her true belonging, and also re-examine her faith – a fourth space. It could be possible to reflect on what Khadra experiences as an outcome of many factors: triple consciousness, faith development, and existentialist thought. First, to understand the ways triple consciousness works, it should be first appropriate to shed the light on the constructions of the three identities that inform it: Muslim, woman and American. This describes Khadra’s feeling as though her identity is divided into

multiple parts, making it difficult to have one unified identity; she views her identity through three lenses. Triple consciousness is an extension of William Du Bois' concept of double consciousness first introduced in his article entitled *Striving of the Negro People* (1897) which was published in *The Atlantic*. He used this term to describe Afro-Americans' experience of being both black and American – he labeled it “a peculiar sensation”.

Khadra's peculiar sensation is broader and actually more complex. It encompasses a third consciousness. It starts when she experiences the first consciousness particularly in the wider American society in which she encounters incidents of prejudice, discrimination and violence because she is seen as the Muslim other – a foreigner. For instance, due to her wearing of the veil, Khadra experiences incidents of harassment from her American school colleagues Brent Lott and Curtis Stephenson who corner her, label her as raghead, and ask her to take off her towel [veil]. In a moment of resistance, they rip her veil off from her head and yank at her. Curtis crows: “look, raghead has got hair under that piece a shit” (Kahf, 2006, p. 124). Such incidents prompt Khadra to position herself in the category of otherness and question her true belonging. She thinks that her belonging should be “in a place where she would not get shoved and called raghead every other day in the school hallway” (p. 97). It is possible to argue that Khadra experiences such discriminating attitude due to her stereotypes-based identity. This can be relevant to Charles Stangor's opinion that “when stereotypes or prejudice produce negative behaviours toward others, the behaviour is called discrimination” (Stangor, 2008, p. 11). Stereotyping has long been manipulated by mainstream cultures to maintain authority over other minority groups. Stereotypes, according to Bhabha (1994), “construct the group or the individual as the other [...] the stereotype is an ideological operation that aims to maintain authority and superiority over the oppressed groups and individuals” (p. 66). In this context, Kahf, in an interview conducted with her, states that “there is no forgetting that the stereotypes – and the bigotry behind them – dog us. They are real, and malign. They have real-life repercussions, often enough, on Muslim lives” (Taylor, Zine & Davis, 2007, p. 388). The ramifications and repercussions of stereotypes are probably the cause of the anti-assimilationist approach that Khadra adopts in the USA. The non-assimilation project is evidenced through her opinion on the possibility of marrying a Kuwaiti student named Juma and go and live in Kuwait. She reflects on this as “the answer to not belonging to America all these years” (Kahf, 2006, p. 205). In fact, her parents, Ebtihaj and Wajdy, in spite of their long period of residence in the USA, make it clear that, alongside their children, they are not Americans. They adhere to a commitment to differentiate themselves particularly from the white Americans and non-Muslim in general (pp. 67–69). This is probably because of their worries to lose the ability of effectively preserving their Islamic and Arab identities.

Keeping in the same line, the second consciousness can essentially be explored in relation to her gender. As a result of being a woman in her Muslim community, Khadra confronts unpleasant experiences of patriarchy and gender inequality. This is manifested through the patriarchal attitude of her husband Juma towards her (p. 241) and the refusal she gets from the Dawah Centre – a form of Islamic organization that invites people to understand Islam as outlined in the Quran and the Sunnah – to participate in the Quran reciting competition only because she is a woman (p. 199). In the same respect, Kahf exposes the patriarchal treatment that Khadra receives from Muslim males in Mecca where Khadra's family performs pilgrimage as part of their religion, Islam. Khadra finds herself escorted to home by Muslim policemen who depreciate her like she is a joke and laugh at her because she wants to pray Fajr at mosque. She is prevented from entering the Mosque because of her gender. This incident invokes both gender inequality and social injustice: an infringement of women's rights. In this respect, and in a discussion with her father Wajdy, Khadra says:

Women have always gone to the mosque. It's part of Islam [...] What about Aisha? What about how Omar wished his wife would not go to the mosque for fajr but he could not stop her because he knew it was her right? What about the Prophet saying you must never prevent the female servants of God from attending the houses of God? I told the Matawwa that hadith and he laughed – he laughed at me, and said listen to this woman quoting scriptures at us! (p. 168).

The response that Khadra gets from Wajdy and the Matawwa men – a group of Islamic religious officers who survey ethical and religious breach in Saudi Arabia – denotes the extent to which the Islamic rules towards women in the Mecca are manipulated through a patriarchal system outside and inside the domestic sphere: a system that does not allow women “to go out from house without permission” (p. 167) or “travel abroad alone” (p. 153). In fact, Khadra realizes that it is peculiar for her, unlike in Mecca, to be granted the right to pray at mosque in the non-Muslim USA, Indianapolis particularly. This fact is validated by her father Wajdy who, addressing Khadra, says: “you are used to America, benti [...] in most of Muslim world, it has not been the custom for hundreds of years” (p. 168). Neither her father nor Uncle Zaid listens to her arguments, she starts sobbing and feeling misfortune for being a woman. She does not have the right to argue against the authority of men. This incident makes Khadra “very angry – angry that they would treat her that way, and angry that she let them get inside her feelings – and she wanted to come out swinging” (p. 169).

Through the above mentioned incidents, Kahf showcases what it means to be a woman in a conservative Muslim community as seen in Mecca. She gives insight into Mecca, the holiest city of Muslims, as a patriarchal and misogynist social realm in which women are constrained by male's rules in the name of Islam.

The gender inequality and the patriarchal domination of women's rights as seen in Khadra's experience are key aspects of the Arab society and Arab culture in the name of Islam, particularly in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, where women "are subjected to the authority of men on the basis of conservative Islamic traditions" (Fernea, 1998, p. 332). Consequently, what happens in Mecca causes Khadra to realize that "she should appreciate the freedom she enjoys in America where she is free to practice her religion without persecution" (Alakarawi & Bahar, 2013, p. 104). In relation to her realization, Rasheed El-Enany (2006) says that "the West to Arabs, with an emphasis on women, is no longer an oppressor but a saviour, a place of refuge from repression at home, a space of freedom with the promise of prosperity" (p. 186).

Equally important, the third consciousness that completes Khadra's fragmented identity is the perception of her as American in Mecca. This causes her to experience sexual assault and mistreatment by her Arab companions Afaaf, Ghalya and Ghazi. They disrespect her because she lives in the USA and has American background. When Khadra curses and complains Ghalya replies: "Listen to her go off in American!" (Kahf, 2006, p. 178). This provokes Khadra to draw borderlines between herself and others in terms of social and cultural differences and belonging. As a mere reflection on these incidents, it is possible to borrow Homi Bhabha's words to describe Khadra's fragile condition. He claims that "it is in the emergence of interstices – the overlap and displacement of domains of difference – that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interests, or cultural values are negotiated" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 2). Bhabha asserts that differences between individuals and groups create new layers for identities, especially social and cultural ones. The development of identities, on the basis of differences, reshape the relation between society members as well as individuals of different background and belonging.

The treatment that Khadra receives in Mecca positions her mostly as intruder. The out-grouping process that she struggles against is maintained by 'otherization' which is fueled by stereotyping and representations of her as American. It is the key factor that triggers identification and differentiation. It is, from Henri Tajfel's (1978) point of view, within social identity theoretical thought, the axis that creates social categorization, social identification, and also social comparison. Turner and Oakes (1986) suggest that part of an individual's self-concept relies on the significance and relevance placed on the group membership to which that individual belongs. It generates "personal self-categorization as one level of social self-concept; this type of categorization is based on differentiation between oneself as a unique individual and other [relevant] in-group members" (p. 241). Khadra, in this context, categorizes herself as an intruder and a foreigner in Mecca on the basis of differences in terms of values and belonging. In other words, Khadra positions herself on the basis of the negative evaluation she holds towards the

Arab culture and Muslim society that she encounters in Mecca and consciously excludes herself from it. This is strongly related to Tajfel's opinion that:

divisions of people into social categories which matter to the individual are usually associated with positive or negative evaluations of these categories [...] which in turn, can be considered as a system of orientation that helps to create and define the individual's place in society (Tajfel, 1978, pp. 62–63).

Khadra's experience of triple consciousness is, to a great extent, similar to the case of Afro-Latinos living in the USA; they are of both African and Latin American descent. Miriam Jiménez Roman and Juan Flores (2010) compile personal accounts, fiction, autobiographies, poetry and academic essays from various disciplines such as politics and cultural studies to introduce the culture and history of Afro-Latinos to the broader literature of diaspora and ethnic studies. Building their arguments on William Du Bois's work (1897), Roman and Flores (2010) suggest that triple consciousness is a concept that effectively describes US Afro-Latinos' three constructions of their identity: an entanglement of Black, an American, and Latin. African Latinos thus struggle to position themselves in the wider American society and also in the African diaspora due the fact that blackness is considered as a property of Afro-Americans. This complex construction of Afro-Latinos' identity is further demonstrated through Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's autobiographical essay included in the compilation; it is titled *Reflections about Race by a Negrato Acomplejao*. He uses his own experiences to explain how triple consciousness affects his life; this concerns the hardship he experiences from the Afro-American mainstream because of linguistic and ethnic discrepancies, by Latinos because of the racism and sensitivity between the Americas, and by White Americans due to both racial and ethnic prejudice. He concludes that "Afro-Latinos in the USA negotiate life as Latinos, Blacks, and an under-lens segment of the American wider mainstream" (Bonilla-Silva, 2010, pp. 447–449). The complex entanglement of Bonilla-Silva's identity relevantly matches Khadra's difficult negotiation of her realities as a woman in her conservative Muslim community, as a Muslim in the American wider society, and as a pre-conceived American in the Arab world which is exemplified by Mecca as explained before. The given parallel between Khadra and Bonilla-Silva explicates the formation of triple consciousness and its complexity.

Khadra's experience of triple consciousness is, however, a unique experience from that of Bonilla-Silva because it has an entanglement with gender issues and the status of being a woman who seeks to prove herself in the surrounding environment. Khadra's triple consciousness is even more complicated because of the position she inhabits between the Arab culture and the American one. Having a hyphenated identity and fragmented sense of belonging makes her construction of consciousness a complex one which triggers new form of identity. This has

relation to Homi Bhabha's statement that such "in-between spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood [...] that initiate new signs of identity" (1994, p. 1). Keeping in the same vein, the linkage drawn between Khadra and Bonilla-Silva in terms of their triple consciousness suggests that ethnic minorities in the USA remarkably share similar experiences – especially psychological ones. Nathalie Handal, an Arab American feminist author, points out that "Arab American women writers have found a cultural and psychological connection with other ethnic groups, since these groups share similar feelings of marginality and alienation" (Handal, 2005, p. 56). As such, though both produce distinct literary genres, Kahf and Bonilla-Silva establish a bridge between their writings.

In addition, Kahf, through her narratives, seems to expose her female protagonist Khadra to multiple experiences with an ability to be outside and inside the host culture. The multiplicity of her consciousness is a backdrop that leads her to discover her personal identity and explore her existential entity in depth: faith and relationship with God. Khadra starts questioning her true knowledge of her faith and Islam in a German Islamic Studies class headed by Professor Eschenbach. It is the time when she begins to see what her belief looks like by stepping away and observing it from a distance (Kahf, 2006, p. 231). She realizes that her faith needs re-consideration and further contemplation. The narrator in the novel concludes that

The belief system of her parents and their entire circle, including the Dawah Centre, was just one point on a whole spectrum of Islamic faith [...] what was difficult to accept was that these other paths had always existed beyond the confines of her world (Kahf, 2006, pp. 232–233).

Such a conclusion positions her in a situation of different directions – a situation that further enlightens her quest to develop her faith and understanding of Islam. Furthermore, Khadra's life and relationships with others, including her mother and husband, reach utmost complexity after her realization that she is pregnant. After several reflections, she decides to abort and put an end to such unexpected nightmare. This decision, however, can be regarded as a turning-point that provides her with other possibilities to question her self-consciousness and the meaning of life:

Hello self, can we meet at last? It was not vainglorious to have a self. It was not the same as selfish individualism. You have to have a self to even start on a journey to God. To cultivate your nafs [self] whom God invites to enter the garden at the end of *Surat al-Fajr* [...] her self was a meagre thing [...] what she hadn't given away too much to Mama, to Juma [...] she will not give the last inches of her body, will not let them fill her up with a life she does not want (Kahf, 2006, p. 248).

Effectively, it is possible to apply James Fowler's stages of faith theory (1995) to better understand Khadra's faith development and self-consciousness. According

to him, stages of faith are: stage of infancy and undifferentiated faith, stage of the intuitive-projective faith, stage of mythical-literal faith, stage of the synthetic-conventional faith, stage of the individuative-reflective faith, stage of conjunctive faith, and the last stage of faith is universalizing faith. I argue that the convenient stages that strongly explain Khadra's attitude and reflections are the individuative-reflective faith and synthetic-conventional faith. The former is explained by Fowler as a faith that "requires a deep critical distance from the pre-obtained values and system which is now scrutinized with skepticism and probability" (Fowler, 1981, p. 179). It is a stage in which a person re-examines the choices and requirements to maintain self-development. The latter stage of faith, as Fowler contends, allows the development of a high-standard operational thinking to have the ability to effectively reflect on both realities and possibilities that circumscribe individual's situation. It contributes the evolvement of self-consciousness. It often appears when an individual judges and re-assesses his/her relationship with others and re-evaluates views of surrounding people (Fowler, 1981, p. 152).

Fowler's approach is helpful to examine Kahf's female protagonist as a literary device that portrays an Arab-Muslim American woman's attempts to reflect on her life and living experiences, which in turn, affects her identity construction. Though Khadra is not a real person but merely fictional, Fowler's arguments are substantial to understand the transformation in and development of her personal identity. Khadra, in this sense, while being distant and in isolation, goes through both stages to re-shape the meaning of her life and identity, particularly the personal one. As such, it is evident to say that faith development is the key factor that gives meaning to Khadra's life and identity. Fowler (1981) says:

Faith is not always religious in its content or context [...] Faith is a person's or a group's way of moving into the force field of life. It is our way of finding coherence in and giving meaning to the multiple forces and relations that make up our lives. Faith is a person's way of seeing him – or herself in relation to others against a background of shared meaning and purpose (p. 4).

Equally important, the decision to abort causes Khadra to lose the bond with her family and Muslim community, especially the Dawah Centre members. Khadra feels frustrated because of "the awkward glances she was getting on campus from the girls in hijab and the bearded boys" (Kahf, 2006, p. 251). She realizes that her image as the good conservative Muslim girl is now spoiled and vanished. The burden of triple consciousness, the question of her faith, and the ramifications of her decision to abort lead her into a situation of psychological breakdown and depression; she stays in her apartment lonely for several days and isolates herself away from everyone. This includes "the Dawah Centre and its entire community. Its trim-bearded uncles in middle-management suits, its aunties fussing over her headscarf and her ovaries" (p. 262).

Khadra creates for herself a space in which she forms a new version of herself. She decides to get rid of anything related to her past life, all that “twenty-one years of useless head-clutter. It all had to go. All those polished surfaces posing as spiritual guidance. All that smug knowledge [...] it needed to be cleared out so she could find out for herself this time” (p. 262). In other words, she decides to get rid of “all that part of some previous life lived by some other Khadra who accepted things she didn’t really want” (p. 263). As a repercussion, Khadra revolts against the Islamic spiritual guidance that she knew since her childhood when she starts missing her prayers and addressing God with profane nihilistic expressions:

There, she said, flinging at God. Here’s what you demanded. Two rakats? Four? Four-three-four? Take it, take them all! Was this what prayer was for, to stave off an exciting bean counter? Ticks on some kind of scorecard He was keeping on her? Fuck it (p. 263).

It is possible to explain what Khadra goes through with Chittock’s analysis which she once doubted in her German Islamic Studies class. It suggests that “the move from the lower ego to the self-examining ego can be a traumatic one” (p. 235). Indeed, the accumulation of all these thoughts causes Khadra to experience a feeling of loss and melancholy – a traumatizing experience. In a moment of severe depression she wishes to put an end to her life with Juma’s razor, she wants to terminate the haunting of her “old miserable self, she loathed it, despised it, blamed it for it all” (p. 264).

Khadra’s psychological turbulence has a significant impact on her identity formation process. Her psychological-related crisis of identity can be well examined through Erik Erikson’s analysis of the concept ‘identity and identity crisis’ (1963). He argued that the social context has a deep influence on individual personality development and that identity is to be considered psychological in nature. To support his argument, he described the identity confusion of a group of veteran patients returning from World War Two with the term ego identity. This group was diagnosed with shell shock – currently called post-traumatic stress disorder – and experienced a fragmented continuity in their lives, he concluded:

What impressed me most was the loss in these men of a sense of identity. They knew who they were; they had a personal identity. But it was as if subjectively, their lives no longer hung together – and never would again. There was a central disturbance in what I then started to call ego identity (p. 36).

Through examining the void in the veterans’ identity, Erikson suggested that identity is endangered by social, biological, and psychological factors. This strongly reflects Khadra’s tripartite nature of reality that encompasses her gender as a reflection of biology, psychology as a product of faith development and traumatizing experiences, and also social environment as projected through

Muslim and American communities in both Mecca and Indianapolis respectively. Khadra's condition thus, in accordance to Erikson analysis, is characterized with what the latter calls ego identity – a term that best describes her central disturbance that reflects her own inadequate self-understanding. The use of Erikson's results contributes to show the extent to which traumatizing experiences lead to identity loss and crisis. In other words, the link between the soldiers in Erikson's experiment and the female protagonist Khadra in Kahf's novel is that psychological experiences have profound impact on the individual's search of identity and self-understanding.

In the same line, the central disturbance of Khadra leads her to ponder the meaninglessness of her life and the nothingness of her existence by examining the validity of the religious practices and convictions and considering Islam from different perspective (p. 263–265). She consciously adopts an existentialist approach to enhance her understanding of the reality that confines her identity. In this context, Basma and Gibbson (2016) argue that the existential approach is helpful to understand in depth the experiences and anxieties of the Arab American diaspora, particularly immigrants and refugees. It is essential to explore their self-development. It operates effectively with individuals struggling with their understanding of identity. The given approach to analyze Khadra's situation is important because, as Van Deurzen (2002) contends, it relevantly “meets the needs of individuals undergoing situational crisis, struggling with the feeling of isolation, suffering with the ability to cope with societal expectations, and facing difficulties with creating meaning in their lives” (Deurzen 2002, as cit. in Basma & Gibbson, 2016, p. 152). Deurzen's argument reflects Khadra's attempts to raise an existentialist thought through which she questions her faith and contemplates about the purpose of her life:

And then what? Where do you go when the first part of your life is coming to an end, and you don't know what is yet unborn inside you? Where do you go and you are in a free fall, unmoored, safety net gone and nothing nothing to anchor you? (Kahf, 2006, p. 265).

This interestingly meets Marjorie Green's definition of Existentialism “as an attempt at a new revaluation of values and its interpretation, in this light, of the individual himself and his relation to others” (Green, 1959, p. iii). Khadra, in this sense, does not want only to rearrange her life and commitments to religion, but also, to reconfigure her relationship with others including those who live across the borders, particularly in Syria – her motherland: “it was time for retreat. She would betake herself unto an eastern place [...] back where she came from: Syria” (2006, p. 266). Khadra's decision to go back home after all the lived dread experiences in Mecca and Indianapolis – when it is time for a retreat – reflects William Safran's opinion that “diaspora always plan a return to homeland when the time is right”

(Safran, 1991, p. 83). For Khadra, it was the right time to resurrect her bond with Syria, her country of origin, and escape the life that has always been a source of fragility and otherness.

Conclusion

It should be concluded through Khadra's experiences in Kahf's novel that both triple consciousness and faith development contribute to locate Khadra in a distant space in which she attempts, with an isolationist attitude and existentialist thinking, to re-connect with her personal identity and fulfill a complete sense of belonging as well as to revolutionize her perceptions towards life. I call this space as a fourth space: she doesn't reconcile her identity between the two incompatible cultures i.e., Arab and American, but instead, she escapes from both and distances herself to examine her cultural, social, religious, and psychological situation clearly and effectively to better understand who she is i.e., she opens the door to explore a new version of herself. In other words, the articulation of the shifting identities within two spaces as demonstrated through Indianapolis and Mecca, provides a ground for constructing a new self and paves the way to transforming subjectivities. Significantly, Kahf, through her portrayal of Khadra's unpleasant experiences in her surrounding environment, suggests that Arab American women are easily exposed to vulnerability due to social and cultural pressures, but mainly, psychological.

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**The Uncanny and the Ghostly Nature of the World
in Stanley Kubrick's *The Shining* (1980)**

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes Stanley Kubrick's film *The Shining* (1980) in its complex textuality, where ghosts, spectrality and repetition compulsion play a relevant role in defining the symbolic space of a contemporary gothic story about madness, fear, evil traces and perception. In a context where time is out of joint, and where evil laws try to frame human presences in a dimension of distress, spectral presences shape a ghostly world where fears and violence are defeated by a special mental strength, the 'shining'.

Keywords: Spectrality, archive, ghosts, time, otherness

This article proposes a reading concerning ghosts, otherness and the uncanny in Stanley Kubrick's film *The Shining* (1980). The strong relation between the feeling of the uncanny and a radical strategy of artistic expression, aiming to show the absolute relevance of otherness, will be examined. The aesthetical elaboration of ghosts and spectrality, questioned in the film's narrative, explains how ghostly presences play a central role by strongly determining the film's meaning and, more generally, our relationship to speculative fiction. In the plot, ghosts intervene as presences that are progressively experienced as real for the three main characters, Jack Torrance, his wife Wendy and their son Danny. As spectators, we are led to believe that there is a real interaction between them and the human characters.

The film's interpretation reveals a space where spectrality shows the relevance of illusion and of the uncanny for our contemporary knowledge. From this point of view, the film recovers the Gothic tradition but, at the same time, it overcomes this dimension. As presences haunting human experience, ghosts "signal epistemological uncertainty and the potential emergence of a different story and a competing history" (Weinstock, 2013, p. 64). As another central topic of the whole text, the concept of the archive in its symbolic meaning will be

approached, to show that it is precisely from the archive that some questions concerning spectrality, ghosts and haunting, arise. Such questions are related to interpretation. As Julian Wolfreys argues,

To speak of the spectral, the ghostly, of haunting in general is to come face to face with that which plays on the very question of interpretation and identification, [...], at the very limit to which interpretation can go (Wolfreys, 2013, p. 71).

The presence of ghosts in the film is questioned, by showing their different meanings in the world of illusion to which we are confronted in our experience of spectators, film critics or film theorists. Ghosts and dramaturgical spaces are related in a common symbolic work for producing uncanny effects and for creating such a strong illusory dimension. At the formal-aesthetic level, ghosts express a rich symbolic dimension, so that the whole film's textual fabric is marked by a general uncanny construction, creating the possibility of a constant openness of the text itself. The film's interpretation produces meanings and defines a discourse concerning spectrality, proliferation and repetition as relevant parts of the film's narrative. As María del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren argue, in the spectral dimension it is possible to show specific attitudes

towards the uncertainty, heterogeneity, multiplicity, and indeterminacy that characterize language and Being because of their inevitable entanglement with alterity and difference" (del Pilar Blanco & Peeren, 2013, p. 9).

The Shining contains a wide series of typical horror and fantastic situations and this is its most evident surface identity: in the film, many aspects of this narrative tradition are in fact represented. We can remember the film's main scenery, the Overlook Hotel, which is a haunted place; mental possession and telepathy: two characters, Danny Torrance and Mister Hallorann, the hotel cook, have the "shining" gift; ghosts, such as Lloyd, the bartender and Delbert Grady, the former hotel caretaker, are presented as they act as normal, real persons in everyday situations; doubles and duplication: Jack Torrance, one of the film's main characters, has his own double in Delbert Grady, which he tries to imitate in his killing; Danny Torrance sees several times the Grady sisters and he has a double in Tony, a fantasmatic child speaking in his mouth and in his mind; Jack Torrance goes mad deciding to execute homicidal actions; there is a confusion between past and present; reincarnation is suggested, as Jack could also be a reincarnation of previous hotel caretakers; in some dialogues, we find references to fairy tales and to cannibalism.

It is clear that the whole film is marked by horror cinema elements and by a narrative development where illusion and the fantastic play a central role. The uncanny is at the very heart of the story, being a decisive stylistic reference.

This concept, closely related to the psychoanalytic theory and its developments, operates in the film both at the narrative and the symbolic level. Nicholas Royle (2003) writes that the uncanny affirms the power of art “to make strange, to defamiliarize, to make unfamiliar all sorts of familiar perceptions and beliefs” (p. 5). As a specific symbolic concept, the uncanny “has to do with a strangeness of framing and borders, an experience of liminality” (p. 2). In *The Shining*, a strict connection between the uncanny and spectrality is affirmed: the specter is determined as a figure which, contradictorily, should “not be assimilated or negated (exorcized), but lived *with*, in an open, welcoming relationality” (del Pilar Blanco & Peeren, 2013, p. 33). This is what happens in the plot: progressively, ghosts appear to haunt a daily experience of familiar normality and a constant uncanny production finds coherence in a symbolic and narrative spectral space. In his cinematic adaptation of Stephen King’s novel, elaborated together with Diane Johnson, Kubrick has worked to confuse and make more problematic our perception of spaces, situations and chronologies; during the narrative development, we are less and less able to have a clear mapping of the Overlook Hotel spaces, organized in a labyrinthine structure. Playing on the ambiguity and confusion of space, Kubrick brings the spectator into another dimension beyond habitual perceptions, where anything can become possible and plausible. We enter the inside of another world, where normal logic is suspended. Some sequences, where this spectral dimension is relevant, will be analyzed, to show how the film’s textuality produces a reading of our contemporary relation with a ghostly symbolic space. Quite early in the narrative development, Jack Torrance remains alone with his personal ghosts and obsessions. From the moment he experiences a serious personal crisis, a ghostly space, a breach, opens up and specters begin to make their appearances.

This is already suggested in the very first sequence, before the character’s definitive crisis. Over the water, in a mountain landscape, the camera moves forward to a big rock near the water, where the rock itself is reflected. This shot has a great relevance because it also informs us of the foundational strength of duplication inside the film. *The Shining* is already announced as a film of reflections, of duplication, of a fictional world finding roots in the uncanny and the fantastic. Then a car proceeds along the road. At first, we see it far away; our gaze is then progressively focused on this car. The mountain landscape all around is imposing and the notes from Hector Berlioz’s *Symphonie fantastique* amplifies the effect of a great and solemn upward movement. At a certain point, the camera stops following the car on the road by suddenly deviating from the main trajectory. A proliferation of possibilities opens up in the film and a radical doubt is built in the very first sequence. The sequence also clarifies, in the very beginning, that in the film some shots could remain totally unsolved, unexplained: here, we are not sure about who is the owner of this strange point of view. The general look from above suggests that an overlying, and potentially powerful, point of view

is shaping the general narrative. Such ghostly gaze, here anticipated, will also close the film. The impressive landscape seems to hide something unseen: evil presences maybe, a sense of menace, a fear that something could go wrong.

The Shining is the story of an American family. A man accepts a winter job as a caretaker in an isolated mountain hotel. The man, who thinks he can finish to write a novel during the long stay, discovers an unknown mental space. A disturbing liminality, anticipated in the opening sequence, progressively breaks into the family and slips the main character into madness. From an apparently normal situation, an upsetting feeling of disturbance finds its way into the plot. This is confirmed in a passage of the job interview sequence: when the manager, Mister Ullman, informs Jack of a tragedy that happened in the hotel years before (a precedent caretaker having killed his family), he is not surprised or disturbed; it is like the hotel's spectral and evil identity has already captured him: his reaction is that of someone being fascinated.

Growing progressively in the story, Jack's madness means the total lack of order, of rules, of a general reference: the beginning of a moment where all ghosts become "real". The ghost is a figure of ambiguity, of liminal instability between different dimensions: "its own status as discourse or epistemology is never stable, as the ghost also questions the formation of knowledge itself and specifically invokes what is placed outside it, excluded from perception" (del Pilar Blanco & Peeren, 2013, p. 9). What had remained hidden in the opening sequence, is now slowly coming to light through the main character. Jack slowly becomes no more able to write his novel and to be responsible as a caretaker.

Jack's son, Danny, has been presented in the very first part of the film as a psychic child, with a singular gift, the 'shining'. In parallel with the job interview, Danny and his mother Wendy are in their house's dining room; while the woman is reading a book, he already converses briefly with Tony. Tony is a spectral child who talks inside him as a double or a mysterious friend. Danny can also see in his mind something evil that happened at the hotel, and also something that will happen again in the future. While his father is at the hotel to accept the job, Danny, in his home bathroom, is shown while talking with his double in front of the bathroom mirror. In this short conversation, Tony anticipates that Danny's father will accept the job; Danny is also experimenting painful mental visions of blood from the hotel's elevators and the scary faces of two little sisters. The fantastic defining the whole film is strong and amplified: we have already accessed a first door and our perception has been introduced to a fantastic dimension, where reality turns into doubt. The feeling of 'being-at-home' is replaced by an experience of estrangement, of sliding into a different dimension. The uncanny has already begun to undo the borders between the known and unknown. An experience of spectral liminality is presented and, later in the story, will be confirmed through Danny's experience of exploring the

hotel's spaces. Before ghosts begin to appear in the hotel, the film's textuality is already

capable, beyond the opposition between presence and non-presence, actuality and inactuality, life and non-life, of thinking the possibility of the specter, the specter as possibility (Derrida, 1994, p. 12).

In the film's first part, some time after the Torrance family has settled at the hotel, we see Jack sitting on the bed, looking at his son in the opposite space of the bedroom. Jack is here "trapped in a half-life between sleeping and walking [...], stuck between resting or rising" (Luckhurst, 2013, p.55), in a sort of 'space between'. A big mirror shows Jack's reflection. In the same shot, we see two persons, the real man and the illusory one. The appearance of Danny in the family quarters, presented as himself, as unique, produces a surprising effect and it seems here that he can dissolve this illusory and fantasmatic world where Jack has already entered. A mirror produces a feeling of uncanny knowledge and suggests a progressive dissolution of unity.

The doubling effect, in a more general alteration of a perspective of the unique, progressively takes place in the film's narrative strategy, where doubles proliferate. In the first part, Mister Ullman is always presented in couple with his assistant. Mister Hallorann, like Danny, owns the 'shining' and communicates with otherness. Delbert Grady finds a double in Jack and the little sisters are always together and very similar. Human and spectral doubles, in an indistinct way, proliferate by creating a more general effect of disorientation and confusion: that of a general trance state, an hallucinatory symbolic space of uncanny perception. We are asked to organize all this haunted material: to step inside a world where coherence is no more assured and where the world is at the same time illusory and perfectly believable. What was invisible has now become visible: fantasies, hallucinations, nightmares, in a constant transgression of the boundaries between reality and fantastic. This is coherent with one of the main narrative developments: the film shows the splitting of Jack's identity and the crisis of his interior life. The rational man slowly becomes a monster, a killing beast. All that what was hidden, like instincts and impulses, has come to light. Through the film's main character, *The Shining* expresses the uncertain limit between reality and fantasy, between what is real, apparent, and what is unseen, between rationality and a fantastic dimension. As Nicholas Royle (2003) argues, it is "impossible to conceive of the uncanny without a sense of ghostliness, a sense of strangeness given to dissolving all assurances about the identity of a self" (p. 16).

The analysis concerning the self and otherness, reality and spectrality, as key topics in the film, is conducted through a theoretical consideration of the symbolic notion of the archive. In this sense, the spectral archive is a central reference of

Kubrick's film. In *Archive Fever. A Freudian Impression*, Jacques Derrida (1996) correlates the archive with the notions of domiciliation and power. He gives the following definition of it:

the meaning of 'archive', its only meaning, comes [...] from the Greek *arkheion*: initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the *archons*, those who commanded [...]. On account of their publicly recognized authority, it is at their home, in that *place* which is their house [...], that official documents are filed. The archons are first of all the documents' guardians [...]. They are also accorded the hermeneutic right and competence. They have the power to interpret the archives (p. 2).

There is a clear relation between domiciliation, residence, home, on the one hand, and power and interpretation of documents, on the other. The archive is not just a domiciliation, but also a place in which documents have *meaning* as recognized documents. Derrida writes:

With such a status, the documents [...] are only kept and classified under the title of the archive by virtue of a privileged *topology*. They inhabit this uncommon place, this place of election where law and singularity intersect in *privilege* (p. 3).

The archiving process is inseparable from a privileged topology for all that can be classified. This domiciliation takes place "At the intersection [...] of the place and the law" (p. 3). By virtue of this privileged assignation, the archive finds another of its reasons in the fact of gathering together. Again in Derrida's words, the archive presupposes a consignation in order:

to coordinate a single corpus, in a system or a synchrony in which all the elements articulate the unity of an ideal configuration. In an archive, there should not be any absolute dissociation, any heterogeneity (p. 3).

As a synchronic system, the archive can configurate meanings and discourses, but secrets and plurality would menace even the possibility of consignation, of a theory of the archive itself. Any possible constitution is marked by a different and contrary movement. In any archival consignation there is a contradictory drive: an aggression, a destructive tension. This drive "is at work, but since it always operates in silence, it never leaves any archives of its own. It destroys in advance its own archive" (p. 10). The archive's logic itself is, in its possibility of consignation, by otherness, by any secret or heterogeneity. And no archive can be thought without the presence of its otherness.

There is no archive without the threat of a death drive, an aggression to its stability. This aggression drive can be defined as a "ghostly space", where the ghostly presence's repetition and circulation is active and clearly affirmed. *The Shining* is built within this ghostly space: an evil archive has its laws in the

hotel's spaces and the character of Danny conveys a contradictory drive, even if he is not exempt from a frightening ghostly experience.

The film's final sequence is an emblematic fragment for its ambiguity and for its textual function: the role played by spectrality in the film's narrative is here clearly stressed. All the facts have already happened and the narration is over: in the final state of his madness, Jack Torrance has tried to chase and kill his son inside the hotel's maze. Danny has deceived him with a ruse: instead of continuing his escape run and leaving traces on the snow, he has moved backwards on his steps, without leaving more footprints. With no more clear traces to follow, Jack has lost sight of the child and has died frozen inside the labyrinth. Danny has found the exit and has re-embraced his mother. The still image of frozen Jack Torrance could be the film's final sequence, because it seems that there is nothing left to tell in this story.

But the film continues with one more sequence, a sort of strange extension. It is something like the film's final secret. Our gaze is brought back inside the hotel. No one is there anymore. A final series of shots mysteriously shows the hotel's empty spaces and we cannot even be sure that these shots can be situated, narratively and chronologically, after the previous sequence.

First with a dolly, then with two crossfades, one last time the camera runs through the hotel spaces and approaches progressively a photograph on one of the hotel's walls. The black and white picture is exactly in the middle of a group of other photographs. Already before the first crossfade, we recognize Jack Torrance in the middle of a party. Seemingly, he has mysteriously been archived and contextualized inside an iconic space after his murderous madness and final death. Why? What archive are we talking about here? And what is the meaning of this 'archival process' operating inside the Overlook Hotel?

After the first crossfade we see the man standing up in the middle of a group of other persons, in the hotel's party hall, photographed in 1921 during the 4th of July feast, as the second crossfade shows this date in the lower part of the photograph. Strangely, this man was there, being also the character of a story taking place around 1980: an impossible time and an impossible chronology are proposed. In the picture, many other figures surround him or stay behind his figure: a festive but gloomy atmosphere seems to reign and the whole representation has a spectral dimension. No trace of discordance, here: just a never ending feast of spectres. They could be the same spectres we have already seen in the party hall in a precedent collective sequence, when Jack had entered in that space animated by people of the past. Possible secrets or heterogeneities are here out of the archival system: they are left out of a global photographic system, in which secret traces are hidden. The general spectral archive hides traces of otherness: here, there are no traces of Danny or of Mister Hallorann, whose psychic minds have defeated the spectral archive and the evil repetition compulsion.

Who is watching all this? Is there anyone going around the hotel's spaces? It is possible that there are some ghosts and one of them may have just approached that group of pictures: the dolly in the final sequence can also be the cinematic subjective of a ghost. This unassignable gaze creates a strongly contradictory effect in the general construction: these shots are not narratively motivated and probably they do not express a human point of view. Coherence seems to fail here, as a gothic story has come to an end: a general uncanny feeling has been produced by the many specters disseminated in the Overlook Hotel's spaces. Not only have we seen them as figures but we have also see situations according to their spectral point of view. A similar shot, with no human point of view, is that following Danny's tricycle while the child is exploring the corridors.

Ghostly presences create a blurring between objective reality and subjective fantasy, as ghosts are presented in the film's development as tangible and objectified presences. Delbert Grady not simply speaks with Jack, but also touches him to clean his jacket in the long sequence in the red and white bathroom and he opens the food storage's door to free Jack from his imprisonment. Jack is destined to be archived in this system of repetition and the ghostly archive, where there is a place for him, occurs in a Gothic story that

does not present the ghosts as his subjective vision, but as objective, solid masses occupying space. There is nothing particularly 'ghostly' about their presentation (Falsetto, 2001, p. 127).

The film's general narrative is built on the progressive contrast between two characters, Jack and Danny. Scene after scene, as the first sinks into his madness, the second perceives with increasing frequency what is normally destined to remain buried, unknown and not perceived by normal persons: past murderous facts that already happened in the hotel and the anticipation of future dramatic events. He acquires the awareness of his father's madness and he must face it with his mental ability. Despite being also a terrifying experience to deal with, the child's gift represents a decisive challenge to evil: a decryption strategy of obscure death forces. In one of the sequences where Danny explores the hotel's corridors riding his tricycle, he is first anguished by a sudden appearance of the Grady sisters; but then, only with his own resources, he can convince himself that ghosts are not finally true but only fantastic and momentaneous presences.

Jack's madness leads him to try to imitate other precedent hotel caretakers and killers. Under the hotel's mysterious evil forces, he would like to become part of this ghostly world where repetition mechanisms are the absolute law. As the hotel's ghostly identity controls the man's autonomy, Danny progressively becomes his opponent. He doesn't play this game and he is not 'coded' by this system. With the 'shining' revealing what is normally hidden, he can perceive evil

forces in painful experiences, visionary moments of absolute otherness, as in the mentioned sequence in front of the bathroom mirror or during his explorations of the hotel's spaces. The child experiences painful visions and sees ghosts but he is able to overcome all of this: he can give meaning to all this.

Various times and years, 1921, 1970 and 1980, cross each other and overlap in the same place, where not only there are ghosts, but also a *spectral time* develops, full of contradictory developments: more than one Delbert Grady (1921? 1970?), more than one caretaker trying to kill his family. Jack's insanity is born and grows in a context where paradoxically time is no more in its joints and past time lives again. The appearances of the Grady sisters, that of Delbert Grady and that of Lloyd the bartender are produced by this mechanism. Jack can only be archived inside the hotel's photographic collection, among many others. This storage confirms the hotel's tradition (and 'memory'): a repetition of evil and criminal actions. The archival dimension of this collection of past traces, still living in the hotel's haunted time and space, is a condition for power, foundation and institution: the evil foundation and rules, connected with a memory of death that does not cease to be. In the archive system, repetition rules normalize and neutralize tensions and differences. We cannot see any signs of violence, murder and madness in that final picture, only a feast. But another story has also been told: that of Danny.

The child enters in the evil's tradition, memory and archival process. In the labyrinth, he doesn't leave traces on the snow. His presence cannot be archived and ruled by evil forces because his traces escape the archival law, defeating any scheme of repetition compulsion.

Jack is 'written' in time repeating and he is definitively ruled. He has been photographed, put in a framework and classified, becoming a ghost among others. Danny, in his exposure to the spectral world, generates an 'archival disease': divergence determines his identity in relation to the spectral archive, from which he is not finally captured. Jack finds rest inside a framework and becomes part of an evil tradition: his story and identity are registered. Danny, assaulted by evil forces, escapes from the same evil foundation by breaking the unity of the system.

The Shining's narrative is founded on ghostly presences haunting the hotel's spaces. They are not only related to Jack's altered perception, as also his wife Wendy experiences visions of ghosts: real world and ghostly dimension are strictly tied together. The evil archive is the place where ghosts are still alive and in the entire hotel ghostly rules and the evil law become possible: the Overlook Hotel encodes such ghostly presences in a system, a system of repetition compulsion, the only possible identity process in that haunted space. But the film also reveals the archive's internal contradictions.

Between consign and breakaway, between coded space and freedom, some questions can be asked: what kinds of uncanny configurations is the spectral

archive creating? Since the archive is always of a contradictory constitution, how can we manage this notion?

The Shining gives shape to an experience of spectrality. But ghostly presences, in the plot, are not only symptoms of the fantastic tradition, being recovered and reinstalled in the contemporary context. They also give meaning to a symbolic space where the general text, the film itself, is radically haunted by the uncanny. As Nicholas Royle (2003) writes, “To be haunted, to be in the company of ghosts is not necessarily a cause for fear or panic. It is something to affirm: it is the very condition of thinking and feeling” (p. 53). Not only can ghosts shape a Gothic paradigm, but they also have to do with the fact that there is no discourse, reading or teaching “without a logic of mourning that haunts or can always come back to haunt” (p. 53). *The Shining* is an example of a ghostly space of knowledge, where spectrality asks to be read “as a figuration that *does* theory” (del Pilar Blanco & Peeren, 2013, p. 9), as spectrality is the concept showing “the tension between the desire to understand and the openness to what exceeds knowledge” (Davis, 2013, p. 58). A contradictory space of spectral, haunted knowledge is shown by a film where coming to terms with understanding spectrality remains a definitively open question.

The world itself, together with our capacity to read and understand it, are radically questioned. Not only *The Shining* tells the story of a constantly active otherness, but it is also a film where an interpretation work can never be fixed permanently. Through a revisitation of the Gothic tradition, Kubrick questions our contemporary lack of references in the ghostly dimension of knowledge. This leads to the conclusion that “*The Shining* puts into question the very idea of actuality. If, as the film posits, there are different planes or levels of experience, what difference is there between objective reality as it is usually understood and the subjective experience and visions of individual characters?” (Falsetto, 2001, p. 130). As Roger Luckhurst (2013) remarks,

Twentieth-century horror is secular in a way the Gothic is not, because the Gothic clings to a Christian metaphysic of good and evil, justice and punishment. Secular horror instead offers a glimpse of the absolute black nothingness that lies beneath the maze of appearances, a revelation that there is no transcendent reality, only the final death of meaning (Falsetto, 2001, pp. 87–88).

The Shining constitutes an example of this non-transcendent dimension in which many questions remain open, together with our work of interpretation.

A final critical remark is necessary: the film’s ambiguity is strong and we cannot even be sure of such ‘final death of meaning’; we can just read critically all the traces inside a ghostly narrative and reformulate again and again some questions: are we really sure that ghosts triumph in the end? And how can we be sure of the sign that such ghosts assume? And it is clear, in the end, that Danny

Torrance can be considered as the final winner, even if his experience itself is constantly haunted by evil forces. As Derrida (1996) points out, "truth is spectral, and this is its part of truth which is irreducible by explanation" (p. 87).

As a philosophical experience, the film shows tensions between narrative and time, dream and awakening, the archive and the exception, tied together in an extremely rich and subtle textuality.

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Translations of Ossian, Thomas Moore and the Gothic by 19th Century European Radical Intellectuals: The Democratic Eastern Federation

ABSTRACT

This article will show how translated works by European radical writers of *The Poems of Ossian* by the Scot James Macpherson and *Irish Melodies* and other works by the Irishman Thomas Moore, were disseminated. Moore prefaced *Irish Melodies* with “In Imitation of Ossian”. It will also demonstrate how Celtic literature, written in English, influenced the Gothic genre. The propagation of these works was also disseminated in order to implement democratic federalism, without monarchy; one example is the Democratic Eastern Federation, founded in Athens and Bucharest. To what extent did translations and imitations by Russian and Polish revolutionary intellectuals of Celtic literature and the Gothic influence Balkan revolutionary men of letters?

Keywords: Ossian, Moore, gothic, translation, Democratic Eastern Federation

1. Ossian and Revolution

The Scots and Irish were suppressed by English monarchy after the 1745 Jacobite War and the 1798 Irish Uprising, respectively. The Seven Islanders were colonized by the English (1815–1864). Russian Decembrists and Polish intellectuals were crushed by Tsarist Russia and forced into exile in the second decade of the nineteenth century. These Russians radical intellectuals, who influenced Polish writers, used their pen in support of the oppressed living under despotism.

Alexander Pushkin, the Russian poet and Decembrist (MacWhite, 1972, pp. 49–62), was influenced by Ossian (Tymianov, 1999, pp. 842–843). He was exiled to Bessarabia by the Tsar for publishing the poem *Ode to Freedom*:

Despotic miscreant
I hate you and your throne!

Tremble o tyrants of the world!
 Are you, unawakened slaves, listening,
 Be strong, take courage, and revolt (Farsolas, 1971, p. 79).

The reference to *unawakened slaves* is found in Moore's *Imitation of Ossian* published just before the 1798 Uprising:

'O! Children of Erin! You'r robb'd; why not rouse from your slumber of Death?'... there sang sweet *Ossian*, sacred Bard of Jura! – for just was the soul of Fingal, and noble were the heroes of Morven... but now Tyranny strides o'er our land... (Moore, 1984, pp. 40–41).

Pushkin continues:

O kings, you owe your crown and your power
 To the Law, and not to the grace of Nature;
 As you stand high above the nation,
 The Law, immutable stands even higher (Edwards, 2001, p. 165) [translated by Kathleen A. O'Donnell].

'in his poem dedicated to the Greek Revolution *Arise, o Greece Arise!* in which the last line refers to both Byron and Rhigas (Farsolas, 1971, p. 79). This poem resembles the one propagated by Rhigas Velistinlis, a Greek-Rumanian scholar, entitled *Battle Cry*. Rhigas set up the Anatolian Confederation in 1780 in Bucharest inviting all oppressed people of every creed, to fight the tyranny of the Sultan. His *Battle Cry* was translated by Byron (1866/1919, pp. 73–74) and Gneditch (Marinescu-Hymos, pp. 81–84); the important role of the law is also stressed in his other works (O'Donnell, 2015). Pushkin praised Gneditch for his translation of Greek Klephic song regarding it as a "tour de force" (Farsolas, 1971, p. 79).

Pushkin, in his turn met Alexander Ipsilantis in St. Petersburg and made several sketches of him (Vournas, 1982, p. 14–16). Ipsilantis was a Greek-Rumanian who served as a Russian officer under the Tsar. Ipsilantis is also referred to in several of Pushkin's short stories, including *Kirdjali*. In a footnote Pushkin states that although he showed personal courage as a leader of the Greek Revolution and the Philiki Eteria, a secret organization, against the despotic Ottomans, Alexander Ipsilantis was too impetuous.

There was a network of scholars, influenced by Rhigas Velestinlis who, realising the threat of usurpation of Western monarchy on territory ruled by the dwindling Ottoman Empire, sought to instil unity to combat this presentiment. While Ipsilantis actively fought for these ideals, exiled Russian Decembrists would endeavour to depict the political upheaval resulting from the French Revolution through a new genre – the Gothic.

2. What is Gothic?

The eighteenth and nineteenth century Gothic novels contain the magical, the mysterious, decay and chivalry; the isolation of the protagonist; horror, which include ghosts. They present stories of women attempting to escape under duress from a tyrannous male. There is also the sumptuousness of an Oriental setting. Elements of the Gothic also relate to the change in political and social values after the French Revolution (Abrams, 1987, pp. 1309–1310). The dominant aspect of the Gothic is fear of the unknown. This is present in dualisms such as lightness (i.e. the moon) and darkness; generosity and meanness. In “political Irish Gothic”, terror of the dark is evident especially when it presents the capture of Irish patriots by the English, who imposed curfews, which meant exile in distant colonies. Hence *The Rising of the Moon* set to music by O’Carolan, was popularized in the Irish Uprising of 1798 (Pittock, 2011, p. 214). The Gothic represents a cloak of culture and fraternity (Dodworth, ²⁰¹³). Gothic literature would awaken its readers by portraying the threat of disunity attested by uprisings; it would expose the ingrained mindless heeding of despotic and “superstitious” standards experienced under feudalism with a view to retaining unity (Botting, 1999).

The first three main writers of Gothic novels were Horace Walpole who wrote *Castle of Otranto* in 1764, William Beckford’s novel *Vathek*, an Arabian tale (1746) and Mrs Ann Radcliffe’s five romantic tales (1789–1798) in particular *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. These were followed by Matthew Lewis’s *The Monk*, and the novel *Frankenstein* written by Mary Shelley. William Godwin wrote *Caleb Williams* (1794) which describes the inequality of the powerful aristocracy over the defencelessness of the “lower” echelons, questioning the governing of society and its mores which prevailed after the French Revolution (Abrams, 1987, pp. 1309–1310). Byron was influenced by the Gothic which is evident in his works *Giaour*, *Manfred* and *Oscar of Alva*. The French novelist, educationalist and musician Madame de Genlis wrote many novels comprising ‘marital Gothic’ in which the husband becomes a tyrant seeking vengeance through his jealous nature (Genlis, 2010). Madame de Genlis was the mother-in-law of Edward Fitzgerald, leader of the 1798 Irish Uprising; Thomas Moore wrote his biography (Moore, 1831, p. 178–179). Moore’s *Lalla Rookh* can also be ascribed to contain Gothic elements through its Oriental setting.

The influence of Gothic literature spread through the play on feelings of fear, horror and inequity. With its duality it was regarded as ambiguous and thus caused no threat to the establishment.

3. Russian Gothic

Gothic novels were written by Russian Decembrists who also translated Ossian. They included Karamzin, Gneditch and Jhoukovsky as well as Lermontov (Ascherson, 1995, p. 84) and Pushkin (van Tieghem, 1924, pp. 222, 241, 249).

Nikolay Mikhailovich Karamzin spoke French, German and English. He had great respect for the peasantry. He translated some stories from *Les Veillées du Château* by Madame de Genlis (Field, 1971).

One of the first Russian Gothic novels entitled *Ostrov Bornyolm* (Island of Bornholm) written by Karamzin in 1793, began the trend of the Gothic novel in Russia (Karamzin, 1967). It was influenced by Ossian:

Here too the grieving heart can relieve itself of the burden of misfortunes in the embrace of sympathetic NATURE (p. 105).

The sublime magnificence of nature can provoke sentiments of fear and bewilderment which prevail in *The Poems of Ossian* (Stafford, 1991, pp. 49–72). This relates to the “joy of grief” or the “morality of memory” which prevail in this work (Dwyer, 1991, p. 165). Nikolay Ivanovich Gneditch published his *Don Corrado de Gerra* in 1802. Some songs by Jhoukovsky, such as *Ludmilla* (1808) and *Svellana* (1813) are Gothic in style.

Many translations and imitations of Moore’s works, mainly *Lalla Rookh* and *Irish Ballads* were translated into Russian creasing in the second decade of the nineteenth century when Moore’s *Lalla Rookh* became internationally famous: it is regarded as “a dramatization of Irish patriotism in an Eastern parable” (MacWhite, 1972, p. 50) and was translated by Jhoukovsky, Kozlov, Batiushkov, Pushkin and Lermontov, among others. The French translator Amedée Pichot entitled his translation of Moore’s as *Lalla Roukh ou La Princesse Mogole* in 1820. In his translation of *Lalla Rookh*, Jhoukovsky in the poem *Paradise and the Peri* (a peri is a creature of the imagination, higher than man but lower than an angel) influenced Pushkin who, in turn, quotes from *Saadi’s Garden* included in his eastern verse tale entitled *The Fountain of Bakhchisarai*:

Many, like me, have viewed this fountain, but they are gone, and their eyes are closed for ever (p. 506).

Similar to Moore’s ‘Irish Ballads’ whose lyrics cryptically sing of Irish patriots hanged under English monarchy, Pushkin includes *Sadi* in his work *Eugene Onegin*:

Of those who heard my opening pages
In friendly gatherings where I read,
as Sadi sang in earlier ages,
...some are far distant, some are dead (p. 233).

Pushkin is poignantly pointing to Russian Decembrists hanged under Tsarist rule in 1825. The Gothic mode is evident in that it embraces the change of the

political role of lower echelons after the French Revolution (Imposti, 2013, pp. 135–149).

4. Thomas Moore and Polish Translation

Mickiewicz, the national poet of Poland who belonged to a secret organization known as Philomats (similar to that of the Decembrists or the Carbonari [MacWhite, 1972, p. 51, 53] of which Byron was a member)¹ was banished to Russia where he met exiled Decembrists.

After escaping exile in Russia, Mickiewicz taught Slavonic Literature at the College of France in Paris in 1840. During his stay in France, Mickiewicz retained close relations with Polish democrats. He published Moore's *The Meeting of the Waters* in 1827; it was republished in Paris in 1861. The poet Józef Zaleski translated *Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion*. Wanda Malecka translated *Lalla Rookh* into prose as did the Polish poet Antoni Edward Odyniec. Julian Niemcewicz wrote *Historical Songs* which is based on *Irish Melodies* by Moore. Mickiewicz was an admirer of *The Love of the Angels* and instead of translating it himself he proposed that Józef Zaleski did so.

Thomas Moore knew Polish exiles in England including Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz who had translated Moore's *Remember thee!* In 1832, Moore visited the poet Thomas Campbell, President of the Polish Association in London. Interestingly, Moore's *In Imitation of Ossian* was republished in *The Celt* in Dublin in 1857 (Moore, 1857, pp. 109–111). In the previous edition Campbell's poem entitled *The Power of Russia*, the first two lines of which are as follows:

Poland's wrested brand
Is now a weapon new to widen his command (Campbell, 1857, p. 95).

This poem appeared in the same periodical, referring to the defeat of the Polish revolution in 1830. This edition also included Moore's revolutionary letter to the students of Trinity College Dublin written in 1797 for which his young age saved him from imprisonment (Campbell, 1857, p. 95). In Moore's memoirs he records that Count Krasinski was very fond of *Irish Melodies* singing aloud "Oh blame not the bard" as the one he preferred. He also informed Moore that *The Fire Worshippers* from *Lalla Rookh* appeared in Polish written by Odyniec "in a Polish sense" and that there was a Russian version in existence, which was likely to have been translated by the Decembrist N. A. Bestuzhev, penned with a "definite political intent". Moore also mentions in his memoirs that a Polish writer had gifted him with his work of *The Fire Worshippers* which he felt to be more valuable, considering it was related to recent events. Apparently the work

¹ Retrieved January 14, 2019, from <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/lord-byron>.

had been saved just before the Poles were fleeing from their oppressors. This work was made world famous by the German composer Robert Schumann who set it to music in 1843. When it was performed in Polish its adaptations of the work were rendered by Odyniec, Pajert and Koźmian. The attitude of Moore towards Tsar Nicholas is captured when he refers to him as “tyrant Nick” in one of his satirical poems, written in 1832, entitled *Missing* when a new British ambassador to Russia took up his position (MacWhite, 1972, pp. 53–60).

Thomas Moore’s condemnation of the Polish nation by the Russians is portrayed in the following poem:

‘When Catherine, ‘ere she crush’d the Poles
Appeal’d to the benign Divinity;
Then cut them up in protocols
Made fractions of their very souls
All in the name of the bless’d Trinity (p. 84)

Moore escaped censorship (Healy, 2017). The Gothic genre through its ambiguity and its sometimes hidden criticism of Catholicism was a safe genre to use under despotic rule in support of democratic values and equality (Botting, 1999).

5. Ossian and the Gothic

Panayiotis Panas, a Kephalonian radical scholar, journalist, main translator of *The Poems of Ossian* and founder of the Democratic Eastern Federation (O’Donnell, 2014, pp. 165–172), was the direct successor to Rhigas Velistinlis. Panas remarked on Celtic influence in his translation of *Dar-thula-Lathmon* on its use of metaphor, unknown in Greece, where a cave “howls”, the sea smiles, the earth “sighs”, a tree “cries” (Panas, 1862, p. 22). The poem *Dar-thula* contains a Gothic trope in that a heroine is kidnapped by the tyrant Cairbar who will kill her with an arrow after she escapes. She is used as a symbol of the oppressed while Cairbar symbolizes western monarchy.

In *Oithona*, also translated by Panas (1862), there is an example of an isolated heroine who has been raped by her kidnapper. His “eyes” rolled in fire and “whose bloody sword” murdered her people.

The sense of abandonment in buildings is depicted in *Carthon*:

I have seen the walls of Balclutha but they were desolate. The fire had resounded in the halls; and the voice of the people is heard no more. Desolate is the dwelling of Moina (p. 128).

The motifs of isolation and of a woman in distress are greatly manifested in *The Songs of Selma*. This poem describes Colma who is mourning her dead

lover and his enemy, her brother, amidst shrieking “torrents”. She converses with the wind imploring the ghosts of the dead to speak to her (Macpherson, 1996, pp. 184–185, 128, 166–167). This poem was hugely popularized by Goethe who included it in his *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (Boker, 1991, pp. 73–93). In *Contes Moraux et Nouvelles Historiques*, Madame de Genlis (1861) includes the translation of Colma in the *Songs of Selma*.

There are several ghosts in *The Poems of Ossian* including that of Calmar in *The Death of Cuchullin*, which Panas (1862) also translated:

Cuchullin lay on his shield.... A feeble voice is heard; the ghost of Calmar came. He stalked in the beam. Dark is the wound in his side... Why dost thou bend thy dark eyes on me, ghost of the car-borne Calmar? Wouldest thou frighten me ... (p. 137).

It is noteworthy that Byron wrote an adaption of Fingal entitled *The Death of Calmar and Orla* in 1811. It was translated into Greek in 1850.

An example of the description of sublime nature abounds in *Fingal*:

and they have fallen like the oak of the desert; when it lies across a stream, and withers in the wind of the mountain (p. 95).

And:

as an oak on the banks... which had its branches blasted of old by the lightning of heaven. It bends over the stream, and the gray moss whistles in the wind (p. 86).

Thus it will become evident how *The Poems of Ossian* influences many Gothic tropes.

In Hugh Blair’s work entitled *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal*, he describes Ossian as possessing two main traits; that of “tenderness and sublimity”. The sombre depictions of nature are emulated in the Gothic genre together with a sense of decay in the ruins of Balclutha in *Carthon* (Macpherson, 1996, pp. 86, 129, 133, 137, 356).

6. Comparison of Gothic Novels with Ossian

The use of nature which is manifested in the character of Emily in Anne Radcliffe’s *The Mysteries of Udolpho* when she connects her feelings with nature through a beautiful and sublime aspect, as in the following:

All without was silent and dark, unless that could be called light, which was only the faint glimmer of the stars, sheening imperfectly the outline of the mountains (Almodovar, 2014).

This passage can be compared to many examples in *The Poems of Ossian* where there are similar descriptions of nature:

The moon rests behind the hill. The beam is still on that lofty rock. Long are the shadows of the trees. Now it is dark over all. Night is dreary, silent, and dark (Macpherson, 1996, p. 191).

This depiction of nature in *The Poems of Ossian* is also demonstrated when compared to nature in *The Fall of the House of Usher*, by Edgar Allan Poe (1966):

and upon a few with trunks of decayed trees (p. 225).

This excerpt, also similar to the bleak atmosphere in *The House of Usher*, is parallel to *The Oval Portrait* by Poe. The beginning of the story opens with an abandoned castle with its “commingled gloom”. There is also a reference to Mrs Radcliffe. The visitor then goes on to describe a portrait of a beautiful woman whose fanatical painter husband paints his wife until she drops dead. The above extract, from *Carthon*, is identical with the tale of *Morella* in which a strange woman called Morella dies in childbirth:

The winds of the firmament breathed but one sound... the ripples upon the sea murmured (p. 568).

Her demise is similar to that of Moira.

This trope is evident in Poe’s story of *Morella*:

The winds of the firmament breathed but one sound within my ears, and the ripples upon the sea murmured evermore – *Morella* (Poe, 1966, p. 222).

In 1852, *The Mysteries of Udolpho* by Ann Radcliffe was translated into Greek by A.G., published in Smyrna in the Ottoman Empire (Denisi, 1995, p. 67). Panayiotis Panas translated *Morella* and *The Oval Portrait* by Edgar Allan Poe into Greek from the French version written by Baudelaire in Athens in 1890. He also translated *A Tell-tale Heart* by Poe.

It is noteworthy that while the Celts and Goths fought the Roman Empire, inhabitants of what is now Rumania, under Decebalus, leader of the Dacians, together with Greeks of the Black Sea, also fought the Roman Emperor, Trajan (Oțetea, 1970, p. 80). Nineteenth century European propagators of Celtic and Gothic literature recognize the threat of imperialism. Celtic and Gothic literature through translation presented a united front against Western Imperial domination. It depicted justice and moral virtue. Through the sublime in nature, humankind was transcended, promoting it with a greater feeling of vigour and liberty (Botting, 1999).

Panas translated *A Christmas Carol* by Charles Dickens, which includes a ghost, similar to Calmar in *The Death of Cuchullin*, as well as the Gothic dualism of generosity and avariciousness. Panas used his skill as a translator to instill a moral message to his readers in his choice of literature which he mentions in his preface to *The Drunkard's Death* by Charles Dickens (Stavropoulou, 1987, pp. 286, 287, 261).

Gothic dualism is a theme captured by Russian Gothic writers. The most significant Russian Gothic novel is that of Pushkin's *The Queen of Spades* (1833). This story was translated into Greek from the French by Prosper Mérimée (1808–1870) by a T. N. G, published in Patras in 1855 (Denisi, 1995, p. 70). Mérimée translated several works of Pushkin, Turgenev and Gogol, perhaps writers who also wrote Gothic novels (Braunschvig, 1958, p. 608–609). Influences from *The Poems of Ossian* are echoed in Mérimée's work in *La Guzla*: "It seems ... that the guzla of the Slavs will be as celebrated as the harp of Ossian" (van Tieghem, 1917, pp. 360–361). Here is an example of *The Poems of Ossian* being used to cement cultural similarities of the Slavs with other groups of people in the Balkans, including the Greeks, as is shown in the following example.

Nicholas Politis, the Greek folklorist and member of the Rigas Society, a disguise for the Democratic Eastern Federation (Stavropoulou, 1987, p. 100), wrote an article entitled *On the Superstitions of Ghosts according to the People of Greece* in May 1870, citing short extracts on ghosts from *The Poems of Ossian* (Politis, 1870, pp. 453–454, 457–458). Politis showed similarities of a Gothic folk song that was sung all over the Balkans in his comparison with extracts taken from Ossian with the Modern Greek oral song *The Dead Brother* which was composed in Anatolia. In Serbian it is known as *Giovan and Gelitsas*. There are four different versions in Bulgarian and it was known as *Constanti and Garendina* in Albanian (Koulouphakos, 1984, p. 137, 140–144)². By pointing out the connection of this folk song using the symbolism of unity through marriage, and comparing it to *The Poems of Ossian*, a sense of harmony was retained among the indigenous, which had been greatly harmed through the machinations of the Orthodox Church, encouraged by Western monarchy, which led to the Bulgarian schism, in February 1870 (Lyberatos, 1995, pp. 9, 28, 38, 41, 43, 45, 46, 51, 60, 71).

The second Polish national poet Juliusz Słowacki (1809–1849) translated *Irish Melodies*, which he wrote in Paris in 1832. Presumed lost it was only published in Paris in 1952 (MacWhite, 1972, pp. 52–61). Słowacki met the national poet of Greece, Dionysius Solomos on a boat trip from Corfu to Zakynthos in September, 1836. A passenger list included Zenone Brozoneski as well as the Kephalonian scholar Andreas Mustoxidis (Zora, 1952, p. 325–328). Solomos wrote his long

² It was at this time that supporters of the Democratic Eastern Federation sought to keep the Slav and Greek people united.

poem 'Hymn to Liberty' of which the first few lines comprise the Greek National Anthem. Słowacki translated this poem. D. Christianopoulos at the International Congress of Dionyssius Solomos 200 years of the birth of the Poet 7–10 October 1998 in his paper on *Hymn to Liberty* by D. Solomos stated that this work was translated seventy four times into seventeen languages, two of which were in Polish including Juliusz Słowacki's version (Christianopoulos, 1998, p. 10 October).

Written together in manuscript in the early 1820s, were two poems by Solomos entitled *Ode to the Moon* and *The Mad Mother*. The name of Ossian is included in *Ode to the Moon* (Boukala, 1998, p. 23). Sung by the illiterate inhabitants, this poem was accompanied by a guitar (Koulouphakos, 1984, p. 137). The moon acts like a balm on the feeling of injustice³. *Ode to the Moon* includes a literary technique which influenced radical Greek poets who used it for political reasons. An example is evident in the poem *Stateless* which was written by the Kephalonian radical poet Gerassimus Mavroyiannis, who self-exiled himself in 1850 as a protest against the English occupation of the Seven Islands (O'Donnell, 2014a, p. 7):

In a wood when the pale mysterious little Moon
sheds her light over it,
Someone sings a plaintive chant in time,
And the voice of his Country's pain shows (Mavroyiannis, 1850, p.3).

The neglected scholar, Mavroyiannis, director of the School of Fine Arts (1875–1879), Greek consul in Marseilles and Trieste, historian, lyricist, editor of *Palingennisia*, art critic (Vouna, 1966, p. 20–26) and donator of art works to the state⁴, translated excerpts from *The Poems of Ossian* from Italian and *Irish Melodies* by Moore from French which appeared in *On Ossian*. He refers to O'Carolan. In the periodical *Chrysalis* when *On Ossian* was published in 1863 (Mavroyiannis, 1863, pp. 417–420, 525–531) a Seven Islander poet Panayiotis Mataragkas, translated *Come o'er the Sea* from *Irish Melodies* by Moore (1964, p. 688–689) one year later. Biographies of both Pushkin and Karamzin were published in the same year (Mavroyiannis, 1864, p. 370, 719). Mavroyiannis visited Russia after he went into self-exile. It is not certain if the following story is a translation from Russian into Greek, which Mavroyiannis may have read during his trip there. It is set in St. Petersburg and is about a banker of "Gostiny Dvor" (Mavroyiannis, 1864, pp. 334–341). His preface to the story entitled *Gallant Retribution* is as follows:

³ Five Zakynthians were hanged; their corpses were put into cages on a hill for ten years for disobeying the English law of neutrality in the 1821 Greek Revolution; English cruelty of a young boy sent his mother insane (Kairophillas, 1957, pp. 133–154).

⁴ International Art Exhibition, Thessaloniki, 8 May–30 June 1900 by National Art Gallery and Alexander Soutsos Museum, 2nd edition.

A certain young man, a lieutenant, disappointed with his army profession, resigned from it and wanted to return to his country, but he lacked the wherewithal. He went to the richest banker in St. Petersburg and asked that he lent him an amount, without a guarantee except his word of honour to repay the amount. This offended the young lieutenant; how the banker did not count as worthy his word of honour. He knew that one day he had to become himself the richest of all the bankers in St. Petersburg. He managed to be appointed as an employee in a commercial wine company. There he showed such industry and such dexterity that in a short time he not only became a wine merchant himself but the richest of them all. At the same time the banker of St. Petersburg became poor. A piece of property, the only dowry he had left for his only daughter, his creditors put up for auction. There, by chance, the extremely rich and old lieutenant was present. Once he learned to whom the landed property belonged, he hid and when the auction was secured in his name, he made a present of it to the poor banker. That was how he got his revenge (Markakis, 1950, p.18).

This story contains a Gothic element of dualism that is found in *A Christmas Carol* by Dickens.

There is a sense of magnanimity and the sublime in the action of the young lieutenant that depicts a role model. Using Gothic and Celtic literature these scholars attempted to unite people of all faiths in the hope of forming a Federation against the threat of Western Imperialistic domination.

Mavroyiannis's colleague, Panas, translated *A Christmas Carol* by Charles Dickens published in 1888 in the series *Greek Library* printed by G. Bart and K. Wilberg. Panas also translated *The Rose of Alhambra* by the American Gothic writer, Washington Irving, in 1889. Panas published it in his journal *Terpsis*, together with translations of Ossian, which is, according to his biographer, not available and its existence is only known through the reading of other journals of the period.

Interestingly, Panas translated into Greek *The Bridal Ring* by the Polish novelist, Anna Nakwaska, written just before the outbreak of the November Polish Uprising of 1830, which gives descriptions of the event. His objective in translating this work was to make his readers aware of the brutal despotism of foreign monarchy imposed on the Poles.

Gothic and Romantic features drew the reader's attention to the split from bygone times so as to awaken feelings of awe in anything that might disintegrate while at the same time holding the desires of retrieving a feeling of 'unity' and worth⁵.

7. The Democratic Eastern Federation, the Paris Commune and Polish Patriotism

The Democratic Eastern Federation was set up to oppose Russian expansion. Panas was associated with Theodore Kolokotronis (Falez), Member of Parliament and G. Glynis, an editor. Kolokotronis was a member of the Rhigas Association

⁵ Retrieved May 18, 2019 from <https://www.academia.edu/5307551/144174613-Fred-Botting-Gothic-the-New-Critical-Idiom-Bookos-org>.

and thus a supporter of the Democratic Eastern Federation. Both Kolokotronis and Glynis had set up a committee in Athens for a whip round for Polish people who had suffered in the Polish Uprising of 1863. Glynis was an editor of the newspaper *Mellon* in which Panas was the only Greek journalist to report on the Paris Commune as he was a secret friend of Gustave Flourens (Stavropoulou, 1987, p. 280) a scholar and revolutionary and one of the central leaders of the Commune. Jarosław Dąbrowski and Walery Wróblewski, two Polish officers, who had fought in the 1863 Polish Uprising also fought in the Paris Commune, whose main supporters were Proudhonians in the Paris Commune. Therefore, the tenets of Proudhon represented what the Communards were fighting for. As Marx had no role whatsoever in this Uprising and its “leaders were not communists” (Rosenburg, 1967, p.4 and see also pp. 8, 12, 18, 19), to name a Soviet ship *Dąbrowski* in 1921 in a Communist regime is a misrepresentation of fact (Fournier, 2013, p. 83). Proudhon was an adversary of Marx. As Panas was a translator of Gothic literature and an ardent supporter of the Commune as mentioned above, it is relevant to point out that there existed three, not two forms of rule; capitalism, communism and Proudhon’s mutualism (D’Amato, 2014) which was silenced after the crushing of the Commune. Unlike Marx, although Proudhon was against ecclesiasticism, he believed that God is the conscience of humanity (Voyenne, 2004, p. 76). He prophetically labelled Marx as “the tapeworm of socialism”. In his letter to Marx in 1846, he stated that anyone who sells socialists’ ideas is no more indignant than someone selling a sermon (Proudhon, 1929, pp. 71–76).

When he visited Proudhon in 1860, Tolstoy borrowed the title *War and Peace* from a work by Proudhon whose ideas prevail in Tolstoy’s *War and Peace* (Woodcock, 1972, pp. 166, 229, 278).

After the fall of the Commune, France became a republic in 1871. While Flourens was assassinated, Dąbrowski died on 23 May in combat; Wróblewski survived (Dittmar, 2003, pp. 9, 10, 122, 123–124, 131). Panas published *On Hellenism* by Flourens. He also refers to Delescluse, a Communard who also died shortly after Dąbrowski. This article was published in the newspaper *Iris* (Stavropoulou, 1987, p. 280). in Bucharest in 1873, edited by Thomas Paschides, head of the Democratic Eastern Federation in Bucharest. Therefore, the publication of Flourens’ article signifies that the ideas of the Commune lived on through the Democratic Eastern Federation. As a lofty complement to Greek-speaking Rumanians, Paschides started his own newspaper *Decebal*. Under the title is the heading in French *Fraternisation des Peuples d’Orient* (Hatziphotis, 1974, p. 13). He also donated all his inheritance to the Cretan cause. Flourens had fought in the Cretan Uprising of 1866–69 (O’Donnell, 2014c). Panas dedicated the second part of his book of poetry entitled *Hours of Idleness* to his secret friend, Gustave Flourens in 1883 (Stavropoulou, 1987, p. 313). As Flourens also fought in the

anti-Tsarist Polish Uprising in 1863 (Flourens, 2014, p. 176) it can be concluded that there were strong links among these patriots who were fighting against social and political despotism. This cause continued through the Democratic Eastern Federation. In a reassessment of the Commune it is suggested that we should all regularly read *The Purloined Letter* by Edgar Allen Poe, so that we might understand that at times we do not see that which is evident (Fournier, 2013, p. 176). The leader of the Democratic Eastern Federation, Panayiotis Panas, together with other intellectuals, fought with the pen, using translations of Celtic literature and Gothic works to promote ethical precepts, which had originated with Russian revolutionary intellectuals.

The exiled Russian men of letters, namely Jhoukovsky, Pushkin and Gneditch resided in Bessarabia, a Russian province, close to Moldavia. These Decembrists also influenced Polish writers whose works in turn inspired Rumanian writers.

Costache Negruzzi translated Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies* from the French version by Louise Swanton Belloc, which he did while in prison in 1868 (MacWhite, 1972, p. 51, 49). He met Pushkin in exile. Negruzzi translated: Dergavin's *Ode catre Dumnezeu*; Jhoukovsky; Pushkin (*Salul negru*, *Cirjaliul* and *La Maria*); a fragment from *The History of Moldavia* by Karamzin and *Oscar of Alva* by Byron.

The translator Costache Stamati met Pushkin and Jhoukovsky in Chisnau when he was working in Bessarabia. He spoke French, Greek and Russian. He translated an extract from Jhoukovsky's *Aeolian harp*; *Irish Melodies* by Moore; Pushkin's *The Prisoner of the Caucasus* and a work by Krilov and Lermontov into Rumanian. Because Lermontov wrote poetry in support of the Polish uprising he was forced to abandon tertiary education by the Russian authorities (Grigson & Gibbs-Smith, 1954, p. 341, 240–241). Stamati also translated Polish writers; Krasicki's satire on feudalism and a satire by O. Senkowski.

The female writer C. Dunca Schiau studied at the College of France in Paris. An editor of one of the first women's magazines in Bucharest, she published a translation of 'The Songs of Selma' in her first edition in 1863, and *Mozart and Salier* by Pushkin a year later. Two other authoresses, Sofia Cocea and Maria Rosetti translated *Palmyre et Flaminie ou Le Secret* and *Zuma ou la découverte du quinquina* by Madame de Genlis respectively.

The poet Grigore Haralamb Grandea translated of *The Songs of Selma*; *Nimfa in Preludele* by the Polish poet Mickiewicz in 1862; a fragment from *Strabunii* and *The Water Nymph – Rusalka* by Pushkin, published in 1868⁶.

⁶ *Dicționarul Literaturii Române de la origini pînă la 1900*, pp. 196, 308–309, 608–623, 755, 804–805.

8. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is evident that exiled Revolutionary Russian translators emulated Thomas Moore in using *The Poems of Ossian* by James Macpherson as a literary weapon, together with his *Irish Melodies* and *Lalla Rookh*, and with their Gothic tales, to fight brutal oppression under English monarchy. This influenced Polish, Greek and Rumanian radicals whose aim was to forge political change to that of a secular harmonious society living under social democracy. The translated works of Ossian and works by Thomas Moore, together with Gothic tales and their subsequent translations, are, therefore, examples of how this literature provided a means to cement peaceful unity through fraternity, liberty and equality, based on “a moral vision of society” (Proudhon) (Woodcock, 1966, p. 283), without monarchy, under the Democratic Eastern Federation in the Balkans and Anatolia.

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The Potential of RAFT Strategy for Improving Jordanian EFL Students' Creative Writing¹

ABSTRACT

This study examines the potential effect of RAFT strategy on Jordanian EFL Eleventh-grade students' creative writing. A sample of Eleventh-grade students was purposefully selected from a secondary school in Irbid. The experimental group (n=25) was taught using a RAFT strategy whereas the control group (n= 25) was taught conventionally based on Teacher Book of Action Pack 11. For data collection, a creative writing pre/post- test was used. The findings reveal statistically significant differences in students' means scores in the creative writing post test, in favor of the experimental group which may be attributed to RAFT strategy.

Keywords: RAFT Strategy, Creative Writing, Jordanian EFL Students

1. Introduction

Modern educational systems that seek to achieve their educational aims and objectives always strive to promote students' higher order thinking skills. Since creativity is the focus of the teaching /learning process nowadays, it has become a must to promote the higher order thinking skills since they have become vital for individuals regardless of the nature of their work (Al Hussaini, 2013). One of the main Jordanian educational systems outcomes is to promote students' higher order thinking skills; creativity is one of the most significant manifestations for such skills. The Jordanian Ministry of Education (2006) states in its guidelines

¹ This manuscript is an extension of the first author's doctoral dissertation per the regulations in force at Yarmouk University, Jordan.

for the secondary stage that promoting creative writing is one of the outcomes of Action Pack Serious taught in Jordanian schools.

Creative Writing

Creative writing is any form of writing that falls outside of the traditional type of writing skill and can be distinguished from mere traditional writing. Creative writing is mainly and highly connected with using imagination and fantasy, thus it is different from the academic writing imposed in the various school courses. In this sense, creative writing is an expansion of the written production aiming to construct new forms of texts (Nino & Paez, 2018).

As indicated by Jameel and Mohamood (2017), creativity is based on having four basic skills:

- Fluency: The ability to produce abundant new ideas.
- Flexibility: Having the ability to imagine and produce ideas in various types.
- Originality: Being able to create unorthodox ideas.
- Elaboration: The ability to organize previous ideas in a new way.

Locloiey (2012) indicated that creative writing has always played a significant role in EFL instruction as it is one of the key objectives in EFL classrooms. While using creative writing, students can write short stories, poems, fiction stories, autobiographies and many other forms of writing genres. This writer further elaborates that for people who write creatively, this activity can fulfill many daily life functions as it includes engaging in playing a piece of music, then writing about the writer's sensations and feelings relating to this creative act. Thus, creative writing focuses on using imagination to write about the true sensations the individual feels about a certain experience using creative words, sentences and paragraphs. In other words, creative writing enables individuals to express themselves in ways that are not always available in other aspects of life. An individual, for example, can use creative writing to express his/ her true feeling about specific life experiences without feeling threatened by the responses of others.

Barbot, Tan, Randi, Santa-Donato and Grigorenko (2012) explained that creative writing consists of several skills. These include general knowledge and cognition, creative cognition, conation, executive functioning, linguistic and psychomotor skills.

To summarize, in Dawson's (2005, p. 21) point of view concerning creative writing, it is a discipline, an independent body of knowledge combined with the use of specific instructional techniques for improving this knowledge.

RAFT Strategy

RAFT is one of the instructional strategies used to teach students writing skills as it motivates them to use their own imagination to explain what they are writing using well-structured steps. It engages students in the exploration of

a specific topic or concept while allowing them at the same time to use their creativity in presenting out of the box ideas stemming from their own imagination and creative skills to give the topic a unique perspective (Dani, Litchfield, & Hallman-Thrasher, 2018).

The RAFTs strategy is another instructional strategy developed by Santa and others (1988). It aims to provide assistance for students to better understand their role as writers, the audience they will address, the varied formats for writing, and the expected content. Porzel (2018) defined RAFT as an acronym for the role of the writer, and the audience, to whom you are writing, the format which the writing will take and the writing topic.

As for El Sourani (2017), RAFT as an instructional strategy includes four main components: The role of the writer (R), audience (A), written products format (F), and finally, the topic of the writing material (T). Simon (2012) believes that RAFT is able to help students realize their roles as creative writers in their creative writing assignments. It aids them to master effective ways they can use in presenting their points of view, express themselves in their quest to make their targeted audience more aware of their writing product. RAFT's writing strategy helps students to be more aware of the audience, and different formats in addition to the points and topics which they are going to mention.

Empirical Studies

Working in the Arab culture, Al Khasawneh (2014) examined the effect of using RAFT on developing female students spelling skills in the middle school. The sample of the study consisted of 33 female students. To verify the effectiveness of RAFT instructional strategy, a one group semi- experimental design was employed based on the use of a pre-post test using a multiple choice spelling achievement test was developed. The results of the study affirmed the effectiveness of RAFT instructional strategy in improving female students' spelling skills as there were statistically significant differences between students' pre-post test scores, in favor of post test.

In Saudi Arabia, Salameh (2016) investigated the effectiveness of RAFT instructional strategy on improving EFL university learners writing competency. The sample of the study totaled 45 first year university students selected randomly from one EFL writing course. The study used single group's semi- experimental design as the students in the study were taught writing competency skills using RAFT. To examine the effect of the instructional strategy, the students were asked to write paragraphs before and after the participation in the study. The results of the study indicated a significant improvement in students' writing competency due to RAFT instructional strategy employed in teaching writing skills. There were no gender differences in the effect of RAFT instructional strategy on students' writing competency.

In Palestine, El Sourani (2017) examined the effectiveness of RAFT instructional strategy on female 10th graders' English writing skills. The sample of the study consisted of 68 female students assigned evenly into two study groups; experimental consisting of 34 female students taught using RAFT and control consisting of 34 female students taught using the traditional teaching method. A semi- experimental design was employed based on the use of pre-post tests. The results of the study showed statistically significant differences in students' post test scores, in favor of experimental group students.

Since their introduction, RAFT was not fully examined by the different researchers, especially in EFL classes. RAFT was developed by (Santa & Others, 1988) to be used for teaching writing to improve students' writing skills in the various school stages.

2. Problem of the study

As an EFL teacher in the Jordanian public schools, the researcher has noticed that students in different school levels lack the necessary writing abilities. Also, they show an obvious weakness in this important language skill. It is evident that writing is one of the most difficult language skills in any given language; but this does not justify the fact that students suffer from a severe deficit in this skill. As such, there is a need to develop instructional strategies which should be able to address this weakness it can be argued that this instructional strategy may provide students with the appropriate skills in writing, especially creative writing. The study sought to examine the role of this strategy to develop the student's' creative writing, by answering the following question:

“Are there any significant differences at ($\alpha=0.05$) among the students' scores in the experimental and control group on the post creative writing test due to the teaching strategy (RAFT, and conventional)?”

3. Method and Procedures

The subjects of the study were purposefully chosen: fifty female eleventh grade students from Al Andalus Secondary School for Girls. They were distributed into two sections; each section consisted of 25 students. one comprised the control group and the other was the experimental group. The control group was taught conventionally as per the guidelines of the teacher's book whereas the experimental group was taught through RAFT strategy.

The present study adopted the quasi-experimental design in terms of using two experimental groups and one control group.

The instruments

The researcher used the following instruments in the study:

- a) A pre-post creative writing test was designed by the researcher to determine the effectiveness of RAFT.

b) Language Creativity Rubric: The researcher also applied Language Creativity Rubric which was prepared based on studies conducted by Torrance (1968–1990), Sternberg (1995a, 1995b, 1998) and Soh (1997). It consists of seven criteria which include: originality, fluency, flexibility, elaboration, richness of vocabulary, complexity of sentences and accuracy in grammar. The first four components were for assessing creativity, while the other three were components related to language proficiency, which were in this case, essential for assessing language mastery. They covered richness in vocabulary, complexity in sentence and accuracy in grammar (as cit. in Majid, Tan, & Soh, 2003).

Validity and Reliability of the creative writing Test

To ensure the validity of the content of the pre-post test and students and teachers guides, the jury was asked to examine the pre-post test. The percentage of jury in agreement was 85%. Some modifications were taken into consideration, as well as the time of some parts was modified to suit the nature of the activity.

In order to establish the reliability of the pre- creative writing test, the researcher piloted the same creative writing test on a group of 20 students from another section of the eleventh grade in the same school. They were not participants in the study. Reliability was measured by the test-retest formula using Pearson reliability coefficient.

Data Analysis

To answer the research question, means, standard deviations, adjusted means and T-Test were used.

4. Findings and Discussion

To answer the study question “Are there any significant differences at ($\alpha=0.05$) among the students’ scores in the experimental and control group on the post creative writing test due to the teaching strategy (RAFT, and conventional)?” T-Test was employed

Table1. Means and Standard deviations of each student scores in the pretest and posttest

	GROUP	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pre total	Conventional	25	2.09	.755	.151
	RAFT	25	1.95	.959	.192
Post total	Conventional	25	2.58	.817	.163
	RAFT	25	3.39	.964	.193

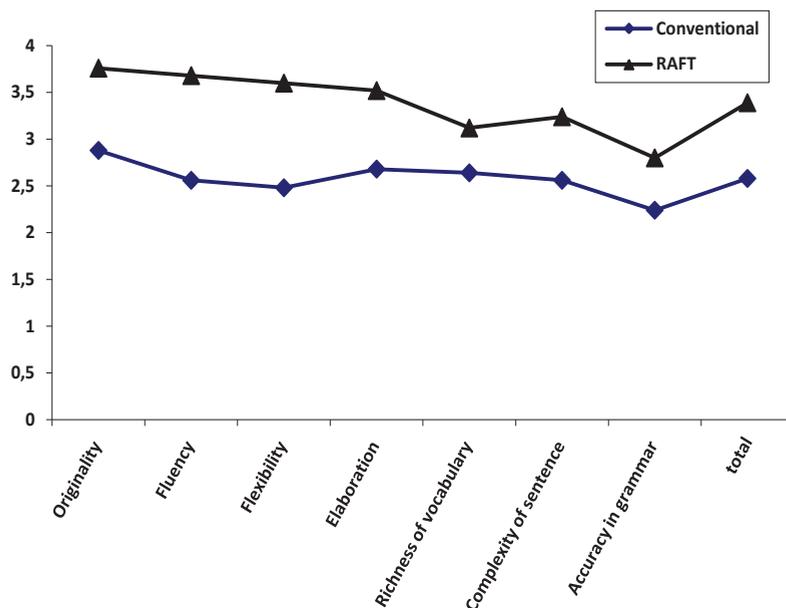
The table showed the differences in the performance of conventional and experimental groups on the creative writing pretest, indicating the similarity between

the two study groups. By contrast, the post test mean scores for the performance of students in the two study groups (conventional, experimental) as the mean scores for the conventional was ($M = 2.58$) while this was ($M = 3.39$) for the experimental group.

Table2. T-Test of the students' scores on the creative writing sub-skills on the pre and posttest due to the teaching strategy.

	GROUP	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Originality pre	Conventional	.955	48	.344
	RAFT			
Originality post	Conventional	-3.012	48	.004
	RAFT			
Fluency pre	Conventional	-.140	48	.889
	RAFT			
Fluency post	Conventional	-4.155	48	.000
	RAFT			
Flexibility pre	Conventional	-.413	48	.681
	RAFT			
Flexibility post	Conventional	-3.950	48	.000
	RAFT			
Elaboration pre	Conventional	-.526	48	.602
	RAFT			
Elaboration post	Conventional	-2.862	48	.006
	RAFT			
Richness of vocabulary pre	Conventional	1.443	48	.156
	RAFT			
Richness of vocabulary post	Conventional	-1.726	48	.091
	RAFT			
Complexity of sentence pre	Conventional	1.423	48	.161
	RAFT			
Complexity of sentence post	Conventional	-2.386	48	.021
	RAFT			
Accuracy in grammar pre	Conventional	1.153	48	.255
	RAFT			
Accuracy in grammar post	Conventional	-2.333	48	.024
	RAFT			
Pre total	Conventional	.538	48	.593
	RAFT			
Post total	Conventional	-3.211	48	.002
	RAFT			

As shown in table (2), it is evident that RAFT instructional strategy had a significant positive effect on the total skills of creative writing (flexibility, originality, fluency, elaboration) and on the other skills included in this study (richness of vocabulary, complexity of sentence, accuracy in grammar). For example, the means score of students' performance for originality was (.955), while it was (-3.012) for the posttest. Furthermore, the means score for students' performance in accuracy in grammar was (1.153) and for the post test it was (-2.333).



The second axis of the study showed the arithmetic mean, with a standard deviation higher than Fluency and at an average level. Flexibility – post, Elaboration – post, Richness of vocabulary- post at an average level. This confirms that the English Profilers as a foreign group, is the group on which RAFT has the greatest impact.

This result may be explained by claiming that RAFT is based on important practical assumptions, the most important is that it motivates students to use their imaginative skills before engaging in the writing tasks. Furthermore, RAFT is an instructional strategy which targets creating a learning environment giving students the opportunity to apply different rules in the writing process, to imagine themselves as writers able to produce high quality writing material. This indicates that such a strategy motivates students to be more immersed in the writing activity and this improves their creative writing skills.

In RAFT learning environment, learners control the flow of the learning content. They take the role of the writer, and they imagine the audience they are

writing to, developing the format in the writing process and use strong verbs, thus, they are motivated to be more creative since they are free to use the format they found comfortable. This gives them various options in the writing process, making them more creative. As Bandura (1997) stated, increasing learners' self-efficacy is a key factor for increasing creativity among learners. Also, learners promote their intrinsic motivation due to their control of the learning process since they feel more responsible of their own learning. They can select the pace of learning and progress as they wish while writing creatively.

The study result is consistent with El Sourani (2017) which showed statistically significant differences in students' post test scores, in favor of experimental group students. These results are also consistent with the results reported by Parilasanti, Suarnajaya and Marjohan (2014) study, indicating that RAFT was very effective in improving the writing competency of students.

Thus, EFL teachers are recommended to use RAFT to teach creative thinking skills and creative reading in different school levels. Further research examining the use of RAFT and its effect on higher education and middle school students' creative writing skills is also needed. Finally, TFL curricula developers should construct learning activities based on RAFT instructional strategy.

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***Shaping the Way We Teach English: Potential Effects
of a Professional Development Program on Jordanian EFL
Teachers' Instructional Practices*¹**

ABSTARCT

This study examines the potential effect of *Shaping the Way We Teach English*, a teacher professional development program, on Jordanian English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers' instructional practices. The participants of the study are 20 Jordanian EFL teachers selected from 14 public schools in North Ghour Directorate of Education in the first semester of the academic year 2018/2019. Observations of the participants, along the seven domains of *classroom management, language, teaching strategies, learning strategies, assessment strategies, authentic materials, and reflection*, were conducted before and after the treatment to determine whether or not the treatment has an effect on the participants' instructional practices. Descriptive statistics were used to compare the participants' performance before and after the treatment. The findings revealed that the participants gained on all seven domains of the observation checklist, with statistically significant differences found (at $\alpha=0.05$) in their instructional practices before and after the treatment, in favor of the latter. The study concludes with pedagogical implications and recommendations for further research.

Keywords: instructional practices, professional development, TPD

¹ This manuscript is an extension of the second author's doctoral dissertation per the regulations in force at Yarmouk University, Irbid, Jordan.

1. Introduction and Background

To develop twenty-first century student competencies, teachers must change the way they have traditionally taught and look for alternative teaching strategies to meet the requirements of this century (Mewborn & Huberty, 2004). Teachers also need to be equipped with the knowledge and skills needed to support student learning in a constantly changing environment (Al Omari & Bataineh, 2014; Bataineh, Bataineh, & Thabet, 2011, Bataineh & Bani Younis, 2016 to supplement international with local research.) and to determine appropriate learner competencies (Broad & Evans, 2006), as problem-solving, critical thinking, creative thinking, and effective communication skills are rudimentary for learning in an increasingly demanding society (Darling-Hammond & Richardson, 2009).

Teaching is a rather complex undertaking for novice and experienced teachers alike, especially as many teacher training programs are unable to cater for the growing range of competencies needed by effective teachers (Mizell, 2010). This is further compounded by the fact that professional development is not just training, as professional development involves, among other things, ongoing workshops, follow-up, reflection, observation, and assessment geared towards improving teacher practices which lead, in turn, to increased student learning (Oregon Department of Education, 2014).

Novice and experienced teachers alike face challenges, such as content change, technological advances, and evolving student needs, which necessitates career-long professional development to keep up with these advances and maintain effectiveness (Bharati & Chalise, 2017). Teacher professional development (Henceforth, TPD) is defined as the “sum total of formal and informal learning pursued and experienced by the teacher in a compelling and dynamic change” (Fullan, 1995, p. 265) which involves learning, engagement, and involvement in creativity and reflection to foster teaching practice (Bredeson, 2002), mastery of new skills, received and experiential knowledge (Wallace, 1991), insights into their pedagogy, practice and understanding of his/her own needs (Joshi, 2012)

For many years, the only form of professional development available to teachers was staff-development or in-service training. These forms of training consist of workshops or short-term courses that offer teachers new knowledge on a particular aspect of their work. More recently, the new paradigm in professional development (Villegas-Reimers, 2003) has comprised a long-term process which involves regular, systematically-planned opportunities and experiences to foster profession-related growth and development.

Professional development may manifest itself in many forms (Hooker, 2006), but the outcome is always the same. Richards and Farrell (2005), for example, discuss eleven strategies which facilitate ELT teachers’ professional development (viz., workshops, self-monitoring, support groups, teaching journal, peer observation, teaching portfolios, critical incidents, case analysis, peer coaching,

team teaching, and action research). When surveyed, teachers reported positive effects for coherent, focused, and actively-participatory professional development (Darling-Hammond & McLaughlin, 1995; Garet, Porter, Desimone, Birman, & Suk Yoon, 2001), as opportunities are afforded to teachers not only to learn from best practices but also to exchange information and stay abreast of advances in ICTs and curriculum resources.

2. Problem, Purpose, Questions, and Limitations

An extensive review of the literature has revealed a dearth of local and international empirical research on the utility of TPD in developing EFL teachers' instructional practices. Empirical literature highlights the effectiveness of professional development programs on teachers' classroom performance (e.g., Giraldo, 2014; Hooker, 2006; Ingvarson, Meiers, & Beavis, 2005; Kennedy, 2016; Mizell, 2010; Porter, Garet, Desimone, Birman, & Suk Yoon 2000; King, 2012; Yarema, 2015). However, to the best of these researchers' knowledge, this research may be the first to examine the potential effect of *Shaping the Way We Teach English* on Jordanian EFL teachers' classroom performance.

Through their collective experience as teacher trainers, the authors have noticed that many teachers lack training in pedagogy and classroom practices, as few tailored training opportunities are available to them. This study is an attempt to develop teachers' classroom practices and raise their awareness of the effectiveness of TPD through implementing *Shaping the Way We Teach English*. More specifically, the study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent, if any, does *Shaping the Way We Teach English* affect EFL teachers' classroom performance?
2. Are there any statistically significant differences (at $\alpha=0.05$) in the participants' instructional practices, which can be attributed to gender?

3. Sampling, Design, Instrumentation, and Implementation

The participants of the study are 20 Jordanian EFL teachers, selected conveniently from 14 public schools in two of the three divisions of the North Ghour Directorate of Education, Jordan, due to the proximity of these areas to the training center. The research adopts a quasi-experimental design with pre- and post-treatment-observations.

Based on their collective experience and a thorough review of the literature, the researchers adapted a classroom observation checklist from Opp-Beckman and Klinghammer (2006) along a three-point scale (viz., excellent, satisfactory, and poor). The checklist comprised 21 items under seven main headings (viz., *classroom management, language, teaching strategies, learning strategies, assessment strategies, authentic materials, and reflection*) which correspond to the modules of *Shaping the Way We Teach English*.

The validity of the checklist was established by a jury of 10 EFL practitioners whose notes were incorporated into its final version while its interrater reliability was established by having another English language supervisor co-observe with the second researcher. Pearson's coefficient between the two observations amounted to 98.6, deemed appropriate for the purpose of this research.

The treatment comprised the professional development program, *Shaping the Way We Teach English*, which consisted of 14 Modules (viz., *contextualizing language, building language awareness, integrating skills, pair and group work, learner feedback, managing large classes, learning strategies, authentic materials, critical and creative thinking, alternative assessment, individual learner differences, younger learners, peer observations and reflective teaching*). These modules comprise video-based segments, of 10–15 minutes each, by educators from around the world, *a training manual*, and *supplementary readings, activities and resources* (Opp-Beckman & Klinghammer, 2006). Supplementary activities (viz., *jigsaw, dictogloss, and contextualizing language by means of responding to certain scenarios, describing, interpreting, and making judgements*) were added to meet specific teachers' needs.

The content of the fourteen modules was regrouped under seven domains of one to three modules each (viz., *classroom management* (originally *managing large classes*), *language* (originally *using language in context, building language awareness, and integrating the four skills*), *teaching strategies* (originally *pair /group work and critical and creative thinking*), *learning strategies* (originally *learning strategies, learner feedback, and individual differences*), *assessment strategies* (originally *assessment strategies and learner feedback*), *authentic materials*, and *reflection* (originally *reflection and peer observation*)). Two modules per week were covered over the seven-week treatment. The participants presented their mini-lessons in the eighth and final week.

The study started with pre-observations as the trainer/second researcher visited the participants in their classrooms to assess their instructional practices at the onset of the treatment. The training commenced with an orientation session in which the trainer/second researcher introduced *Shaping the Way We Teach English*, the theme of each of its 14 modules, and its potential outcomes. She introduced the concept of *module* in terms of definition, characteristics, components, and potential utility. She then conducted pre-activities using content from the prescribed textbook series, *Action Pack 1–12*, to illustrate and build familiarity with the constituents of the treatment.

The participants watched the videos and filled in the observation sheet about each. They carried out activities from *Action Pack* and taught mini-lessons on the theme of each module throughout the treatment.

Post-observations were conducted after the eight-week implementation of *Shaping the Way We Teach English*. Following the treatment, the trainer/second

researcher revisited the participants in their classrooms to assess the potential effect of the treatment on their instructional practices. Both the trainer/second researcher and a colleague used the same pre-observation checklist to assess potential gain and simultaneously establish the interrater reliability of the observation.

4. Findings and discussion

The findings are presented and discussed according to the two questions of the research. To answer the first question, which addresses the potential effect of the professional development program on teachers' instructional practices, the means, standard deviations and paired t-test of the participants pre-and post- treatment instructional practices were calculated, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Means, standard deviation and paired t-test results of the participants' pre-and post-treatment practices'

No.	Domain		Mean	SD	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
1	Classroom Management	pre-	20.75	0.417	-2.179	.00
		post-	30.00	0.163		
2	Language	pre-	20.02	0.567	-6.571	.00
		post-	20.88	0.229		
3	Teaching Strategies	pre-	10.65	0.729	-8.354	.00
		post-	20.96	0.103		
4	Learning Strategies	pre-	10.55	0.565	-11.610	.00
		post-	20.93	0.174		
5	Assessment Strategies	pre-	10.68	0.501	-10.727	.00
		post-	20.93	0.174		
6	Authentic Materials	pre-	10.88	0.409	-9.054	.00
		post-	20.56	0.244		
7	Reflection	pre-	10.58	0.417	-15.158	.00
		post-	2.96	0.122		
Overall		pre	1.87	0.354	-150.032	.00
		post-	2.90	0.091		

• n=20, df=19

Table 1 shows statistically significant differences (at $\alpha= 0.05$) between the pre- and post- participants' instructional practices overall and in each of the seven domains, in favor of latter. Table 2 shows the means, standard deviations, percentages, and ranks of the participants' instructional practices after the treatment.

Table 2. Means, standard deviations, percentages, and ranks of the participants' post-treatment practices along the seven domains

No.	Domain	Mean	SD	%	Rank	Extent
1	Classroom Management	3.00	0.00	100	1	Excellent
7	Reflection	2.96	0.10	98.7	2	Excellent
3	Teaching Strategies	2.96	0.15	98.7	2	Excellent
4	Learning Strategies	2.93	0.20	97.7	4	Excellent
5	Assessment Strategies	2.93	0.20	97.7	5	Excellent
2	Language	2.88	0.16	96	6	Excellent
6	Authentic Materials	2.56	0.49	85.3	7	Excellent
	Overall	2.89	0.19	96.3		Excellent

Table 2 shows the means, standard deviations, percentages, and ranks of the participants' post-treatment practices along the seven domains. Even though participants' instructional practices overall and on all seven domains were affected to an *excellent* degree, *classroom management*, *reflection*, and *teaching strategies* were the top domains affected by the treatment whereas *authentic materials* was the least affected.

The findings suggest that the participants' instructional practices have substantially improved both overall and along the seven domains of the observation checklist (viz., *classroom management*, *reflection*, *teaching strategies*, *learning strategies*, *assessment strategies*, *language*, and *authentic materials*, respectively) as a result of the treatment.

These findings may be attributed to a number of factors, amongst which is the comprehensive nature of *Shaping the Way We Teach English*. This was further supplemented by a number of activities, based on the researchers' close contact with and frequent supervisory classroom visits, to better meet the participants' needs.

The effect of the treatment was further enhanced by the meticulous execution of *Shaping the Way We Teach English*. Video excerpts of classrooms from around the world were an integral part of each module. These illustrative videos of international best instructional practices engaged teachers in cooperative and collaborative work, which not only deepened their understanding of the instructional process but also enabled them to exchange experiences and work as a team.

Furthermore, the community of practice established by the treatment provided the participants with sustainable support that would outlast the confines of the treatment itself. The non-prescriptive, hands-on nature of the treatment may have catalyzed the participants' retention and subsequent application of learning, which has also affected their classroom performance. This has been fostered by opportunities for reflection and peer feedback during the treatment, especially with the rapport and intimacy which ensued between trainer and trainees on one hand

and the trainees themselves on the other before and during the training. This has potentially encouraged the teachers to participate more actively and, as revealed in the post-treatment observation, reflected positively on their instructional performance.

The second research question addressed potential gender effects on teachers' gains from the treatment. Means and standard deviations of the pre- and post-participants' instructional practices were calculated and Analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) used to determine whether there are any statistically significant differences (at $\alpha= 0.05$) in male and female participants' instructional practices, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Means, standard deviations, and adjusted means of the participants' post-treatment instructional practices by gender

Domain	Gender	n	Pre		Post		Adjusted Mean	SE
			Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Classroom Management	Male	10	8.50	1.26	8.99	0.003	8.99	0.001
	Female	10	9.00	0.00	9.00	0.000	9.00	0.001
Language	Male	10	5.20	1.75	8.50	0.52	8.65	0.11
	Female	10	6.70	1.65	8.80	0.42	8.64	0.11
Teaching Strategies	Male	10	4.90	2.60	8.80	0.42	8.80	0.09
	Female	10	5.00	2.10	9.00	0.000	8.99	0.09
Learning Strategies	Male	10	3.90	1.37	9.00	0.000	9.13	0.13
	Female	10	5.40	2.01	8.60	0.69	8.46	0.13
Assessment Strategies	Male	10	5.30	2.11	8.60	0.69	8.56	0.13
	Female	10	4.80	1.54	9.00	0.000	9.03	0.13
Authentic Materials	Male	10	5.30	1.05	6.80	1.39	6.98	0.29
	Female	10	6.10	1.52	8.60	0.51	8.41	0.29
Reflection	Male	10	4.30	1.70	8.90	0.31	8.92	0.09
	Female	10	4.90	1.52	8.90	0.31	8.88	0.09
Overall	Male	10	37.40	10.76	59.59	2.98	59.99	0.53
	Female	10	41.90	9.98	61.90	1.72	61.50	0.53

Table 3 reveals observed differences between the male and female participants' instructional practices. To determine whether these differences are statistically significant (at $\alpha= 0.05$), One Way Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) was used to control the effect of pre- measurements, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. ANCOVA of participants' post-treatment instructional practices by gender

Domain	Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Squares	f	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Classroom Management	Gender	6.32	1	6.32	1.218	0.28	0.06
	Error	8.82	17	5.19			
	Corrected Total	9.50	19				
Language	Gender	0.001	1	0.001	0.007	0.93	0.000
	Error	1.92	17	0.11			
	Corrected Total	4.55	19				
Teaching Strategies	Gender	0.19	1	0.19	2.24	0.15	0.11
	Error	1.45	17	0.086			
	Corrected Total	1.80	19				
Learning Strategies	Gender	1.85	1	1.85	11.80	0.003*	0.41
	Error	2.67	17	0.15			
	Corrected Total	5.20	19				
Assessment Strategies	Gender	1.10	1	1.10	6.19	0.023*	0.26
	Error	3.02	17	0.17			
	Corrected Total	5.20	19				
Authentic Materials	Gender	9.38	1	9.38	11.66	0.003*	0.40
	Error	13.67	17	0.80			
	Corrected Total	36.20	19				
Reflection	Way	0.008	1	0.008	0.086	0.77	0.005
	Error	1.58	17	0.09			
	Corrected Total	1.80	19				
Overall	Way	10.82	1	10.82	3.89	0.065	0.18
	Error	47.18	17	2.77			
	Corrected Total	133.72	19				

Table 4 shows statistically significant differences (at $\alpha=0.05$) between male and female participants' instructional practices on post-treatment observations in the domains of *authentic materials* and *assessment strategies*, in favor of the

latter. However, significant differences (at $\alpha=0.05$) between male and female participants' instructional practices on post-treatment observations in the domain of *learning strategies* were found in favor of male participants. No significant differences in the participants' overall performance and in the first, second, third, and seventh domains (viz., *classroom management, language, teaching strategies, and reflection*) were detected.

The analysis revealed that substantial gains by both male and female participants along the domains of *classroom management, teaching strategies, language, and reflection*, which improved not only their instructional practices but also their students' achievement and engagement in learning.

The significantly larger improvement in female participants' instructional practices on post-treatment observations in the domains of *authentic materials* and *assessment strategies* may suggest that male participants are less inclined to use innovative materials and assessment than their female counterparts. There is anecdotal evidence that female teachers are relatively more diligent than their male counterparts, which has been backed up by the observations as male participants seem more reluctant to use them compared to female participants who seemed to believe that authentic materials facilitate learning and make it more engaging to learners. Similarly, most male participants seemed to shy away from engaging in or assigning written work. They seemed less keen to assess learning than their female counterparts, most of whom were found not only to use different assessment tools but also to keep special records for that purpose.

Significant differences were also detected in the participants' instructional practices on post-treatment observations in the domain of *learning strategies* in favor of male participants. They were found to utilize *role play, questioning, language patterns, and self-monitoring and correction of their own speech* more frequently than their female counterparts.

5. Conclusions, Implications, and Recommendations for Further Research

The professional development program, *Shaping the Way We Teach English*, used in this research was found to develop the participants' practices along the domains of *classroom management, reflection, teaching strategies, learning strategies, assessment strategies, language, and authentic materials*. This is consistent with previous research findings (e.g., Giraldo, 2014; Hooker, 2006; Kennedy, 2016; King, 2012; Porter et al., 2000; Yarema, 2015) which provide evidence that professional development, for novice and experienced teachers alike, is a catalyst for improved instructional practices which potentially leads to improved student performance.

The current findings have given rise to several pedagogical implications, most important amongst which is that teacher professional development be made a priority for novice and experienced teachers alike, not only for improved

classroom practices but also for keeping abreast of the advancement in the field. This, in turn, may enable teachers to free themselves from the confines of traditional instruction into more innovative teaching and learning. Relevant to the findings of the current research, tailored professional development, which derives from the teachers' actual needs, may prove both most effective and more relevant, as a catalyst for teacher efficacy and improved student learning.

The findings have brought about several recommendations for teachers and researchers. Not only are teachers called upon to be proactive in seeking formal and informal professional development opportunities, such as *Shaping the Way We Teach English* under study, but they are also encouraged to make use of technology as a vast resource for professional development. The current findings have highlighted professional development as a catalyst for improved instructional practices, but more research is needed to arrive at more definitive conclusions.

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E-texts or p-texts? Evidence from reading comprehension tasks for Polish teenage learners of English

ABSTRACT

Research investigating differences between reading comprehension of electronic and paper texts has so far provided conflicting evidence. Thus, the present paper aims to examine the comprehension of paper and electronic texts by Polish intermediate learners of English as well as to present their attitudes towards the two types of texts in question. In a pre-test, the participants representing a similar level of this subskill were selected and divided into two groups. In the study proper, the control group read a paper version of the text while the experimental group worked with a text displayed on a computer screen. Although the computer group scored higher than the paper group, these differences were not statistically significant.

Keywords: reading comprehension, EFL reading, paper texts, electronic texts, secondary school students

1. Introduction

Due to the unprecedented omnipresence of computers, smartphones or, broadly speaking, hand-held devices, it is common for people to substitute paper books with their electronic counterparts. Consequently, more and more reading that is taking place nowadays is not done in a traditional, that is paper way, but rather via electronic devices (e.g., Myrberg & Wiberg, 2015, p. 49; Walsch, 2016, p. 160). This is why since the arrival of the first personal computers, the differences between reading of paper and electronic texts have been thoroughly explored by reading comprehension specialists.

One of the focal and controversial issues is whether it is reading on paper or on a computer screen that is more effective (e.g., Dillon, 1992; Kong, Seo, & Zhai, 2018; Myrberg & Wiberg, 2015; Noyes & Garland, 2008; Walsch, 2016). Despite a lively discussion, no satisfactory answer to this question has been provided yet. One commonality established by 1990s research, for example, concerned

the readers' strong inclination to read paper texts (Meyer, Talbot, Subblefield, & Poon, 1998; Mayes, Sims, & Koonce, 2001). The research published since then, however, has not suggested any prevailing trend. While many studies confirmed previous observations that reading on paper was more effective (Chen, Cheng, Chang, Zheng, & Huang, 2014; Hosseini, Abidin, & Baghdarnia, 2014; Jeong, 2010; Mangen, Walgermo, & Bronnick, 2013; Mayes et al., 2001), supporting the general consensus that people preferred reading on paper (Myrberg & Wiberg, 2015, p. 49), other works have identified subtle differences in the subjects' comprehension of e- and p-texts (Ackerman & Lauterman, 2012; Margolin, Driscoll, Toland, & Kegler, 2013; Mojarrad, Hemmati, Gohar, & Sadeghi, 2013; Porion, Aparicio, Megalakaki, Robert, & Baccino, 2016).

The present paper introduces a theoretical background to the problem of reading comprehension of e- and p-texts by discussing selected empirical studies devoted to that subject matter. Since the research has accumulated plentiful, yet conflicting evidence, three trends were identified:

- 1) traditional reading is more successful than digital reading in terms of reading comprehension;
- 2) digital reading is said to be more effective than its traditional counterpart;
- 3) the subjects, who read paper and electronic texts, achieve similar scores in reading comprehension tests.

Having studied varied data obtained from the research into reading comprehension of e- and p-texts, we designed and conducted the experimental study with an intention of discussing traditional and digital reading comprehension from the perspective of Polish students of English.

Thus, the objectives of the present paper are threefold: (1) to provide a review of the relevant literature in the area of reading comprehension of e- and p-texts, (2) to describe the experimental study undertaken with Polish intermediate students of English and, finally, (3) to draw some conclusions with regard to further research on reading comprehension.

2. An overview of research on media-related reading comprehension

The first analyses concerning the differences between reading of electronic and paper texts emerged in 1980s. A variety of factors have been considered, including the effect of age (e.g., Meyer et al., 1998; Ball & Hourcade, 2011), attention span (e.g., Schneps, Thomson, Chen, Sonnert, & Pomplun, 2013; Gudnavicius, 2016) and gender (e.g., Sun, Shieh, & Huang, 2013) on reading processes. For the purpose of the present paper, however, we will limit ourselves to an overview of research into the comprehension of texts in traditional and computer-supported reading environments.

The late 1990s research reported consistent results which demonstrated the major advantage of traditional reading over its digital equivalent (e.g., Meyer et

al., 1998; Mayes et al., 2001). The studies proved that people were not willing to read on computer screens since such differences between p-books and e-books as fonts, spacing or the act of scrolling up and down instead of page turning, proved to be the reasons for readers' tendency to disregard digital reading. Their general reluctance to read on computer screens was reflected in their lower scores achieved during reading comprehension tests.

Even though the technological development revolutionised the digital world, the results of 1990s research were confirmed by more recent studies (e.g., Jeong, 2010; Ackerman & Lauterman, 2012; Mangen et al., 2013; Chen et al., 2014; Hosseini et al., 2014). The data have not pointed to the superiority of electronic texts over their paper counterparts, refuting the theory that the low quality of computer screens was the reason for the readers' problems with reading e-texts.

Some researchers maintained, however, that thanks to higher quality display systems, readers were provided with the format of texts resembling the ones printed on paper (e.g., Margolin et al., 2013, p. 513). As a result, it was concluded that reading e-texts is either equivalent to reading p-texts (e.g., Dundar & Akcayir, 2012; Margolin et al., 2013; Mojarrad et al., 2013) or even more effective than traditional reading in terms of comprehension (Porion et al., 2016). Moreover, the findings revealed that not only was it the kind of medium used, but also the kind of question posed and the readers' familiarity with the device that influenced the results of comprehension tests. For instance, Chen et al. (2014) conducted an experiment with a group of 90 college students with a view to investigating the differences between reading comprehension tests performed on paper, tablet and computer screens. To check the participants' shallow and deep level¹ comprehension of a text, two sets of questions were given. It was demonstrated that as far as shallow level reading and multiple choice questions were concerned, paper group got a higher score. Nevertheless, it was also argued that the participants' degree of familiarity with the medium used was a significant factor since those subjects with high-level tablet familiarity outperformed other readers while dealing with deep level questions.

The comparison of traditional and digital reading does not only produce conflicting results with respect to reading comprehension tests, but also differing levels of attention span among readers who process a text written in their native versus foreign language. In his pilot study, Gudinavicius (2016) attempted to measure the readers' concentration while working with p- and e-texts in their L1 and FL. He proved that the kind of media used by readers affected their levels

¹ Shallow comprehension enables readers to grasp an explicit meaning of the text. It is possible thanks to the surface code and the textbase. Deeper comprehension, on the other hand, can be developed by identifying causes of events or inferring messages of the text which are then related to the readers' background knowledge (Davoudi, 2005, p. 108).

of attention span. Reading p-books in L1, for instance, turned out to be the least cognitively demanding activity whereas processing a FL text proved to be, as the scholar defined it, “neutral” (Gudinavicius, 2016, p. 182). On the other hand, the presence of any electronic device required the participants increased levels of attention and, hence, was described as the most engaging.

As already mentioned, no successful conclusion has been reached as to the effectiveness of reading comprehension of paper and electronic texts. By no means exhaustive, Table 1 lists the selected examples of research into the subject matter.

Table 1. Studies comparing reading comprehension across e- and p-texts, 2001–2017.

STUDY	Country	Comparison	Subjects	Key findings
Mayes et al. (2001)	U.S.	Reading comprehension (paper vs. VDT)	88	Reading comprehension was negatively affected by video-display terminals as readers were prone to forget information more easily.
Jeong (2010)	South Korea	Reading comprehension (p- vs. e-books)	56	The students performed better in terms of reading comprehension while working with paper books.
Ball & Hourcade (2011)	U.S.	Age differences (paper vs. computer)	84	The older subjects' comprehension of the text was better than their younger fellows regardless of what kind of a medium was used.
Ackerman & Lauterman (2012)	Israel	Reading comprehension (paper vs. computer)	156	The subjects who were reluctant to study on screen achieved lower scores in reading comprehension under time pressure.
Dundar & Akcayir (2012)	Turkey	Reading performance, reading speed and reading comprehension (p-books vs. tablet PCs and)	20	There was no statistically significant difference in the reading speed or comprehension between the control and experimental groups.
Mangen et al. (2013)	Norway	Reading comprehension (paper vs. computer)	72	The students who read a printed version of the texts scored better on the reading comprehension test than those who read the electronic text.
Margolin et al. (2013)	U.S.	Reading comprehension (paper, e-books on dedicated readers vs. computer)	90	The students performed equally while reading e-books, paper texts and electronic texts displayed on computer screens.

Mojarrad et al. (2013)	Iran	Reading comprehension (paper vs. computer)	66	Paper- and computer-based reading comprehension resulted in the subjects' similar performance.
Schneps et al. (2013)	U.S.	Reading comprehension (paper vs. e-reader)	103	Dyslectic students with high visual attention (VA) span performed better while reading a paper text. Those with low VA span achieved better reading comprehension test results while working on iPods.
Sun et al. (2013)	Taiwan	Reading comprehension (paper vs. computer)	144	The readers with higher education had better reading comprehension. Irrespective of print or screen reading, the younger age group also had better reading comprehension than the older age group.
Chen et al. (2014)	China	Reading comprehension (paper, computer vs. tablet)	90	The paper group performed better than the tablet and computer group.
Hosseini et al. (2014)	Iran	Reading comprehension (paper vs. computer)	106	The students scored better on paper- than on computer-based tests.
Gudinavicius (2016)	Lithuania	Attention changes in brain activity while reading on paper vs. screen (pilot study)	6	Reading p-texts is the least cognitively engaging activity as compared with e-texts displayed on any size of computer screens.
Porion et al. (2016)	France	Reading comprehension (paper vs. computer)	72	The students' performance was slightly better on computer screens than during traditional reading, however the difference was very small.
Hou, Rashid, & Lee (2017)	U.S. South Korea	Comprehension, fatigue, time and immersion (paper vs. its digital equivalent)	45	Paper texts are similar to their digital counterparts in terms of reading comprehension, fatigue or psychological immersion.

3. The experimental study

Below there is the description of the goals, participants, instruments and procedure adopted in the study.

3.1 Goals

Unlike the abundance of studies investigating reading comprehension of p- and e-texts done with L1 students, there is a dearth of available research conducted

in EFL instructed settings. Due to the scarcity of empirical research concerning the relationship between reading comprehension assessment and the use of technology in Poland, this study aimed to determine whether the use of computer screens affected the students' overall EFL reading comprehension performance. Two research questions guided this study:

RQ1. Which of the two groups, control or experimental, performed better in a reading comprehension test?

RQ2. Did reading on computer screens have positive, negative or neutral effect on the students' reading comprehension?

RQ3. What is the significance of paper and electronic texts as perceived by the participants of the study?

3.2 Participants

The study was conducted at Kazimierz Wielki Secondary School in Lublin, Poland during the 2018/2019 academic year. Forty-two pre-intermediate learners of English participated in the first stage of an experiment.

3.3 Instruments

Two methods, quantitative and qualitative, were adopted for the investigation of reading comprehension of e- and p-texts. Quantitative approach was taken to investigate the subjects' reading comprehension skills during the pre-test stage as well as the study proper. For this purpose two reading comprehension tests in English consisting of ten multiple choice questions were selected². The difficulty of the texts could be compared to reading comprehension tests approximating B1 level. In order to check the students' shallow and deep understanding of the text, three types of questions were posed: surface, inferential and semantic ones³.

The qualitative analysis was used to gain insights into the participants' reading experiences in their L1 and FL, that is Polish and English, respectively. The questionnaire aimed to find out whether the amount of the participants' exposure to a given medium affected their performance in a reading comprehension test. Three closed-item and two open-ended questions were asked to elicit the students' responses.

3.4 Procedure

In a pre-test, the participants representing a similar level of reading comprehension were selected. Students were given 15 minutes to read an approximately 800 word

² Retrieved September 1, 2019, from <https://web2.uvcs.uvic.ca/courses/elc/studyzone/410/reading/dog.htm> and <https://web2.uvcs.uvic.ca/courses/elc/studyzone/410/reading/fitter.htm>.

³ The two texts used in the study as well as the comprehension questions can be found in the Appendices below.

long narrative and choose one correct option out of four possible from a multiple choice list. Those who provided five, six or seven correct answers were to participate in the second stage of an experiment. Such a threshold, 50%, 60% and 70%, allowed to select a group of participants on a similar level of EFL reading competence.

Thirty students achieved the intended score and were divided into two random groups. The control group, or the paper group, read a paper version of the text while the experimental group, or the computer group, worked with electronic texts displayed on a computer screen. The format of the reading comprehension test proper was similar to the one from the pre-test stage. The readers did not have to switch between the text format as the participants from the paper group⁴ provided the answers on paper and the readers from computer group⁵ underlined their answers in a Microsoft Word file. They were given 15 minutes to take the test.

To supplement the data, a post-study questionnaire was administered to examine the participants' attitudes towards traditional and digital reading in a foreign language. It took the students approximately five minutes to complete the questionnaires.

4. Results

The paper and computer tests were marked and the results were compared to assess which of the two groups performed better with regard to EFL reading comprehension. The data were analysed by means of the programme STATISTICA. Two types of operations were performed, including descriptive statistics, that is the mean, median and SD, and inferential statistics, the student t-test and the nonparametric Mann-Whitney U test.

Table 2. Means, medians, SD and between-group comparisons of reading comprehension.

READING COMPREHENSION	Mean	Median	SD	Min	Max
Control group	7.13	7.00	1.06	5.00	9.00
Experimental group	7.87	9.00	2.20	3.00	10.00

As shown in Table 2, the mean reading comprehension levels and other statistics were calculated for the two groups. There was a slight difference between the mean and the median in the control group, that is ± 1.06 . The test results were balanced and the points that the subjects scored ranged from five to nine. In the control group, however, correct answers were more varied. To be more precise,

⁴ The control group read the paper text *The Carpet Fitter* which was characterised by the following features: the format, A4; the font type, Times New Roman and the font size, 12.

⁵ The experimental group read the Microsoft Word version of the paper text *The Carpet Fitter* on a computer screen, the size 21.

higher dispersion of the test results around the mean 7.87 (± 2.20) as well as more extreme values, ranging from 3 to 10 points, concerned the group reading a text on a computer screen. The results indicated that the group reading an an article – had higher mean value of reading comprehension.

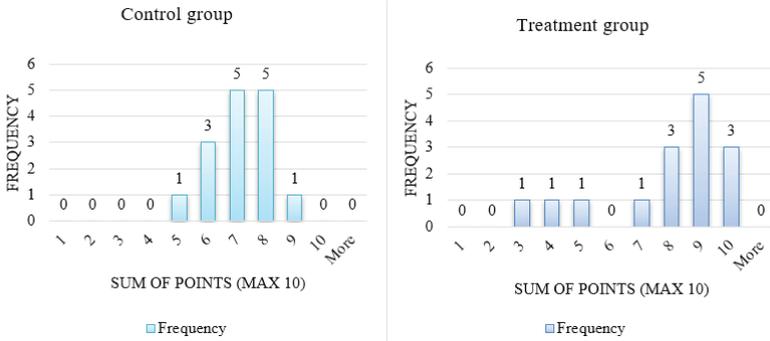


Figure 1. Histogram of results from paper and computer tests conducted in the control and treatment groups.

The mean score comparisons did not render any statistical differences between the control and treatment group. Although t-test performed with two independent samples ($t = -1.16$; $df = 28$; $p = 0.25$) was not relevant, the box plots presented in the figure below show that the results in the computer group were slightly higher than the ones from the paper group.

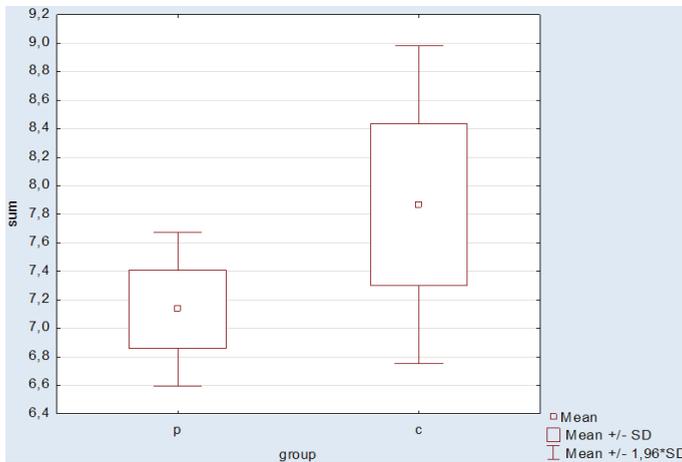


Figure 2. Box plots for the two groups (p=paper group; c=computer group).

Three types of questions were asked to check the students' understanding of the p- and e-texts. They included surface questions (Q1, Q3, Q4, Q6,

Q7), inferential questions (Q2, Q5, Q8) and semantic questions (Q9, Q10). The analysis of the answers provided by the participants from the paper and computer group indicated that the students reading on a computer screen gave more correct answers.

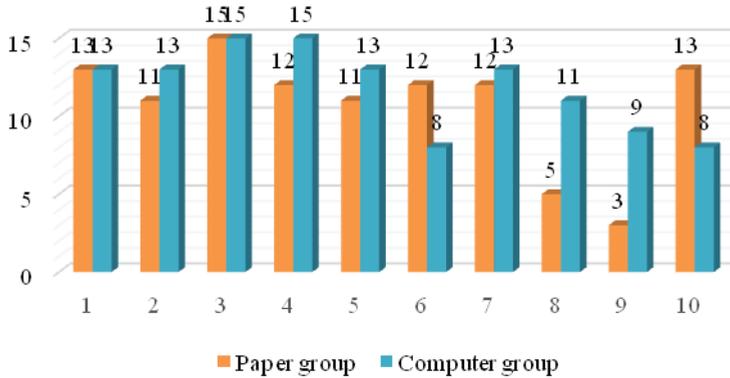


Figure 3. Number of correct responses to Q1-10 given by the paper and computer group.

Table 3. Percentage of correct answers provided by the paper and computer group.

Question	ALL	Control group	Experimental group
Q1	87%	87%	87%
Q2	80%	73%	87%
Q3	100%	100%	100%
Q4	90%	80%	100%
Q5	80%	73%	87%
Q6	67%	80%	53%
Q7	83%	80%	87%
Q8	53%	33%	73%
Q9	40%	20%	60%
Q10	70%	87%	53%

As shown in Figure 3 and Table 3, the paper group outperformed the computer group with regard to Q6 and Q10. What proved to be the most problematic question for the subjects reading the text on paper was Q8 (33%) and Q9 (20%). At the same time, Q6 (53%) and Q10 (53%) got the lowest number of correct answers in the experimental group. For both groups, Q3 turned out to be the easiest question since all of the students answered it correctly.

Table 4. Means, medians, SD and between-group comparisons of reading comprehension of surface, semantic and inferential questions.

SURFACE QUESTIONS	Median	Mean	SD	Min	Max
ALL	26	25.60	3.65	20	30
Control group	12	12.80	1.30	12	15
Experimental group	13	12.80	2.86	8	15
INFERENCEAL AND SEMANTIC QUESTIONS	Median	Mean	SD	Min	Max
ALL	21	19.40	5.27	12	24
Control group	11	8.60	4.34	3	13
Experimental group	11	10.80	2.28	8	13

Based on the table above, it is evident that the participants from the control and experimental groups were more successful with respect to the surface questions (Q1, Q3, Q4, Q6 and Q7). Therefore, one can ask whether they were less difficult for the subjects. The answer is not straightforward. Having assumed the statistical significance of differences at 0.05, one can refute the hypothesis about the difference in reading comprehension results both in the holistic approach ($Z=1.88$; $p=0.06$) and between groups – paper group ($Z=1.77$; $p=0.07$); computer group ($Z=1.15$; $p=0.25$). In order to assess that, the nonparametric Mann-Whitney U test was used.

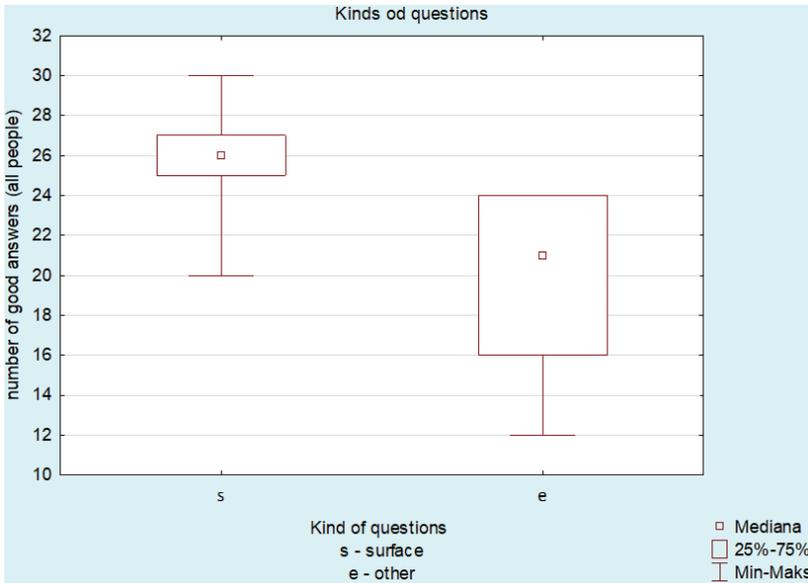


Figure 5. Box plots presenting the correct responses provided to the surface questions (s) and inferential/semantic questions (e).

Interestingly, a subtle difference in the difficulty of the questions can be noticed in the figure above, which suggests that further research could potentially prove the accuracy of the statement mentioned above.

The subjects' answers provided to the post-study questionnaire confirmed that more and more young people tended to opt for electronic versions of texts. **Question 1** asked the participants to mark on a scale the frequency with which they read paper and electronic texts. Even though no significant differences in the number of reading p- and e-texts on a weekly and monthly basis (or less often) were found, the figure below illustrates a significant advantage of e-texts over their paper counterparts with regard to day-to-day reading.

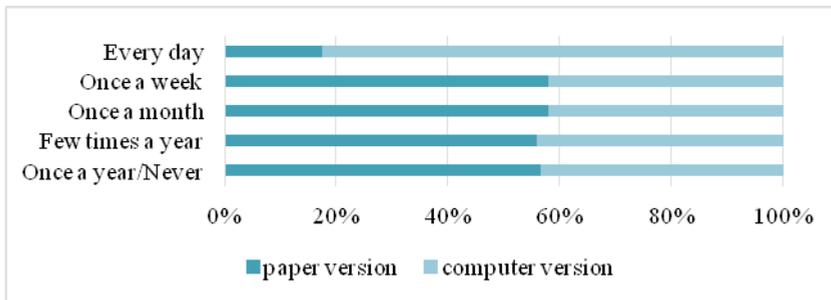


Figure 6. Percentage of the students from the control and treatment group reading L1 and FL paper and computer versions of texts every day, once a week, once a month, a few times a year and once a year.

The subjects were also unanimous in the choice of the electronic device that they used while reading e-texts. Smartphones got the largest number of students' responses ($n=23$), superseding laptops ($n=11$), tablets ($n=3$) and e-readers (2).

In **Question 2** the students ($n=1$) from the control group expressed complete indifference towards reading paper texts in English. The remaining subjects either preferred reading electronic texts in English ($n=7$) or it made no difference to them what kind of a text they dealt with ($n=7$). As far as the treatment group was concerned, the three options got an even number of points from the participants, that is five each.

In the following question (**Question 3**), the readers were to state whether they were satisfied with the versions of the text that they had received during the experiment under discussion. The control group was to answer if they were content with a p-text whereas the experimental group was to express their attitudes towards the e-text. The students' answers proved that eight participants from the paper group would prefer an electronic version of a text because, according to them, it was more comfortable to read on the screen. The remaining students ($n=7$) liked to work with a paper version of the text. They stated that it was comprehensible

and legible, enabling them to find easily the key extracts without unnecessary disruptions. On the other hand, the majority of the readers from the experimental group were satisfied with electronic versions of the text (n=11). To justify their choices, they stated that they spent most of their time in front of computers and hence, they were accustomed to working with e-texts.

In **Question 4** both groups demonstrated similar preferences towards the reading comprehension practice during English lessons. While ten participants from both the control (n=5) and experimental group (n=5) preferred reading paper texts, 12 students opted for electronic versions of texts (the control group = 6; the treatment group = 6). The remaining subjects (n=8) would prefer to include these two kinds of instruction in their EFL classes.

On being asked (**Question 5**) whether the medium of a text could affect one's reading comprehension, the participants were in a difference of opinion. While nine readers from the control group were convinced that the type of medium used did have influence on reading comprehension, nine participants from the treatment group stated that there was no connection between the two.

5. Discussion

The purpose of the present paper was to provide some background information to the experimental study which investigated the impact of traditional, that is paper-based, and electronic, that is computer-displayed, texts on EFL teenage students' reading comprehension. A considerable body of evidence was accumulated which proved that it was e-texts that were associated with a poorer reading comprehension performance as opposed to traditional reading (e.g., Ackerman & Lauterman, 2012, Mangen et al., 2013; Hosseini et al., 2014). Nevertheless, the current study showed that the Polish students performed slightly better with e-texts than p-texts. As opposed to the findings from early 1990s, the present study proved that the experimental group achieved slightly better results than the control group, at the same time supporting the research carried out by Dundar and Akcayir (2012) or Porion et al. (2016). The scores achieved by the group of 30 Polish students of English allowed one to claim that the use of technology had a positive effect on the subjects' reading comprehension. These differences, however, were not statistically significant.

Three limitations to this study need to be acknowledged. The first of them concerned the problem of self-reported data that came from the post-study questionnaire. In spite of the fact that the majority of the answers were carefully marked by the students, there were some instances of open-ended questions being left blank. The second limitation referred to the measure used to collect the data. There were only three types of multiple choice questions asked in a reading comprehension test. These questions were to check the students' shallow and deep understanding of the text. Nevertheless, no open-ended questions in which

students were to write their own answers were assigned. The third limitation was connected with the introduction of semantic questions. Since they were to check the students' knowledge of lexis used in the narratives, the provision of a correct answer was not strictly connected only with the comprehension of the text, but also readers' general linguistic competence.

Taking into account the design of the study in question and the answers provided to the questionnaire, we are fully convinced that the research on reading comprehension of paper and electronic texts ought to be further pursued in Polish EFL classroom surroundings. The students' answers showed that, in the majority of cases, whenever they were willing to read a text in English, they opted for its electronic version. More importantly, it was not computers or tablets that they relied on while reading e-texts in English, but smartphones were their most frequent choices. Therefore, it is justified to propose that the future area of investigation could target the analysis of reading comprehension of paper and electronic texts displayed on the screens of smartphones.

6. Conclusion

The results of our experimental study cannot be generalized. Nevertheless, not only do they give a very interesting account of how the conceptualization of literacy has been changing over the years, but also they represent a gradual cultural shift from a traditional to a more modern, and hence digital view on the ability to read. In our opinion, such inconsistencies which have characterised the last twenty years of research into traditional versus digital reading comprehension seem natural since they reflect humans' increasing familiarity with and reliance on technology which, with the omnipresence of electronic gadgets from their infancy onwards, will probably become even more considerable in the foreseeable future.

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Appendix 1

The Choking Dog

“Come on, come on, move it, idiot!”

Joanne beat impatiently on the steering wheel of her Mercedes sports car. How stupid to get caught up in the rush hour! She had planned to leave work early this afternoon, at three o’clock, to give herself a chance to relax and have a bath before going out to a meeting of her local tennis club. But just at ten to three a client had arrived, and it was two hours before she had finished dealing with the man. When she came out of her office, all the other staff in the Highlight Advertising Agency had already left. Now she was stuck in a traffic jam in central Birmingham at 5:30, and at 6:30 she was expected to be chairing a meeting of the tennis club. There would be no time for any hot bath.

Ahead of her, the traffic was moving at last, and she swung quickly out into the centre lane to turn right, and raced the last half-mile through the quiet suburban streets to her house. Pulling up on the driveway, she leapt out of the car and ran for the house. As she opened the door, she nearly tripped over Sheba, who was standing behind it.

“Hey, Sheba, hello,” she said, bending down to stroke the large alsatian dog’s head, “I’ve got no time for you now, but I’ll take you out as soon as I get back from the tennis club.”

It was then that she noticed something worrying about the dog. Sheba seemed to be coughing or choking, her stomach pumping repeatedly as if she was trying to vomit something up. She was obviously in real discomfort and could hardly breathe; her sad eyes gazed up at Joanne helplessly.

“Oh damn, this is all I need now,” said Joanne to herself, dropping her briefcase and bending down to take a closer look, “a sick dog, today of all days!” On closer examination, Sheba did look very sick, and Joanne realised she would have to take her down to the vet immediately. Luckily, the vet’s surgery was only a few streets away, and Joanne quickly loaded the dog, still coughing and choking, into her car for the short drive.

When she got there, the surgery was just about to close for the day. Luckily, Dr. Sterne had not left yet, and when he saw the state of Sheba, he brought her quickly into his office.

“It looks like something is stuck in her throat,” said Dr. Sterne. It shouldn’t take me too long to get it out.”

“Listen, doctor, I’m really in a rush to get to a meeting – can I leave her with you, and go and get changed? I’ll be back in ten minutes to pick her up, then I’ll take her on to the meeting with me. Is that OK?”

“Sure,” said the doctor. “You get going. I’ll see you in ten minutes.”

Joanne jumped back into her car again, and made the quick trip round to her house in a couple of minutes. As she was once more entering the hallway, the

phone on the table by the door began to ring. She picked it up, annoyed by this additional interruption to her plans.

“This is Dr. Sterne,” said an anxious voice. “Is that you, Joanne?”

“Of course it’s me,” said Joanne, surprised at the sound of his voice, “no-one else lives here.”

“I want you to get right out of that house immediately,” said the doctor’s voice. “Right now. I’m coming round right away, and the police will be there any time now. Wait outside for us.” The phone went dead. Joanne stared at it. She was confused, but she was also a little frightened by the obvious fear in the voice of the doctor. She replaced the receiver, then quickly backed out of the door and ran into the street.

At that moment, a police car with its lights flashing swung round the corner and screeched to a stop outside the house. Two policemen got out. After briefly checking that she was the owner of the house, they ran into the house through the still open door, without explaining anything. Joanne was by now completely confused and very frightened. Then the doctor arrived.

“Where’s Sheba? Is she OK?” shouted Joanne, running over to his car.

“She’s fine, Joanne. I extracted the thing which was choking her, and she’s OK now.”

“Well what’s this all about? Why are the police in my house?”

Just then, the two policemen reappeared from the house, half-carrying a white-faced figure, a man in a dark grey sweater and jeans, who, it seemed, could hardly walk. There was blood all over him.

“My God,” said Joanne, “how did he get in there? And how did you know he was there?”

“I think he must be a burglar,” said the doctor. “I knew he was there because when I finally removed what was stuck in Sheba’s throat, it turned out to be three human fingers. I don’t think he’s a very happy burglar.”

READ THE QUESTIONS BELOW AND CHOOSE ONE CORRECT ANSWER:

1. Where did Joanne work?

- A. an advertising agency
- B. a vet’s surgery
- C. a Mercedes dealer’s office
- D. the text does not say

2. Why was she angry at the beginning of the story?

- A. She was lost.
- B. She had lost a client at work.
- C. She was stuck in a traffic jam.
- D. Her dog was sick.

3. **Why did she take the dog to Dr. Sterne's surgery?**
 - A. It was time for Sheba's checkup.
 - B. The dog couldn't breathe properly.
 - C. She wanted to get her out of the house.
 - D. The doctor had asked to see her.
4. **Why did she leave the dog at the surgery and drive home again?**
 - A. She wanted to catch a burglar.
 - B. The dog was too sick to come home.
 - C. The doctor wanted to keep her.
 - D. Joanne wanted to change her clothes.
5. **How long did it take Joanne to drive home from the surgery?**
 - A. two minutes
 - B. ten minutes
 - C. an hour
 - D. the text does not say
6. **What happened as she arrived home for the second time?**
 - A. The police arrived.
 - B. The phone rang.
 - C. The dog died.
 - D. A burglar was just escaping.
7. **Why did the doctor tell her to get out of the house?**
 - A. There was a dangerous dog in there.
 - B. It was on fire.
 - C. He knew there was a burglar inside.
 - D. He wanted to meet her outside.
8. **Why did the burglar look very sick?**
 - A. The police had caught him, and he would probably have to go to prison.
 - B. He had caught a disease from the dog.
 - C. He hadn't found any valuable things to steal.
 - D. The dog had bitten off his fingers.
9. **The story says that the dog "gazed up at Joanne helplessly". "Gazed" means:**
 - A. stared
 - B. cried
 - C. barked
 - D. laughed
10. **A "vet's surgery" is probably:**
 - A. a serious operation
 - B. a minor operation
 - C. an animal doctor's office
 - D. a police station

Appendix 2

The Carpet Fitter

Eddie was a carpet fitter, and he hated it. For ten years he had spent his days sitting, squatting, kneeling or crawling on floors, in houses, offices, shops, factories and restaurants. Ten years of his life, cutting and fitting carpets for other people to walk on, without even seeing them. When his work was done, no-one ever appreciated it. No- one ever said “Oh, that’s a beautiful job, the carpet fits so neatly.” They just walked all over it. Eddie was sick of it.

He was especially sick of it on this hot, humid day in August, as he worked to put the finishing touches to today’s job. He was just cutting and fixing the last edge on a huge red carpet which he had fitted in the living room of Mrs. Vanbrugh’s house. Rich Mrs. Vanbrugh, who changed her carpets every year, and always bought the best. Rich Mrs. Vanbrugh, who had never even given him a cup of tea all day, and who made him go outside when he wanted to smoke. Ah well, it was four o’clock and he had nearly finished. At least he would be able to get home early today. He began to day-dream about the weekend, about the Saturday football game he always played for the local team, where he was known as “Ed the Head” for his skill in heading goals from corner kicks.

Eddie sat back and sighed. The job was done, and it was time for a last cigarette. He began tapping the pockets of his overalls, looking for the new packet of Marlboro he had bought that morning. They were not there.

It was as he swung around to look in his toolbox for the cigarettes that Eddie saw the lump. Right in the middle of the brand new bright red carpet, there was a lump. A very visible lump. A lump the size of – the size of a packet of cigarettes.

“Blast!” said Eddie angrily. “I’ve done it again! I’ve left the cigarettes under the blasted carpet!”

He had done this once before, and taking up and refitting the carpet had taken him two hours. Eddie was determined that he was not going to spend another two hours in this house. He decided to get rid of the lump another way. It would mean wasting a good packet of cigarettes, nearly full, but anything was better than taking up the whole carpet and fitting it again. He turned to his toolbox for a large hammer.

Holding the hammer, Eddie approached the lump in the carpet. He didn’t want to damage the carpet itself, so he took a block of wood and placed it on top of the lump. Then he began to beat the block of wood as hard as he could. He kept beating, hoping Mrs. Vanbrugh wouldn’t hear the noise and come to see what he was doing. It would be difficult to explain why he was hammering the middle of her beautiful new carpet.

After three or four minutes, the lump was beginning to flatten out. Eddie imagined the cigarette box breaking up, and the crushed cigarettes spreading out

under the carpet. Soon, he judged that the lump was almost invisible. Clearing up his tools, he began to move the furniture back into the living room, and he was careful to place one of the coffee tables over the place where the lump had been, just to make sure that no-one would see the spot where his cigarettes had been lost. Finally, the job was finished, and he called Mrs. Vanbrugh from the dining room to inspect his work.

“Yes, dear, very nice,” said the lady, peering around the room briefly. “You’ll be sending me a bill, then?”

“Yes madam, as soon as I report to the office tomorrow that the job is done.” Eddie picked up his tools, and began to walk out to the van. Mrs. Vanbrugh accompanied him. She seemed a little worried about something.

“Young man,” she began, as he climbed into the cab of his van, laying his toolbox on the passenger seat beside him, “while you were working today, you didn’t by any chance see any sign of Armand, did you? Armand is my parakeet. A beautiful bird, just beautiful, such colors in his feathers... I let him out of his cage, you see, this morning, and he’s disappeared. He likes to walk around the house, and he’s so good, he usually just comes back to his cage after an hour or so and gets right in. Only today he didn’t come back. He’s never done such a thing before, it’s most peculiar...”

“No, madam, I haven’t seen him anywhere,” said Eddie, as he reached to start the van. And saw his packet of Marlboro cigarettes on the dashboard, where he had left it at lunchtime.... And remembered the lump in the carpet.... And realised what the lump was.... And remembered the hammering.... And began to feel rather sick....

READ THE QUESTIONS BELOW AND CHOOSE ONE CORRECT ANSWER:

1. Why did Eddie hate being a carpet-fitter?

- A. The pay was too low.
- B. He didn’t like working alone.
- C. No-one appreciated his work.
- D. He couldn’t smoke on the job.

2. What did Eddie think of Mrs. Vanbrugh?

- A. She was a kind, thoughtful lady.
- B. She was rich and selfish.
- C. She was always losing things.
- D. She had good taste in furniture.

3. Why was Eddie called “Ed the Head” by his friends?

- A. Because he was such an intelligent carpet-fitter.
- B. Because he had a large head.
- C. Because he was very proud and self-important.
- D. Because of his footballing skills.

- 4. What did Eddie want to do when he had finished fitting the carpet?**
- A. have a cigarette
 - B. hammer the carpet flat
 - C. look for Mrs. Vanbrugh's lost bird
 - D. start work in the dining room
- 5. Why didn't Eddie remove the carpet to take out the thing that was causing the lump?**
- A. He couldn't take the carpet up once he had fitted it.
 - B. He didn't need the cigarettes because he had some more in the van.
 - C. It would take too long to remove the carpet and re-fit it.
 - D. He intended to come back and remove the lump the next day.
- 6. What did Eddie do with the hammer?**
- A. hammered nails into the lump
 - B. fixed the coffee table
 - C. left it under the carpet
 - D. flattened the carpet
- 7. What was Mrs. Vanbrugh worried about?**
- A. Her bird was missing.
 - B. She thought the carpet was going to be too expensive.
 - C. She thought Eddie had been smoking in the house.
 - D. She couldn't find her husband, Armand.
- 8. What was really under the carpet?**
- A. the cigarettes
 - B. Eddie's toolbox
 - C. nothing
 - D. the missing bird
- 9. "Eddie was determined...." means that he:**
- A. had no idea
 - B. decided for sure
 - C. felt very angry
 - D. couldn't decide
- 10. "Peculiar" in the sentence "He's never done such a thing before, it's most peculiar..." means:**
- A. normal
 - B. like a bird
 - C. difficult
 - D. strange

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An explorative study on media effects in vocabulary learning

ABSTRACT

This article deals with the best media or media adequate ways to memorize vocabulary. An empirical study is presented in which test persons had to memorize vocabulary in an unknown language in three different ways. Thus, three experimental groups were presented Hungarian vocabulary to be learnt. The first group learnt a vocabulary list from a sheet of paper, the second one from the computer monitor, but without any animation, and the third one from an animated flash file. In the present article, the results of this study are reported and discussed.

Keywords: Computer-based learning, amygdala, hippocampus, vocabulary

1. Introduction

The last few decades have witnessed enormous changes in language learning in terms of the applied methods and tools. Most of the current language learning and teaching methodologies have accepted digital media as a rich source of information and a powerful teaching tool. The significance of the digital resources has been changing together with the development of ICT and teaching methodologies, ranging from early enchantment to a more moderate evaluation and appropriate integration into the language learning/teaching process. The problem of an appropriate ratio of using digital and conventional media in the process of learning languages has been the focal part of the research.

Since the early days of introducing ICT into language studies, there has been an ongoing debate about the role and influence of technologies upon learning (Clark, 1994; Kozma, 1994; Reeves, 1998; McCombs, 2000; Nathan & Robinson, 2001, etc.). During the classical discussion about digital media, Clark (1994) claimed that learning was not influenced by media, rather by instructional methods and learner traits, while his opponent, Kozma (1994), suggested that a combination of

media with methods in instructional research might influence learning, and the key question should be formulated as: “In what ways can we use the capabilities of media to influence learning for particular students, tasks, and situations?” (p. 18).

During the decades following the dispute, IC technologies have irreversibly entered the language learning/teaching environment and brought new opportunities together with new methodologies oriented towards the learner and towards lifelong learning. Both theoreticians and practitioners have agreed that computer technology has the potential “to support diverse needs and capacities within the student population and to allow students greater control over their learning” (McCombs, 2000, p. 1). Teachers of foreign languages have acknowledged the benefits of computer-assisted language learning in developing communication skills, learners’ responsibility and creativity. The unlimited availability of authentic materials, accessibility to multimedia applications, and communication capabilities have been quoted as the most rewarding features of CALL by Chun and Plass (2000), and other authors. Theoretical and practical support has been provided by special journals, such as *Computer-Assisted Language Learning*, *Language Learning and Technology*; scientific research conferences are regularly held and professional associations are organized; books by the leading experts in the area are published (Dudeny & Hockly, 2007; Sharma & Barrett, 2007; Thomas, Reinders, & Warschauer, 2012; Beatty, 2013, etc.).

However, with the increasing application of digital media in language studies, questions have arisen whether ICT is a panacea in developing different language skills, or whether some critical evaluation of the influence of computer technologies upon language learners’ advancement should be carried out. Brandl (2002) states that

there are numerous convincing arguments in favor of integrating Internet-based materials into a foreign language curriculum. At the same time, several arguments can be made that ask for a more cautious approach (p 154).

A number of researchers have studied differences between reading from screen and from paper (Brandl, 2002; Stepp-Greany, 2002; Wästlund, Reinikka, & Norlander, 2005; Ackerman & Lauterman, 2012; Park, Yang, & Hsieh, 2014, etc.), and found out that the use of technologies bring little or no improvement into reading comprehension efficiency. The experimental testing conducted by Mangen, Walgermo, & Brønnekk (2013) lead to the following conclusion: “The main findings show that students who read texts in print scored significantly better on the reading comprehension test than students who read the texts digitally” (p. 61).

Mueller and Oppenheimer (2014) studied the peculiarities of note taking on laptops and agreed that the issue was controversial: although students believed that laptops brought benefits, professors considered that using a laptop in class impaired performance. Research proved that laptops were disturbing and resulted in students’ poor concentration on the classwork.

An increasing attention has been given to the possibilities of enhancing efficient vocabulary learning because

The mastery of vocabulary plays a key role in the whole process of the second language learning and is of critical importance to the learners. Without a solid mastery of vocabulary, listening, reading, translation and writing are all attics in the air (Rasekh & Ranjbari, 2003, p. 123).

Learning new words requires a lot of individual work and time, therefore language specialists search for ways how to facilitate the task. Dalton and Grisham (2011) have proposed various strategies for learning foreign language vocabulary, understanding that “improving students’ vocabulary is an area of urgent need if we are to develop the advanced literacy levels required for success in school and beyond”.

Khatib, Hassanzadeh & Rezaei (2011, p. 144) claim that one of the fastest growing areas with respect to vocabulary learning has been the studies on Computer Assisted Vocabulary Learning (CAVL). One major advantage of CAVL is that learners can control and direct their own learning (Pavičić, 2008). Later on, different ways of applying computer-based means have been developed for learning vocabulary online, from compiling glossaries of specific terms (Mullamaa, 2010), introducing a variety of learning strategies (Dalton & Grisham, 2011), to creating a special e-portfolio system (Tanaka, Yonesaka, & Ueno, 2015). However, Mullamaa (2010) also admits that

E-learning tends to create dissenting opinions. Some educationalists appreciate its values, others tend to be rather reserved to the option of having the electronic environment (p. 40).

The same concern is expressed by Dalton and Grisham (2011):

Although the pervasiveness of ICTs in all aspects of 21st-century life is quite clear and well accepted, it is less clear how teachers might successfully integrate technology into literacy instruction and specifically vocabulary instruction (p. 1).

In addition to different attempts to develop computer-based tools and approaches for learning vocabulary, attention is also given to the learners’ perception of digital media in the learning process. In an experimental pilot study at Saarland University, I aimed at determining students’ abilities to learn vocabulary with different media (Giessen, 2011). Different student groups were learning vocabulary from a computer screen and from paper. Having analyzed the findings of the experiment, the result was that “vocabulary remembrance was strikingly worse when learning from the computer screen in comparison with learning the classical way, from the paper sheet” (Giessen, 2011, p. 325).

2. The experiment

The aim of this paper is to present an explorative, larger follow-up study. In this experiment, conducted with university students, three experimental groups were formed, the first of which was confronted with the vocabulary to be memorized in the traditional way (vocabulary lists in paper form), the second group in the form of a static vocabulary list on the computer, while the third group had to memorize vocabulary on an animated computer screen with a Flash document, the vocabulary replaced from mother to target language in a fading process.

Since the vocabulary to be learned should come from a language that uses the Latin characters, but whose lexis should be presumably unknown, the choice fell on Hungarian. The vocabulary to be learned came from the field that would be of interest during a touristic visit in order to get a certain acceptance that learning was not entirely for learning's sake, but could have some added value. Within 30 minutes, a list of ten words had to be memorized. While we tried to get as many students as possible to take part in the experiment, we were keen to ensure a balance of the major social variables sex and age.

During an introductory phase of some 15 minutes the students were informed about the experiment. However, the specific question of the experiment was not revealed in order to avoid negative influences. It was important that the students of all groups received the same amount of time – 30 minutes – to memorize the individual lexis. A first review of the memorization took place immediately after the learning period, that is, after or after switching off the computer. A second check was made the following day and a third check exactly one week later. For querying the memorized vocabulary a maximum of 15 minutes was calculated. It is important to note that the time intervals between the phases of learning and interrogation were identical in all three groups.

Table 1: Vocabulary list German / Hungarian / English

German	Hungarian	English
auf Wiedersehen	Búcsú	Good bye
Bitte	Kérem	please
Danke	Köszönöm	Thank you
Entschuldigung	Bocsánat	sorry
Ferien	Ünnep	holidays
Guten Tag!	Jó napot kívánok	Hello!
die Mahlzeit	az étkezés	meal
das Restaurant	az étterem	restaurant
Tschüss!	Viszlát	Bye!
die Übernachtung	az éjszaka	accomodation

3. Results

3.1 Results vocabulary learning from paper sheet

The performance was the same for short-term and medium-term retention (Ø 9.4 points or 94%). The highest score was 10 points (full score) for both the short-term and the medium-term retention test. The lowest value was 3 points for the short-term retention test and 7 points for the medium-term retention test. However, comparing the short-term and medium-term benefits, it has to be noted that only 9 participants took part in the medium-term retention test (instead of 22 in the short-term test and 19 in the long-term retention test).

Average retention performance was lowest in the long-term retention test (Ø 6.9 points and 64%, respectively). The minimum and maximum values were similar in the long-term retention test (maximum: 10 points, minimum: 4 points) as in the short-term retention test (maximum: 10 points, minimum: 3 points).

Table 2: Results vocabulary learning from paper sheet

<p>short-term retention: Number of participants: average retention (in points): highest score: lowest score:</p>	<p>22 9,4 10,0 3,0</p>
<p>medium-term retention: Number of participants: average retention (in points): highest score: lowest score:</p>	<p>9 9,4 10,0 7,0</p>
<p>long-term retention: Number of participants: average retention (in points): highest score: lowest score:</p>	<p>19 6,9 10,0 4,0</p>
<p>in percentages: short-term retention: medium-term retention: long-term retention:</p>	<p>94,0% 94,0% 64,0%</p>

3.2 Results vocabulary learning from computer monitor (without animation)

The average retention was comparably high in all three evaluations (short-term retention: 83.57%, medium-term retention: 86.47%, long-term retention: 80.59%). Nevertheless, the retention was lowest in this test constellation (computer: without animation) in the area of long-term retention. The maximum values achieved by participants were 100% (10 points) in all retention ranges. The minimum

values were 30% (3 points – short-term retention), 40% (4 points – medium-term retention) and 30% (3 points – long-term retention).

Regarding short- and medium-term retention, the retention of those learning the vocabulary from paper sheets was higher; only long-term retention scored higher here, however (also) with weaker lower scores. It must be noted that the number of participants in the test for medium-term (17 participants) and long-term retention (8 participants) was well below the number of participants in the short-term retention test (28 participants).

Table 3: Results vocabulary learning from computer monitor (without animation)

<p>short-term retention: Number of participants: average retention (in points): highest score: lowest score:</p>	<p>28 8,3 10,0 3,0</p>
<p>medium-term retention: Number of participants: average retention (in points): highest score: lowest score:</p>	<p>17 8,6 10,0 4,0</p>
<p>long-term retention: Number of participants: average retention (in points): highest score: lowest score:</p>	<p>8 8,1 10,0 3,0</p>
<p>in percentages: short-term retention: medium-term retention: long-term retention:</p>	<p>83,57% 86,47% 80,59%</p>

3.2 Results vocabulary learning from computer monitor (with animation)

Retention is lowest in short-, medium-, and long-term retention compared to all other test settings. Interesting seems to be the observation that this (learning from the computer monitor with animation) was the only setting where long-term retention was higher – if only slightly – than medium-term retention.

Table 3: Results vocabulary learning from computer monitor (without animation)

<p>short-term retention: Number of participants: average retention (in points): highest score: lowest score:</p>	<p>33 6,9 10,0 2,0</p>
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<p>medium-term retention: Number of participants: average retention (in points): highest score: lowest score:</p>	<p>14 4,7 8,0 0,0</p>
<p>long-term retention: Number of participants: average retention (in points): highest score: lowest score:</p>	<p>23 4,8 8,0 1,0</p>
<p>in percentages: short-term retention: medium-term retention: long-term retention:</p>	<p>69,39% 47,14% 47,83%</p>

4. Conclusion

Due to the loss of participants from the first date (with the learning phase and the testing of short-term retention) and the further tests, participation numbers are so divergent that an inferential statistical review seemed pointless. The results should therefore be considered with caution.

The classical vocabulary list on a paper sheet was most successful in the overall context of the experiment. Thus, we can assume that vocabulary presented on paper leads to a higher level of attention than items presented on the screen.

However, we did not observe a sincere decline in memorizing when using the computer screen (without animation). It might be that vocabulary read on the computer monitor is less thoroughly received and hooks at a lower level of processing depth. The computer medium thus seems to favour a certain degree of volatility in information processing. However, only animated computer presentations seem to lead to evidently worse results in short-, medium- and long-term retention. Computer animations thus seem to lead to inhibitions of the retention process. In any case, it could be shown that, in the context of vocabulary learning, it makes sense to dispense with animated computer presentations.

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Foreign language learning: controversies of virtuality and globality

ABSTRACT

Proficiency in any foreign language or languages is very inspirational. Infinite desire, tough self-discipline and personal attempts are vitally important factors in foreign language learning. Unfortunately, this idea ends when learning difficulties appear. They can stop learners and isolate them from future progress. According to the scholars and practitioners, there is a solution – to make learning more modernized by incorporating virtual and global technologies. This study will investigate the issue of effectiveness of foreign language learning in the context of globality and virtuality discourses. Nowadays young people represent the global digital generation that demonstrates excessive and habitual use of technologies. Considering that issue, the article discusses the controversial role of globality and virtuality in learning a foreign language.

Keywords: foreign language learning, innovations, globality, virtuality

1. Introduction

The knowledge of foreign language(s) has become a *must-have* competency of any global person. Necessity to master a foreign language is emphasized by various European Organizations and their documents regulating education policy in every member country.

The organizations as the European Council (2010) and the Commission of the European Communities (2000) pay huge attention to the language and plurilinguism policy, which focuses on the promotion of multilingualism and language learning in the European context. The experts of Council highlight that the process of learning languages and their usage has to involve the entire

population and that has to be available for every ordinary person (*Guide for the development and implementation of curricula for plurilingual and intercultural education*, 2010; *Memorandum of LifeLong Learning*, 2000).

Due to constant digital development and new technologies to be used in daily and professional spheres, educational systems are deeply concerned about education of a global citizen and a competent specialist who have to meet the requirements of the global society. The Council Resolution on a European Strategy of Multilingualism stresses the importance of foreign language skills development:

[...] significant efforts should still be made to promote language learning and to value the cultural aspects of linguistic diversity at all levels of education and training, to promote variety of the European languages and to disseminate them across the world” (*Guide for the development and implementation of curricula for plurilingual and intercultural education*, 2010, p. 17).

Taking into consideration multilingualism policy and its aspects, the importance of multilingualism and foreign language learning is relevant to a global citizen who demonstrates willingness to be an active participant in the global arena. Similarly, the Lifelong Learning policy (2000) accentuated that age and motivation are not constraints. Therefore, everyone can find an appropriate reason and place for education. The same approach was expressed in 2014 by the Education, Youth, Culture and Sport Council (*Conclusions on multilingualism and the development of language competences*, 2014). It was stated that linguistic diversity is a fundamental component of the European culture and intercultural dialogue and the ability to communicate in a language other than one’s mother tongue is acknowledged to be one of the key competences which citizens should seek to acquire.

The presented analysis of the European policy regarding multilingualism and its relation to the usage of innovative technologies which help to integrate globality and virtuality into the foreign language learning process formulates the problem of the study as follows: a modern global society and rapidly growing innovative virtual technologies may have a positive impact on foreign language learning process, stimulate motivation to learn a language and eliminate personal obstacles.

The specific objective of the study is to investigate the students’ attitude to the effects of globality and virtuality on learning a foreign language. There are two primary aims: 1) to reveal the theoretical implications of the effects of globality and virtuality on foreign language learning; 2) to investigate what virtual and global tools and/or methods are used by the students for learning a foreign language; 3) to present the students’ insights and recommendations about virtuality and globality usage for a language learning. The data for this study were collected

using the content analysis of the European Union documents¹ regulating education policy in Europe and the scholarly literature sources including publications by foreign and Lithuanian authors revealing positive/negative effects of globality and virtuality on learning foreign language(s). This study used a quantitative case study approach to investigate students' attitudes. The interpretation of the study data presents important insights into functionality of virtuality and globality in the process of foreign language learning.

2. Globality and virtuality in the context of foreign language learning

Many educators, scholars and practitioners (Tuomaitė, 2014; Žegunienė et al., 2012; Blattner & Fiori, 2011; Ortega, 2009; Thorne & Black, 2007) in the field of foreign language teaching discuss how to develop learners' foreign language skills and competences needed for their further personal and professional life in the 21st century. It is not enough to master languages; it is important to combine traditional skills combined with the modern ones. Therefore, the global society and its members have to acquire digital literacy skills, intercultural awareness and the ability to be flexible shifting among different modes and circumstances of communication (Richards & Renandya, 2002). That leads to a new conception of foreign language learning process. It is closer related to technologies and becomes virtual and global.

The Internet revolution has made researchers (Blattner & Lomicka, 2012; Aufenanger, 1999; Donath, 1998) even more aware of the importance of social context in language development and language use on a much larger cultural scale. Over the last few decades, technology and the Internet have drastically transformed our notions of social interaction. New ways of information exchange are emerging; leading us to what Warschauer (2008) calls the multi-dimensional expansion of the technological revolution. In this new era of technological expansivity we become involved in new forms of discourse; we build digital communities and engage in new forms of literacy practices. The Internet has allowed overcoming the constraints of geographical distance and providing an easy access to various cultures (both locally and globally defined) and communities of practice (Warschauer, 2008, pp. 52–67).

The changes in the technological world have modernized foreign language learning and teaching through processes of engagement in the Internet-mediated intercultural settings (e.g., Kramsch & Thorne, 2002; Thorne & Black, 2007). The result of this trend is the new understanding of a language learner as a competent language user not only in face-to-face communicative situations, but also in the Internet-mediated social contexts (Thorne, 2008)

¹ E.g., *European Union strategy for multilingualism and acquaintance with foreign languages in Lithuania* (2005).

Virtuality and interactivity (for instance, discussion boards, chat rooms, blogs, platforms, etc.) are incorporated into the foreign language learning process (Guth & Thomas, 2010). Some authors argue that it is important to direct a digital generation, its addiction to the virtual activities and frequent usage of emerging technologies, as they may help learners to develop the ability to acquire and use the foreign language in any context and environment (Guth & Helm, 2010). Newly applied technologies and their attractiveness provide an unlimited number of possibilities to explore new global areas virtually, but unfortunately, they make learners more addicted users of such technologies. Despite some negative aspects, virtuality has become an integral part of the foreign language learning process.

The other strand of this study is to look at the development of foreign language skills in a global context that could be related to the studies abroad. A common assumption raised by different authors (Leonard, 2015; Anderson, 2012; Freed, 1995) is that studying abroad and operating in the global context is particularly helpful in developing foreign language skills. Globality has a positive impact on improving learners' skills, fluency and ability to communicate (Freed, 1995).

The benefits of globality include gaining cultural awareness, developing new relationships, and learning about oneself (*Career benefits of study abroad*, 2014; *Reasons to study abroad*, 2014; *Why study abroad?*, 2014). Students can meet other international students, cooperate with them and spend time outside learning environment in this way expanding learning zone and possibilities of non-formal education. (Freed, 1998). Such formal and non-formal foreign language learning experience, when learners dynamically interact among themselves and surrounding global environment, offers a new way of language learning – language socialization, i.e., acculturation and assimilation into a global community targeted at speakers' alignment norms and conventions. The negotiation on a learner's place in a global society and a target language community is one of the turbulent processes building a new global identity or even multiple global identities under the impact of global contextual factors. An individual has to understand his or her relationship with the global world, which is implemented through language that a learner uses in different places and at different points of time. It is through language that learners gain access to powerful networks that give them an opportunity to use a foreign language (Norton, 2000, p. 5).

3. Virtuality and globality vs. traditionalism

The methodology of foreign language learning has been revised and developed for centuries. Scholars have demonstrated serious concern about the integration of new and traditional methods in the process of foreign language learning. Griffiths and Oxford (2014) demonstrated concern about the foreign language learning methodology. More scholars can be mentioned as Richards and Renandya (2002), Freeman and Richards (1996) who focused on how a teacher has to be prepared

for teaching a foreign language and reviewed the basic factors ensuring the efficiency of the second foreign language learning process. Lithuanian authors present an extended analysis of the application of innovations. Šiaučiukėnienė, Visockienė and Talijūnienė (2006), for instance, reviewed the organization and changes of the foreign language learning process connected with the integration of traditional and innovative methods. She emphasized that the unity of the four language skills might be expanded owing to the integration of innovative strategies combined them with traditional activities performed during lessons. That could be challenging for teachers because they have to be familiar with innovations in the education field (pp. 106–107).

Also Bijeikienė, Pundziuvienė and Zutkienė (2012) noted that the traditional teaching methods are passive, and they do not play a vital role in achieving high learning outcomes. If high expectations are set the traditional has to be combined with the innovative, which is associated with both the methods and innovative approaches towards the foreign language learning and teaching process. Innovative methods comprise new kinds of activities that are interactive, and students no longer have to be just observers but to participate actively in simulations, presentations, on-line activities and virtual games, to use the Internet (forums, chatting rooms, blogs, etc.) as well as social or educational media platforms (p. 115). Students may use such computer programs as Skype and the other interactive applications that help to communicate with the native foreign language speakers and develop foreign language skills. Mobile applications are very beneficial for daily foreign language usage, due to constant repetition of the material, new words and phrases.

A similar approach is demonstrated by Sūdžiuvienė and Tautavičienė (2011), who emphasize deliberate transition from the traditional methods and teaching strategies to more advanced technologies and innovative approaches. A variety of devices can be used in foreign language classrooms. Modern educational tools such as interactive boards, interactive tables, tablets, interactive notebooks, iPads could be successfully integrated into the language learning and teaching process. These devices contribute to the improvement of foreign language speaking, reading, listening and writing skills and motivate students to be active participants of the modern study process (p. 127).

4. Survey design

A humanistic perspective advocates the view that educational value is diminished if the learning process itself and the conditions in which the learning takes place are not taken into account (Nunan, 1991, p. 229). In today's society, the focus is shifted from achieving academic goals towards self-realization. As Nunan (1991) states, humanistic education basically aims at bringing about the growth of the full potential of each person. The goal of education is to help students to develop

the knowledge and skills they need for active and responsible participation in the constantly changing world (p. 229).

When learning a foreign language, it is important to develop the language and communication skills and the skills necessary for functioning in the society. In addition to acquiring the language skills, language teaching aims at the development of positive attitudes and understanding different cultures. Thus, learning a foreign language becomes much more than the mastery of the language skills. Teaching involves the acceptance of new social and cultural behaviours and the aim of understanding the members of other communities.

In order to achieve the aims of humanistic education, Stevick (1990) finds it necessary to include emotions and aesthetic experiences, work on improving social relations through virtual media, increasing responsibility and, in addition to knowledge, help students understand the global context (p. 4). That conception is supported by Dornyei and Murphey (2003). These authors emphasise that the learning a language cannot be separated from the global, virtual and social context in which it takes place. The virtual, global and social contexts affect the participants' understanding of their behaviour in the group and the role in global arena (p. 174).

The survey was initiated and performed with the students representing higher education institution in Lithuania, that is Klaipeda University. The students of this university are prepared for various business spheres. The research was completed in March – April 2018. The target group comprised 256 respondents (n=256); the instrument of the survey was a questionnaire which comprised questions revealing the modernity of foreign language learning in terms of integrating virtuality and globality. The survey investigated the students' attitudes towards globality and virtuality used in the process of foreign language learning. By employing the quantitative survey design, the authors of the paper attempted to examine the foreign language learning considering virtuality and globality and to present the students' insights and/or recommendations.

5. Description of the study

The demographic part of the questionnaire comprised the questions were students had to choose appropriate options. In the first option, the students had to choose between “male” and “female”, in the second question they had to choose the appropriate age group: “below 20”, “20–30”, “31–40”, “41–50”, “51–60” or “61+”. They were asked to indicate the year of study: “1st year”, “2nd year”, “3rd year” and “4th year”. The respondents had to indicate their the study programme. Following question was about the foreign languages mastered. The respondents could choose English, German, Russian, French or specify any other language they learnt (more than one answer could be indicated here).

The second part of the questionnaire comprised questions regarding the aspects of virtuality and globality integrated into the foreign language learning process.

The participants had to point out the virtual and global tools and/or methods used for foreign language learning. Then the students were asked how beneficial they think such tools and methods are for a foreign language learning. Finally, the respondents were asked to present their insights and/or recommendations regarding virtuality and globality usage for a foreign language learning.

6. Results of the study

As stated earlier, the questionnaire was filled in by 256 students of Klaipėda University. There were 61 males and 195 females. 193 students were in the age group below 20, 63 respondents were in the group of 20–30. Majority of the students (112 students) were the 1st year students, insignificantly smaller group of the respondents (81) represented the 2nd year students, the 3rd and 4th year groups comprised of 25 and 38 students. The target group consisted of students of English (85), German (15), Swedish (12) philology, the other part of the respondents (144 students) was represented by the students of the studies of business field (Business Administration – 44, Tourism Administration – 31, Finance – 23, Accounting – 10, etc.).

Among the foreign languages learnt, 198 respondents learnt English, 50 – German, 6 – Russian. Also, other languages were mentioned, e.g., Spanish – 10 and French – 4. The data show that English was spoken by almost all the respondents.

Answering the first question the respondents had to name virtual and global tools used for foreign language learning, several options were able to choose from the provided list. The results are presented in the chart below.

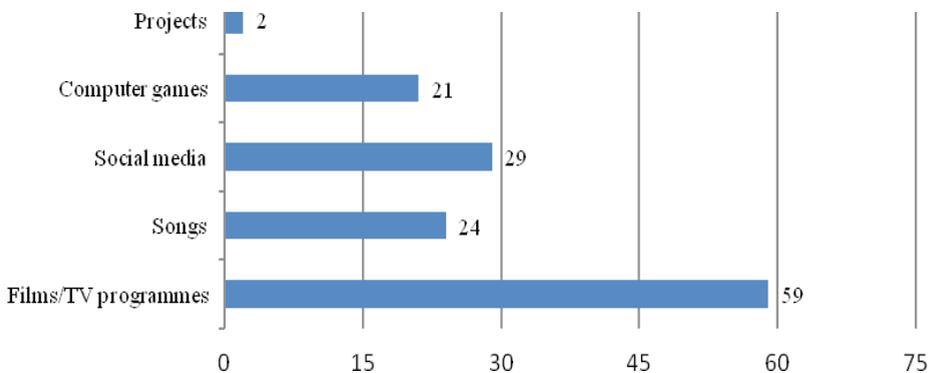


Figure 1. Innovative and global educational tools

The respondents demonstrated appropriate understanding of the innovations (virtuality and globality) used in a foreign language learning. Majority of them (59%) are interested in films or TV programs in English. Such tool is available for every learner, and it has diverse aims beside educational. The attractiveness

is to see real-life situations and have some entertainment. Modernized television and TV channels provide with the possibility to use subtitles for TV programs or films. The students may listen and read scripts, so that both skills (reading and listening) are developed. The program could be stopped in order to repeat the text or to pronounce the unknown word. Significantly smaller group (29%) uses social media as a virtual and global educational tool. Social media comprises social networks (the most popular is Youtube) and the Internet. Nowadays a *digital* generation prefers a lifestyle *online*. There are unlimited possibilities: to meet new friends virtually, communicate with the old ones in a virtual medium, participate in forums where English is used for international communication, educational websites created by teachers and for teachers, allowing exchange of experience or application of innovative learning methods, educational platforms and virtual learning environments. Songs and computer games were mentioned by respectively 24% and 21%. The activities are not so widely adapted for educational purposes. The reasons maybe the difficulty level or English used, e.g., American or Australian English or heavy accents. Computer games require time and can be referred to as addiction. Despite the disadvantages mentioned, these activities retain their educational purposes and help deepen the knowledge in a very recreational virtual and global way. Unfortunately, just 2% noted that projects could be used by the students. Nowadays almost every higher education institution is a member of Erasmus+ network. Participation in the students' exchange programs provides the possibility to study abroad. International studies give a competitive advantage and international experience which is valuable in labour market.

The survey data demonstrated students' willingness to modernize their learning process by applying virtual and global tools and/or methods, such as social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Youtube, computer games, etc.). In fact, the popularity of these networks cannot be denied because they play a vital role in students', adults' and even the schoolchildren's daily life. After the review of the survey data, it is possible to conclude that students still lack deeper perception what virtual and global technologies, tools and/or methods can be used for a foreign language learning. Nobody mentioned personal computers or iPads which are brought to the lectures or are undoubtedly used at home, virtual learning environments (Moodle), blogs, apps, new learning strategies suggested by the scientists (neuro-programing, coaching, etc.), smartphones, interactive boards/tables, etc.

Furthermore, the respondents had to express their insights how beneficial the virtual and global tools and/or methods are for a foreign language learning. The respondents' answers can be grouped into three categories. Firstly, the answer was they are "easy to use" (48 percent), the aspect of "entertainment" was indicated by 39 percent of the students. In addition, 13 percent of the respondents noted that such tools and methods "make classes more interesting/attractive".

Also, the respondents were asked to provide insights or recommendations why virtual and global tools and/or methods should be used for a foreign language learning. The common answers were as follows: virtual and global tools and/or methods enhance motivation to learn a foreign language, they (virtual and global tools and/or methods) are frequently used for personal purposes, they may be used as the sources of additional practice at home, modern technologies make learning/classes more interesting and they are easy to access, and majority of the respondents noted that by using technologies it is possible to acquire knowledge of English speaking cultures, their traditions, and that may be considered as a possibility to continue studies abroad. So, it can be concluded that innovative tools can make a positive impact on motivation, create recreational factor during studies and demand to improve and develop acquired competences and skills.

7. Conclusions

The question arises whether the use of virtual and global tools and/or methods in foreign language learning improve the learning or development of a foreign language skills or if it is simply a distraction. In the systematic review of studies undertaken by various scholars, it has been concluded that there are some language learning benefits of virtuality and globality usage. These virtual and global tools/methods help learners with listening and writing (particularly in the amount of writing, length of texts and discourse features of these texts), as well as with speaking and reading. However, in such a way the students may be engaged in real learning experiences not found in books. One of the dangers of using technologies is that emphasis is placed more on the technologies than the learning.

The survey demonstrated that the education system and young learners are open for innovations and virtuality and globality have to be an integral part of the process of a foreign language learning. Knowledge and skills could be acquired using computers, organizing integrated lessons and considering learning possibilities provided by different educational environments (natural and interactive). However, traditional methods (teacher-oriented method, grammar translation method, etc.) have to be related with innovative technologies (usage of smart devices and tools, interactive activities, etc.). They play an important role enhancing students' motivation, creating comfortable student-oriented learning environment.

8. Summary

The demand of knowing foreign languages is precisely determined in the EU legal documents and acts. This issue is relevant for the citizens of the entire Europe considering the spheres of business, economics, professional and personal life. Currently the situation in the global arena changes rapidly and it is influenced by changes in education system and labour market. Majority of young people

are engaged in international activities, projects and businesses, thus, that leads to new skills where foreign languages are a key priority. Studying foreign languages is very complicated and laborious procedure requiring long time and sustained efforts. Therefore, in order to achieve good results, the process of efficient language learning has obtained completely new approaches, study methods and practices. The modern foreign language learning approach demands application and implementation of innovative teaching and learning activities. It cannot be opposed that the 21st century, often called the *information age*, is bringing changes into traditional studying. Indeed, the capability of applying virtual and global technology in teaching foreign languages is almost infinite. Consequently, these innovations help both students and teachers to deal with foreign language learning difficulties, and according to the survey data, the students are confident of globality and virtuality and provide with the ideas of how to integrate globality and virtuality into purposeful foreign language learning.

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