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KWARTALNIK NEOFILOLOGICZNY

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A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE ON THE CHANGING ROLES OF ENGLISH AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

What are the implications for the unassailable position of the English language in social, professional and academic contexts in the world today? In this paper we briefly outline some of the watershed changes in the way we have viewed the teaching/learning of English and how we have evolved our notions as to what kind of English needs to be taught/learned. We argue that we are again at a watershed moment and intend to briefly analyse this and ask where we should be heading in the future.

KEYWORDS: English language teaching approaches, English as a lingua franca, English as a medium of instruction, the economic, academic and social place of English, English hegemony

In this paper we intend to briefly overview the history of the dominant teaching methodologies which have evolved over the years in response to developments in theories of second language acquisition (2LA) and learning (2LL) and applied linguistics. We consider these influences in the light of current global, economic and social changes which are influencing why and how individuals learn English, with specific reference to English medium instruction at tertiary level.

It is fair to say that English language teaching has always been teaching for special purposes and this therefore begs the question as to whether there such a of most subjects has, to a greater or lesser extent, remained the same, the teaching of the English language (ELT) has been subject to tremendous change, especially throughout the twentieth century. More than any other discipline ELT has undergone various evolutions in language classrooms all around the world for centuries. Why is this? Well one suggestion is that ELT, like no other discipline, has evolved to take account of changing social, cultural, institutional and student needs. An approach to language teaching involves a set of "assumptions dealing with the nature of language teaching and learning" (Anthony 1965: 63) which serve as a framework which informs pedagogic decisions and processes. Approaches come and go and come back again, as different social conditions and contexts render them more or less effective.

In order to deal with these new challenges both teachers and learners of English have to face, teaching approaches and their concomitant methodologies need to be reappraised. We need to reconsider how students best learn and what type of English they need in order to function successfully in the globalised contexts in which they find themselves today. In the second part of the paper we intend to look at English as the lingua franca of tertiary level instruction and learning in order to identify teaching approaches which may be appropriate to this context. The first part of the paper outlines some of the major approaches to ELT and the language teaching methodologies they have bequeathed us.

HISTORICAL LEGACY. THE CLASSICAL METHOD

Throughout Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, the education system was formed primarily around the theory that the body and mind were separate and the mind consisted of three parts: the will, emotion, and intellect. It was believed that by learning the classical literature of the Greeks and the Romans intellect could be sharpened enough to eventually control the will and emotions. Language was seen as a closed system where correctness and accuracy were seen as morally desirable. Such an education was considered to mentally prepare individuals for the world and its challenges. Still today, in Italy, students can attend a *liceo classico*, where they study Latin and Greek and many Italians believe that this type of *liceo* 'forms the brain'.

These notions informed the Grammar Translation Method (GTM) of teaching when it emerged in the middle of the 19th century. It involved teaching about language; constructing abstract grammatical rules which were then explained by the teacher using the students' mother tongue and which were then reinforced with exercises. There was no attempt to contextualise the examples and so it was quite possible to encounter sentences which were constructed simply to exemplify a grammatical rule; 'The cat of my aunt is more treacherous than the dog of your uncle'. Just as Latin and Greek classics were used to teach those languages, in the GTM a main aim was to understand the literature of the target language. Teaching techniques were typically: learning by rote, memorisation of lists and verb conjugations and translation from target language into mother tongue. The advantage of this approach is that large classes can be taught and being focused solely on the written text means that non-native-speaker teachers can be used. It is also appropriate at all levels of proficiency. These three features of the GTM are probably the reasons why it is still a popular language teaching approach today.

THE DIRECT METHOD

At the turn of the 20th century the increased opportunity for travel and interactions with speakers of other languages led to a shift in focus in language instruction and use from the written to the spoken word. This change is evidenced in the increased number of phrase books and the publication of the first International Phonetic Alphabet chart (Paul Passy 1888) and with it the beginnings of phonetic training. Speech becomes a primary teaching/learning objective and we begin to see the emergence of methods which reflect this goal. The Direct Method (DM) is perhaps the most famous and enduring language teaching method. The DM was adopted by many language schools at this time, most famously the Berlitz School which was founded in 1878 and continues to be a successful, global language school today (Berlitz International 1998). The Direct Method emerged to prepare learners for real life situations, using language to get things done in social and inter-cultural contexts. Mother tongue teachers were regarded as essential for this approach, not only to provide authentic oral models of English, but also as transmitters of the culture of the target language. Theories as to how children acquire their first language were used as models for how a second language should be taught and so meaning was conveyed through the here and now, using the teacher and visual aids as a learning resource linking language to what can be visually presented. Students were to be fully immersed in L2, and expressions such as 'full immersion' and 'language bath' became standard concepts linked to this method. It was essentially a see – hear – say method, where after hearing the language model students were invited to repeat what they had heard. The strong link between language and what was visible or demonstrable, meant that explicit grammar teaching, if taught at all, came later in a course. The mother-tongue teacher was essential as the learner's first language was not considered and L2 items were related to other L2 items. There was a great need for teachers to be energetic, skillful and highly motivated and the classroom techniques and management required in this method led to a growing interest in teaching methodology and language teaching practices.

SITUATIONAL LANGUAGE TEACHING

In the 1930's we saw the emergence of the Situational Language Teaching approach (SLT), or Oral Approach (see Richards & Rogers 1986). This approach was based on a structuralist view of language influenced by the American linguist Charles C. Fries (see H. Fries & N. M. Fries 1985) and behaviourist notions of language learning. Structural Linguistics emphasized the systematic nature of language; by breaking language down into its constituent parts and syntactic

relationships, from phoneme-morpheme-word-structure-sentence (see Bloomfield 1933). Behavioural Psychology was the view that human learning is purely a process of habit formation and the ability to perform in a language is the possession of a set of linguistic habits which enable a speaker to respond correctly to any given stimulus. The stimulus is the target language and the response is verbal language behaviour of the learner. This language production receives reinforcement, usually in the form of teacher response/evaluation. A positive response means that the verbal behaviour is likely to reoccur, while a negative response means that the verbal behaviour is not likely to reoccur (see Skinner 1938). So, "the behaviorist theory of stimulus-response learning, particularly as developed in the operant conditioning model of Skinner, considers all learning to be the establishment of habits as a result of reinforcement and reward" (Rivers 1968: 73). The learner had no control over the content of learning, he was required simply to listen and repeat what the teacher said and to respond to questions and commands. The role of the teacher was regarded as fundamental as, "If we wish to control behaviour, say, to teach somebody something, we ought to attend carefully to reinforcers" (Brown 1987: 63).

The major features of the Situational Approach were that language teaching should have as its focus the spoken language and therefore language teaching material was taught orally before it was presented in written form. There was a greater focus on vocabulary, as having a wide range of vocabulary was seen as essential for developing reading skills and the selected vocabulary was introduced in different contexts. Not only was lexis selected for presentation, but language also was analysed and classified into its prominent grammatical structures which were then presented and practised following the principle that simple forms should be taught before complex ones. It was believed that this grading of structures would help students avoid errors which were still considered as evidence of bad or no learning. Consequently there was a high focus on error correction. These graded structures were then presented in a situation which was designed or chosen to generate more examples of the grammatical patterns. This would be typically followed by manipulation exercises of the grammatical patterns presented and in this way the learners were expected to internalize grammatical rules. With this approach there was a recognition of the four skills and reading and writing were introduced after the oral/aural focus and once a sufficient lexical and grammatical basis had been established (see Richards & Rodgers 1986).

AUDIO-LINGUAL APPROACH

With the outbreak of World War II there was a heightened need for Americans to become orally proficient in the languages of their allies and enemies alike and so the 'Army Method' of L2 teaching was developed, which later came to be

known the Audio-lingual approach. This approach drew on many of the beliefs and practices of the Direct Method as it was also a marriage of Structural Linguistics and Behavioural Psychology. There was no explicit grammar instruction, everything was simply memorized in form. Learners learnt language by habit formation where grammatical rules were induced from repeated encounters with the selected grammatical form by means of an extensive use of structural tables and language pattern drills.

The approach aimed to teach language, not 'about' language and with its policy of using mother-tongue teachers aimed to focus on what native speakers say, not what we think they ought to say. It shared most of the features of the DM approach except that vocabulary didn't have the prominence it had had previously, this was partly due to the belief that errors and areas of difficulty should be avoided by presentations being graded, clear and unambiguous. This led materials' designers to limit vocabulary so as not to distract from the structural input. The students were given only "enough vocabulary to make such drills possible" (Richards & Rogers 1986: 47).

TRANSFORMATIONAL GENERATIVE GRAMMAR

In the late 1950s the limitations of structural linguistics were pointed out most famously by Noam Chomsky in 1957 with the publication of 'Syntactic Structures', in which he introduced his notion of Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG), which was a system of language analysis that recognized the relationship among the various elements of a sentence and among the possible sentences of a language. TGG uses processes or rules to express this relationship so, the active sentence 'Iga read the book' is related to the passive sentence 'the book was read by Iga'. Although such sentences appear to be very different in terms of grammatical structure (*surface structure*), TGG tries to show that in the underlying structure the sentences are very similar (*deep structure*). The notion of deep structure can be especially helpful in explaining ambiguous utterances; e.g., 'Flying airplanes can be dangerous' may have a deep structure, or meaning, like 'Airplanes can be dangerous when they fly' or 'To fly airplanes can be dangerous'. The TGG device generates only grammatically correct sentences of a language since it creates the rules and principles which are in native linguistic competence the language user. And it was this second feature of Chomsky's theory which led to the focus of placing language in the user's mind as opposed to being triggered by external factors beyond the individual's control as previously proposed by behavioural linguistics. This led to increased study and debate into the mental processing of language acquisition (see Chomsky 1957, 1962).

LANGUAGE LEARNING AS A MENTAL PROCESS

The behaviourist theory of language acquisition was challenged by Chomsky in his review of B. F. Skinner's book on verbal behaviour (see Chomsky 1957). Chomsky later proposed the theory that all humans have an innate Language Acquisition Device (LAD). The LAD is the innate biological ability of humans to understand, acquire and develop language. This innate competence, or 'internal grammar', helps humans make sense of and eventually produce language from a set of linguistic principles or rules. Chomsky claimed that child utterances like 'Daddy goed' were of evidence of this rule-based system at work, as this utterance would not be encountered as a verbal stimulus, but is an example of the child generating from a rule on past tense verb formation. In this way he challenged the prevailing behaviourist theory that language was acquired through exposure to it in our environment. Chomsky backed up his theory with observations on child language acquisition, namely; that it is also not possible to memorise the totality of a language, stimulus and reinforcement are not always there or adequate enough for all children and that language is a highly developed intricate, complex thing for a child to master simply by way of hear/repeat/reinforcement and especially at the age by which children have mastered their language.

Second language learners were therefore seen as active participants in the L2 learning process, actively involved in intelligent, rule-seeking and problem solving processes, not the passive recipients of knowledge. L2 learners act upon the linguistic environment, hypothesising and testing out their hypothesese. Errors therefore were no longer considered negatively, as they were evidence of this process of hypothesising. Learning was seen as a 2-way process between the learner and the environment, but the learning resided with the learner, while the teacher's task was to organise the material being presented in such a manner that what was to be learned would be meaningful to the learner (see Chastain 1976). Rote learning, memorisation and mimicry were de-emphasised in language classrooms, however, language drills still had a place as phonological tongue training. The role of grammar teaching was to provide useful shortcuts to the rule formation that was going on in the brain, enabling students to generate more language.

The Behaviourist's belief that the learner was merely an instrument to be manipulated by an outside agency didn't take into account the contribution of the learner in the process of learning. For the new Mentalist approach to second language learning, between the external linguistic stimulus and the desired linguistic response was the learner's cognitive functioning and by means of the cognitive function the learner monitors and evaluates the linguistic stimuli being received, making the learner the controller of the learning process rather than the passive recipient, language learning is the process whereby the rules of language are discovered and internalized.

HUMANIST APPROACH

In keeping with the view that the learner is the most important element when looking at how languages are acquired, linguists and educators developed this further into what is called a Humanist Approach. Humanists pointed out that despite the differences between various approaches, some of which we have presented above, learners still did or didn't learn. Therefore factors other than cognitive factors were obviously involved. Factors such as; the individual's emotional state, anxiety, self-confidence and the willingness to communicate, the quality and quantity of motivation and attitude towards the target language culture. Factors such as these constituted the learner's affective domain (see Stevick 1982). Krashen suggested that these affective factors constituted a learning filter and can affect 2LA by preventing information about the second language from reaching the language areas of the mind. When the affective filter blocks comprehensible input, acquisition fails or occurs to a lesser extent then when the affective filter supports the intake of comprehensible input (Krashen 1982). Practitioners believed that L2 instruction can and should work to minimize the effects of the affective filter and Krashen's theories spawned a great number of fringe approaches such as The Silent Way and Suggestopedia.

Krashen's notion of comprehensible input was elaborated in his 'Input Hypothesis' with the formula *interlanguage +1*; where input contains a structure that is a little beyond the current understanding, of the language learner (Krashen 1982). Another theory put forward by Krashen was the Natural Order Hypothesis, which argues that the acquisition of grammatical structures occurs in a predictable sequence, although the order of acquisition of a first language is different from the order of acquisition of that same language as a second language. The logical extension of this theory was that explicit teaching and learning could not change the natural order of acquisition (Krashen 1982). Although many of these influential theories came to be challenged later, from Chomsky's work in the mid 1950s to Krashen's work in the 80s we saw a permanent change in focus from viewing successful L2 acquisition as being determined by external factors, to viewing successful L2 acquisition as being dependent on individual cognitive and affective factors.

FUNCTIONAL / NOTIONAL APPROACH

As the new theories of L2 acquisition and the nature of language structure were filtering through to methodologies in English language classrooms all over the world, there was another change happening to the way language can be described. In 1972 the British linguist, D.A. Wilkins, proposed moving away from the traditionalist,

structuralist or synthetic approach to language description to a model which described language use in social and professional communicative contexts (see Wilkins 1972). This approach is based on the idea that communication is meaningful behaviour in social and cultural contexts and that language is constructed around language functions and notions. So, for example, a lesson might be about how to buy something, in which case its notion is shopping and one of its functions might be asking prices. Functions often lend themselves naturally to specific grammatical patterns or common expressions; the function of making requests would typically employ the following linguistic exponents:

'Can I …?', 'Could you …?', 'Is it alright if I …?', 'Do you mind if I …?'

The functional Notional Approach to language is therefore concerned with what and why people want to communicate, where and when. It forms part of the dominant approach to ELT today, the Communicative Approach, which places the emphasis on identifying, classifying and presenting units of language in terms of the communicative situations in which they are used as "only through the study of language in use are all functions of language and therefore, all components of meaning, brought into focus." (M. Halliday 2002: 177). So the aim was to develop communicative competence, placing the message before code as it was believed that the ability to manipulate language does not necessarily mean that the learner can use that language in a communication; "grammatical competence remains in a perpetual state of potentiality unless it is used in a communication" (H. Widdowson 1973: 18). It was believed that people who speak the same language share not so much a grammatical competence as a communicative competence and so learners and teachers needed to take account of the rules of use as well as rules of grammatical structure paying "systematic attention to functional as well as structural aspects of language" (Littlewood 1981: 1). In this way learners were introduced not only to grammatical knowledge of the language, but also to the cultural knowledge necessary for them to fully understand the target language and its culture.

With this approach came a more tolerant attitude to learner errors, for what is grammatically incorrect might still communicate and what might be grammatically correct, might not communicate. Teaching grammar was no longer considered an end in itself, "in any classroom situation, just so much attention should be given to grammar as may be necessary to promote quick and efficient learning. Thus we see the teaching of grammar, not as an end in itself, but as a useful aid in helping students achieve the practical mastery of language." (Edinburgh Course in Applied Linguistics 1975: 46). Therefore looking at what is feasible in terms of appropriateness to context and what is possible in terms of grammatical acceptability. But this phase also consolidated the inextricable link between language and culture, as Kabakchy and Rivers pointed out, "Ideally the foreign language should be learned in as close association as practicable with the culture of the country where it is

spoken, if its full meaning is to be plumbed to any depth" (Kabakchy & Rivers 1978). Through the influence of communicative language teaching, it has become widely accepted that communicative competence should be the goal of second language education, which is in contrast to previous views in which grammatical competence was commonly given top priority.

TODAY'S CHALLENGE

This account, like all histories, is selective, but it is a tale of perpetual progress, motivated in part by the imperative to change which so often involves demonising the past, but more often by teachers thinking in their own contexts, being critical and reflective about their methodology which is informed and revised by theories of applied and cognitive linguistics, theories of language learning and also by the practical experiences of the teachers themselves. Today English language teaching methodology is facing a new challenges and it is our view that knowledge of past theories and methodologies will better enable language practitioners to face these challenges. One of the main challenges, as we see it, is the dominant position the English language holds in tertiary education worldwide, where students and teachers alike are being asked to achieve a specific proficiency in the English language, for a variety of reasons. The second part of this paper attempts to address this issue in the light of the aforementioned watershed moments in the history of second language learning and teaching.

The Bologna Process of 1999 began a series of measures through which European universities were required to play a key role in equipping nations with the necessary tools to participate in an increasingly globalised world. The inception of the European Higher Education Area in 2010 (EHEA) has led to increased harmonisation of degree structures, the promotion of teacher and student mobility and the increase in partnerships within the EHEA (Knight 2008: 22–24) and consequently, as the study destination choices increased so too did the marketisation of education (see Raisanen & Fortanet-Gomez 2008: 14–18). In this competitive global environment universities in non-English speaking countries have been compelled to provide courses in the global lingua-franca as they struggle to both; retain their best home students and provide them with the skills they need to compete in the global marketplace and attract foreign, fee-paying students. According to Knight "[I]nternationalisation must be taken as one of the main reasons for using English as a medium of instruction across universities in Europe" (see Knight 2008: 24) and for Smit & Dafouz; these fundamental changes in educational and language policies in tertiary education have led to a restructuring of many university programmes and curricula making English-medium instruction a present day reality (see Smit & Dafouz 2012).

English as a medium of instruction (EMI), where English is used to teach academic subjects in contexts where the first language (L1) of the majority of the student body is not English, has been the subject of many studies (e.g. Räisänen & Fortanet Gómez 2008; Smit & Dafouz 2012; Doiz, Lasagabaster & Sierra 2012 and Unterberger 2014) and as Boyd points out "there is clearly an important issue with regards to simply teaching in English and teaching through English as a methodological approach […], through requires the adoption of appropriate language-sensitive curricula and methodologies" (Boyd & Markarian 2015: 290).

EMI programmes (or English Taught Programmes (ETPs)) tripled through the 90s and in 2009 there were 2,389 EMI courses in continental Europe, mainly in Germany, The Netherlands and Scandanavia in 2009 and a 300% increase on BA and MA programmes from 2002 to 2012 (Doiz, Lasagabaster & Sierra 2012). The growth in ETPs has been steadily increasing with 725 in 2001, 2,389 in 2007 and over 8,000 in 2014. The largest number of these programmes in 2014 was in The Netherlands with 1,078. Poland is mentioned as having a marked increase in ETPs reaching 405, while Italy had 207 (see Wächter & Maiworm 2014).

Wächter & Maiworm's 2014 study identified substantial differences in the reasons for introducing or not ETPs, the main reasons being: to sharpen the international profile of the institution, to abolish language obstacles for the enrolment of foreign students, to improve the international competences of domestic students, to make domestic students fit for global labour markets, to improve the income base of the institution through revenue from tuition fees paid by foreign students and to recruit international academic staff. Among the main reasons for not offering ETPs were: the low levels of proficiency in English among teaching staff and a resulting reluctance to teach in English, the low-level of English skills amongst domestic students and the lack of necessity to introduce programmes fully taught in English, (Wächter & Maiworm 2014). However as Barbara Unterberger points out "there is still a lack of research evidence regarding fundamental aspects of programme design and development […] more research is needed with regards to the organizational difficulties which arise when EMPs are implemented" (Unterberger 2012: 81).

THE INSTITUTIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF EMI AT TERTIARY LEVEL

The linguistic hegemony English now enjoys in economic, academic and social contexts, which have largely been created by globalization, has led to a reconsideration of the role of the native speaker in international communications and how the English language is changing in order to adapt to these realities. In sociolinguistics it has led to discussions on linguistic appropriation and the possible, negative cultural consequences of this. In academia it has spurred debate into 'domain loss', where an academic discipline is no longer available in the

L1 at national level (see Wilkinson 2012). Smit and Dafouz ask if as a result of internationalization, curricular harmonization might not lead to content harmonization and a loss of intellectual and academic diversity, in both linguistic, methodological and disciplinary perspectives (Smit & Dafouz 2012: 8). The question of English as a lingua franca ELF has also thrown up discussion about the ownership of English, who has the authority for the codification of English and who should propose standards for the use of ELF (Niina Hynninen 2012: 14).

As we have said, in this competitive global environment universities in non-English speaking countries are now compelled to provide courses in the global lingua-franca as they struggle to respond to pressure from national governments to retain their best home students and provide the highly educated workforce equipped with the skills, including foreign language proficiency, necessary in the global knowledge economy (see Dickson 2009). They also need to attract foreign students, boosting income by increasing recruitment of fee-paying students from around the world (see Fortanet-Gómez 2013). Adopting EMI instruction programmes allows universities to "gain visibility and is a strategy in response to the need to become competitive in both national and international markets" (Doiz, Lasagabaster, Sierra 2012: xviii, see also Komori-Glatz & Unterberger 2014). What is more EMI has a dominant position as the language of academia and transnational research and is seen as improving career prospects across disciplines; it is seen as a "communicative need" for participants in tertiary level education (Smit & Dafouz 2012: 3).

However, little empirical research has been conducted into why and when EMI is being introduced and how it is delivered. This lack of research is largely due to the fact that many institutions are autonomous in their policy decision making. Most of the published research confirms that the driving force to integrate language and content in higher education is clearly one-sided with the groups in favour of EMPs including linguists, educators and language teachers. However, while governments, university administrations and subject specialists have embraced the new top-down internationalisation scenario and its possibilities for professional and academic development, the necessary pedagogical and language learning concerns are seen by them to be of secondary importance. As Smit and Dafouz point out, strategic developments are seen as belonging to institutional factors while their practical implementation comes under pedagogic factors (see Smit & Dafouz 2012: 8, Smit & Dafouz 2014a). Due to this past lack of consideration, institutional language policy decisions are now a growing concern and these decisions are being informed by aspects of language management, beliefs and practices, all of which however might not fit neatly together, but are often in conflict or in competition, reflecting the "diverse interests and language ideologies of different societal groups" (Shohamy 2006: 45).

EMP students are very often a heterogeneous group of international and domestic students and there is often, as Barbara Unterberger found in her study, "certainly no uniform admissions policy for EMPs" (Unterberger 2012). If we accept that

the typical reality of EMPs is a non-native English teacher, teaching discipline content in English to mixed groups of home and international students, with very different levels of language proficiency and content schemata, it seems clear that serious consideration must be given to the many pedagogical challenges this context poses. Levels of success on EMI programmes are "only possible because of the interactants' willingness to invest time and energy in collaboratively co-constructing their exchanges across diverse multilingual repertoires" (Smit & Dafouz 2012: 3).

THE PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF EMI AT TERTIARY LEVEL

The findings for the pedagogical implications of EMI at tertiary level are very context-specific, however we agree that there is a need for further research into EMI programmes "to explore how much language is being gained by such programs as well as how much academic content is being achieved" (Shohamy 2012: 203). Pawan proposed that "students in any type of interdisciplinary or integrative curriculum do as well as, and often better than, students in a compartmentalized program" (Faridah Pawan 2008: 450). A study of 157 Taiwanese students concluded that the students were; motivated to take EMI courses to strengthen their English ability and professional knowledge and thought that EMI courses were helpful and that multicultural interactions motivated learning (Da-Fu Huang 2015: 71). Studies have however highlighted student difficulties in comprehending content due to insufficient English language proficiency, (Chang 2010 / Wu 2006 / Huang 2009 and 2012). At Delft university in Holland students complained about the quality of the instruction on EMI courses (Klaassen & Bos 2010). Reliable research is also made difficult by a constant blurring of the edges between 'pure' EMI courses and those which are integrating content and language learning (ICLHE & CLIL) and adjunct EAP courses which are run separately from the content courses.

As we said above, participants' willingness to invest in the process is essential for effective EMPs and as each type of programme inevitably has different goals and objectives, so they will require a different pedagogical approach. So, content specialists are being asked to re-evaluate their pedagogical approach, which they do with varying degrees of willingness from eager acceptance that they are "all language teachers now" (Hughes 2016) to the more entrenched opinion of "I don't teach language" (Airey 2012). The pedagogic belief embodied in 'I don't teach language' will likely obscure any effective "consideration of the exact nature of the interaction between language and content" (Brumfit et al. 2005: 158), which on EMI programmes will lead to the specialist being unclear of their pedagogical aims. There is often "little awareness of the complexity of teaching and learning through an additional language. Not only are the challenges of this situation not addressed, the potential for this situation for integrating content and language learning is

sadly not realized either" (Fürstenberg & Kletzenbauer 2015: 2). Fürstenberg and Kletzenbauer, in their study of Austrian universities, point out that many of the teachers involved in EMI programmes are non- native English speaking, content teachers with little preparation and support from their institutions and they are generally autonomous in their curricular planning decisions (see Fürstenberg & Kletzenbauer 2015). Smit & Dafouz state that "[t]ertiary teaching staff are largely defined according to their role as researchers and seldom obtain any substantial pedagogical training" (Smit & Dafouz 2012: 3). Were such training available to tertiary level content specialists it is not always clear if this would resolve this problem, for as Costa points out "[it] is very difficult to imagine that experienced subject specialists with a high social status (such as Italian university lecturers) will adapt to following […] methodological training or accept English language training" (Costa & Coleman 2012: 17) and they go on to say that it seems likely that non-native English-speaking experts would be more disposed to teaching content over language (Costa & Coleman 2012: 12).

There are European institutions where the English language proficiency of the staff is tested; the university of Copenhagen introduced a certification for EMI programme teachers and the university of Delft requires C2 level for the content specialists on EMI programmes (see Klassen & Bos 2010). But it is not only the content specialists' language level that is involved, content experts are generally not aware of what pedagogical consequences are involved in adopting English as a medium of instruction. Teacher cognition refers to their beliefs, knowledge, theories, assumptions and attitudes, all of which affect the pedagogical decisions teachers make (see Borg 2003). We feel this an area of research which needs more consideration, for, as we have seen above, teaching is a process of active decision making based on previous experience and existing knowledge in contexts where pedagogical considerations "can contradict with each other, especially if there is a mismatch between teacher cognition and the educational changes implemented" (Smit & Dafouz 2012: 8).

And here we refer back to the first part of the paper and how teacher cognition can be drawn upon for effective classroom teaching/learning. Tertiary level teachers need to reflect on the discursive classroom practices they employ, what van Lier calls 'micro-systems' within an EMI approach (see van Lier 2004). Discursive classroom practices are highly contextualised and can include, lecturing practices (see Fortanet-Gomez & Raisanen 2008), different types of specialised ELF interactions such as academic or business contexts and lecture comprehension and interactive explaining in EMI lectures (Airey 2009). However, not enough research has been carried out into EMI at tertiary level which takes into account the multilingual, multicultural interactional settings in which teachers and students communicate and the pedagogical implications of these factors (see Hynninen 2012). Worton states that "universities should take a more active leadership role […] by emphasising the importance of intercultural competence and multi-lingual skills" (Worton 2009: 35).

Existing studies are very often context-specific, in that they are carried out in different countries, within different disciplines, within different institutions with different policy agendas and with different participants. We argue therefore that universities need to develop a more systematic approach to the needs of content specialists and students. This will almost certainly include drawing on the expertise which is to be found in the language teaching departments where strategies for making input comprehensible, providing opportunities for social interaction and communicating meaning through speaking and writing are standard features of the pedagogical toolkit. It will also certainly include in-service teacher education. As language and content instruction cannot be separated (see Hughes 2016), in-service teacher education is essential as "crucial to the learning quality of EMI courses seems to be the teaching quality on the part of the EMI teachers" (Huang 2015: 77, see also Jensen & Thøgersen 2011).

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THE LANGUAGE TEACHER IN THE GLOBALISED WORLD – A CASE FOR USING TELECOLLABORATIVE INSTRUCTION IN INTERCULTURAL TEACHER DEVELOPMENT

Teacher training needs to respond to the changing reality, making students better equipped to meet the challenges of teaching in multilingual and multicultural contexts. The traditional paradigm of teacher trainers, trainees and prospective students all sharing the same mother tongue and home culture is no longer valid. Thus, reflection on how to infuse intercultural teaching into the teacher training module is needed. One way to do that is to apply the model of telecollaborative training.

KEYWORDS: teacher training, intercultural teaching, cultures of learning, language assessment, telecollaboration

1. INTRODUCTION

Current demographic changes, migrations and openings in the job market make it more and more probable for language teachers (most notably, English) to deliver foreign language instruction to multilingual classes, either at home or abroad. While a great amount of research has been devoted to defining and developing intercultural communicative competence of learners, fewer studies were geared at intercultural teaching competences needed to choose materials and methods, plan, organise and implement tasks in a culturally-sensitive way. Thus, intercultural teaching competence should find its place into teacher training programs, in order to prepare a new generation of language teachers, even though this might be difficult given overloaded curricula and overcrowded classes.

The present paper will start by reflecting upon English teachers' language awareness in the current English as an International Language (EIL) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) frameworks. Then, some reflection on intercultural teaching competence will be made, together with justification for implementation of culture-sensitive teacher training. Finally, telecollaboration will be presented as a vehicle helping to make language teachers better prepared for the instructional challenges of the present-day classroom.

2. STUDIES INTO TEACHERS' LANGUAGE AWARENESS IN EIL SETTINGS

Increased mobility of English language users, achieved through student study and exchange programs, migrations, job openings abroad or travel, results in the changes to English nowadays (Graddol 2006; Brown 1994). 'Standard-non standard English' distinction was traditionally viewed as an 'RP-non RP' dichotomy for British English as an established variety in English language teaching in Europe (Kerswill 2006). This reinforced the monolithic model of English, in which native-speaker models were promoted because they were codified and had a degree of historical authority (McKay 2003).

However, together with criticism of the traditional view on standards undertaken by, among others, Phillipson (1992), the pluricentric idea of English is promoted nowadays, acknowledging that language contact necessarily leads to language change and the development of new varieties of English is a natural result of the spread of English. For McKay (2003) today's language use is often not just English but a mix of a variety of languages that highlights the speaker's identity and proficiency. Pennycook (2003) shows that conflicting attitudes towards English remove "the homogeny position" (the spread of English as leading to a homogenization of world culture – Crystal 1997) in favour of "the heterogeny position", where World Englishes (Kachru 1990, 1992; Jenkins 2003; Kirkpatrick 2007) are to be appreciated and valued as valid components of the target language and as a sign of plurilingualism.

Previous studies into teachers' language awareness (e.g., Carter 1995; Crystal 2010; Farrell and Martin 2009; Hazen 2001) isolated three major areas of TLA, namely, knowledge *of* language (i.e. language proficiency), knowledge *about* language (i.e. declarative knowledge of subject matter) and knowledge *of* students (especially the cognitive knowledge of learners as it relates to subject matter) – Hall 2010. Research to date has focused on correctness, standards and variety introduced by different contexts in which English is used (Nelson 1995; Wach 2011), trying to answer the question of "Which English to teach?" – Dziubalska-Kołaczyk (2005), Farrell and Martin (2009), Rinvolucri (2006), Niżegorodcew (2014). At the same time, teaching World Englishes was supposed to help promote intercultural awareness and increased understanding (Matsuda 2002; Matsuda 2003; Modiano 2001). As it transpires from the previous studies, teacher trainees perceive ELF in language pedagogy not so much as the goal of the learning and teaching process but more as a flexible approach to the linguistic and other resources at the learners' disposal (Jodłowiec 2012). Positive perception of ELF as part of civilizational changes in the contemporary world, the facility with which people communicate across the globe, is strengthened by a shared language (Niżegorodcew 2014). Polish TTs' familiarity with the concepts of EIL/ELF (Niżegorodcew 2014; Mystkowska-Wiertelak & Bielak 2014) does not lead them to feelings of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992) nor to a threat to national/linguistic identity (Niżegorodcew 2014). Teacher trainees are

definitely aware of the lingua franca use of English, nevertheless, despite realizing that most interaction happens between NNSs, they express a strong preference for native varieties (Timmis 2002; Mystkowska-Wiertelak & Bielak 2014).

3. TOWARDS INTERCULTURAL LANGUAGE TEACHING

Rather than focusing on language only, greater attention nowadays needs to be devoted to methods, techniques, resources and tools used while developing ICC at all levels and in all instructional contexts. Communicative methodology of today is very strongly learner- and ICC-oriented, which is also reflected in the assumptions of the European language policy as delineated in *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe, 2001), which views major objectives of foreign language teaching as preparing the learner "to fulfill the role of cultural intermediary between one's own culture and the foreign culture and to deal effectively with intercultural misunderstanding and conflict situations". Bandura (2011) also underlines important role of intercultural learning, advocating choosing the following components of intercultural skills as foci of instruction:

- "the ability to bring the culture of origin and the foreign culture into relation with each other",
- "willingness to relativise one's own cultural viewpoint and cultural value system",
- "willingness and ability to distance oneself from conventional attitudes to cultural difference".

However, while coursebooks, methodology handbooks or teachers' books abound in recommendations on developing learners' ICC, much less attention is devoted to intercultural language teaching (Liddicoat 2011), with scarce studies devoted to the competences needed to choose materials and methods, plan, organise and implement language teaching in a culturally-sensitive way (e.g., Farrell and Martin 2009; Krajka 2010; Wysocka 2013). Fenner and Newby (2000) see great importance in teachers' ability to adapt instruction to fit global contexts, with teachers' readiness to suit the way the target language is taught to learning styles, needs and preferences, learning expectations of target learners, the perceived status of English in the country, the view on the relationship between the teacher and learner, the degree of similarity or difference between L1 and L2. Interviews with student teachers who did Comenius internships in different countries of the world and returned to complete the teacher training module at a Polish university (Krajka 2010) indicated the problems of establishing rapport, finding a lingua franca to conduct teaching, seeking practical ways of maintaining discipline or coping with the multitude of mother tongues in the classroom, especially during grammar explanation, as major problems encountered during internships. Most interesting issues put forward as intercultural teaching problems are given below (after Krajka 2010):

- inability to use the students' mother tongue – quick to learn the basics and use body language/pictures/gestures;
- adapting to a different philosophy of grammar learning – no explicit rule expected, focus on discovery learning;
- evaluating and adopting new approaches and techniques relevant to students rather than the ones used in Poland;
- presenting meaning of abstract lexis and grammar – used a lot of songs, articles, videos to contextualise;
- finding practical ways of maintaining discipline with limited language resources – Ss pretending not to understand English;
- coping with students' distrust towards the new teacher – unwillingness to cooperate;
- explaining grammar of L2 in L3 (e.g., English through French);
- dealing with Ss' inadequate TL pronunciation or strong L1 interference;
- encompassing learners from different cultural backgrounds in mixed ethnic classes (e.g., Mali, Iran, Romania).

Specific recommendations for teacher skills that would need to be implemented in teacher training programs, according to Fenner and Newby (2000), are as follows:

- highlighting the international character of English;
- focusing on various cultures when choosing teaching material;
- avoiding focusing on the cultures of native speakers only;
- getting to know one's own culture;
- trying to cater for the needs of all the students by understanding them;
- using a collaborative standard for assessment, conduct, presentation and practice;
- agreeing upon clear in-class norms and rules taking into account T-Ls' culture discrepancy;
- evaluating coursebooks and classroom techniques for cultural sensitivity.

Quite interestingly, some "survival" solutions as worked out by untrained Comenius interns (Krajka 2010) could be substantiated with theoretical positions and methodology recommendations to constitute ready-made instructional guidelines:

- promoting creativity, innovation, openness, avoiding bias, stereotyping;
- diagnosing learners' needs and interests;
- gaining knowledge about the characteristics of the teaching process and its organisation at the target school, the system of education in the country, preferred methods;
- gaining knowledge of language families, similarities and differences between pairs of languages;
- being ready to adapt fast to the reality and exploit opportunities offered;
- having a range of assessment schemes to choose from;
- collecting and preparing teaching materials beforehand;
- learning survival „classroom" lexis in Ss' mother tongue;

- learning how to plan for diversified contexts/adapt these plans;
- practising microteaching with no Polish and very limited English;
- being ready for initial failure and avoid discouragement.

Both practical reports from teachers (Komorowska & Aleksandrowicz-Pędich 2010) and theoretical positions put forward by English as an International Lingua Franca researchers (e.g., McKay 2010) call for reflection on how language teachers are to be ready to conduct teaching, adapt instruction, evaluate materials and choose assessment measures in order to be successful at responding to learners' needs. This 'socially-sensitive EILF pedagogy', according to McKay and Bokhorst-Heng (2008), encompasses the following aspects:

- Foreign and second language curricula should be relevant to the local linguistic ecology;
- EILF professionals should strive to alter language policies that serve to promote English learning only among the elite of the country;
- EILF curricula should include examples of the diversity of English varieties used today;
- EILF curricula need to exemplify L2–L2 interactions;
- full recognition needs to be given to the other languages spoken by English speakers;
- EILF should be taught in a way that respects the local culture of learning.

Out of these, especially the last issue, that of respecting the local culture of learning, is of particular importance for our discussion in this paper. Finding ways of increasing teacher trainees' awareness of the significance of local culture of learning is a major challenge faced by teacher trainers. Bringing the global context of English language teaching through exposure to such artifacts as lesson plans, forum messages, teachers' books' lesson scenarios, teacher-made reflections or video recordings of classroom sequences from some other countries is one possible solution to be implemented (see Appendix for a sample material used during the case study described in the second part of the paper). While this should result in stimulating reflection and gaining knowledge of different instructional contexts by student teachers, it might not be enough to develop the practical skills of intercultural teaching.

The second solution, then, is putting student teachers in telecollaborative activities focused on debating a selected aspect of foreign language teaching methodology (e.g., teaching language skills, presenting vocabulary/grammar, organising classroom learning, assessing learning and giving feedback, correcting errors) in the countries of collaborating partners and shaping teaching competence by producing, revising, evaluating and redrafting teaching materials (co-construing lesson plans, tests, scenarios for games, etc.). The combination of both approaches will be analysed in the final part of the present paper, together with some guidelines for successful implementation.

4. THE INTERCULTURAL DIMENSION OF LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

Just like other aspects of English language teaching methodology, language assessment is most vulnerable to all kinds of influences on the national and societal levels. As Jin and Cortazzi (2011) claim, there may be different perceptions of "traditional methods" for different languages — and learners from different language backgrounds will find it a challenge to go beyond a comfort zone not only into new languages and cultures with new levels of proficiency but also into new ways of learning. At the same time, as Cortazzi, Jin and Wang (2009) show, rather than assume that one single method of teaching (and assessing) is applicable in all possible contexts of the ELT world, the way students' performance is to be assessed is shaped to a large extent by local "cultures of learning", or frameworks of expectations, attitudes, values and beliefs about successful learning and teaching, about learning and using different language skills in classrooms, and about how interaction should be accomplished (see Cortazzi and Jin 1996a, 1996b). For instance, on the whole, communicative methodology did not prove to be fully applicable in Asian contexts, accustomed to transmission- and examination-oriented language teaching culture (see, for instance, Chow and Mok-Cheung 2004; Wang 2007). It resulted in teachers' rejection of official CLT policies, adaptation of its practices, reconciliation of CLT methodology with local educational practices into a localized form of methodology (Wong and Ho 2004; Rao 1996; Li 1998).

Language assessment is to a large extent subject to the influences exercised by local and national language policy guidelines on the one hand and learners' requirements conditioned by the local culture of learning on the other. As it is argued by Ross (2011), language assessment involves values, ideologies, and sometimes interests driven by nationalism, xenophobia and also vested interests that may be motivated to acquire, retain or expand economic or strategic power. Thus, language assessment cannot be understood exclusively as limited to the technical issues of reliability and validity and is, instead, infused with issues of power, identity, national sovereignty, macro- and micropolitics, as well as macro- and microeconomics (Bachman and Purpura 2008). This is especially the case if one takes into account internationally-accredited examinations, which due to their preference for particular language standards as evidenced in answer keys, selection of geographical and social domains for texts used in receptive tasks or models of expected oral performance, already exercise quite a notable impact on the way language teaching is conducted in particular countries of the world. Ross (2011) adds that tensions exist between competing ideologies and practices that promote language assessment for managerial and accountability purposes and those seeking alternatives predicated on the belief that locally-decided assessment practices are ultimately more democratic.

Therefore, the significance of language assessment as a topic for intercultural collaborative exchange is conditioned by a number of dimensions that it can actually exhibit, showing differences in the participants' attitudes towards

- traditional vs. alternative assessment;
- suitability of assessment measures with different age groups;
- expected level of L autonomy/T power in the classroom;
- predominant methodology/ies – e.g., the local variation of Communicative Language Teaching or other methods;
- teaching/learning preferences for the choice of tasks, select vs. construed responses, the way of wording instructions;
- designing scoring procedures, answer key and feedback.

5. LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT IN THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT – A STUDY IN TEACHER TRAINING

5.1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY – TELECOLLABORATIVE EXCHANGES IN BLENDED TEACHER TRAINING

Telecollaborative tandems or intercultural exchanges have become one of the major vehicles for technology-assisted language instruction at the university level these days (Helm, Guth & O'Dowd 2012). Previous studies on the effect of telecollaboration on language learning have proved, among many others, increased learning gains through providing real interaction opportunities and exposure to non-native or native speakers of TL (Grosbois 2011) in written (Guth & Marini-Maio 2010) and oral modes (Bueno-Alastuey 2010, 2013), an increase in language learners' motivation (Jauregi & Bañados 2008), as well as the development of intercultural competence (Tian &Wang 2010).

More interestingly for our focus here, the studies reporting upon the implementation of telecollaboration in teacher training programmes are relatively scarce, indicating an increase in pre-service teachers' competences in CALL and CMC (Guichon & Hauck 2011), showing how the adoption of telecollaboration leads to the enrichment of trainees' own repertoire of teaching techniques (Antoniadou 2011) as well as how it results in an increased awareness of the difficulties inherent to these projects (Dooly & Sadler 2013). Moreover, studies show increase of techno-pedagogical skills (Koehler & Mishra 2009) as well as enhanced awareness of how to develop learners' intercultural competence through telecollaborative exchanges (Dooly & Sadler 2013).

However, the implementation of international computer-mediated telecollaboration in teacher training is not devoid of problems and pitfalls. As indicated by an earlier study in which tandems of undergraduate students worked on specific methodology

topics in mixed groups (Krajka et al. 2013), interaction may be limited to few isolated, single posts; with longer discussions restricted in the number of participants (involving 3–4). On the management side, unequal participation and varied response times on both parts of the project led to discouragement and demotivation of participants. Rather than created together, products (here, glossaries) were made individually by students and uploaded to the course Moodle. Finally, in-course interaction was mainly teacher-directed, with few student-initiated tasks.

Thus, we conclude elsewhere (Krajka et al. 2013) that telecollaboration cannot be taken for granted nor can it be expected to appear on its own. Much greater attention in telecollaborative teacher training course design needs to be paid to fostering collaboration and providing participants with scaffolding to actually reach their goals. The systematic approach to knowledge co-construal in TT telecollaboration as indicated by Bueno-Alastuey (2014) showed effectiveness of a structured approach to achieving instructional goals through a series of steps and stages, monitored by the two instructors and spread over the longer time span.

5.2. FROM EXPOSURE TO GLOBAL INPUT TO TELECOLLABORATIVE KNOWLEDGE CONSTRUAL – A CASE STUDY

Informed by the previous studies, most importantly, Bueno-Alastuey (2014) and Krajka et al. (2013), a telecollaborative project was set up between tandems of graduate students from University of Social Sciences and Humanities from Warsaw and Mehmet Akif Ersoy University (Burdur, Turkey). Both classes participated in a specialised teacher training course of a similar focus ("Language Testing"), which was due in the same semester and which followed the same main textbook (Brown 2014).

Ss got divided into 3–4 person groups mixed from the two classes and were supposed to create their own tests on a specific topic – vocabulary/grammar, receptive skills, productive skills. Partners provided feedback on student-made tests using different technologies selected on their own – screen recording/online whiteboard discussions/forum posts/social networking sites. These environments were not set up, managed and controlled by the two instructors, but it was where student teachers were in charge. On the other hand, in order to balance that and ensure some whole-class impact as well, Moodle forums were used to stimulate in-group and individual reflection that all the participants could actually benefit from.

At the end of the winter semester the pre-project phase took place. A relatively brief period of 4 weeks of preparatory instruction on both sides aimed at making Ss familiar with the tools (Moodle forums/diaries, selected screen recording applications, online whiteboards, interactive quizzing tools), creating project groups and allowing Ss to establish informal contacts, negotiating milestones and timelines and familiarising students with diversity of ELT contexts, as well as exposing them

to possible differing culture-dependent views on assessment (see Appendix for sample materials). Students became familiar with the project goals and procedure, instructors' expectations and course requirements. They gradually started to interact with their prospective partners, sending messages and getting to know one another.

The project proper was to follow in the second (summer) semester, which is in progress at the moment of writing this paper. In the main project phase, the "Language Testing" course is going to be taught parallelly by both partner instructors, with a common online discussion and quizzing space created to assist acquisition of knowledge. At the same time, student teachers are going to prepare tests on selected topics and exchange these to give feedback on the applicability of their partners' tests to the alternative sociocultural setting (Polish or Turkish). In the end, student teachers' reflections on variations or modifications needed in tests will be collected, as well as whole-class discussions will be summarised.

6. PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS AND FINAL CONCLUSIONS

The implementation of telecollaboration in teacher training is not devoid of potential drawbacks and pitfalls. Ample care needs to be devoted to the process of preparation of the tandem project in terms of content, intercultural competence and technologies used. In particular, negotiation of course syllabi by both instructors, setting realistic timelines taking into account the academic year schedules of the partners and coming up with challenging yet achievable tasks will guarantee success of the project.

Also, a significant amount of work needs to be devoted to familiarizing student teachers with the specificity of the partners' English language teaching context, encompassing, among others, national regulations on language examinations, expectations on the language standard, preferred ways of learning (so-called "culture of learning" – see Jin and Cortazzi 2011), status of English in the country, perceived role of teacher and learners. The understanding of all these aspects, together with some informal contacts with partners before the start of the course, should create better conditions for collaborative knowledge co-construal.

At the same time, given maturity and motivation of pre-service teacher trainees, involving them in the process of coming up with the deadlines and expectations should ensure greater ownership of the course and prevent previously diagnosed lack of involvement. Especially timelines become an important issue here, for instance, with extramural students having to reconcile their family, work and study obligations.

Finally, rather than complain about the slowness of the process or excessive response lags, the instructor needs to acknowledge the fact of double learning space (traditional face-to-face and collaborative online) and take this fact into account while establishing assessment details.

Even though the proposed teacher training model does not feature technology-enhanced activities as the centre of the course, they will play a significant part in the process of raising prospective teachers' awareness of the English language, the way it is taught and assessed. Blended learning is naturally used to create a context for culture-rich acquisition of teaching skills in the ways that are impossible to be achieved in a traditional classroom. While there may be logistical, administrative and instructional considerations to overcome which call for skilful integration of TC activities into regular TT instruction, it is possible to design the degree and mode of online participation in such a way so that both local and global requirements are satisfied.

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APPENDIX

Teacher's views on alternative assessment (messages retrieved from *The Landscape of English Language Teaching* MOOC available at Coursera.org, January–February 2014, grammar and spelling original).

Jahzeel • 20 days ago
Good day everyone!
Assessment is used by teachers everyday not only for evaluating how the students are doing so far but most especially to evaluate whether the strategies employed in the classroom on a specific topic is effective or if it works well with that particular learner. It is indeed true that the most exploited for of assessment is the paper and pencil test, which can also be considered as one of the traditional forms of assessments. That is why in my classes, I seldom use this type of assessment especially in my Language class in which the most effective, I think, form of assessing my students' performance is through performance-based or personal-response assessment. I usually let them perform authentic tasks in which I could observe their use of the English Language. That way I would know if they can already use it in the mainstream. Just like what the video has suggested, during their performance I take down notes and corrections which I later read after the performance. What I usually do is to list their strengths and the areas where they need to improve (I do not call them weaknesses so it wont have a negative effects on students). By mentioning their strengths they would be motivated to work on the areas that need improvement.

Ana • 23 days ago
I think that the way we give importance to assesment is an error, at least here in Spain, students memorise and study to pass an exam instead of for learning, which is really sad. Do we want parrots or people prepare for dealing with the real life? It is useful if they know a lot of vocabulary just translating from english to spanish? or is better if they know hoow to use in a real contest? in my opinionwe should change that, asses the whole process and not only the final tests

Lola • 22 days ago
I totally agree with you, Ana. In Spain, laws – and, therefore, the whole education system – pay too much attention to summative assessment. And I really do not understand it. It may be part of the assessment process, but it should not be at the core of it. When pupils are four or five years old, they have a portfolio to see their progress, and no test is taken at all. I do not understand why that method is no longer valid for 6-year-old pupils and older. A simple traditional test is not representative of the pupil's efforts throughout the school year at all. These

assessment criteria only bring about more anxiety into the classroom atmosphere, preventing them from effective long-life learning. Balance is the right option in my opinion.

Tahsina • 19 days ago

The place where I work has summative assessment in focus. We have two exams (midterm and final) with quizzes, assignment and presentation during the course. Students get all the scripts back with feedback except the final exam scripts and they receive grades for each course. But there are scopes for teachers for formative assessments as quiz and presentation are teacher directed. So there are role plays, speech & poster presentations, dramatized presentations etc in my class. What I noticed is students are more interested in these kinds of tasks but it is not always that they remain anxiety free. An introvert student will always be anxious about coming in front of the class and play a role. I have never used dialogue journal or portfolio in my courses and found these ideas of alternative assessment very interesting.

Pauline • 24 days ago

Yes! I work in Korea too, and everything is standardized! It is so frustrating, I have to try to convince my students that real English isn't at all like what they are studying. I have also faced similar grading situations, and I especially hate the lack of recognition for partial credit. I have to administer a particularly difficult writing test twice a year, and students will often make nearly perfect sentences with extremely minor mistakes, but I am forced to mark the whole thing wrong. They get the same score for all that work, that a kid who didn't even attempt it gets. Its heartbreaking sometimes!

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FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING
AND INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCIES

In the study LACE (Languages and Cultures in Europe), which was carried out in 2008 for the European Commission's Directorate for Multilingualism, the team started from the perception that education – and especially foreign language teaching – can fulfil at least a part of the expectations, if it focuses concretely on the development of abilities, skills and, above all, intercultural competences of pupils. The project LACE was built on theories of intercultural competences (Chen and Starosta 2005; Byram 1997, 2000, 2001, 2002) with an objective to deliver some evidence to form a basis for devising appropriate policies in the European multilingual space.

KEYWORDS: interculturalism, competence, education, foreign language, curriculum

INTRODUCTION

Multiculturalism seems still to be a "problem" when we find ourselves in the area of "interculturalism", where many interactions are in play in the sphere of social, historical and cultural diversity. Identities, traditions, customs, symbols, religion, collective memories and, last but really not least, different languages are defining the space of encounters, which is the social space of multiculturalism. Education and training as agencies of linking actors in this space are of course essential, as it is well demonstrated in a series of documents of such international organizations as the Council of Europe, UNESCO and several NGOs. The notion of multiculturalism marks social spaces as we could say with Bourdieu (1997), in which unavoidably intercultural connections happen. Broadly, we can state that a scientific conceptualisation of the notion of interculturalism, as well as many empirical studies of the phenomena in the framework of multiculturalism, progressed a lot from the first "naive" attempts to define the notion. Literature, published in the last few decades is abundant. For example, SAGE Handbook (Joy, Mesha, Gordon 2008) addresses multiculturalism and children by studying traditional agents of socialization as well as contemporary media influences. Contributors to the book try to find out how socialisation practices and media content construct and teach

us about diverse cultures. Another compendium (Zieberts, Kay 2009) puts a stress on religion as an agency of socialisation in the multicultural world, which happens to be observable in Europe. On the other hand, there were also some attempts of repudiating the concept and shed – to put it mildly – different light on the phenomena of multiculturalism itself as a presumably "leftist" or even "Marxist" construction (Schmidt 1997). Without citing further references, one can remember many public activities of NGOs and some intergovernmental organisations, which one way or the other reacted, commented and devised plans of action to address various contexts of multiculturalism as well as interculturalism, which is for better or for worse generated in its framework. Such organisations often devise legal, social and political solutions for many problems, which happen to be perceived as having their roots in an expansion of multiculturalism.

CONCEPTS OF THE HERMENEUTIC THEORY

According to Gadamer, as Roy and Starosta comment, human activities cannot be discerned without taking into account their impacts upon each other. Therefore a research of intercultural communication on the bases of Gadamer's notion of *praxis* should generate more than just knowledge. It should rely on the moral ground as well (Roy, Starosta 2001: 13). Of course, we know that any theoretical construction of coexistence of cultures and any projections of politics of difference (and diversity) encounter many obstacles, when an answer to a question on how to implement the concepts in a sphere of daily life of a society must be given. As much as there is a lot of evidence on many disappointing effects, there is still no better suited activity for the purpose than formal and informal education.

On a fundamental level (philosophical or other within humanities) the importance of education and/or training can be defined in the framework of the notion of *Bildung*, whose signification Gadamer linked to the notion of *praxis*. "The concept of *self-formation, education or cultivation* (Bildung), which became supremely important at the time, was perhaps the greatest idea of the eighteenth century" (Gadamer 1975: 8). This clearly means that in Gadamer's view one cannot conceive in the realm of *praxis* any correlation of *Bildung* in the social reality without education. Further on, Gadamer's hermeneutic theory puts forward a view on humanity as being founded on language as the ontological basis. The above cited authors (Roy, Starosta 2001: 9) also claim that for Gadamer language represents much more than just means to attain an aim since the language defines who a person is and what – in a range of many imaginable forms of identity such as ethnic, vocational, etc. – is he or she about to become. What follows from this is the obvious link between the determination of very being of humans, who are decisively constituted by language on one side and the activity of education, which

most certainly positively affects cultural relationships, on the other side. Therefore, this link also represents a constitutive aspect of the educational *praxis* in the field of interculturalism.

I shall try to present contours of an international research project under the title LACE (Languages and Cultures in Europe), which was built on these and some more closely defined theories with an objective to deliver some evidence to form a basis for devising appropriate policies in the European multilingual space. Especially foreign language instruction (of course, presupposing also learning about a mother tongue) is even in a most elementary form unavoidably an education in interculturalism, considering the circumstances of growing intercultural interactions in the framework of globalising contexts and tendencies. Taking into account this fact and building upon it so that elements of interculturalism are interlaced with a curriculum – in its methods as well as in its contents – we are on the way to construct the intercultural education, supported by a degree of reflexivity. Of course, teachers should be properly educated for the task. They should acquire knowledge on multi- and inter-culturalism and they should be informed about the state of the art teaching methods as well as they should have at their disposal an array of didactic means. Such needs and aims are visible in a number of documents of such international organisations as Council of Europe and UNESCO, and one should not forget NGOs in the field of education too.

WHAT WAS LACE ABOUT?

Starting in 2006 and finished in 2008, LACE study provided some insights and some recommendations concerning opportunities for a development of intercultural competence within the first foreign language curriculum. What follows in this section of this paper summarises only some aspects of the study. To enhance readability, these summarisations are given without specific quoting of the *Report* of the LACE study.[1] The primary specific objective of the study was to identify and assess the nature, scope and extent of intercultural competence currently developed in foreign language education at each of the main stages of compulsory education (understood here as ISCED 1 and ISCED 2 as they are determined in UNESCO conventions) in selected countries of the European Union [Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Slovenia, UK (England)] and the European Economic Area (Norway). To generate the review, a sophisticated analysis tool was developed to assess the provisions and objectives prescribed by

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[1] The entire study is available at this internet link: http://nellip.pixel-online.org/files/publications_PLL/18_Languages%20and%20Cultures%20in%20Europe%20(LACE).pdf (accessed 11th December, 2016).

the curricula under review. The analysis tool was applied to the original documents (not translations) by local experts working in the countries investigated. The data collected was evaluated by the Steering Committee led by Peter Franklin from *Hochschule Technik, Wirtschaft und Gestaltung* (HTWG) in Konstanz. A review created a picture across the countries investigated and also allowed a certain degree of careful comparison. The tool analysed the curricular objectives (and didactic and methodological approaches) according to three conceptualisations or models of intercultural competence or, more precisely, models of the sub-competence.

These three conceptualisations comprised theories by Michael Byram, Chen and Starosta as well as the document of Council of Europe COMMON EUROPEAN FRAMEWORK concerning foreign language teaching. These three conceptualisations provided slightly different focuses of analysis. For instance, Byram's model differs from the Chen and Starosta model. Both of these models were used to construct the above mentioned so called tools, which were actually quite complex forms or questionnaires meant to be filled-in by country experts. Let me make a note that recently Sylwia Kossakowska-Pisarek in her journal article concerning education of students of law clearly marked the difference between the emphases of both very influential theoretical models. Thus, after a condensed presentation of Byram's concepts of intercultural competence she accurately characterises his model: "It emphasizes the importance of openness and curiosity and the importance of learning about values and practices of other cultures and learners' own one. It highlights the role of the language component as a part of intercultural competence" (Kossakowska-Pisarek 2016: 43). Similarly, the author briefly describes Chen and Starosta's model, but in their case the focus is different due to the inclusion of – among others – behavioural aspects into the model. Therefore, this model allows a somewhat different view upon issues of intercultural competence: "The model puts emphasis on multiple perspectives and identities in the global context" (Ibid.: 43). Nevertheless, the main features of these models or theoretical constructions of intercultural competence are broadly quite similar, or they at least support and complement each other. Definitely they don't contradict each other. Hence, I am giving an outline here of the project's summarization of only Byram's model to illustrate what the country experts had to look for in their national curricula. The analysis tool also collated data referring to didactic and methodological approaches.

BYRAM'S MODEL OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCES

1. Linguistic Competence
   • *the ability to apply knowledge of the rules of a standard version of the language to produce and interpret spoken and written language*

2. Sociolinguistic Competence
    *   *the ability to give to the language produced by an interlocutor – whether native speaker or not – meanings which are taken for granted by the interlocutor or which are negotiated and made explicit with the interlocutor*
3. Discourse Competence
    *   *the ability to use, discover and negotiate strategies for the production and interpretation of monologue or dialogue texts which follow the conventions of the culture of an interlocutor or are negotiated as intercultural texts for particular purposes*
4. Intercultural Competence, comprises:
    4.1. Knowledge (Savoirs)
        *   *knowledge of social groups and their products and practices in one's own and in one's interlocutor's country, and of the general process of societal and individual interaction*
    4.2. Discovery & Interaction (Savoir apprendre)
        *   *the ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and the ability to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction*
    4.3. Attitudes (Savoir être)
        *   *curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one's own*
    4.4. Interpreting & Relating (Savoir comprendre)
        *   *the ability to interpret a document or events from another culture, to explain it and relate it to documents from one's own*
    4.5. Critical Awareness (Savoir s'engager)
        *   *the ability to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries*

Analysis of national curricula with the tool basically provided findings, which were then processed by the steering committee of the project.

FINDINGS: RELEVANCE OF CURRENT CURRICULA

The final report of the project takes into account also other research evidence provided by teachers and it presents the particular findings of the project. Again, I am presenting these findings in a condensed form:

*   There is some but not complete overlap with the elements of the three models of intercultural competence underlying the curricula reviewed in the study. The curricula demonstrate a tendency to emphasise linguistic competence and communication skills at the expense of intercultural competence.

- The curriculum review undertaken with the analysis tool makes clear that when intercultural competence is a focus of the curricula it tends to concern knowledge and attitudes rather than behaviour.
- It can be said that in many cases the curricula are only partially relevant to the optimum.
- Effectiveness of current curricula: Intercultural competence objectives may be described in the curricula in such general terms that it is difficult for teachers to imagine what they may mean and, more significantly, how these objectives can be put into practice in the language classroom. Greater clarity and detail are necessary in the formulation of objectives in the area of intercultural competence development.

APPROACHES ACTUALLY USED IN THE CLASSROOM

To gain further data an online survey was conducted of 213 foreign language teachers in primary and lower secondary education. As I already mentioned above, quantitative and qualitative data were collected, which were evaluated by the Steering Committee. Experiences of teachers developing intercultural competence in foreign language education were also researched through telephone interviews, which were conducted in English, Danish, Flemish, French, and German with 78 teachers. 34 of them are teaching in primary and 54 of them in lower secondary education.

Final output was achieved by an assessment by the Steering Committee of all the data collected. On the basis of all findings the research team – apart from specific national reports and other information and explanations – also produced Recommendations for two relevant levels of policy making in education systems.

RECOMMENDATIONS AT THE EUROPEAN LEVEL

The research team concludes from the study's findings that, as a matter of principle, the teaching of foreign languages can be enhanced by the proper promotion of intercultural competence alongside linguistic skills. To pursue this aim, certain steps can best be taken at the European level. They concern the areas of strategy on the one hand and mobility, professional development and teaching resources on the other. The following summarises the recommendations made by the authors of the study at this level:

- make intercultural competence development alongside foreign language learning a key feature of a new framework strategy for multilingualism;
- support intercultural competence development in language learning as a means of enhancing, also in lower secondary education, practical business-related

skills for relationships both within the EU and with extra-European cultures, in pursuit of the aims of the Lisbon Agenda;

- focus on intercultural competence development alongside linguistic skills as a priority, where appropriate, in the next general call for proposals under the Life Long Learning programme;

- establish and fund an international, multi-disciplinary group of experts to establish a framework of performance indicators which describe attainment levels of intercultural competence and to develop methods of assessing intercultural competence in the language classroom;

- support awareness-raising in the area of intercultural competence for officials, educational policymakers and decision-makers, foreign-language educators and other key multipliers at the European and national level: this would assist in creating an underlying and proper appreciation of the nature of intercultural competence, how it can be developed and how it complements European language policy;

- support research into the nature of intercultural competence and into approaches to developing and assessing it in school settings, specifically foreign language learning;

- increase funding for international teacher mobility, teacher exchanges, school partnerships, school exchanges and visits, and simplified procedures;

- support (1) the development and operation of an EU-wide face-to-face and virtual network of experts and practitioners in the teaching of intercultural competence in the context of foreign language learning, and (2) the development and operation of an EU-wide multilingual, Internet-based intercultural competence development resource bank.

RECOMMENDATIONS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

Other steps can best be taken at the Member State level. These cover the areas of strategy and administration, initial teacher education, professional development of teachers, curriculum design (including assessment) and teaching and learning resources. The following summarises the recommendations made by the authors of the study:

- fund research into intercultural competence linked to foreign language learning;

- promote understanding among foreign-language educators, curriculum designers and other key multipliers, of the nature of intercultural competence and its development;

- promote and fund teacher and pupil mobility measures;

- improve initial teacher education to give greater emphasis to intercultural competence and its development;

- promote and fund professional development courses and in-service training for foreign language teachers;
- improve the design of foreign language curricula to include clearer and more detailed specification of objectives, descriptions of didactic and methodological approaches and methods of assessment;
- Support the development and provision of teaching and learning resources for language teachers; support and fund professional development for those developing such materials.

CONCLUSION

The following concluding comments are sole responsibility of the author of this paper and not of the whole LACE project team. The findings of LACE project – no matter how relatively modest it was especially in its empirical component due to limited budget – draw attention to a discrepancy between declarations on international level and "real life" on micro levels. As we all know, the educational goals concerning a formation of intercultural competence are more than desirable on the international level. However, in view of what was generally found out about the first foreign language curriculum in the countries involved in the project, some goals are included in the foreign language curriculum, but the situation is bleaker on the level of cross-curricular contents. Of course, a detailed assessment of the results in each particular country shows significant differences between countries, but the main aim of the project was not any ranking of countries. The recommendations, therefore, constitute a ground for comparisons and further reflection on possible improvements. Results of the LACE project, which I presented here in a rather condensed way, point towards attainable impacts in the development of intercultural competence in a practice of foreign language teaching. As for both sets of recommendations I am not in possession of any evidence about an implementation of them in the policies of the respective levels and in teaching practice in the European schools. Maybe an additional research or at least an evaluation should be conducted to reach any conclusion, but I am inclined to say that there isn't much to research and/or evaluate, regarding the impact of the findings and recommendations.

There cannot be any doubt about it that foreign language teaching represents probably the most important part of a formation of intercultural competence of pupils. Such a view isn't, needless to say, any original discovery of the LACE project, but it represents also knowledge of those social sciences and humanities, which deal with many different aspects of reproduction of cultures. On the other hand, it wouldn't be enough to rely only on foreign language teaching in the formal educational framework for the purpose of deepening tolerance and mutual understanding between cultures in already more or less multicultural European societies. Both,

on the European level and on national levels the notion of intercultural competence requires further refining especially in the educational context. As it also follows from answers of teachers on-line and in telephone interviews it is strategically important to include knowledge and understanding of intercultural competence in teacher education colleges as well as in in-service teacher education. An increasing amount of scientifically founded knowledge requires an appropriate translation for the needs of educational discourse and its usage in any educational *praxis*.

It is quite a bit worrying that in most countries one can find very visible traces of ethnocentrism in the curriculum. As, for instance, in the Slovenian case the situation is critical especially in view of cross-curricular contents, since a bulk of other curricula – except to an extent the citizenship education – put a stress on a development of the national identity without even mentioning the intercultural aspect. It goes without saying that intercultural competence (or whatever in that sense) is absent from these curricula. In Slovenia and elsewhere politics and not the majority of educators can be blamed for this. This means that in most countries governments' offices don't pay enough attention to European standards and trends. However, one must admit that the European politics in this field is, hopefully, still a work in progress. Unfortunately, due to some recent movements and currents in the public sphere, amplified by the so called refugee crisis, the developments point much more towards a *work in regress*. At the same time many political parties, both in "new" and "traditional" democracies, which are confronting populism and propagation of fear of foreigners and cultural minorities, for reasons of a political pragmatism do not really feel like promoting any decisions to strengthen interculturalism. However, this is another topic, which requires a strong involvement of social studies and humanities in the public sphere.

As we know, many teachers of citizenship education and related "sensitive" syllabus (like history, geography, etc.) feel explicit and hidden tensions in the classroom due to such political atmosphere. We can only hope that many benefits and advantages, which better developed interculturalism would certainly contribute to the social and economic development, will become increasingly more visible. On the other hand, there is an increasing evidence that intercultural competence enables an individuals' fuller and more creative life in the European multicultural communities as well as in the global world.

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EXPLORING LEARNER NEEDS:
NEEDS ANALYSIS IN THE GLOBAL WORKPLACE

The increasingly diversified global workplace poses challenges to communication between different culture representatives. Thus the needs of workers should include intercultural skills, and this should be taken into consideration by teachers. The article looks at the evolution of the concept of needs and their assessment. It advocates for broadening the scope of needs analysis to include the needs related to intercultural communication. It reviews various approaches and practice of needs assessment and discusses needs in the global workplace.

KEYWORDS: needs analysis, global workplace, intercultural skills, intercultural communication, foreign language education

INTRODUCTION

Globalisation and the advance of new technologies have brought dramatic changes to the workplace and the way people interact there. Clearly, they have increased the amount and the intensity of intercultural encounters. The workplace in our increasingly complex and interconnected world has become more diverse and multicultural, requiring from workers specific skills in terms of navigating cultural norms and communication styles, values and beliefs. Furthermore, the process of globalisation has also had an enormous impact on our identities and sense of cultural belonging. This article examines the scope of needs analysis and advocates for broadening it to include needs related to intercultural competence. The first part deals with establishing what needs are and whose needs we should take into account, the second part describes different approaches to needs analysis and the third part describes research in this area. Needs in the global workplace and implications for preparing and conducting needs analysis are also addressed. The paper concludes that needs should be conceptualised in a broader context and proposes some measures to tailor them to the global workplace.

NEEDS AND RELATED CONCEPTS

In recent years a considerable amount of literature has been published on needs assessment. The concept of needs analysis or needs assessment (NA), which is viewed as "the cornerstone of ESP" (Dudley-Evans & St John 1998: 122), has evolved tremendously since the beginning of English for Specific Purposes. Needs related to workplace occupations are classified as a branch of ESP, namely English for Occupational Purposes (EOP). As Qing (2016: 14) puts it, "Workplace communication activities require employees to possess the ability to use English in 'context-specific environments' in all kinds of written and oral communication activities and across modern telecommunication channels".

The term *needs* appeared as early as the 1920s in India (West 1994: 1), when Michael West introduced the problem of what learners will do with a foreign language in the target situation. In the 1960s NA focused mainly on micro-analyses of elements in various discourses and on identifying dominant features within texts (Johns and Makalela 2011: 199). Currently, this approach has expanded into corpus linguistics and discourse analysis. Nevertheless, many researchers (Hutchinson and Waters 1987; Benesch 1999; Johns and Makalela 2011: 197) argue that needs assessment should concentrate on the learner, not the target discourses.

A further development in this area is connected with the communicative approach to language learning and the central role of a language learner in the learning process. In the 1970s and 80s needs analysis focused on language skills required for communicating effectively in specific settings. This narrow interpretation is currently challenged as being a product-oriented view and is contrasted with a broader, process-oriented view concentrated on the learner (Brindley 1989). The concept of learner needs has also evolved and has been extended to include, among other things, affective and cognitive variables which influence learning.

Hutchinson and Waters (1987: 53) emphasise that this awareness of the need is what distinguishes ESP from General English. Nevertheless, there has been a problem with establishing what the term *needs* involves. There have been several attempts to define this concept and the viewpoint from which the needs are perceived is closely connected with different approaches to conducting the NA and the ways of collecting relevant data.

Hutchinson and Waters (1987: 54–58) identify two categories: *target needs* and *learning needs*. The former concern what the learner needs to do in the target situation, and the latter concern what the learner needs to do in order to learn. They divide *target needs* into *necessities, lacks* and *wants*. This distinction is made based on the purpose, so that *necessities* are determined by the target situation, *lacks* are the gaps between the target and the existing proficiency of the learners, and *wants* are what the learners feel they need.

Brown (2016: 12–17) identifies four different categories of needs described in terms of views: i) the democratic view, i.e. what the majority of learners want;

ii) the discrepancy view, i.e. deficiencies and requirements; iii) the analytic view, i.e. elements that they should learn next based on theory and experience; and iv) the diagnostic view, i.e. elements that cause the most harm if missing. However, Brown (Ibid.: 16) calls for combining different conceptualisations of needs as appropriate for the different stages of the NA process.

According to Brindley (1989: 66) needs are perceived as instrumental, and the course content should reflect the purpose of the learner. Brindley (1989) identifies *objective* and *subjective needs* and suggests that students should be encouraged to reflect on their needs. *Objective needs* concern what learners or others may need them to be able to do, and *subjective needs* are what learners want to do with the language. Brindley (1989) emphasizes that there may be conflicting views about the learning process between the teacher and the learners. Brindley (1989: 65) also interprets needs as the gap between current and desired states in the context of motivation, confidence, and awareness.

It is worth noticing that Brindley (1989), in taking into account the conflicting views of the teacher and the learner, introduced a new perspective of analysing the problem of needs. Current needs are now discussed in the context of various stakeholders and thus have become more complex (Gollin-Kies et al. 2015: 77–84). The stakeholders are not only teachers, learners, and employers, but may also include parents, school principals, future professors, deans, politicians and journalists. However, as Brown (2016: 41) maintains, key stakeholders tend to be students, teachers, and local administrators. As teachers operate in an area that is under the influence of various forces, the relative power of influence of all stakeholders needs to be taken into account. The context has changed to be perceived as being more complex and ambiguous, thus it is critical to consider all influences in the given situation. However, there may be unexpected consequences of reconciling the competing demands of stakeholders.

This view is supported by Hall (1985, after Gollin-Kies et al. 2015: 82–83), who discussed the case of *The University of Malaya Spoken English Project* (UMSEP) commissioned by the University of Malaya in 1980, targeted at preparing students for an English-speaking workplace. The project encompassed recording authentic interactions at the workplace. At the end of the project, when the materials were shown to the Head of the Centre, the executive was shocked that the workers in the recordings were speaking a Malaysian variety of English. Soon afterwards, the Vice-Chancellor sent a handwritten memorandum to the project team stating that 'no Malaysian accent' should be used in the materials. The motivation underlying this action was the concern that young people were not speaking proper British English, the prestigious form, but a Malaysian variety of English. Furthermore, the expatriate members of the UMSEP were accused of keeping for themselves the prestigious form of the language and of being responsible for a situation in which young people leaving university were not speaking proper English. This is an example where competitive demands of stakeholders

can lead to serious clashes between them, and may not produce the desired outcome.

Another important issue is raised by Field (1990: 31, after Gollin-Kies et al. 2015: 85) who draws our attention to the fact that when assessing learner needs more intangible objectives tend to be overlooked, as they are not as easy to name as obvious surface skills. Field suggests the iceberg model due to the fact that there is a lot hidden below the surface, namely the social and political context. This is the reason why course design based on needs analysis must be more complex than just the initial needs assessment, due to the importance of taking into consideration the needs that are not obvious and easily stated.

As we can see ,debate continues as to what needs are, nevertheless, this concept has indisputably evolved towards a broader and more complex perspective involving the influence of a combination of expectations and demands at individual, institutional, and societal levels. These influences are often contradictory and change dynamically over time and in various contexts, so a clear model for how to deal with them is needed. The next part focuses on these aspects in more detail.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO NEEDS ANALYSIS

This part synthetises the key approaches to needs analysis and provides an overview of current trends that enable us to understand learner needs in depth. As Gollin-Kies et al. (2015: 84) point out, early needs analysis (NA) focused mainly on the target language in a given situation. And although over the years there have been many developments in the approaches to NA, the underlying purpose of it has remained constant, i.e. to assist students in meeting the demands of the target situation and to fit into those situations. Brown (2005: 269) views NA as "the systematic collection and analysis of all information necessary for defining a defensible curriculum". However, there are new directions in the area of ESP and as Byram and Hu (2013: 503) put it "today, NA is moving beyond the development of language curriculum". So, what are the historical views and future directions?

One of the most frequently cited works and the earliest on needs analysis is Munby's model '*Communication needs processor*' (CNP) (1978). CNP is composed of a series of questions about the needs of learners concerning among others topic, participants, medium etc. Referring to his work, Hutchinson and Waters (1987: 54) remarked that the outcome of the CNP is a list of the linguistic features. However, although Munby (1978) provides a detailed list of microfunctions, at the same time he fails to prioritise them which definitely contributes to the instrument's inflexibility. Moreover, his model has been criticised as internally inconsistent, unrealistic in terms of expectations, and not supported by empirical evidence or linguistic theory (Mead 1982: 74–76).

Building on earlier work, West (1994: 77–83) analyses the early stages of the development of needs analysis and divides them into three stages. The earliest form, from the 1970s, is *target situation analysis* (TSA), a product-oriented model related to gathering information about target needs (Hutchinson and Waters 1987: 58–59). It consists of questions concerning the target situation and the attitudes to that situation in the learning process. Then there are other models from the 1980s, such as *deficiency analysis* which focuses on the gap between present proficiencies and target ones, *strategy analysis* which concerns learning styles, strategies, and teaching methods and *means analysis* involving the limitations and possibilities in a specific learning situation. According to West (Ibid.), from the 1990s another identifiable stage is one of *integrated* and *computer-based analyses*. There has been a lot of criticism with regard to all the models mentioned above, among others Brown (2005: 272) has indicated that all models in the 1980s overlap significantly with one another. However, some researchers (Gollin-Kies et al. 2015: 89) emphasise that the *integrated approach* has been identified correctly and that this trend has continued since the publication of the article, thus the development indicated by West was predicted with accuracy.

It is worth noticing that despite a lot of criticism towards the early models, some of them have remained in use even today in the business context. Language audits categorised by West (1994) as being from the 1980s are becoming more and more popular as commercial services carried out for a particular industry sector, for individual companies or for specific groups. As Brown (2016: 25–26) specifies, they tend to be applied to a global, large-scale assessment. However, as Gollin-Kies et al. (2015: 87–88) claim, the problem concerning language audits is twofold. First, there is often too much reliance on self-report and questionnaires. Secondly, the focus is mainly on the organisation, not the needs of individuals. In addition, Brown (2016: 26) points out that language audits may be used to promote bureaucratic language policies and standards.

Conversely, Benesch (2001: 61) draws our attention to the limitations of such an approach. In her view needs are incorrectly treated as "a psychological term suggesting that students require or want what the institution mandates. (…) It implies that students will be fulfilled if they follow these rules." Benesch (2001) highlights the distinction between institutional needs and individual needs and expresses the concern that the political and ideological nature of NA has been overlooked. Benesch (1999: 313) proposes a *rights analysis* in the EAP context which examines "how power is exercised and resisted in various aspects of an academic situation, including the pedagogy and the curriculum". The rights of students are more important than the target texts, their choice may be not to comply with requirements and to voice suggestions and objections. Benesch (1999: 315) also points out that the classroom is "a site of struggle", and that students are active participants and not just subjects. In her later work Benesch (2001: 43) argues for a *critical needs analysis* that examines who sets the goals, the reasons why they are formulated and calls for democratic

participation of the learners including recognising their rights to articulate opinions. In her opinion NA has been unjustly biased towards institutional viewpoints and it is vital to offer more power and priority to learners who are at the bottom of the hierarchy. The abovementioned problem of balancing between different needs, views, and expectations in unequal power relations is crucial for needs analysis and is closely related to the notion of power.

Power is a key concept both in intercultural communication and ESP, as it directly influences the communication process and language learning. Language learning has proved to be more than just a cognitive activity and is embedded in various contexts. As Kurylo (2013: 166) puts it, "power is the ability to control circumstances" and "all individual and social relationships operate within relations of power". Power should be considered when conducting the needs assessment and deciding whose needs should take precedence during curriculum development. Clearly, there is an on-going debate over whose views we should focus on when evaluating needs. On the one hand, Brown (2005: 286) points out that the most serious disadvantage of traditional needs analysis is that it focuses too much on the language needs of the students and ignores the views of parents, teachers, administrators etc. According to Brown, all these views should be respected and taken into consideration, only then should a consensus be formed regarding the perceived needs. On the other hand, Benesch (1999, 2001) maintains that learners should be helped to view their needs and position critically and should be empowered to, for example, negotiate the work they do.

The latter approach is supported by Basturkmen (2006: 145), who claims that previously it was taken for granted that ESP was pragmatically focused on assisting students to enter their chosen professional setting. This target environment was perceived as fixed. This view has been challenged, and the demand of the target situation can be changed to meet the needs of the students. These are teachers who are responsible for raising their awareness that the target situation can be modified and negotiated by students.

Another issue raised by researchers is the problem that there may be needs that are hard to articulate for learners or that learners are not aware of, and some researchers propose an approach to deepen our understanding of this problem. Belcher and Lukkarila (Belcher et al. 2011: 74) maintain that identity construction may broaden and deepen our view of the learner by taking into account the multiple roles that learners play in various contexts. Learning a language is inextricably linked to the culture of the community of speakers, a community of practice (Wenger 1998). A cultural view of students may assist us in understanding their language learning and their needs. A person has different identities, and as Norton puts it (2014: 76) "every individual can play more than one role in the communities that they belong to", therefore the identities are multiple, shifting, and incessantly negotiated. In order to construe who we are and what we do in the society we need to see ourselves in relation to other people and within different communities

(Wenger 1998). In viewing needs from the prism of an identity approach, Belcher and Lukkarila (Belcher et al. 2011: 78) suggest that students' awareness of their self-defined cultural identity may be useful in understanding learner needs. The researchers (Ibid.) argue for listening to learners' voices, to their complex views of themselves as language learners, and taking into account how they see themselves functioning with the use of a foreign language. This greater attention to students' multilingual cultural identity may contribute to understanding their needs and may be a means to increase the efficacy of needs analysis. As needs analysis has always been practical in nature, let us now look at the practice of it and its implications.

PRACTICE IN THE AREA OF NEEDS ASSESSMENT

As far as practice is concerned, the design, methods, and procedures seem to have improved over the past 30 years (Serafini et al. 2015: 11). When comparing earlier research (1984–1999) with later research (2000–2014) we can see that there is a growing awareness and sophistication among researchers, as well as essential methodological improvements. Positive aspects of the research in both periods that increase its reliability and validity include: consultation of domain experts and triangulation by sources or methods. In the later period there are more mixed-method designs comprising both qualitative and quantitative methods and more often NA concentrates on in-service learners. However, there are negative aspects as well, as most studies in the meta-analysis by Serafini et al. (2015) failed to explain the sampling procedures, or to use of these procedures in the recommended order, i.e. from open to closed or from inductive to deductive, and few researchers pilot-tested the data. Pilot-testing is vital especially in case of questionnaires in order to avoid irrelevant items, overly complex and technical wording or ambiguity (Long 2005a: 38).

Serafini et al. (2015) point out some methodological limitations of previously conducted needs analyses and suggest some improvements in this area concerning reliability and validity. The researchers propose employing a thorough task-based analysis to create course content. In terms of sources of information, data should be collected from two or more sources: insider and outsider; in the case of larger populations the sample should be stratified and random instead of being one of convenience. The assessment should not be constrained to consulting learners only, but also domain experts. Also, as far as the methods are concerned, two or more methods ought to be used, both qualitative and quantitative, such as: expert and non-expert intuitions, interviews, questionnaire surveys, ethnographic methods, journals etc. First, open-ended procedures should be employed, e.g. unstructured interviews, to enable discovering needs that would not be considered otherwise,

and only then should a structured interview be conducted and questionnaires and surveys be carried out.

All in all, other critics also question the previous research in the area of needs analysis due to a number of inadequacies (inter alia Jasso-Aguilar 2005; Long 2005a). Serafini et al. (2015: 11) argue that the majority of the research published from 1984 to 2014 has had the tendency to neglect the discussion of reliability and validity of methodology and to concentrate on findings. Serafini et al. (2015: 24) conclude that "common standards for reliability and validity have yet to be established". Nevertheless, some proposals on how to prepare NA in a more appropriate way have been formulated by the researchers. Additionally, Benesch (2001) points out that individuals who conduct NAs cannot be neutral as they bring pre-conceived notions, assumptions, and theories to the assessment which may influence their work.

In order to conduct reliable NAs it is vital, first of all, to invite multiple perspectives through, for example, a triangulated needs assessment that would allow one to take into account various views. Some researchers argue for a much more triangulated needs assessment which involves approaching the issue in various ways in order to validate findings (Long 2005a; Jasso-Aguillar 2005: 128). Long (2005a: 28) defines triangulation as "[involving] comparisons among two or more different sources, methods, investigations, theories – and sometimes combinations thereof". At the same time, Brown (2005: 284) emphasises that "simply using multiple measures and triangulation does not guarantee that a qualitative NA will be dependable and credible". This combination of multiple approaches must be carefully planned in order to cross-validate each other. Also, sequencing the procedures should be conducted in such a way that each builds on the previous one and provides added value to the general understanding.

Secondly, while a variety of sometimes contradictory approaches have been suggested many researchers agree that the approach to needs analysis has evolved towards a more integrated (West 1994; Gollin-Kies et al. 2015) and process-oriented one (Gollin-Kies et al. 2015). The process-oriented aspects encompass, among others, the negotiation of the needs between the various stakeholders that was discussed earlier. The integration manifests itself, among others, in timing. In the early approaches to ESP there was a tendency to understand needs analysis as the task prior to design and delivery of the course. Currently, needs analysis is perceived as a continuous process not restricted in terms of timing, and Belcher (2009: 8), among others, maintains that needs analysis should be on-going and not limited to the pre-curriculum stage. There is a justified reason to include for example end-of-course evaluation as part of needs analysis, as it is likely that it contributes to the next course. Eggly (2002, after Belcher 2009: 6) reports on an NA that took place after an ESP course had ended. Extended post-course videotaping of interactions between medical residents and their patients in a US clinic helped the residents to address their on-going needs in the context of developing a reflexive practice model.

Thirdly, the traditional needs analysis is considered as too ideologically narrow. The reconceptualisation is connected with the recognition that the target discourse community is situated in larger political and socioeconomic realities (Belcher 2009: 7). This, in turn, can lead to identifying the needs too pragmatically and can fail to prepare for the global workplace. This problem will be discussed in detail in the next part.

NEEDS IN THE GLOBAL WORKPLACE

In the 21ˢᵗ century, interaction with people from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds has become more important than ever. The impact of globalisation is related to the fact that "patterns of human interaction, interconnectedness and awareness are reconstituting the world as a single social space" (McGrew 1992: 65). As Sorrels (2010: 174) puts it "Globalisation has dramatically altered the context for understanding, theorising and engaging in intercultural communication". Due to the increased mobility and globalisation there is definitely an issue of needs connected with intercultural communication that goes beyond the concept of culture reduced to nationality. According to Gollin-Kies et al. (2015: 52) globalisation is connected to three main issues: intercultural or cross-cultural communication, issues of identity and authenticity and critical approaches.

The term *cross-cultural* is often used interchangeably with *intercultural*, but the former refers to the comparison of two or more cultural communication patterns (Jackson 2014: 3).

Hua (2011: 422) defined intercultural communication as

"a situation where people from different cultural backgrounds come into contact with each other; or a subject of study that is concerned with interactions among people of different cultural and ethnic groups and comparative studies of communication patterns across culture".

Liddicoat and Scarino (2013: 143–144) argue that needs are dynamic in nature and change when both context and learners change, which is a challenge to traditional needs analysis. Moreover, when planning curricula and programs we cannot focus solely on content. Content is not as important as interaction, meaning-making, relationships, diversity, and individuality. The researchers emphasise that traditional planning and programming originated within a view of learning as accumulating knowledge that is taught explicitly. Also the needs understood in the traditional way were limited to the categories of the programme such as topics and grammatical items. As Liddicoat and Scarino (2013: 144) claim, developing programs from intercultural perspective is a challenge to these views due to the fact that the content of language and the needs analysis represent only a part of intercultural

language learning. The learning from the intercultural perspective focuses on the interpretation, the exchanging of meanings in interactions. However, such an approach tends to overlook the fact that learners often are aware of intercultural problems and the needs based on them. If we conduct needs analysis in a way that it takes into account those needs then we do not constrain our research simply to linguistic items.

There are examples of including an intercultural perspective in NA. Describing the results of NA for an intensive English course at Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Cowling (2007: 433) identifies cultural differences as a high priority. During interviews the informants described intercultural problems they had had to overcome in areas such as negotiations, meetings, introductions and greetings, hosting business visitors, and small talk. Moreover, many respondents described embarrassing situations involving associations with foreign guests. It seemed that learners needed a grounding in initial contact and more confidence in culturally demanding situations. The syllabus that was prepared for the intensive course included cultural aspects, which were highlighted as "a useful and important part of the course" (Cowling 2007: 435). Another example is provided by Planken and Nickerson (after Belcher 2009: 115) and relates to introducing English as a corporate language for Finnish and Swedish employees working together for a merged company. Although the communication routines were quite similar respondents from both nationalities reported intercultural problems in the area of telephoning, meetings, small talk, and spoken communication generally. Swedish communication was "discussive", "wordy" and people "talked endlessly", while Finnish communication was "direct", "economical with words" and people were "blunt" and "few-worded" as reported by the other nationality. The same traits were perceived by the respective nationalities as advantages: Finns considered themselves "direct" and "factual" while Swedes talked about themselves as being "discussive" and "democratic communicators", while all of them perceived themselves as being effective communicators. These were the standards and viewpoints that differed. Planken and Nickerson (after Belcher 2009: 116) suggest that participants bring their cultural background and culturally determined practices to any interaction. That is why learner needs should probably encompass awareness of how to use contextual clues and their own and others' cultural patterns of communication in order to survive in today's turbulent, global business community.

Another topic closely linked to globalisation is identity and language learning. Norton (2014: 61) draws our attention to the fact that contemporary theories of identity enable us to see the individual learner situated in a social world. This perception is not defined as it was earlier in binary terms, e.g. motivated/unmotivated, introverted/extroverted, but constructed in relations of power, variable over time and space, and often multiple and struggling. Some identity positions may constrain learners in their learning, while some others enhance opportunities for social interaction. Belcher and Lukkarila (Belcher et al. 2011: 78–88) conducted

a small–scale qualitative study consisting of interviews with learners and their daily log of language use and related reflections for one month. They point out that learners' self-definitions of cultural identity were far more complex than expected. The choice of language seems, on the one hand, to constrain and, on the other, to enable the identities of the learners. English is viewed as more for academic and formal use, while their first language enables them to express emotions better and to be their "core" selves (Belcher and Lukkarila, in Belcher et al. 2011: 86). It is crucial to be aware of what matters to learners and how they see themselves as present and future learners. Language teachers may fail to consider what learners want to do with their target language and define their needs too narrowly. It is possible that learners wish not only to use the target language, but also to become somebody through this language.

As far as authenticity is concerned it is most often discussed in ESP in terms of authentic materials. Nevertheless, Belcher (2009: 9) argues that in fact we should focus rather on enhancing authenticity in connection with authentic tasks and the use of simulations, role-playing and tasks, especially as part of problem-based learning (PBL). As Wenger (1991: 53) puts it, "Activities, tasks, functions, and understanding do not exist in isolation; they are part of the broader system of relations in which they have meaning. (…) Learning them implies becoming a different person with respect to possibilities enabled by these systems of relations". Also, Kramsch and Sullivan (1996, after Gollin-Kies et al. 2015: 57) claim that authentic pedagogy is connected more with appropriate interactions in the classroom than "genuine" tasks and texts imported from Anglo-Saxon environments. This approach serves not only meeting communicative language needs, but also develops learners' problem-solving strategies and employability skills. Furthermore, it develops sensitivity to diversity when communicating across languages and cultures. Typically, these are the kind of needs that are not easily defined and tend to be overlooked during NA. The notions of authenticity and identity are closely connected with critical approaches.

There is a variety of critical approaches in English language teaching, yet they share some common characteristics. From a critical intercultural perspective culture is perceived as an ideological struggle between competing vested interests (Halualani and Nakayama 2010: 6) and is conceptualised through power. Thus, culture is no longer a neutral place, but a changeable place where individuals actively participate in creating and recreating meanings. Power is complex and plays a crucial role in all communication interactions. In this context Benesch (1999, 2001) discusses rights analysis and the empowerment of students to influence the decisions of other stakeholders. This topic was discussed in more detail in the previous part of this article. Moreover, Pennycook (2016: 29–33) draws our attention to the fact that English may play a role in the broader process of the dominance of global capital and the homogenisation of world culture. From this perspective it is more important for students to develop skills such as shifting between styles, discourses, genres,

and registers than to focus on how to be proficient in one variety of English. As Auerbach (1995: 12, after Pennycook 2016: 33) points out "dynamics of power and inequality show up in every aspect of classroom life, from physical setting to needs assessment, participant structures, curriculum development".

CONCLUSIONS

The past decade has seen the rapid development of the concept of needs and their assessment. On the one hand, this has changed in terms of procedures from one-time, pre-instruction study to on-going and complex analysis. On the other hand, needs are conceptualised in a broader social context. The context of globalisation requires that we revisit and extend the concept of needs and the practice should be grounded in critical engagement and democratic participation. It seems that in the case of effective preparation for the global workplace we need to redefine what and how needs are to be assessed and how to balance the needs, views, and expectations of various stakeholders. At the same time learners should be treated as active participants who are able to articulate their opinions. Furthermore, the understanding of the problem needs to be deepened by taking into account learners' multiple identities and by using more integrated, process-oriented and triangulated needs assessment targeted at skills that include shifting between styles, discourses and registers, and sensitivity to diversity when communicating across languages and cultures.

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THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE IDENTITY OF BILINGUAL AUTHORS THROUGH FIRST-PERSON TELLINGS: GAIN OR LOSS?

The paper focuses on the problem of the mechanisms underlying second language (L2) writers' identity construction as shown in the life stories of authors who have struggled to become assimilated in a new language and culture. The memoir of Polish-English bilingual, Eva Hoffman, will be analyzed to establish first-person tellings as a source of credible, compelling and informative evidence of identity reconstruction in the process of linguistic and cultural border crossing.

KEYWORDS: bilingual writers, identity loss, identity recovery, participation metaphor, first-person narratives

INTRODUCTION

This paper draws on the premise from New Literacy Studies that literacy is not a unitary concept simply concerned with the acquisition of a particular set of cognitive skills, but is a struggle of, as Habermas (1987) put it, concrete socially constituted and always situated beings to participate in the symbolically mediated lifeworld of another culture. This is because these beings have agency, intentions, emotions and above all life histories, which constitute the fundamental aspect of their identity: the individual self. The individual self is realized by a unique combination of qualities that distinguish the individual within their social context. As Brewer and Gardner argue, "This form of self-representation relies on interpersonal comparison processes and is associated with the motive of protecting or enhancing the person psychologically" (Brewer & Gardner 1996: 1, see also Markus 1977; Sedikides 1993). The individual self coexists with the collective self, which is a social construct formed in the process of one's alignment with the conventions of dominant practices and discourses located in a particular socio-cultural context. The construction of collective self is determined by external forces, ranging from socio-cultural influences to institutionalized power relations, which make an individual's identity a compound of multiple positionings. Therefore, I argue that because of this

dualism between individual self and collective self, which may lead to an internal conflict, and writing being a socio-culturally determined practice the reconstruction of L2 writers identity is a struggle for participation. This struggle entails individuals being continuously involved in both deliberate and forced positionings, revisions of past identity narratives, and the creation of new ones determined by new concepts of 'affiliation' and 'belonging'. Following Ricoeur (1988: 246) I propose that to answer the question "Who are we?"… is to tell a story of a life.

My approach to bilingual identity construction is influenced by S. Hall's concept of *diaspora*, conceived within postcolonial theory, which describes the identities of individuals moving between cultures as "unsettling the assumptions of one culture from the perspective of the other" (S. Hall 1995: 48). The traditional meaning of the term has been extended in the current poststructuralist research to include not only ethnic or homeland identity but also a dynamic and heterogeneous notion of community (Brooker 1999). In what follows S. Hall proposes two main ways of thinking about 'cultural identity':

> The first position defines 'cultural identity' in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry have in common […]. [The other] 'oneness', underlying all the other, more superficial differences, is the truth, the essence of […] [individual] experience. It is this identity which […] *diaspora* must discover, excavate, bring to light and express […].
>
> S. Hall, 1990: 223 (words in brackets added by Lehman)

What Hall's concept of *diaspora* and my approach to the L2 writer's individual and collective selves have in common is the relationship between the dominant or target language and culture and the minority language and culture; whereby the dominant or target language and culture grant power and prestige to their users/participants. This observation raises important questions about agency and power and the nature of the relationship between the individual self (constituted by the agency of participants) and the collective self (formed by socio-cultural structures and practices) which underlie the process of identity reconstruction in a new socio-cultural context. The inquiry into the recovery of identity should, therefore, focus on the interplay between these two aspects of identity which entails identifying the determinants of their formation, along with the circumstances that cause one self to take precedence over the other. From this perspective, the individual self and the collective self can be perceived as complementary, mutually exclusive, or entirely independent. Although there is a general consensus that both parts of identity are social, there is, however, significantly less agreement on the nature of the interactions between them. Are they cooperating partners, staunch opponents or distant acquaintances? The important questions that can be posed here are as follows.

1. Are particular features of individual and collective selves evidenced in specific linguistic instantations?
2. And if so, what do they reveal about the nature of this relationship?
3. What happens to each aspect of the self when an individual moves from participation in the discursive practices of one culture to those of another culture?

The way language users draw on these independent but sometimes complementary and sometimes oppositional, or "functionally antagonistic" identity options (Spears 2016: 171) is especially complex in the case of individuals who need to reconstruct their identity in a new language and culture. Their native socio-cultural framework and a new cultural and linguistic framework frequently oppose each other, leading to the construction of vague meanings, and identity conflict. This linguistically spurred conflict is the key incentive for identity change because language is one of the most rooted elements of our identity and one which is easily identifiable by others. Like many other aspects of our identity, we take it for granted and we only reflect upon it when we feel our linguistic identity is being threatened. This is the case of adult bilinguals who experience the profound reconstruction of their identity which often first takes place in written narratives, due primarily to the security granted by the writing process as opposed to the more face threatening oral communication.

Since narratives play a critical role in the account of identity reconstruction of bilingual language users my purpose in this paper is to establish first-person tellings as a source of credible, compelling and informative evidence for the reconstruction of the self, which takes place in the process of linguistic and cultural border crossings.

THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR IDENTITY FORMATION IN THE ACT
OF SECOND LANGUAGE WRITING

The interplay between individual and collective aspects of writer identity (see Lehman 2014) has considerable implications for writing, since the act of writing is a complex linguistic activity in which self both constitutes and is constituted. The *individual self*, which has an agentive power to constitute, is influenced by *autobiographical self*, for which there is no explicit indication in the text, and *self as performer* which is evidenced in specific linguistic exponents. Since *autobiographical self* relates directly to the unique life history of each writer and shows a certain affinity with Bourdieu's (1977) concept of 'habitus': an individual's disposition to behave in certain ways, it is usually identified by authors as their real self. *Self as performer* is to varying degrees the outcome of a writer's *autobiographical self*

and is evidenced in the particular lexico-grammatical choices an author makes to communicate with the reader; it is the voice an author wants their audience to hear. The other constituent of authorial self, the *collective self* is the aspect of the writer's identity which is formed in the process of the author's alignment with the conventions of dominant practices and discourses, situated in a particular socio-cultural context.

For successful communication between reader and writer to occur, the writer has to negotiate these two often competing aspects of authorial identity in relation to changing discursive contexts. Writing has special resources that allow for effective negotiation of identities; for example the sense of power authors can experience in constituting alternative textual identities makes it possible to resolve the conflicts they face when writing in a second language. According to Kramsch and Lam, "Written texts offer non-native speakers opportunities for finding textual homes outside the boundaries of local or national communities. The uses of of literacies in today's global, multicultural economy are likely to alter our notions who is native and who is non-native. Indeed they make non-nativeness in the sense of 'outsideness' one of the most important criteria for creativity and innovation" (1999: 71). This was the case of Samuel Beckett who decided to write in French because he believed that writing in his mother tongue, English, made writing come too easy, as he revealed in his interview with Herbert Mitgang from The New York Times (1981). Writing in a second language forced him to verbalize concepts with greater clarity and economy.

Undoubtedly, due to the fact that second language writers have a relative freedom to construct alternative identities in their texts they can transcend the identity conflicts they often experience in face-to-face communication and animate alternative identities which are not tied rigidly to their ascribed national, religious, ethnic or gender selves. Therefore, writing in a L2 can be a resourceful avenue for the formation of a more empowering sense of the self.

PARTICIPATION METAPHOR:
A WAY TO FIND AFFILIATION AND BELONGING

This concept of writing as a valuable resource for identity formation is supported by new developments in second language acquisition (SLA) theory, namely Sfard's participation metaphor (PM), which has emerged in SLA literature as a complement to acquisition metaphor (AM). AM is characterized by such terms as 'having' and 'knowledge' (Sfard 1998), typical of traditional learning whereas PM makes us think of learning a language "as a process of becoming a member of a certain community" and this process involves "the ability to communicate in the language of this community and act according to its particular norms" (1998: 6). Therefore,

it is only natural that PM is characterized by terms such as "doing", "knowing" and "becoming part of a greater whole" (*ibid*.). Applying this view to L2 learning shifts the focus of attention from language structure to language use in context which makes us consider the importance of concepts such as 'affiliation' and 'belonging' to a particular discourse community in the process of identity reconstruction of bilingual writers.

Until recently, first-person narratives have not been considered as legitimate data on L2 learning and linguistic and cultural border crossings. Pavlenko (2014) provides two basic reasons for this marginalization; firstly, first-person tellings are found less reliable and less valid than third person tellings, being perceived as anecdotal, interesting but potentially incomplete. She mentions the introspective accounts of Schumann and Schumann (1977), who recorded their acquisition of Arabic, Bailey's (1983) description of her learning French and Neu's (1991) analysis of her study of Polish. However, these and similar studies are rather narrow in scope as they mainly focus on the acquisition of linguistic structures of individuals whose goal is limited to developing some degree of proficiency in language as a code without making an attempt to cross cultural and linguistic borders into the space where their identities are reconstructed. The second reason Pavlenko provides for marginalizing first-person narratives is that they are about the experience of becoming and being bilingual and have been created by people who themselves are frequently marginalized. As Sridhar and Sridhar argue, "SLA researchers seem to have neglected the fact that the goal of SLA is bilingualism" (1986: 5). It is therefore not surprising that first-person narratives of bilinguals have not yet become the subject of linguistic or SLA research.

Outside the field of SLA research, however, there are numerous autobiographic accounts of second language learning written by adult immigrants who describe their struggle for affiliation and belonging to a new cultural and linguistic setting including the memoirs of Polish-English bilinguals, Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation. A Life in a New Language* and Anna Wierzbicka's *The Double Life of a Bilingual: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*; of Russian-American bilingual, Helen Yakobson's *Crossing Boarders. From Revolutionary Russia to China to America*; of Japanese-English bilingual, Kyoko Mori's *Polite Lies. On being a Woman Caught Between Cultures* or of Czech-English bilingual, Jan Novak's *My Typewriter Made Me Do It*.

By drawing on PM, which accentuates contextualization and engagement with others, I aim to address the above research gap and trace the changes in identity which occur in the process of second language acculturation and socialization in order to provide a meaningful and insightful answer to the question of this paper.

SELF-TRANSLATION METAPHOR:
A UNIFYING METAPHOR FOR IDENTITY LOSS AND IDENTITY GAIN

The data I wish to analyze is taken from the first-person telling of an adult Polish-English bilingual, Eva Hoffman, on her cultural and linguistic border crossings. I have chosen to investigate the memoir of this particular author because her account is of special interest to me, as a native speaker of Polish, and because in the area of second language learning very little is known about the experience of adults who attempt to become native writers in a second language. This experience significantly differs from that of growing up as a bilingual and from the experience of the adult learners who wish to achieve a certain degree of linguistic proficiency. As Lantolf and Pavlenko (1998) observe, "[p]eople are agents in charge of their own learning, and most frequently they decide to learn their second language 'to a certain extent', which allows them to be proficient, even fluent, but without the consequences of losing the old and adopting the new ways of being in the world." Therefore, an analysis of the unique story of Hoffman's language learning "to the point of no return" (Pavlenko 2014: 162) has important implications for reconceptualizing notions of agency and power relations, and offers valuable insights into the consequences of cultural and linguistic border crossings for identity change.

Applying Pavlenko's framework (1998) for identity loss and identity recovery I have identified particular sites of this reconstruction which are marked by internal conflicts caused by the necessity to lose some of the old aspects of identity and acquire new ones in order to develop a sense of affiliation and belonging to a new discourse community. In her framework Pavlenko (1998) has proposed five stages of identity loss and four stages of a new identity gain unified within self-translation metaphor.

According to Pavlenko the initial phase of loss can be divided into the following stages:
– loss of one's linguistic identity
– loss of all subjectivities
– loss of the frame of reference
– loss of the inner voice
– first language attrition

The stage of recovery and (re)construction encompasses the following critical stages:
– appropriation of others' voices
– emergence of one's own new voice, often in writing first
– translation therapy: reconstruction of one's past
– continuous growth 'into' new positions and subjectivities

Pavlenko (2014: 162–163)

AN EXPLANATORY FRAMEWORK FOR A LINGUISTIC CROSS-OVER

Applying Pavlenko's framework for the process of self-translation, which entails first a phase of profound identity loss and only later a phase of identity reconstruction, I will discuss how it plays out in Hoffman's narrative.

PHASE OF LOSS

The first step at the phase of loss has been classified by Pavlenko (2014) as (1) loss of one's linguistic identity. In Hoffman's case it involved an imposed name change. From Ewa and Alina, the author and her sister become 'Eva' and 'Elaine'.

> Nothing much has happened, except a small, seismic mental shift […] Our Polish names didn't refer to us; they were as surely us as our eyes or hands. These new appellations, which we ourselves can't yet pronounce, are not us. They are identification tags, disembodied signs pointing to objects that happen to be my sister and myself… [They] make us strangers to ourselves.
>
> <div align="right">Hoffman 1989: 105</div>

The name change, however, is not only a phonological problem to be overcome, but it is about the conversion of subjects into objects. In other words, it is about loss of agency constituted mainly through linguistic means, which marks the second stage of identity loss, (2) loss of all subjectivities, at which a person is deprived of the ability to actively participate in the discourse practices of their community. The third stage features (3) loss of the frame of reference where the signifier has become separated from the signified. The following explanation provided by Hoffman illustrates her inability to express herself in a new language, in which words are mere referents without any conceptual meanings because of her lack of experience to support them:

> The words I learn now don't stand for things in the same unquestioned way they did in my native tongue. 'River' in Polish was a vital sound, energized with the essence of riverhood, of my rivers, of my being immersed in rivers. 'River' in English is cold – a word without aura. It has no accumulated associations for me, and it does not give off the radiating haze of connection. It does not evoke.
>
> <div align="right">Hoffman 1989: 106</div>

The natural consequence of the loss of the point of reference is (4) the loss of inner voice which functions to make sense of a person's experiences of the world in order to establish mental order, called 'consciousness' by Vygotsky (Frawley 1997). It is through inner speech that we create our experience because in inner speech life events are organized and integrated into a meaningful whole which constitutes the plot of our life narrative. The loss of inner voice is painfully documented by Hoffman:

> I wait for that spontaneous flow of inner language which used to be my nighttime talk with myself... Nothing comes. Polish, in a short time, has atrophied, shriveled from sheer uselessness. Its words don't apply to my new experiences, they're not coeval with any of the objects, or faces, or the very air I breathe in the daytime. In English, the words have not penetrated to those layers of my psyche from which a private connection could proceed.
>
> Hoffman 1989: 107

This is a semantic black hole in which Hoffman's inner speech in Polish ceased to evoke meaning, while the inner speech in English has not begun to function yet. This marks the final stage of identity loss: (5) first language attrition, which is dramatically experienced as loss of the self.

> Linguistic dispossession is a sufficient motive for violence, for it is close to the dispossession of one's self. Blind rage, helpless rage is rage that has no words – rage that overwhelms one with darkness. And if one is perpetually without words, if one exists in the entropy of inarticulateness, that condition itself is bound to be an enraging frustration.
>
> Hoffman 1989: 107

Loss of one's linguistic identity, all subjectivities, point of reference, inner voice and ultimately first language attrition are not just about losing connection with the world one shares with others, which affects the collective aspect of one's identity, but is predominantly about losing the connection with one's inner self. This loss makes profound changes in the individual aspect of one's identity which entails changes in one's inner world, the world of cognitions, emotions and beliefs, social norms and values and ultimately causes personality change.

PHASE OF RECOVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION

According to Pavlenko's classification the initial step towards recovery and reconstruction of the self is marked by (1) the appropriation of others' voices in order to recreate a personal, inner speech. The beginnings of this process are described by Hoffman in the following passage:

> Around me, the Babel of American voices […] Since I lack a voice of my own, the voices of others invade me as if I were a silent ventriloquist. They ricochet within me, carrying on conversations, lending me their modulations, intonations, rhythms. I do not possess them; they possess me. But some of them satisfy a need; some of them stick to my ribs…. Eventually, the voices enter me; by assuming them, I gradually make them mine.
>
> Hoffman 1989: 219–220

Then (2) a new voice emerges and is frequently first captured in writing, in the accounts of one's own life history. For Hoffman, her diary was a milestone on her route towards the reconstruction of her identity. Along these lines Pavlenko

(1998) argues that this rewriting of one's life history in a new language functions as (3) a translation therapy, which is aimed to ensure continuity of one's life, and constitutes the final stage of the healing process open to (4) continuous growth 'into' new positions and subjectivities. Pavlenko observes that "Without this move, one would be left with an unfinished life in one language, and a life, begun at midstream, in another" (2014: 168). Because this reconstruction of the self happens in writing, it is experienced as a slow and gradual process. Increasingly Hoffman's second voice is becoming stronger and with it a new self is emerging.

> This goddamn place is my home now... I know all the issues and all the codes here. I'm as alert as a bat to all subliminal signals sent by word, look, gesture. I know who is likely to think what about feminism and Nicaragua and psychoanalysis and Woody Allen... When I think of myself in cultural categories – which I do perhaps too often – I know that I'm a recognizable example of a species: a professional New York woman... I fit, and my surroundings fit me.
>
> Hoffman 1989: 219–220

CONCLUSIONS

Although my discussion of the personal narrative of Hoffman has been very brief, it leads to some important conclusions. First of all, Hoffman's memoir proves that cultural and linguistic border crossing in adulthood is possible and that discursive spaces occupied by bilingual writers are not necessarily marginal, but are places where credible authorial voices can be created. Secondly, writing in a second language creates the opportunities for new identity formation due to the reconstruction of the autobiographical past that serves to explain, for the self and others, how the person came to be and where their life may be going. Thirdly, the identity of bilingual authors can be successfully explored through participation metaphor and its derivative metaphor of self-translation within the framework for identity loss and identity gain proposed by Pavlenko and located within the theory of New Literacy Studies. It is my strong belief that the new metaphor allows for creating a new discursive space in which researchers can explore how bilingual individuals make narrative sense of their own lives, how they develop the stories that comprise their identities and how these stories change during cultural and linguistic border crossings. The analysis of Hoffman's first-person telling enables me to answer the paper's question by stating that a new identity the writer acquires due to writing in a second language is a gain because a native cultural and linguistic framework is extended to include another cultural and linguistic framework. These frameworks might complement or oppose each other, but eventually they enrich the identity of a bilingual writer.

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CONSTRUCTING TEACHER IDENTITIES IN STORIES

There is now a wealth of research that explores the relationship between identity and foreign language teaching. This paper, by analysing stories delivered by teachers of varied professional experience, is intended to show that teacher identity can be viewed not just in relation to the cognitive dimension of the self, but rather with respect to the professional discourses prevailing in a particular historical period. Conceiving identity in this way requires a focus on the professional aspects of teaching theories and practices, along with issues of individual identity development situated in socio-political contexts and identifications with communities of practice. The paper centers on the contextually embedded factors that are liable to change with the social, cultural and historical discourses of practice.

KEYWORDS: English, generational discourse, identity, identity construction, teacher

MODERN APPROACHES TO IDENTITY RESEARCH

In contemporary discourses on human identity, two dominant yet opposing theoretical perspectives are taken. One regards identity as "an essential, cognitive, socialised, phenomenological or psychic phenomenon that governs human action" (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 3), while the other, alternative understanding, commonly found in social sciences and humanities nowadays, views it as a public phenomenon, a performance or construction that is interpreted by other people. As Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 4) note: "Crucially, identity has been relocated: from the 'private' realms of cognition and experience, to the 'public' realms of discourse and other semiotic systems of meaning-making".

These two major conceptualisations of identity can be represented by adapting Sfard's distinction between acquisition and participation metaphors (Sfard 1998). This binary distinction, albeit referring to language acquisition, can be successfully used to represent a range of approaches to identity. At one end of the scale there are theories that see identity as something that once acquired, remains unchanged for the lifetime of the individual. These theoretical accounts represent identity as self knowledge, that is, as a collection of context-independent symbols accompanied by the rules that specify the relationship between them.

The conceptualisation of identity represented at the opposite end of the continuum can be called the 'doing' perspective (Larsen-Freeman 2011) because at this end of the continuum, identity is not a commodity acquired as a result of a mental act, but rather something that is performed by participating in a social interaction. Rather than conceiving of identity as a mental construct, this view instead sees it as an activity in which one participates, that is, "the permanence of having gives way to the flux of doing" (Sfard 1998: 6). Unlike the acquisition metaphor, the participation metaphor rejects the idea that there is a clear endpoint to the process of identity construction.

CONFRONTING CONFLICTING FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING CONTEXTS AND IDEOLOGIES

Teacher identity is both an individual and a social matter, which implies the necessity to be aware of the effects that contexts might have on the shifts and changes in a teacher's identity. The school environment, the nature of the learner population, the impact of colleagues and of school administrators can all be influential in shaping teacher identity, as of course are the experiences of the teachers themselves as learners in schools. As well, the emotion brought to the context and that generated by the context will affect this identity. Beauchamp and Thomas (2009: 184) claim that "[i]t is the exposure to these formative contexts that results in important confrontations with one's identity as a teacher".

Teacher identities are also powerfully influenced by factors outside of the immediate instructional settings. These include curriculum policy (Cross and Gearon 2007), social demographics of the school, institutional practices, access to professional development, cultural differences (Johnson 2003) and bilingual language policy (Varghese 2006).

Moreover, as additional layers of complexity are formed by the predominance of English in the era of globalization, any consideration of teacher identity must take into account such issues as the role of discourse in self-representation, ethnicity, nationality, native/non-native distinction and beliefs about standard language. Teachers are not able to forge a new, situated meaning for teacher or teaching distinct from those described in the wider social and historical context and social discourses. Rather, they have to draw on pre-existing, discursive practices and meanings, relating these to their own situated experiences and context. As Goffman (1971) argues, people can understand and organize their environment only because they are capable of forming schemata on which the mind works. Because these schemata are organised within socio-cultural contexts, they will be shared between the members of a culture, but this cultural framework will differ from that of visitors to that culture. Cultural and linguistic settings affect the self by changing the framework within which the self is to be perceived.

Scollon and Scollon (2001), however, argue that the concept of culture is too broad a social organization to be of any true value in the analysis of either discourse or identity because virtually every culture can be shown to consist of a number of internal, cross-cutting, and overlapping discourse systems, and in addition to these discourse systems, modern cultures participate in the worldwide systems of the production and distribution of goods, as well as the systems of exchange of information, news and entertainment. Therefore in order to understand how individual members take on their identity, Scollon and Scollon (2001: 182) suggest sketching discourse systems within which identities are performed. They argue that most of professional discourse takes place within five major types of discourse system: (i) the corporate culture, (ii) the professional group, (iii) the generational discourse system, (iv) the gender discourse system, (v) the Utilitarian discourse system.

They further note that the corporate culture and the professional group are voluntary or goal-directed discourse systems in the sense that they are motivated by a goal-directed ideology, and participating in them acts as the overriding factor in understanding ordinary communication among their members. The generational discourse systems are not voluntary in a sense, but they can contain unique characteristics that may be absent from other systems. In other words, chronological age seems to be a determinative force that opens some possibilities of professional development while inhibiting others. The generational discourse systems are also believed to relate to different teaching and learning ideologies which are frequently contradictory.

In the case of EFL teacher discourse, two often conflicting ideologies can be noticed. They stem, as Scollon and Scollon (2001) argue, from two opposing views on foreign language teacher competences that can be derived either from practice or formal schooling. About forty years ago, the emphasis was placed on socialization, that is, learning through teaching experience in the classroom. Nowadays the value of education, that is, formal learning through coursework and research, has been highlighted. What has been observed for the last four to five decades is a shift from a more occupational status, with its informal processes of socialization through experience, to the professional status of EFL teachers with the emphasis on their formal preparation and qualifications.

The former ideology benefited teachers who had been in the teaching profession for a long time and as a result had acquired practical pedagogical knowledge, along with the linguistic and metalinguistic competence they needed to effectively pass on content knowledge in the classroom. The latter ideology privileges those teachers who might not have been in the profession for a long time but have possessed both the pedagogical and the content knowledge through formal schooling. Modern EFL teachers are expected to continually upgrade their competence in pedagogy and language through engaging in formal education programs, such as degree courses, in which EFL teachers can receive more advanced formal certification.

As a result, EFL teacher identity combines an identity situated in the corporate discourse system, in which the EFL teacher finds himself or herself employed, and an identity located in the occupational discourse system, in which the teacher has socialised. Therefore, within modern EFL discourse, the acquisition metaphor (Sfard 1998), the approach by which teachers construct who they are through accumulation of experiences, becomes insufficient for understanding teacher identity since it does not account for the complementary identifications of individuals with different discourse systems. Individual teachers can simultaneously be members of many often conflicting discourse systems, and in some cases, membership in one system will tend to undercut or call into question full membership in the other system.

In the past, teachers were viewed as technicians, defined by particular behaviours, knowledge or language teaching methods in classrooms characterized by identifiable variables. Current work on teacher identity highlights that "language teaching cannot be separated from social language use in classrooms, and the centrality of situated meanings within repertoires of social practices, involving specific social and institutional contexts and memberships" (Miller 2009: 173). It has been recognised that teacher identity is powerfully influenced by contextual factors outside of the teachers themselves. These include institutional practices and workplace conditions (Flores 2001), curriculum and foreign language policy (Varghese 2006), cultural differences (Johnson 2003).

Moreover in the career of a single teacher there are often periods of greater or lesser identification with professional goals and of corresponding identification with corporate goals. Individuals may also differently position themselves *vis-a-vis* these systems. What gives EFL teachers a sense of solidarity within the same discourse system is this common experience of participation in the community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). The EFL teachers are more likely to be accepted as full members because their qualifications and credentials are more like those of other members of these institutional discourse systems. On the other hand, there remains a strong feeling within the EFL discourse system that no amount of research and analysis can replace classroom experience. Johnson (2006) reports an interview with an experienced teacher who employed a rotary hoist metaphor to explain what a notion of good teacher meant to her: the more experience you have, the more clothes (knowledge) you can peg on it. This rotary hoist analogy for effective teaching and learning practice is contrasted with the metaphor of "old grandma's clothesline" that stands for the linear, more traditional, less effective, unconnected methods of teaching and learning. This example shows that any single community of practice must be seen as "operating within a system of distinction, rather than as an isolated social unit" (Moore 2010: 125).

Another issue that this example illustrates is that teacher identity and practices are subject to change over time. Moreover, teachers are continually fashioning and refashioning their identities, which is reflected in the view of teacher thinking

as "a mélange of past, present, and future meanings that are continually being negotiated and renegotiated through social interaction" (Miller Marsh 2002: 6). However, this process of fashioning and refashioning does not represent the free creation of individuals but it is constrained by social contexts and conditions, which include social organisations such as schools, and such cultural products as language and knowledge.

THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL-POLITICAL DISCOURSES ON FL TEACHER IDENTITIES

This study aims to show how generational, professional and corporate discourses exert an impact on foreign language teacher identity construction. Teachers are argued to have developed varied schemata of their collective identity dependant on their past experiences with professional and corporate discourses that are always grounded in broad socio-cultural discourses. The basis of the analysis are extracts from structured interviews with Polish EFL teachers of varied teaching experience. The data is expected to reveal differences in teacher identity as constructed by the individuals who are members of different communities of practice, despite being members of one professional community. Their varied communal membership is argued to be determined by their age and professional experience. Being of different age, they would have been exposed to different discourses of foreign language teaching and language teaching ideologies, as Poland has experienced rapid transformation in its educational systems, following political transition from authoritarian rule to democratic government.

In the process of transition from the old highly controlled education system into a more democratic one, the foreign language teacher's position has been subject to the most profound changes of all teachers in the course of last decades. The termination of communism and the turn of post-communist states to democracy was accompanied by the opening of these nations to western culture and the values that paralleled the growing use of English as a global language.

In this new era and with the introduction of new educational programmes, the status of a foreign language teacher, especially the EFL teacher, has transformed from the marginal to the most required and sought-after. EFL teachers have become a privileged and highly evaluated professional group. Their advantageous position derived from the knowledge of English that enabled them firstly, to communicate with modern western civilizations, and so they could seize the opportunity to become scholarly, erudite and widely read. Secondly, they took financial advantage of their knowledge, since the FL teacher was most required occupation in the beginning of the transition period, which was reflected in the competitive and highly motivational salaries and benefits offered. As Werbińska (2010: 21) claims:

"It can be said that a lot of foreign-language teachers fall victim to the times in which they live. On the one hand, they have become infected with the greed for earning money because they have more opportunities than teachers of other subjects. [...] On the other hand, many teachers are striving to increase their teaching effectiveness through indiscriminate assigning of grammar tests. [...] Using this approach, the teacher hopes to be less exhausted by her regular work at school and reserves energy to conduct interesting and activity-demanding tasks during her afternoon private jobs."

Such social positioning of EFL teachers in the period of political and social transition frequently led to neglect of ethical issues in the classroom, where teachers were sole educational autocrats who determined learning directions and methods of content delivery.

Another problem that teachers have faced in post-transition years is the need to accommodate to the requirements of the newly-restructured Polish school. Szempruch (2010: 41) argues that "[t]eachers hold the responsibility for preparing students to ask questions, identify and solve problems, exercise self-control, reflect on own actions, plan the future and learn to cope with stress and failures". To comply with the requirements of the reformed educational programmes and to meet the demands of the new generation of learners, EFL teachers should possess not only an excellent command of the language and subject knowledge, as well as first-rate teaching skills and expertise in IT, but also the ability to exchange knowledge and experiences between different institutions and improve school management by opening it to the local community and collaborating with parents. All these aforementioned requisites lead to a redefinition of teacher identity across professional contexts.

In particular, the context of classroom learning and teacher competences have been affected profoundly. In post-transition years, the social contexts of being a teacher of EFL have altered the image of an EFL teacher compared to teachers of other academic subjects. They are no longer teaching autocrats, rather they are expected to be facilitators of learning. With the changing ideologies of learning, the discourse of teaching as well as views on teacher roles have altered. Current emphasis is on instructional settings, where the locus of learning is focused on learners and the way they learn. As a result, the contemporary vision of learning is one where learners are empowered because their autonomy is preferred and they take large degrees of responsibility for their own learning progress.

In addition to the local social-political transformation, the issues of globalization and spread of English as a global language have to be acknowledged since they encouraged the rise of the professional discourse system of EFL teachers which is shared by the teachers of English throughout most of the world. Since Poland opened its borders to western culture, the professional discourse of EFL teachers has also infused the Polish system of education. Most countries have seen a tendency to abandon the previous discourse of teaching as a "socialisation into the occupation" in favour of a new discourse that stresses "formal education into the profession,

schools, corporations" (Scollon and Scollon 2001: 212). As individuals may live and play their social roles in various discourses that are based on specific ideologies, they may experience conflicting professional identities and "they will need to resolve how he or she is going to deal with this conflict in personal values and belief systems, teaching and learning ideologies, relationships and attitudes to learners as well as the external problem of communication with those who are members of a different discourse system" (Scollon and Scollon 2001: 238).

THE STUDY: CONSTRUCTING EFL TEACHER IDENTITIES

The present study focuses on the construction of professional identities in a number of structured interviews on *'What it means to be a teacher'*. conducted by the author with ESOL teachers possessing various degrees of teaching experience.

AIM / HYPOTHESIS

The study aims to delineate those aspects of teacher identity that surface in the conversational narratives delivered over the course of an interview. The hypothesis to be verified is that identities constructed and performed by teachers of different age and consequently with varied teaching and learning experiences vary as far as their content is concerned. In particular, differences should be observable in views expressed by the teachers on their role in the classroom, the way they should respond to student needs, the dominant professional ideologies that influence their classroom performance and the form of the preferred classroom instruction.

THE PARTICIPANTS

The four participants whose stories are the subject of the analysis are graduates from the extramural TESOL studies at the University of Łódź. The participants of the studies come from different educational and academic backgrounds. Some of them are in-service teachers of other school subjects who started teaching ESOL and had to retrain (Mila and Cathy). Others are undergraduates with no teaching experience who come from small towns where there is no university to continue MA studies (Samantha and Sandy). Originally there were sixteen participants who gave their consent to be interviewed. The participants had been informed a week before their interview that they would be asked to tell a short story about a memorable

learning experience connected with a figure of their teacher in addition to other more survey-like questions. The four participants whose contributions are analysed were all females, because males (few students) were unwilling to take part in the study. This could be a source of gender-biased outcomes. Nevertheless the present study aims to uncover generational variation in teacher identity therefore gender was not considered a variable to be controlled. Because of the article space constraints, out of the group of sixteen participants, the contributions of the four participants have been selected as representative of the two generations of teachers: novices and in-service teachers with teaching experience longer than twenty-five years. The author is aware of the limited possibilities of any generalization of the results, yet she aims to point at certain aspects of generational diversity in teacher identity that may become a subject of further research.

THE CORPUS

The corpus for the present study has been collected from a number of structured interviews conducted by the author with graduates of extramural TESOL studies at the University of Łódź. The corpus contains transcriptions of sixteen, twenty-minute-long interviews on the question of "What does it mean to be a teacher". The participants were asked to justify for their arguments by presenting episodes from either their own school life or teaching career. The interviews were conducted in the participants' non-native language - English, and the mistakes they made were not corrected. Altogether 54 stories were collected. Due to space limitations, this article contains an analysis of the stories whose subject recurred in the participants' responses, namely: the teacher's influence on student's life and career choices, teacher roles, classroom instruction and the learner's needs.

ANALYSIS

This section contains an analysis of six stories presented by the four participants over the course of the interviews. The stories ensued as a response to the interview questions. In this paper, discourse analysis of the interview stories follows their presentation and subsequently leads to the final conclusions.

Mila: *I can remember my teacher of Polish in my secondary school and it is not a high-value memory of this teacher, because when I left primary school I wanted to be a teacher of Polish and then I changed my mind because we had such a poor Polish teacher at the grammar school. My primary*

school teacher of Polish was very demanding and strict but also knew how to pass the knowledge we would need later in our school life, and I must say thanks to her efforts to pour her knowledge on us, I passed not only matura exam in Polish but also university entrance exams. This teacher was not interested in our lives but dedicated to teaching her beloved subject. My grammar school teacher, in contrast, was very empathetic and involved in our personal life but she did not know how to get us engaged with the subject. Her lessons and the amount of knowledge she passed to us disappointed me so much that I turned to another subject and another language. I can't say that my English teacher influenced my choice very much. Rather my choice of academic course was based on negative selection impacted by what I could learn at school. If my teacher of English was so poor as the Polish teacher I'd turn to another subject whose teacher could get me interested.

Samantha: *I can remember our high school English teacher. She was a very good teacher and had a vast knowledge of the subject she taught as well as methodology of teaching. No surprise that many students from our class wanted to study English at the university level. When we told her that we wanted to study English Philology she said: don't do this subject, it's too hard, you won't be able to graduate. You'd better try something else. It wasn't very nice of her. She lowered our self-esteem, but only in this situation, otherwise she was quite a good high school teacher. Obviously we learned a lot because she knew how to encourage us to study and she also had a very high command of English. She knew how to present not only the intricacies of the English grammar but also the nuances of its use. I wonder why she tried to discourage us. She might have been afraid that she'd lose her job or something if we did not get to the university.*

The two stories are presented by the members of the two generations of teachers. The two stories are similar in their theme as they both concern the school transition period and they both portray teachers who had a profound impact on the students' lives.

Mila's story presents two teachers of Polish who had a varied impact on her academic career. The primary school teacher is reported as a good, demanding teacher of high content and pedagogical knowledge and is contrasted with the grammar school teacher who is said to possess low teaching skills. It is impossible to tell whether the teacher of Polish lacked adequate subject knowledge or pedagogical knowledge since she is presented as *a poor teacher of Polish*, yet her low professional expertise had an impact on Mila's life, insofar that it made her choose another subject to study. With this story, Mila is attempting to present herself as an actor who was determined to direct her life and agentively selected the path of her career despite the poor qualifications of the teacher who seemed to have a decisive role in her career choice.

Samantha presents a story of a group of learners who expressed a desire to become teachers of English. They had planned to enrol in a teacher education program and expected that their English teacher would be supportive and undertake the job of helping them get there. Instead, they found her discouraging and advising against

such a career development. In contrast to Mila's story, Samantha describes a teacher whose qualifications are not questioned. On the contrary, Samantha evaluates both her knowledge and pedagogical skills as very high (e.g. *she was very good teacher; obviously we learned a lot*) but her involvement and concern about the students' future welfare are presented as unsatisfactory. In Samantha's opinion, she was a good and dedicated teacher only because she cared about her own personal wellbeing. By performing her professional duties well, the teacher tried to secure her work position, which guaranteed personal fulfilment and life stability. In contrast to Mila, Samantha foregrounds an image of a teacher who is a knowledgeable person but not the one who is a deeply invested and empathetic person.

The primary aim of the story is to explicate how the inability of the teacher to effectively respond to learner's needs brought confusion to the life of the students. Implicitly, however, in presenting the story, Samantha accomplishes two other goals. First, she displays her attitude toward a specific type of discourse related to education: she favours the one in which teachers are supportive, caring and invested, and in doing so, rejects that of formal, and neat instruction, solely targeted at student cognitive development. Second, she develops her identity of a person who is an active and effective agent at the real point of a college education. The story presents a discrepancy between who she considered herself to be and who she was expected to be at that particular moment.

The struggle to decide which course of action to take, faced by Samantha in her story, is an example of the clash between the primary and secondary *"habitus"* (Bourdieu 1991). Samantha comes from a family with a teaching profession tradition (information supplied in another part of the interview), which must have provided her with an opportunity of an early primary socialization with the discourses of teaching and learning. These discourses of teaching and learning clashed with those she recounted in the story. It would seem that Samantha had grown into the primary *habitus*, where teachers were signified as both knowledgeable and caring, and learners as dutiful but autonomous, and these characteristics clashed with what she encountered in the secondary *habitus* of her own schooling, where the teacher appeared to be knowledgeable, indeed, but not involved in the students' lives. Samantha found herself betwixt these two discourses of schooling and decided to follow the one she had encountered in the primary *habitus*, which further enabled her to contest the teacher's authority and express the student's resistance to the constraints of schooling.

The two stories can also be used to make inferences about the tellers' attitude to the role of the teacher and teaching ideologies. Samantha's contribution portrays a constructivist teacher who is a facilitator of learning, assisting students' performance in socially valued, purposeful activities, rather than transmitting or dispensing knowledge. In the other story, Mila clings to a presumption constitutive of the conventional classroom; that is, there is a body of knowledge to be mastered

and the teacher has mastery of it. It is that mastery which justifies the teacher's authority in the classroom.

The generational views on the role of the teacher are also presented in the two following stories that are recounted below.

Kathy: *I believe that teachers have impact on the life of their students because they are not only instructors of a subject but also moral guides and psycho-social counselor. I can remember my grammar school English teacher who cared not only about the growth of our knowledge of English but also about our emotional and social development. I can remember our field trips, especially the one to the Bieszczady when we could talk to her about our problems. In this informal atmosphere we disclosed and shared our doubts and worries with her. She tried to explain to us that we should learn because this is a way to get respect from others and achieve a higher social status to live a better life, in better conditions and to earn a decent living.*

Sandy: *I believe in teaching it's important to focus on something important in the subject we teach if we want this knowledge to remain in the minds of our students. I also think that students cannot learn by heart and recount verbatim what has been presented during the lesson. I remember my grammar school history teacher who was not so much concerned about teaching facts but tried to present certain historical processes that could be seen in a broader perspective. She used to say that in a few years students would forget factual knowledge if they did not use it but what they had learned meaningfully in a logical way they would be able to use and practice across contexts without limiting or channeling the knowledge to the particular subject. She kept saying that facts can be googled but the skill of using the factual knowledge is more valuable.*

Kathy sees the teacher's major goal, in addition to providing subject instruction, as preparing students for real life situations. While referring to her experience of learning English, she highlights the importance of social skills and moral principles that students should be taught as part and parcel of the school subject and extracurricular activities. She mentions the school trips her English teacher organized to let the students develop academically and mature socially. Presenting a snapshot of a trip to the mountains, she highlights her teacher's involvement in the life of students and her care for their personal development as well as the cultivation of their knowledge. In Kathy's view, the former is closely associated with morality education, making teachers not only educators but also moral guides and counsellors. She emphasizes that teaching the subject is just one aspect of school education, and to develop fully, students need many other skills, for example interpersonal or metacognitive ones.

Sandy contributes a story about learning History, a school subject which students are claimed to master chiefly by rote learning: memorizing dates and events. By telling her story, she brings the issue of problem solving strategies into focus. She notes that the primary responsibility of the teacher is to select and execute

such classroom strategies that will promote the formation of a constructive and conducive learning environment. Mentioning her History teacher and her use of supportive scaffolding, Sandy advocates for the instructional applications that more directly mirror Vygotsky's notion of a zone of proximal development (Vygotsky 1978). This approach to scaffolding is consistent with current recommendations for learner-centred instruction that values learning as a search for understanding, provides opportunities for responsive feedback, and views the educational process as occurring within a community of learners.

The issue of teacher or student-centred instruction recurs in the subsequent stories.

> Kathy: *This is also a job where our method of work and some basic technique is really ourselves, so the kind of person we are, what we represent ourselves, this is what they really learn, in addition to the subject content. For me, this is a difficult job and one that is challenging, because not everything can be taught because when you are working yourself that is, the fatigue and sometimes you have a bad day, and it is difficult, simply you cannot separate yourself from the job. It's not like accountancy that you add and subtract numbers and the balance will be fine. Simply we work with ourselves with our person. Here go our emotions and feelings and sentiments that matter and that ability to operate with all this stuff, this is probably the toughest thing.*

Kathy focuses on the teacher as the principal figure in the classroom. She talks of her understanding of the teacher as a whole of a human being. She, using inclusive *we*, says that a teacher is a method and a technique of instruction as well as *a subject content*. For her, the quality of teaching is not determined by the teacher's subject content knowledge alone. Rather, the teacher's expertise embraces both subject matter and Pedagogy.

Kathy's explicature that teachers cannot separate their professional life from their social-emotional sphere echoes Atkinson (2011: 143) who says: "[l]ike all organisms, human beings are ecological organisms – they depend on their environment to survive". Similarly Kathy characterizes herself as an adaptive organism that continuously and dynamically is adapting to the changing classroom environment. She implies she is constantly and instantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who she is and how she relates to the social world, i.e., how she forges her identities depends partly on who she is on a particular day in a particular situation and how she relates to the social world.

> Samantha: *The teacher does not need to know everything, he has only to show how the child is to learn or where to find the information. I had such a variety of teachers of English in my life, some just came with the book, and even well before the lesson, I knew that on that day we would do the exercise five to eight, because that was the book order and so it was done. However, there were teachers who came to class with something surprising, something new. So take your students by surprise with something that they will not expect.*

It is also important to be perceived as someone who is passionate about the subject, and not only does a job and goes home. The teacher should also be reflective, should react to what is happening, should think about it, should not pretend to know, not pretend that this method is the best that I'm the best, but adapt flexibly to the material. After all there are so many methods we can use. Moreover being a teacher can not only be related to knowledge and its transmission, but also to being a role model, I do not know, for me, it has always been important for example to follow the dress code, to teach the child cultural behaviors as it has impact on a child's whole life, it must be learned at school.

For Samantha the teacher is neither a model nor a source of information, but a facilitator who helps raise the learner's awareness of the relevant issues, gives possible answers to questions and provides feedback on learners' ideas and their output produced. She subscribes to a discourse of education within which teachers are actors whose play aims to grab the spectators' attention and get them involved. Such a view of teaching creates a performative culture which stresses accountability and the public demonstration of professional attributes above teachers' ethical and emotional qualities.

Moreover, when articulating her sense of a teacher self, Samantha is preoccupied with the relationship between teachers and learners and the learner's well-being is her focus. She seems to overlook the fact that teachers are people and as distinct personalities cannot be separated from their craft, and that the act of teaching requires individuals to possess a genuine emotional understanding and empathy, not only towards others, but also towards themselves. Samantha takes a reductionist view on teacher competencies that tends to downplay or ignore the emotional dimensions of teacher identity. She concentrates solely on the knowledge of the diverse needs of students and appears to be ignorant of the fact that teachers personally interpret the demands placed upon them.

DISCUSSION

From the analysis of the stories presented above, it can be seen that both the personal experience and personal practical knowledge (Golombek 1998) of the participating teachers play a vital role in their understanding of learning and teaching. The stories they tell serve as a tool to reflect on particular teaching and learning situations, as well as the characters of the students and teacher participating in them. Undoubtedly, through telling their life event stories, the participants are creating portrayals of teachers that they either admire and respect or despise. The analysis of the stories given above shows that instructional practices favoured or despised by the participants are grounded in their own culturally meaningful experiences, and that the identities the participants are fashioning are based on them.

We can see that the older teachers display concern for the scholastic achievements of their students and the morality of their actions, whereas the novice teachers take student perspective and maintain that schools can and should become places that foster security and curiosity. This will happen when the responsibility for student achievement shifts from the teacher's shoulders to the learner's.

The stories told by the experienced in-service teachers endorse a directive scaffolding which presumes the teacher's primary job to be knowledge transmission and assessment. They talk about "a good teacher who should teach" and "try to explain … and tell them", which clearly emphasize a directive model of instruction.

A different view on the teacher's roles and instruction strategies is envisaged by the novice teachers. What follows from their stories is a gradual shift of responsibility for the outcomes of learning from teachers to students. They emphasise an active and agentive attitude of the student toward the process of knowledge mastery. Effective teaching and learning occur in collaborative activities with teachers and peers. Such active learning contexts create classrooms where individual differences are respected due to the construction of multiple zones of proximal development and where collaboration as a process of inquiry also enhances the motivation to learn. What they expect of the teacher is explicit and positive feedback intended to guide students on learning.

All the participants seem to approve of the underlying principles of constructivism and acknowledge the role of scaffolding in learning. Nevertheless, they variably emphasise the important learning principles of constructivism. The novice teachers, favouring a supportive scaffold, emphasise learning by doing and regulating one's own learning; building individual meaning in a situation or experience; and learning with and from others. However, more experienced teachers favour directive scaffolding, since their underlying belief is that students first need to know the content and only then can they be taught how to apply what they have learned.

The analysis of the interactional stories shows how social structure is intertwined with individual activity, which further requires that the processes of identity construction be seen as the interdependence of individual creative input and pre-existing institutional or social features of society. Teacher identities are cross-cutting in various discourse systems (professional and generational are majors) and may lead to conflicts and confusion. What is important is to recognize that such cross-cutting identities exist and will be operating within contexts of communication.

CONCLUSION

This paper has concentrated on the analysis of stories about learning and teaching delivered by teachers of varied professional experience. It has aimed to show that stories are an effective tool of investigating professional identity construction. This

tool enables a comprehensive view of teacher identities set at the backdrop of individual cognition grounded in the professional discourses prevailing in a particular historical period. The analysis of the stories, albeit cursory, has uncovered such aspects of teacher identity as teacher roles, attitudes toward teaching theories and instruction that are subject to generational variation in the profession. Therefore, story analysis can be successfully applied as a research tool into discourses of teaching and learning that subsequently can be a subject of methodological appraisal and modification.

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COMMUNICATIVE BEHAVIOURS IN THE SPOTLIGHT: THE IDENTITY OF A POLISH HIGH SCHOOL INTELLECTUALLY GIFTED STUDENT AND THE FORMATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION CURRICULA

The paper makes reference to the concept of identity which constitutes the result of the interaction of four parameters comprising the model of the Imperial Tetragon of Embodiment (ITE) by Puppel (2009, 2011). With reference to the above theoretical framework, this contribution makes an attempt to describe the status of the ITE parameters in relation to the communicative behaviours of a Polish high school intellectually gifted student with regard to his functioning in an educational institution (which will enable one to establish the identity of the aforementioned learner). Notably, it is postulated that the potential of intellectually gifted students should be given due consideration in the process of forming higher education curricula.

KEYWORDS: identity, Imperial Tetragon of Embodiment, intellectual giftedness, communicative behaviours of a Polish high school gifted student, higher education curricula

INTRODUCTION

'Identity' is a term that enjoys great popularity in various areas of scientific research at present. It is analysed, *inter alia*, in the field of linguistics, literature, anthropology, sociology, pedagogy or culture studies. Accordingly, one can encounter numerous definitions of the above concept and advanced theoretical frameworks aimed at explaining issues related to it. To exemplify, one can mention the works by Ardener (1992), Bauman (2007), Baumeister (1986), Bausinger (1983), Całbecki (2013), Denek (2009), Giddens (2006), Hall (1992), Kłoskowska (1992), Mach (1994), Paleczny (2008), Wawrzak-Chodaczek (2009) *inter alios*. This paper will refer to the model of the Imperial Tetragon of Embodiment (Puppel 2009, 2011) that will be applied to the analysis of the communicative behaviours of a Polish high school intellectually gifted student in relation to his functioning in school space (which will result in describing the identity of the above learner). Accordingly, the following sections will demonstrate the idea of identity with reference to the basic assumptions of the Imperial Tetragon of Embodiment (ITE), the concept of

intellectual giftedness, characteristics of intellectually gifted individuals and research into the identity of a Polish high school intellectually gifted student. Finally, the paper will address the issue of higher education curricula in reference to the needs of intellectually gifted learners.

IDENTITY IN THE PERSPECTIVE
OF THE IMPERIAL TETRAGON OF EMBODIMENT (ITE)

The Imperial Tetragon of Embodiment (Puppel 2009, 2011) represents a model in which all forms of embodiment, represented by embodied agents (i.e. biological, social and cultural entities), develop identity which originates from the interplay of four parameters: militancy (M), trade-offs (T), utility (U), displays (D) (Figure 1). Importantly, all products of embodied agents (as elements of culture) evolve into institutions constituting the most elaborate social forms (out of all the structures of public space). The aforementioned institutions also evolve identity, which can be identified via the analysis of the status of each ITE parameter (i.e. militancy (M), trade-offs (T), utility (U), displays (D)).
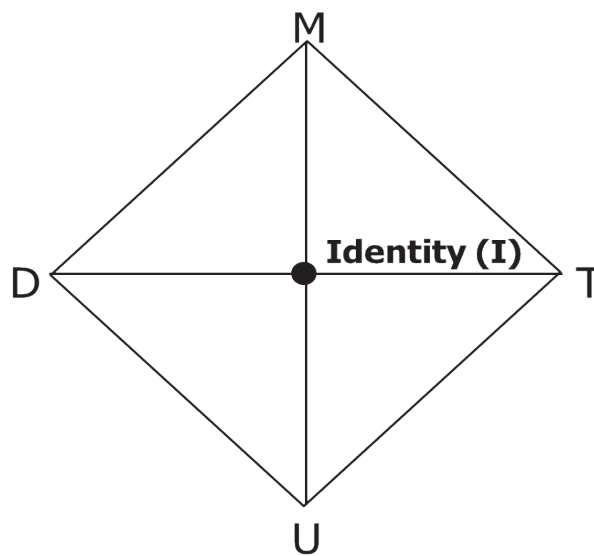

Figure 1. Imperial Tetragon of Embodiment (Puppel 2011: 11)

Each ITE parameter is equipped with specialised meaning. 'Militancy' represents different forms of aggression, the extreme case being the destruction of other competitive forms of embodiment in contact. 'Displays' designates attractiveness, which can be presented via diverse display modes, i.e. audio-vocal, graphic or multimodal-multimedia. In the case of language, 'displays' refers to the use of high communicative resources. 'Trade-offs' signifies a variety of exchanges, their bidirectionality being emphasised. In the field of education 'trade-offs' pertains to the exchange of knowledge between teachers and students, importance being placed

on the bidirectional aspects of educational processes. 'Utility', an economically-oriented concept, refers to the idea of usefulness perceived as the rate of satisfaction with a variety of resources. It rests on the notion of economic benefits implying that the increase in the resources of an institution raises its utility.

The interplay of the parameters described above gives rise to identity (inside the tetragon, c.f. Figure 1) which is changeable and, hence, requires constant monitoring. In favourable circumstances one of the ITE parameters may begin to dominate, i.e. it may be imperialised (maximized). Accordingly, the resulting identity may get either displays-dominant, utility-dominant, trade-offs-dominant or militancy-dominant. In other words, identity originates from the interplay of the same set of attributes which represent a dynamic relationship – the parameters are the same but their proportions are different at diverse points of time (identity characterised by the balanced contribution of the ITE attributes is of little probability).

As already mentioned, the ITE model will be applied to analyse the communicative behaviours of a Polish high school gifted learner in terms of his functioning in school space (which will lead to establishing the identity of the aforementioned student). Since the communication used by the student under analysis is determined by certain characteristics represented by gifted individuals, the following two sections will demonstrate a short outline of the concept of giftedness and distinctive features of the gifted respectively.

CONCEPT OF INTELLECTUAL GIFTEDNESS

The conceptualisation of 'giftedness' is fathered upon Galton (1869) who defined a gifted person as someone possessing a gift, i.e. an exceptional talent manifested in adulthood. He postulated that a significantly higher intellectual ability possessed by some individuals is genetically transmitted. The above idea of giftedness, described with reference to intelligence and heredity, was expanded by Terman (1916, 1925) who supplemented it with high IQ. According to Terman's terminology, gifted children are individuals endowed with the IQ of 140 or higher. Significantly, not only did Terman believe that IQ was inherited, but also he considered it a strong predictor of success in life.

Terman's theory, aimed mainly at defining and describing intelligence understood as an inheritable trait, was challenged by Hollingworth (1926). She acknowledged the claim that giftedness was inherited but put greater emphasis on the influence of environmental and educational factors on intelligence. Accordingly, she concentrated on how gifted children should be nurtured and educated, i.e. how their potential could be developed.

The above early definitions of giftedness provided background for further development of problems regarding the gifted, which resulted in almost an endless

and overwhelming number of conceptions and ways of defining the notion under analysis (cf. Stenberg and Davidson 2005). Due to the limited scope of this paper, this section will refer only to a sample of standpoints selected in view of providing a theoretical outline that will suit the needs of the research presented in the further part of the article.

As highlighted by Bainbridge (2016), in the field under analysis one can differentiate between the following basic slants in accordance with which giftedness is viewed as:

- a predictor of adult achievements,
- a potential which ought to be nurtured,
- asynchronous development,
- a relative ability.

Frameworks that approach giftedness as a predictor of adult achievements relate, apart from IQ, to motivation or creativity and task commitment. According to Bainbridge (2016), this type of theories can be exemplified by the Three Ring Conception of Giftedness by Renzulli (1978, 1986). The above model by and large refers to gifted behaviour (and not individuals) that is presented as an interaction occurring between such human traits as very strong task commitment, above average ability and a high degree of creativity. Accordingly, a person who develops gifted behaviour is in possession of the array of interacting traits which he/she applies to a given field. Individuals characterised by the ability to develop an interaction between the aforementioned traits should be provided with special educational programmes.

Approaches that perceive giftedness as a potential that must be nurtured differentiate between the child's capability of achieving and what the child will actually achieve. The child's potential constitutes only an element of giftedness. The development of this potential is crucial in terms of achieving success, which is conditioned by the environment in which the child is placed. As stated by Bainbridge (2016), the group of proposals oriented towards the significant role of an appropriate environment in the process of evolving the child's potential may be exemplified by the Differentiated Model of Giftedness and Talent (DMGT) introduced by Gagné (2008, 2009).

The idea of giftedness in the asynchronous perspective (cf. Columbus Group 1991; Morelock 1992; Silverman 1997; Bainbridge 2016) points to the uneven development of children who are gifted. This approach concentrates not only on intelligence but first of all on emotional aspects characteristic of the gifted (i.e. their feelings, thoughts, experiences), particular attention being paid to heightened sensitivity. The Columbus Group defines giftedness as asynchronous development in the way presented in the quotation below.

> Giftedness is *asynchronous development* in which advanced cognitive abilities and heightened intensity combine to create inner experiences and awareness that are qualitatively different

from the norm. This asynchrony increases with higher intellectual capacity. The uniqueness of the gifted renders them particularly vulnerable and requires modifications in parenting, teaching and counseling in order for them to develop optimally (Columbus Group 1991).

Educational institutions may apply the definition of giftedness understood as a relative ability. In accordance with the above idea students in a given school are classified as gifted in relation to the performance of other students, i.e. learners who represent the top percentage of the performance of the school student population (e.g. 5 or 10 percent) are identified as gifted individuals who require a more challenging curriculum than the one regularly offered by the school. 'Giftedness' perceived in the above sense is relative as a given individual may be classified as gifted in one educational institution, whereas in a different one he/she may be viewed as not gifted (which introduces confusion) (Bainbridge 2016; VanTassel-Baska and Johnsen 2007).

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GIFTED

Gifted individuals are equipped with a number of characteristics that make them different from the other members of the population. They learn faster and more deeply, possess excellent reasoning abilities, high verbal skills based on extended vocabulary and magnificent memory. As emphasised by Diezmann and Watters (2006: 3), "gifted students have an advanced knowledge base compared to their non-gifted peers". The gifted are also characterised by high levels of creativity and curiosity and frequently master theoretical ideas with only few repetitions (Bireley 1995; Davis and Rimm 2004). They tend to question authority (Kennedy et al. 2008: 41). As children, they often learn to read quite early (but not all early readers are gifted) (Bainbridge 2016). Gifted children may also have difficulty in communicating with mates, which originates from differences in personality, motivation, interests and vocabulary use (Diezmann, Watters and Fox 2001: 3). As a result, gifted children frequently opt for the company of adults or older children (Davis and Rimm 2004). Significantly, giftedness may not affect all intellectual areas. To exemplify, a gifted individual may achieve excellence in the sphere of logic but simultaneously can represent an average level in the case of other spheres (cf. Ruth 2001).

The gifted may experience isolation (chiefly when they do not function among other gifted individuals). In order to be accepted by their mates, they attempt to conform to their level, i.e. they try to hide their intellectual abilities by applying underachievement and using lower communicative resources (Światek 1995). The isolation described above does not generally originate from the phenomenon of giftedness *per se* but is the result of the negative attitude of society that attaches

a stigma to superior intellectual ability (Plucker and Levy 2001). According to Silverman (1997: 38), "[d]evelopmentally advanced children, like the developmentally delayed, are at risk in a society that prizes sameness" due to the principle that "[t]he albino bird is often destroyed by the normally-colored members of the flock". The isolation in question can be prevented by placing gifted individuals in peer groups of similar abilities and interests (Robinson 2002; Lardner 2005).

Yet another problem gifted individuals frequently face is perfectionism, which is facilitated due to the very nature of giftedness – the gifted tend to succeed easily in many activities they undertake. Significantly, perfectionism may develop into a positive or negative phenomenon. The so called normal/healthy perfectionism signifies conscientiousness, high standards and responsibility. Healthy perfectionists generally derive satisfaction and joy from their efforts, mistakes and criticism being treated not as disasters but as stimulants to further progress (c.f. Hamachek 1978; Parker and Mills 1996; Parker 1997; Schuler 1999; Parker 2002; Owen and Slade 2008; Fletcher and Speirs Neumeister 2012 *inter alios*). In other words, healthy perfectionism, which stimulates the process of pursuing one's excellence, may be viewed as a virtue (Parker and Mills 1996). Neurotic/dysfunctional/unhealthy perfectionism originates from associating one's own value as a person with achievements, which is supplemented with the assumption that work which is not perfect is not acceptable. Neurotic perfectionism also entails high concern over failures and criticism (c.f. Hamachek 1978; Parker and Mills 1996; Parker 1997; Schuler 1999; Parker 2002; Stoeber et al. 2007; Owen and Slade 2008; Fletcher and Speirs Neumeister 2012 *inter alios*).

Dysfunctional perfectionism can be caused and intensified by behaviours of parents or classmates. Parents, being proud of their child, praise him/her for achievements exceedingly often, which may lead the gifted child to viewing his/her value as dependent of the praise (Davis and Rimm 2004). Classmates, driven by jealousy of the gifted child's achievements, bully or tease the gifted student about any, even minute, imperfection regarding the gifted child's clothes, work results, behaviour, appearance or strength. Further strengthening of unhealthy perfectionism occurs if the gifted child reacts to bullying applying underachievement, which produces disdain in his/her psyche for this unsuccessful performance (Peterson and Ray 2006).

RESEARCH AND ITS METHODOLOGY

The research undertaken in this section represents qualitative analysis based on a case study. It is aimed at establishing the identity of an intellectually gifted individual learning in a Polish high school with reference to his communicative behaviours associated with functioning in educational space. The research participant

selected for the analysis is a second grade student. He is the winner of two voivodeship junior high school competitions and the grade average of his last high school certificate was 5.5. The student participated in an interview which lasted around 120 minutes and provided answers to the following enquiries included in the interview scenario:

1) Could you describe your communicative behaviours in relation to your teachers?
2) Could you describe your communicative behaviours with reference to your school mates?
3) Could you describe your communicative behaviours related to the process of learning?
4) Could you describe your communicative behaviours in the classroom?

The questions of the interview scenario aimed at collecting data whose analysis was to provide answers to the following research questions:

1) Which ITE parameter dominates the communicative behaviours of the Polish high school intellectually gifted student under analysis in relation to his functioning in educational space?
2) How can one define the identity of the Polish high school intellectually gifted student in terms of the interplay of the ITE parameters?

ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS

The research data (comprised of the student's answers), have been analysed in terms of the status of each parameter of the Imperial Tetragon of Embodiment. The results of this analysis are presented in the form of numbered statements below.

1. In terms of the research participants' communicative behaviours that signify the level of his communicative resources, one must note the following aspects:
   • the learner under analysis is in possession of high communicative resources and frequently makes use of them during discussions in the classroom forum,
   • the student's high communicative skills result not only from school education but also from private lessons – in the primary school the student had a poor Polish teacher so he was given private lessons to make up for the material. Since private tutoring in Polish language and literature has been continued at the further stages of education, the learner has been provided with appropriate opportunities to develop his communicative resources,
   • as far as the application of the communicative resources among classmates and school friends is concerned, the student under analysis conforms to the general trend represented by students (c.f. Bielak 2016: 8) which is characterised by the general lowering of linguistic norms. The learner admits to using abbreviated communication, slang expressions and vulgarisms.

2. Due to the fact that high communicative resources are applied by the student not in all situations, the position of the parameter of displays determining the learner's identity is assumed to be only moderately strong.

3. With reference to the parameter of militancy, one should note the following communicative behaviours applied by the Polish high school intellectually gifted student in relation to his functioning in educational space:

   • in the company of classmates the learner's behaviours (both verbal and non-verbal) are survival-oriented. The student, when placed in the jungle of peer relations, has been fighting for survival practically all his school life. The fact that he is more intelligent than the others, receives better test or exam results, wins competitions (or, in general, achieves success) frequently has not been accepted by his classmates, which frequently resulted in jealousy expressed in the form of malicious and bullying communicative behaviours (which also caused the student's malicious or even aggressive reactions). In effect, he has changed his school twice: in the first case, to be put in the environment of peers representing a similar intellectual level, in the second one, to be placed in the company of mates less rat-race oriented. In both cases the decision caused a great surprise or even a shock among teachers and school management as they had not identified any problems,

   • the communicative behaviours of the student are also oriented towards success, which is interpreted as passing his exams with very high results and be accepted at the elitist higher education faculty he has chosen. Since the competition to get a place there is high, he must devote a lot of time to learning to achieve success (i.e. to pass his exams almost flawlessly). In order to reach his goal, he attends extra private lessons. The learner emphasises that his achievements only partly result from what he has been taught at school. To a considerable extent, they constitute the effect of what he has learned during extra lessons given by a private tutor. He highlights that school education comprises only some foundation that can be used to learn more during additional private lessons. Only the above way of learning may enable one to achieve success (e.g. to win a prestigious contest or to be accepted at some type of university faculties where competition is extremely strong). Accordingly, the process of preparing for the exams that determine acceptance at an elitist university faculty resembles a battle,

   • while participating in the aforementioned battle for very high exam results, the learner's communicative behaviours are also focused on fighting against stress, tiredness and discouragement caused by the excessive number of educational tasks, resulting lack of free time and growing uncertainty about his exam results.

4. On the basis of the above information it is assumed that the position held by the militancy parameter, in terms of the communicative behaviours applied

by the Polish high school gifted student, is extremely strong. The strength of the militancy attribute may be detected in:
- the research participant's striving (or fight) for a congenial environment in which he can develop his potential effectively and painlessly,
- the learner's aggressive reactions to frequent cases of teasing and bullying,
- the student's battle for exceedingly good examination results,
- the student's fight against discouragement, stress and tiredness.

5. In relation to the status of the parameter of utility, which underlies the communicative behaviours of the Polish high school intellectually gifted student with regard to his functioning in educational space, one ought to take into consideration the following facts:
- the student under analysis recognises his future needs and his communicative behaviours associated with his functioning in school are to a high extent oriented towards achieving success in the fields that are associated with his future career. In other words, the student aims at excelling in what he considers useful in his further life,
- the above application of the idea of utility seems to be limited by the fact that the learner's behaviours must be also focused on learning subjects that appear in the curriculum but are not connected with the student's specialisation and are not taken by him during the school-leaving exam (such subjects are regarded as totally useless by the research participant),
- the application of the concept of utility is also limited by the learner's communicative behaviours oriented not towards expanding knowledge itself but towards tailoring exam answers to what is provided in the exam key (as a consequence, exams do not check one's real knowledge but one's skill of adjusting answers to the key, which the student considers useless),
- one more limitation on the application of the idea of utility is reflected in the student's communicative behaviours concentrated on remembering the excessive amount of theoretical knowledge (the student doubts whether he will have a chance to apply it in his further life).

6. In view of the above information it is assumed that the position of the parameter of utility, in terms the student's communicative behaviours related to his functioning in school space, is only moderately strong.

7. With reference to the status of the parameter of trade-offs, which determines the communicative behaviours of the Polish high school intellectually gifted student with regard to his functioning in educational space, it must be highlighted that:
- the student's communicative behaviours are concentrated on providing feedback to what the teacher is saying (so he participates actively in the classes) but he restrains himself from expressing his real opinions in the classroom forum if they are controversial. The learner states that in the past he used to present his own arguments (which were often contrary to

the teacher's views) and quarrel with his teachers but he gave up. Partly because he realised that you can never win with the teacher and partly because he is fed up with it. There is so much material he must learn that he does not feel like losing his energy having arguments in the classroom forum. He states that he must devote his energy first of all to learning to achieve good results and not to arguments. Therefore, in some situations he keeps quiet. The student also highlights that some teachers have a tendency not to like students who know too much and present their knowledge during a classroom discussion (in order to punish them, they question them excessively). In conclusion, he states that in the case of some teachers it is better not to stand out in the classroom.

8. Accordingly, it is presumed that the status of the parameter of trade-offs, with reference to the student's communicative behaviours related to his functioning in school space, is non-dominant.

9. The analysis demonstrated above has shown that the communicative behaviours of the Polish high school intellectually gifted student in relation to his functioning in educational space are determined by the non-dominant status of the parameter of trade-offs, the very strong positon of the parameter of militancy and the moderately strong position of the parameters of displays and utility.

10. Due to the above status of the ITE parameters, which condition the communicative behaviours of the Polish high school intellectually gifted student in relation to his functioning in educational space, the identity of the learner under analysis is militancy-dominant, trade-offs- non-dominant, displays-weakly dominant and utility-weakly dominant.

11. The above identity of the Polish high school intellectually gifted student does not seem to be optimal for the development of the student's potential. The dominance of the parameter of militancy should be definitely eliminated, the above process being accompanied by strengthening the status of the other parameters. It is the above modification of identity that should ensure the harmonious development of the student's potential.

THE FORMATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION CURRICULA AND THE IDENTITY OF POLISH HIGH SCHOOL INTELLECTUALLY GIFTED STUDENTS

The changes in the system of Polish higher education, which resulted from transformation processes initiated in 1989 (after the fall of communism), led to the occurrence of such phenomena as the sudden growth of higher education institutions (also many private ones), the enormous increase in the number of students and the lowering quality of higher education. In effect, higher education in Poland lost its elite character (Zajączkowska 2016: 83–84) leaving some graduates with lower

competences. At present one can point to very few elitist higher education faculties in Poland, where it is extremely difficult to be accepted as a student due to high competition. Significantly, the massive character of Polish higher education has caused the occurrence of unemployment among graduates of some specialisations (Zajączkowska 2016: 84).

In view of the above, one may ask the question of whether Polish higher education curricula should suit the level of average learners who barely pass each year or whether Polish higher education programmes should be tailored to be more oriented towards the educational needs of intellectually gifted students (the latter would certainly raise the level of Polish higher education and make it elitist). In this paper it is postulated that the development of the potential of intellectually gifted individuals is extremely important to the economy of each country. Therefore, it is the potential of intellectually gifted individuals that should be given due consideration in the process of forming higher educational curricula. Significantly, higher education programmes should be also aimed at strengthening the parameters of displays, utility and trade-offs in the identity of their graduates, the parameter of militancy being eliminated. It is the above attitude that ought to ensure the high level of competences represented by graduates, which in turn should speed up social and economic development in a number of spheres.

CONCLUSIONS

The present study has described the identity of the Polish high school intellectually gifted student in relation to the communicative behaviours associated with his functioning in educational space. The identity in question, which is determined by the dominant parameter of militancy, the weakly dominant parameter of displays, the non-dominant parameter of trade-offs and the weakly dominant attribute of utility, has been classified as not optimal. In order to facilitate the optimum development of the student's potential, the modification of his identity is recommended, i.e. the dominance of militancy should be eliminated, the status of other parameters being strengthened. In other words, one's quest for high competences should not resemble a fierce fight but rather balanced development. The harmonious development of the potential of high school intellectually gifted individuals should be assured at all educational levels, which is of vital significance for social and economic reasons. Since it is mainly the level of higher education that provides a potential employee with high skills required by employers, it is assumed that higher education curricula should provide intellectually gifted students with competences suited to their potential and needs. In other words, the educational offer of higher education should be aimed at the harmonious development of the potential of intellectually gifted individuals.

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"MULTIPLE IDENTITIES" AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE EXHIBITED IN WORKPLACE ENVIRONMENTS

There is no denying that new styles of communication have already made great advances in both academic and workplace environments. As Chester (2002) believes, there are now different communication needs whose hierarchy has also changed. The efficiency, frequency and quality of communication are determined by many important variables – people's (multiple) identities and age, or one's first language being cases in point. These new styles of communication may be considered surprising, linguistically inaccurate, or even rude. Many of them do also not comply to ones that would be created by native speakers, as the people who use them more often than not produce quite awkward structures – on the one hand this is an example of pure corporate jargon and ESP (in the workplace context), on the other a unique discourse heavily manifesting its own identity, first language and norms of politeness present in a particular community (Paltridge 2012). Thus the discourse produced (already creating a new style of communication) violates pragmatic norms obvious to native speakers, as well as being highly surprising (if not even confusing) to other non-native speakers.

The proposed article aims to demonstrate the results of the analysis of corporate emails produced by various non-native advanced speakers of English. The analysis mainly focuses on corpus utterances demonstrating a lack of pragmatic competence, as well as the existence of "multiple identities" of their authors.

KEYWORDS: multiple identities, communication, communication channel, workplace discourse, pragmatic competence

THE BASES OF IDENTITY

The concept of identity has been analyzed from many various angles and defined either as parts of a self, self-esteem, common identification with a collectivity or social category, or even as a culture of people (Stryker and Burke 2000: 284). Ramarajan (2014) also adds that "identities are neither internally decided nor completely externally imposed" and thus may include a subjective standpoint, i.e. how one defines themselves. While discussing the concept of identity, one can also differentiate between personal identity, understood as the idiosyncratic features that

make a person unique, and social identity known as a set of group memberships defining the individual. In the light of this article, it seems important to focus on Social Identity Theory, as it provides the understanding of why and how the behavior of an individual changes according to the situation they find themselves in. The theory postulates that social behavior will vary along a continuum between interpersonal and intergroup behaviour. Interpersonal behaviour would be determined solely by the individual characteristics and interpersonal relationships that exist between two or more people. Intergroup behavior, on the other hand, would be the one that is governed by the social category memberships that apply under the same conditions. The authors of social identity theory state that purely interpersonal or purely intergroup behaviour is unlikely to be found in realistic social situations, and one should rather look at behaviour as the outcome of a compromise between the two extremes (Tajfel & Turner 1979). Much of Social Identity Theory deals with intergroup relations – that is, how people come to see themselves as members of one group/ category (the in-group) in comparison with another (the-out-group), and the consequences of this categorization, such as ethnocentrism (Turner et al. 1987). In this article however, I shall address the view of social identity regarding what occurs when one becomes an in-group member and adopts certain roles while dealing with out-group members. Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reichern and Wetherell, (1987 in Burke and Stets 2000: 224) enumerate the processes appearing in the identity creation: self-categorization (understood as "[taking] itself as an object and categorizing, classifying or naming itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories or classifications"), or identification (called in this way in Identification Theory, McCall and Simmons 1978 in Burke and Stets 2009: 224). Both of these are responsible for the creation of identity.

The major differences between the theories originate in the view of the group as the basis for identity, and revolve around two basic aspects: who one is (social identity theory) versus what one does (identity theory). My concern, however, is to look at it from another angle, i.e. how this is done, and analyze the variables that contribute to the final effect: workplace discourse.

MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

"We have as many "selves" as we have others with whom we interact" (William James 1890 in Burke 2003)

People have multiple identities that interact not in isolation, but with each other in particular situations. Group, role and person identities are interrelated and thus we cannot easily separate the group and role identity from the person identity. A university professor can at the same time play the role of a husband, or a father.

"Having a particular social identity means being at one with a certain group, being like others in the group, and seeing things from the group's perspective. In contrast, having a particular role identity means acting to fulfill the expectations of the role, coordinating and negotiating interaction with role partners, and manipulating the environment to control the resources for which the role has responsibility" (Burke and Stets 2009: 143).[1]

According to Ramarajan (2014), identities are often thought to derive from and reflect social structures – for example, formal roles, social positions, and social categories (Brewer & Gardner 1996; Stryker & Burke 2000; Tajfel & Turner 1987 in Ramarajan 2014).

In the process of the formation of social identity two forces should be enumerated: self-categorization (discussed above) and social comparison. "Through a social comparison process, persons who are similar to the self are categorized with the self and are labelled the in-group" (ibid.: 225), those who are not, belong to the out-group. The outcome of the self-categorization is "an accentuation of the perceived similarities between the self and others in-group members … This accentuation occurs for all the attitudes, beliefs and values, affective reactions, behavioral norms, styles of speech, and other properties that are believed to be correlated with the relevant intergroup categorization" (ibid.). Yet, it is also clearly visible that some deliberately choose to belong to their in-group by making particular linguistic choices, even when such decisions do not comply to the standards used by out-group members, and may, in turn, result in further perlocutionary effects: surprise, confusion or offence being cases in point[2].

The notion of multiple identities can be also discussed in terms of language-thought interaction. According to many scholars (cf. Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, Boroditsky 2011), language shapes thoughts and influences the perception of reality as well as imparting different cognitive skills. As speakers of different tongues we may think of and perceive various functions e.g. politeness differently. Boroditsky (2011: 65) puts it in the following way: "Each [language] provides its own cognitive toolkit and encapsulates the knowledge and worldview developed over thousands of years within a culture. Each contains a way of perceiving, categorizing and making meaning in the world, an invaluable guidebook developed and honed by our ancestors". Thus it can be concluded that when communicating, people express their own multiple identities through first language-governed norms. Moreover, their interpretation of polite behavior is also commonly perceived through mother-tongue standards.

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[1] Having more than one identity is described in various contexts and can be comparted to a Janus-face syndrome, when one has two sharply contrasting aspects or characteristics, as if two faces. This situation is described in the field of workplace environment and corporate communication when a person communicating with a lower-status colleague adopts "one face", very often completely different from the one that is taken while communicating with his/her superiors. It is also believed that the feeling of emotional comfort and safety at work decreases the differences between the two faces adopted (http://umcs.net.pl).

[2] This idea shall be developed in the further part of this article.

PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE

In the light of the above-mentioned social identity theory, it seems important to find a place for the concept of pragmatic transfer, and how it manifests itself in workplace communication. It has already been stated that people's behavior, including linguistic behavior, and the type of discourse they produce, is determined by many interrelated social variables and identities they hold for the purpose of in-group and out-group communication. A natural question that arises here is the extent to which the development of pragmatic competence and the knowledge of social and cultural constraints present in the second language one uses affects one's (multiple) identities. The roles we adopt for various professionally-oriented situations obviously determine the discourse we opt for, yet what seems interesting is our willingness to comply to second language norms. The study that shall be presented in the further part of this article unanimously proves that the development of pragmatic competence does not go hand in hand with the general command of a second language (e.g. grammatical and lexical competence), as if the participants of the research did not find it equally important, presumably under the influence of the identities/roles they play that seem more salient to them, or are closer to their in-group norms.

Pragmatic competence is one of the aspects of communicative competence, and can be defined as the knowledge one has concerning the actual application of a language in a target language community. In other words, pragmatic competence is closely connected with social and cultural norms of behavior (also linguistic behavior) typical for a particular community and appropriate in a given context. Thus it may be stated that pragmatic competence can be interpreted as one aspect of communicative competence pertaining to the ability to use so-called invisible rules allowing one to remain socially appropriate while producing speech acts. These invisible rules comprise a speaker's declarative knowledge of the target language (Kasper 1989 in Grossi 2009: 53). Bialystok (1993) provides one more interpretation of pragmatic competence, dividing it into three general aspects:

1. The ability to use language for different purposes
2. The ability to understand the speaker's real intentions
3. The ability to choose and connect together appropriate utterances in order to create a discourse.

For Bachman (1990), pragmatic competence, together with organizational knowledge, is just one part of language knowledge that a second language learner must internalize. Learners unable to use their universal or transferrable L1 pragmatic knowledge in L2 contexts will not meet the standards of being socially acceptable and appropriate as the language they produce will differ from the one used by native speakers. Pragmatic expressions can be presented in a variety of forms, and for second language learners, appropriateness is often cast aside simply to get the

message across. Moreover, unfortunately, many L2 speakers make use of their own L1 sociocultural communicative competence, norms and conventions in performing L2 speech acts. Hence this pragmatic transfer appears as a result of the influence exerted by learners' pragmatic knowledge of languages and cultures other than L2 on their comprehension, production and learning of L2 pragmatic information (Kasper 1992). When analyzing the problem of pragmatic transfer with regard to multiple identities, it can also be presumed that the decision to "stick" to one's L1 sociocultural norms may stem from a deliberate accentuation of intergroup categorization. This, in turn, may lead to further conflict, as native speakers rarely accept pragmatic violations:

> Grammatical errors may be irritating and impede communication, but at least, as a rule, they are apparent in the surface structure, so that H [the hearer] is aware that an error has occurred. Once alerted to the fact that S [the speaker] is not fully grammatically competent, native speakers seem to have little difficulty in making allowances for it. Pragmatic failure, on the other hand, is rarely recognized as such by non-linguists. (…) This is especially unfortunate when speakers are otherwise fluent, since people typically expect that someone who speaks their language well on the grammatical level has also mastered the pragmatic niceties (Thomas 1983: 96–97).

The observation drawn by Paltridge (2012: 49–50) is that "different cultural values and relations require different approaches to the same act". However, despite knowing this, it is intriguing why even advanced speakers of English as a second language do not attach much importance to the development of pragmatic competence.

WORKPLACE COMMUNICATION

The concept of multiple identities due to many ongoing changes and trends in organizations and society (such as increasing globalization, diversity, job insecurity, and communication technology), has become increasingly important. As Ramarajan (2014) points out, in global organizations people often experience difficulty with "belonging to their local unit, their country, and a global organization at the same time (Arnett 2002; Erez & Gati 2004; Poster 2007 in Ramarajan 2014: 591), and for many virtual workers, communication technology is altering how they can simultaneously enact various identities (Bartel, Wrzesniewski, & Wiesenfeld 2012; Ollier-Malaterre, Rothbard, & Berg 2013; Thatcher & Zhu 2006)". Yet research that specifically examines how people's multiple identities shape important processes and outcomes in organizations is still in its infancy (Ramarajan 2014).

Workplace communication, except for (multiple) identities expressed through first language norms, is determined by many other variables, but for the purpose

of this article I shall concentrate on people's age. In his study, Chester (2002) formulated a hypothesis claiming that people's (workplace) communication preferences are determined by their age. Thus, people born between 1980 and 1994 are referred to as Generation Why (Y) and are contrasted with Baby Boomers, or Generation X. Their communication expectations can be visualized in the following way:
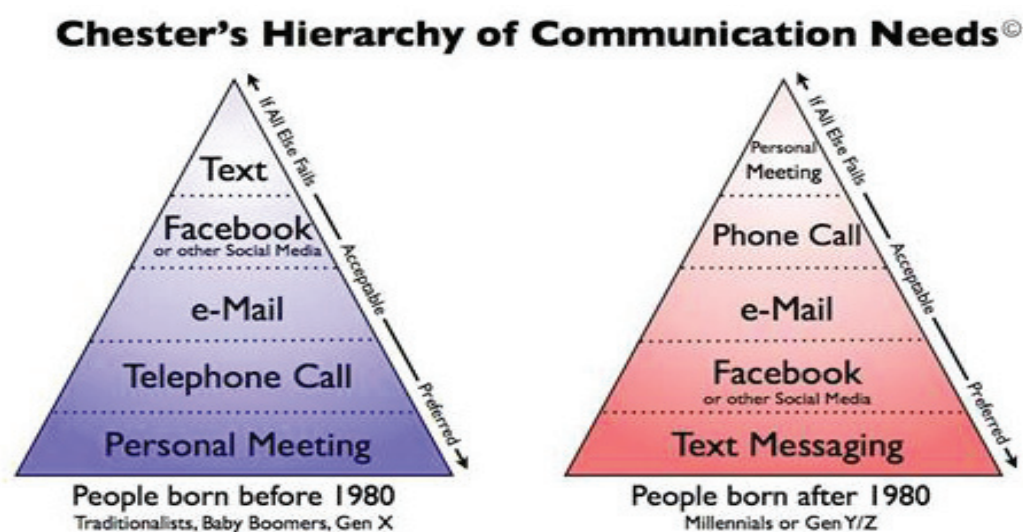

Figure 1. Hierarchy of communication needs, adapted from Chester 2002.

As can be seen, the hierarchy of communication needs varies significantly between the two groups – what Generation X prefers (and that comprises the bottom of the pyramid) – personal meeting – are least favoured in the group of Millennials. In fact, the only communication channel they agree on in terms of their preferences is e-mail communication[3]. A point that shall be further investigated is that this means of communication is also determined by the "multiple identities" of the interlocutors, as more often than not the corpus extracts demonstrate common violations of L2 pragmatic norms.

According to Chester, both groups communicate differently. Generation X prefers direct, even blunt and immediate form of communication, an informal style and a straightforward approach. Millennials, on the other hand, opt for a more polite, respectful, electronic communication style. They will talk face-to-face only if all else fails, or the message is extremely important (Chester 2002). It seems that the biggest difference here lies in the fact that for Generation Y, technological devices comprise the norm, something they have acquired and use on a regular basis. This is not so true for Generation X as, in their case, technology has been learnt and personal contact will always be treated as more natural.

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[3] Since this form of communication seems to dominate in workplace environment and is used by both groups, I decided to analyze email correspondence in my study.

THE STUDY

The aim of the study was to analyze various examples of email correspondence[4] produced by non-native intermediate or advanced speakers of English working in Hungarian, Italian and Polish departments of a big American-owned international company. The official language of communication here is English, and therefore all business correspondence is conducted in this language. Having had direct access to many samples of such emails, I have gathered a vast collection of written semi-formal extracts with the intention of verifying whether the content complies pragmatically to native speakers' standards, or if the employees still reflect their multiple identities in such emails. The research consisted of two stages: in the first phase I gathered a collection of 39 emails written in English (17 were written by Hungarians, 2 by Italians and 20 by Poles). What caught my immediate attention was the fact that all of the corpus examples contained the same pragmatic mistake, namely the pronoun "you" and possessive adjective "your" was always capitalized by both Hungarian and Polish groups. Some of the corpus examples are provided below:

1. Dear Dimitri,

    First of all we thank **You** very much for **Your** visit at our plant. I fully agree about **Your** point, that we were not able to found the root cause and there is a need for improvement in our inbound process, what could be supported by a color coding.

    Thanks for **Your** support once again, and we wish You a very nice weekend!

    Bye:

2. Hi Katalin,

    I hope **You** are fine.

    Today we have got first meeting with XXXX concerning BTO implementation at Katowice. Now we start to understand more clear the order and material flow through warehouses (PPL + new KDC). We also realize how complicate the process is. There are many concerns and question which is difficult to answer without 'touching' the real process (system).

    I would like to ask **You** for help. (…) They would like to meet Gabor who is responsible for FG handling in **Your** organization as I know. Is that possible? Are **You** able to help us?

    Thank **You** in advance for **Your** help.

    Bye

Example 1 and 2. Extracts from Poles writing to Hungarians

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[4] In the final stage of the research I also decided to verify the samples gathered from hotel directory manuals. The intention was to check whether a different genre would change writers' attitudes to second language pragmatic requirements.

3. Hi Marcin,

I was so sorry, that we could not meet, and I am happy, that **You** had a useful time with my team. If **You** have any question, or if **You** could manage anything with ERP, what we are doing manually, please write me.

Have a great day!

Katalin

Example 3. Extract from a Hungarian writing to a Pole

4. Hello Andrew,

Sorry I'm bothering **You** but would **You** please send the secondment letter (details) to HR in XXX Hungary and to me?

I believe **You** got the offer letter signed by me by now.

Example 4. Extract from a Hungarian writing to an Englishman.

The above-presented examples clearly indicate that the authors of the emails are either unaware of the rules (which at this level of language ability is hardly possible), or intentionally violate English pragmatic norms by complying to those transferred from their first language, i.e. in both languages, Polish and Hungarian, the writers capitalize "You" to show respect. In contrast to this behavior, capitalized pronouns in English, besides "I", are invariably used to refer to some higher power, most often the God of the Judeo-Christian faiths. The only other proper usage of capitalization of pronouns is in titles and in a legal context[5]. Surprisingly enough, the perlocutionary effect of such behavior can result in astonishment, confusion, or even offence. The opinions of native speakers (http://english.stackexchange.com/questions) towards inappropriate capitalization leave no doubts here:

- „I definitely would not capitalize "you" just to show politeness or respect. Few English-speakers would understand that that was your intent. They'd just wonder why you used the odd capitalization"
- „some strongly religious people might be offended if you used a capitalised pronoun for a person (as the use of the capital letter can be seen as „reserved" for god only)"

The example from an Italian respondent is different, though it still violates English pragmatic norms:

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[5] Some legal contracts have a section of definitions at the top where they carefully define "You" or "YOU" to refer to a specific category of person – using "YOU" instead of a plain "you" to remind the reader that they are using the word in this very specific sense.

5. Dear **Mr XXX**,
   as we are in the field of potassium silicate, spoking with XXX Italia **i** arrive to your plant and your name was sent me after phone conversation with your plant.
   So **i** am writing you as purchase manager for silicates product.
   I would like become your supplier and **i** would like so discuss about this possibility.
   Attached you can find a little presentation of RAM Silicates as reference.
   We produce sodium , potassium , lithium silicates or blend of siliacates.
   I remember you that we are able to make any ratio and viscosity you can require.
   Please send us specification you need , package, volume and will be our pleasure to send you price and sample for evaluation.
   Awaiting your comment, **i** send you my
   Best Regards

Example 5. Extract from an Italian writing to a Pole.

As can be seen, the author of this extract capitalizes only those "I" pronouns that begin a phrase. In Italian, capitalization of pronouns is typical not only when commencing a sentence, but also immediately after a period, question mark or exclamation mark (http://italian.about.com/od/grammar). Oddly enough, for some reason this peculiar style of capitalization of "I" falls neither within English nor Italian norms.

In the second part of the study I also decided to verify whether a different genre, a hotel guest directory manual, would also contain similar mistakes. The corpus extracts were collected from four such manuals, two of them from four-star hotels located in Poland (one local hotel and the other belonging to a chain of international hotels distributed across the world), and two of them from similar status hotels in the Czech Republic.

Some of the extracts are provided below:

Dear Guests,

Welcome to the hoteL x and x.

Hotel is reopened with new managers.

For **Your** satisfaction and full use of **Your** time spends[6],

at our hotel, we have prepared hotel guide where **You** will find all the necessary information.

Each of our guests, we want to pay special attention

And we hope that **Your** visit of Hotel X and X, meet **Your** expectations.

Example 6. Extract from a Czech guest directory manual.

The Hotel provides laundry service. Should **You** wish to use it, clothes need to be placed in laundry bag with filled document of laundry and left up to 9.00. The Laundry will be returned by 18.00 the same day. Laundry service is available only from Monday to Friday.

In case of any questions, our reception remains at **Your** disposal 24 h a day.

Example 7. Extract from a Polish guest directory manual.

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[6] Though not grammatically correct, the corpus was not altered in any way.

To conclude, it is evident that the type of genre does not influence the appearance/absence of pragmatic mistakes, nor does it determine the need to hide one's (multiple) identity. It is also evident that the above-mentioned corpus examples correspond with Acculturation Theory (Schumann 1978), as all of them may be treated as manifestations of social and psychological distance. According to Schumann (1978, in Brown 1994), "the degree to which a learner acculturates to the TL group will control the degree to which he acquires the second language". Thus it may be assumed that learners not willing to acculturate will keep their own identity, but this, in turn, will further lead to simplification of their language, and even pidginization in the case of great distance. Last but not least, this particular linguistic behavior observed through email correspondence can also result from the relationship a person has with the outgroup and the views of identity held by each group vis-a-vis the other (Accommodation Theory, Gilles, in Brown 1994). The extent to which a learner sees himself as a member of a specific in-group, separate from the out-group, may also be perceived as another variable contributing to a person's desire to retain their identity.

CONCLUSIONS

The study focused on the demonstration of pragmatic violations manifesting themselves in workplace discourse (email correspondence). Pragmatic transfer occurs when an L2 speaker makes use of his/her L1 sociocultural communicative competence – L1 sociocultural norms and conventions – in performing L2 speech acts, and that is clearly visible in the corpus gathered. In the light of this article, one should also ponder over another variable determining the appearance of pragmatic mistakes, i.e. multiple identities. As presented in the above extracts, non-native speakers of English more often than not either comply only to their own first language determined pragmatic norms, or produce structures that fall somewhere between the first and second language (cf. Italian extract). Such linguistic decisions are controversial and highly surprising, especially bearing in mind that these are otherwise quite fluent, if not even advanced speakers of English (cf. examples 1 and 2). The social identity theory quoted earlier clearly emphasizes the need (or even strong desire) one has to deliberately accentuate one's in-group characteristics, solidarity and sense of belonging. Thus it may be concluded that such cardinal pragmatic mistakes as those comprising the corpus may stem from one's need to exhibit their own, first-language-oriented identity (cf. Accommodation and Acculturation Theory), or, perhaps that they appear under the influence of globalization and should be treated as examples of ELF manifestations.

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"*WIDOW* TRUMPS ALL OTHER IDENTITIES": THE PORTRAIT OF A WIDOW IN JOYCE CAROL OATES'S *A WIDOW'S STORY: A MEMOIR* AS A REFLECTION OF SELECTED LINGUISTIC, PSYCHOLOGICAL, AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF WIDOWHOOD

This article looks at the identity of the widow from linguistic, cultural, psychological, and literary perspectives. The basis of this analysis is Joyce Carol Oates's grief narrative *A Widow's Story: A Memoir*. First, the term "widow" and its connotations are examined and illustrated by appropriate examples from Oates's memoir and psychological research. Next, I present an overview of the situation of the widow in selected developing countries where the state of widowhood becomes a serious deterrent to forming a new identity after a loss. Finally, I address the definitions of the widow in Joyce Carol Oates's memoir, *A Widow's Story: A Memoir*.

KEYWORDS: widow, identity, loss, bereavement, self

> "*My husband died, my life collapsed*";
> "*I am not anything now. Legally I am a 'widow' …*
> *But beyond that – I am not sure that I exist*"
>
> (Oates 2012: 1, 243)

Significant changes of identity after a loss have been studied by multiple grief scholars, and volumes have been written on how to recover from a loss of a spouse, child, parent, etc. There seems, however, to be an increasing need for bereavement literature that reflects the loss and rebuilding of one's life on a more personal level. For the past fifteen years, the modern bereavement memoir has been gaining in popularity, and within this fast-growing genre, grief accounts by widowed women of different ages predominate. Many of these bereft authors portray how a significant loss influences one's personality and attempt to define the social and cultural status of the widow. The basis of this analysis is Joyce Carol Oates's grief narrative *A Widow's Story: A Memoir*. Oates's portrayal of the widowed self is by

no means a generic formula for all widows in Western culture, yet she brings to the reader's attention crucial issues concerning widowhood and identity that other grief memoirists, psychologists, and sociologists discuss as well. I first examine the term "widow" and its connotations, many of which encapsulate the emotions and position of the widow across times and cultures. Appropriate examples from Oates's story illustrate the meanings discussed in this section. Next, I present an overview of the situation of the widow in selected developing countries where the state of widowhood becomes a serious deterrent to forming a new identity after a loss. This additional data regarding the less than ideal status of a bereaved woman in other than Western societies serves as a point of comparison to Oates's experiences and psychological bereavement research. Finally, I address the definitions of the widow in Oates's bereavement narrative. As with the process of grief, the concept of widowhood is complex and challenging. Therefore, this analysis should not be read as a universal portrait of widowhood. My focus is a particular literary genre – memoirs by bereaved women from English-speaking countries who suffered a significant loss. Even though there are optimistic, even humorous, streaks in this kind of writing, the portrait of the fractured self most of these authors paint does not constitute light reading. Ultimately, however, Oates's memoir as well as other literary bereavement records are success stories about survival and rebuilding one's life after the loss of a beloved person.

THE WIDOW: SELECTED ETYMOLOGIES AND PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL CONNOTATIONS OF THE WORD

The English word "widow" derives from the old Anglo-Saxon *wydewe* (*widuwe*, *wuduwe*), which from the mid-15th century came to denote not only a widow but also a "woman separated from or deserted by her husband" (*Online Etymology Dictionary* 2017). The Latin word *vidua* denotes "widow" or "an unmarried woman" and is the feminine of *viduŭs* meaning "bereaved," "widowed," "deprived," "empty," "without," "without a lover," "lonely," and "missing someone" (*Słownik* 1979: 537). The sensation of emptiness and loneliness that the figure of the widow signified in ancient societies is also visible in the Hebrew word of the Holy Scriptures, (אַלְמָנָה), transliterated as *almanah*, and pronounced *al-maw-naw*. The word literally means "an empty house" or "desolate palace" (*Bible Hub* 2017). *Almanah* is the feminine of *alman* ("widowed," "forsaken"), and the root word for both is *alam*, which, according to the *New American Standard Bible* translation, means "to bind," "(become) speechless, mute, silent," and "binding" (*Bible Hub*, "Alam").

The above meanings find their reflection in how widows were perceived and how they might have reacted to grief in the past. Many of these connotations and bereavement patterns can also be observed today. Deprivation and emptiness, often

consolidated into one word – loneliness, are what many widows feel at different points of their bereavement. Although each grief is different, multiple studies and interviews with widows in Western cultures confirm that the feeling of the self being lost and fractured due to a void created by loss can persist for weeks, months, or even years. Among the most common phrases that the bereaved women use are: "I have nobody. I am alone. I feel there's only me" (Hoonaard 2001: 39); "When I was married I was somebody. Now I am no one"; "I feel so empty and lost. I think ahead and the whole thing feels like a black hole" (Silverman 2004: 48, 115); "I feel so all alone now. It's been like the world has ended" (Worden 2009: 21); "*I am not anything now. … I am not sure that I exist*" (Oates 2012: 243).

The emotional emptiness that a widow feels encompasses social roles (she is no longer a wife, lover, etc.), activities and chores (the husband might have been the main accountant or cook in the family); and places (many locations remind the widow of her loss). The empty home, which many widows come back to day after day, is a powerful symbol of absence and a harsh reminder of a changed life. The process of inward and outward emptiness playing off each other in the psyche of the bereaved is aptly encapsulated in the Hebrew term *almanah*, denoting the widow and an "empty house." "I am anxious when I am alone, yet I yearn to be alone," states Oates, "the empty house is terrifying to me yet when I am away from it, I yearn to return to it" (2012: 94). Oates frequently refers to how the empty rooms, which she calls "ghost rooms," haunt her. Empty spaces and their haunting qualities are not the only tangible effects of grief. Many of the bereaved experience a somatic sensation of hollowness in the stomach (Worden 2009: 23) and continue to feel emotionally and physically empty and exhausted to the point that they feel like ghosts, wraiths, or zombies, all of which greatly influences their perception of who they are or, rather, who they are not any more. A day after her husband's death, in an email to a friend, Oates states: "*I am inundated with tasks to be done – like a zombie plodding through the interminable day*" (2012: 85). Even when the first shock of grief passes, the emotional and physical emptiness may continue, and Oates addresses this state of mind and body throughout her memoir.

The emptiness one struggles with after a loss finds an additional reflection in "the empty chair technique," frequently employed by therapists to work through the griever's feelings of deprivation, loneliness, anger etc. In this directed imagery method, the therapist helps the bereaved visualize the deceased sitting in an empty chair, and then encourages the patient to say what she needs to say to him (Worden 2009: 107). The effectiveness of the technique comes from the fact that the bereaved can address the dead loved one directly instead of merely talking *about* the deceased and the emptiness the deceased left behind (cf. Worden 2009: 107). The empty space is filled, at least temporarily, and the grieving person feels that the emptiness can be handled by such imagining. Many therapists report that widows tend to talk to their dead spouses during everyday activities to fill the emptiness. If not too excessive, talking to a dead person does not mean one is delusional – it is

a way of commemorating the deceased that can efficiently facilitate the adjustment to a new life.

The preposition "without" (*vidua*, the Latin root of *wydewe*) becomes an inherent part of a widow's life, often for an extensive period of time. She has to adjust to the idea of what it is like to live not only *without* her husband, but also *without* most things he represented, endorsed, and contributed to during their life together. "I can't live without him" is a common statement after a loss. In her grief account, Oates also underlines such a sentiment: "[W]ithout Ray, there doesn't seem much point to anything I do" (2012: 209). The full realization of this "without-ness" resurfaces around two to three months after a loss and involves coming to terms with living alone, raising children *without* the loved one, managing finances *without* the support of the other, etc. (cf. Worden 2009: 46). Psychologists also emphasize the "without-ness" of widowhood when they talk about the task of "adjusting" to the world "without" the deceased (Worden 2009: 4, 46, 166).

The meaning embedded in the Latin word *vidua* succinctly captures the situation of the widow on yet another level. Even though it seems unfathomable to a newly widowed woman to continue life without her husband, she may also want to be alone for an extended period of time, *without* people bothering her with trite condolences or meaningless talk (see Worden 2009: 27–28). A different, and not so uncommon, scenario is that a widow is left without heart-felt company and help. Family and friends tend to rush back to their daily duties, often because they are too afraid to talk to the widow who might focus on her pain and memories about the deceased – a tangible reminder that we are all vulnerable and mortal. The feeling of "without-ness" in the widow's life is overwhelming; it is, inevitably, compounded even further by the challenge of often being abandoned by family.

The Hebrew word *alam*, from which the term widow derives, means "to bind," "(become) speechless, mute, silent," and "binding" (*Bible Hub*, "Alam"). These meanings are associated not only with how a woman feels after a significant loss, but also with mourning observances by which the widow may feel constrained. Across times and cultures, women in particular have been restricted by various rituals and norms. "In closed societies," Phyllis Silverman reminds us, "a system of defined rules, customs, and rituals governs all behavior, including mourning" (2004: 62). It is true that customs and rituals offer guidance how to cope with traumatic events and may make the first months of bereavement easier for some widows, but they also limit individual responses to grief that vary in intensity and duration, stifling the self of the widow who may be preoccupied not only with her loss but also with personal well-being. Silverman stresses that an important part of coping with death and readjustment to a new life is realizing that the widowed "cannot always please others and that perhaps they should not even try" (2004: 62). "[S]eeking the approval of others may not be consistent with their needs or the way in which their relationship to themselves is changing," states Silverman (2004: 62), so if one feels like singing to release pent-up emotions, she should be able to do so without

feeling ashamed or guilty. Overwhelmed by grief, Oates cannot understand certain mourning customs that exacerbate her misery. In the days following her husband's death, she is forced to deal with her grieving self as well as with "a disorganized army of delivery men bearing floral displays, crates of fruit, hefty 'sympathy gift baskets' stuffed to bursting with gourmet foods" (Oates 2012: 106). To Oates, these are just perfunctory, even inappropriate, gestures, unable to replace human contact. "Why are people sending me these things?" she ponders, "Do they imagine that grief will be assuaged by chocolate-covered truffles, pâté de foie gras, pepperoni sausages?" (2012: 107). Then she feels remorse as she realizes that she should, in fact, be grateful that so many people want to comfort her (2012: 108). Grief has brought a lot of confusion into Oates's life; now, on top of all the emotional and somatic turmoil, she is forced to cope with conflicting feelings about a custom she is unable to embrace. The situation does not change in the weeks to come, and "the Widow," as Oates refers to herself, has no idea what to do with "all the sympathy cards that accompany the gifts": "Is a widow expected not only to write thank-you notes for presents, but for sympathy cards and letters as well? My heart sinks at the prospect. What a cruel custom! … I will answer them later. When I feel a little stronger. This may not be for a while. Months, years" (2012: 146–147). One may argue that there are more "cruel" customs than piles of "party food" and consolation cards, and there are. Yet, grief is a very individual, culture-, person-, and circumstance-specific process, and so are private mourning rituals. Thus, socially prescribed mourning customs should take into account the needs of an individual bereaved person and be applied in a more thoughtful manner.

From a psychological standpoint, the widow becomes *alam*, as in "mute" or "speechless," during the first hours and days after a loss. Shock, numbness, and disbelief are among the first most common reactions to a loss which may persist longer, depending on an individual situation of the bereaved (Worden 2009: 22, 24). The words "overwhelmed," "shocked," "bewildered," "numb," "speechless" recur in many clinical interviews with the bereaved. These emotional and behavioral sensations contribute to the feeling of being lost and uncertain about who one is. To get out of this muteness that grief often imposes on the bereaved, one needs to talk grief through, either with friends, family, and/or a therapist. While in most cases the latter can be easily arranged, people close to the bereaved may find it difficult to talk to them, surrounding them with additional speechlessness. The talking cure is one of the most effective methods of rebuilding the self after a loss, yet muteness often becomes a companion of the widow by necessity. Even if the widow has things to say, for instance, she wants to share memories about the lost loved one, many families avoid direct conversations about the dead and, by extension, about the situation and feelings of the widow. Reasons vary as to why people close to a widow may avoid meaningful conversations supporting her shaky self; but, as mentioned before, a common thread is the fear of mortality – the widow is an embodiment of sadness and abandonment caused by death. As

her identity and social status suffer along with the loss, the widow seems to have little to offer to others in her grief apart from, quite simply, grief. While this is not the case, and talking to widows can be a very enriching experience preparing us for what is to come and reminding us to cherish what we have, people often grope for words, especially when faced with a bereaved woman (a widower, on the other hand, often finds himself at the center of attention, evoking nurturing instincts in women). Social speechlessness may silence the widow in a variety of ways, which may be why each year there are more and more grief memoirs published, primarily by women. In a chapter appropriately titled "Dead Woman Walking," Oates describes her attempts at socializing two months after her husband's death. Her self-consciousness, combined with the image of the widow in her head, no doubt triggered by the social treatment of widows, prompts her to address the reader:

> If you understand what I am saying, then you understand. If not, not. *You*, who are healthy-minded. *You*, imagining yourself safe on a floating island amid a Sargasso Sea of sorrow. … At so oblique an angle to reason, let alone rationality, the widow speaks a language others can't understand. Like the aptly named black widow spider, the (human) widow is best avoided. (2012: 324–325)

And yet, quite rationally, Oates challenges those who shun the bereaved to step outside their illusory comfort ("safe") zone and break the silence surrounding the figure of the widow.

It should be emphasized that a widow who suffers a significant loss loses her voice metaphorically and literally: as she becomes stripped of a crucial part of her personality (a life companion), she does not know how to define herself and often postpones the attempts to find out who she is, which might result in complicated grief. Friends and family can be of great help, and often are, especially during the first year of bereavement. The widow, however, is frequently silenced by many social and private factors. The journey of the widow from the loss of former self to a new identity depends on specific psychological, somatic, cultural, and temporal circumstances. Finding one's own voice amidst grief and social demands may be a challenge even in the most favorable of circumstances, as exemplified by the struggling widowed self in Oates's story.

POVERTY, INVISIBILITY, SEXUAL ABUSE, SECLUSION, AND EXCLUSION: THE WIDOW ACROSS CULTURES

The creation of a new identity after a loss is challenging, even when one is financially independent and surrounded by loving family and friends. Across the world, there are many cultures which endorse discriminating rules governing women's lives that often violate their basic human rights. In those societies, widows

are particularly stigmatized. In India, Pakistan, East Timor, Nigeria, and many more, largely developing, countries, adjusting to widowhood typically means degradation to a lower social status. Any personal act to assert the self means a fight for survival in a very literal sense of the word. "Across the centuries, across the globe," writes Sally Cline, "we see a history of widows as second-class citizens, caught up in a complex network of sexism, ageism, and a denial of individuality" (1997: 154).

According to the 2001 report of the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, while the situation of widows is challenging in many countries worldwide, it is unacceptable in most developing countries. In most cultures, widows far outnumber widowers due to a number of medical, social, and political reasons (e.g. longer life expectancy for women, armed conflicts, multiple sexual partners making men more susceptible to STDs and HIV/AIDS). Consequently, the issues of discrimination, exploitation, and abuse of widows worldwide become more prominent every year (*Women2000* 2001: 3–4).

Southeast Asia is a geographic region "where decades of armed conflict have caused a huge explosion of widowhood for women of all ages" (*Women2000* 2001: 8). For instance, in East Timor, since 1975, one third of the population has been killed or died of famine, leaving behind widowed women in different age groups who were forced to seek refuge in the hills or "moved at gunpoint to camps in West Timor, becoming victims of rape" (*Women2000* 2001: 8). After losing a husband, home, and dignity, many widows in East Timor have been struggling to avoid death from hunger and the enemy forces. Those war widows can hardly speak about an identity change from wife to widow. As with most widows who manage to live in spite of psychological trauma caused by personal loss, widows in countries such as East Timor or Cambodia are survivors, but for these bereaved women, being a survivor is not an outcome of months or years of grieving, or at least not primarily. Their identity evolves from being a survivor of hunger, war, abuse, and uprootedness.

In many African countries, both Francophone and Anglophone, widows, more than other female groups, suffer from a frequent violation of international human rights. Although some of the laws regarding rights to ownership of her deceased husband's property have been executed in recent years, in the past the African widow was subject to multiple acts of discrimination, especially if she was married within the definitions of customary rather than statutory law (*Women2000* 2001: 9). In Nigeria, for example, the belief that "the beauty of a woman is her husband" rendered the widow "as unclean and impure" – she was essentially a health threat to everyone in the household (*Women2000* 2001: 9). If she had no male adult children, she was often ejected from her husband's house, which was immediately inherited by his oldest brother. If the widow with no male children was willing to accept the status of being an additional wife to one of her husband's brothers, she could stay in the house, but it did not protect her from a range of harmful customs that hindered self-healing in the midst of grief (*Women2000* 2001: 9).

According to Nzesylva, a Nigerian writer, blogger, and author of *The Funeral Did Not End* (2012), even today, in many communities, the Nigerian widow is still blamed for her husband's death and must endure degrading rituals to prove her innocence, or satisfy every onlooker that she has paid full respects to her deceased husband:

> Women are forced to shave their hair, be clad in ridiculous looking attires, often times black in colour. They lose their right to freedom and must not be seen outside the house. During her confinement, in some communities she [the widow] is not expected to bathe or change her clothes. She is expected to drink dirty and potentially toxic water used to wash the corpse of her late husband. At the funeral, she is positioned at a corner like some statue. She is not expected to speak more than a few words. She is even shielded from those who come to pay condolence and responds in nods and sighs. We effectively make her dead while she is still alive. (Nzesylva 2012)

The African widow is forced to cope with barbaric customs that divert her attention from healthy grieving. Most psychologists agree that one should work through grief to prevent its complicated form. As described, the mourning Nigerian practices do not seem to ease the pain of grief, and, for the African widow, they do not mark the beginning of adjustment and recovery from grief, but the process of annihilation of her identity.

In India, one of the fastest growing global economies, the situation of a widow is equally bleak. The ritual of sati may be long gone and illegal, but the customs shaping the lives of widows make many of them wish they could actually burn with their husbands. As sociologist Carolyn Custis James notes:

> Vrindavan, one of the Hindus' holiest places in India, is also known as "the City of Widows." Today, on the streets of Vrindavan, widows numbering in the thousands are everywhere. … [W]ith shaven heads and outstretched begging bowls, discarded by their families, living like ascetics in abject poverty, sleeping on the ground, rising to fast and pray for a departed spouse, chanting for hours to earn a bowl of rice. (2011: 63)

Useless rejects – this is how widows in India typically perceive themselves. It is a harsh self-assessment after years of caring for family. Regardless of age, most Indian widows are socially dead, a situation that hardly helps one build a new identity after a loss. According to Sara Barrera and Eva Corbacho, Indian widows become undefined entities, gender-deprived objects: "Widows in India have a pronoun problem. The estimated 40 million women widows in the country go from being called 'she' to 'it' when they lose their husbands. They become 'de-sexed' creatures" (2012). When one becomes an "it," defining the new "I" is impaired linguistically, psychologically, and socially. But many Indian widows may prefer this linguistic invisibility to being referred to as "randi," "prostitute" in Punjabi, a term popular for bereaved women in the northern Indian state of Punjab (Barrera and Corbacho 2012).

Another depersonalizing custom Indian widows are subject to is "uglification": "Whether young or old, widowed women leave behind their colorful saris, part with their jewelry, and even shave their heads, if they are in the more conservative Hindu traditions" (Barrera and Corbacho 2012). Making widows as invisible as possible is to deprive them of feminine attributes so that they do not encourage male sexual desire (Barrera and Corbacho 2012). Sadly, the custom does not protect widowed women from being sexually abused. They lose external attributes of their femininity, for some an important part of who they were, to gain the doubtful privilege of not being maltreated by men, which cannot be formally executed.

Being shunned by society and turned into a sexless, bland "it," which may be repossessed by whomever the family deems fit, may sound like a nightmarish tale to most widows from Western cultures. Terms such as "evil eyes," "a beggar," "a witch," and "a whore" (*Women2000* 2001: 14) contribute to many things but a sound identity is hardly one of them. An even harsher issue is being thrown out of the house by one's own children to whom many Indian widows have devoted their lives. With their primary personality as a mother and wife gone, and without any formal education, their only option is limited to becoming exploited, domestic laborers, or turning to begging and/or prostitution (*Women2000* 2001: 6). "My children threw me out of the house after my husband died," says Manuka Dasi, an Indian widow living in Vrindavan, "I try to earn money by singing devotional songs in temple and manage to get one meal for the day. I am just waiting to die so that I can be out of this life of misery" (Shafi 2016).

"*I don't really have a home*," states Oates, sensing that her direction in life after a loss becomes increasingly thwarted. "*It doesn't matter where I am, I am homeless now*," she adds (2012: 226). Oates's psychological homelessness is what widows in developing countries often experience on a more down-to-earth level. We learn about our own identity through interactions with family, friends, institutions, and other everyday connections. Where we live (nationality, race, ethnicity) and what our living conditions are greatly contribute to our well-being, social status, and abilities to adjust to changing environments and circumstances. Socially and culturally, a widow without a family, home, and job satisfaction has no recognizable identity, apart from one: she is a widow, an individual who may still feel the pain of grief in spite of poverty, invisibility, abuse, seclusion, and exclusion with which her culture feels fit to single her out.

"YET A WIDOW MUST SPEAK": A LITERARY PERSPECTIVE

After losing someone dear, most bereaved people experience a range of complex psychological, somatic, behavioral, and cognitive changes. Since the 1970s, a great deal of psychological research has been devoted to widows, more than to any other

group of grieving individuals. One of the reasons for this focused interest may be that women are considered to be more affective grievers (Martin and Doka 2000: 1–5), providing researchers with more detailed information about grief. In Western cultures, widows are more likely to seek therapy than widowers, as going to a therapist is still perceived in some circles as a sign of weakness. Another reason for the psychological and sociological focus on widows is the fact that women tend to live longer than men (Parkes and Prigerson 2010: 16). Even when a man survives his wife, clinicians have observed that the peak of mortality among widowers during the first year of bereavement is higher than in widows (Parkes and Prigerson 2010: 17). Thus, statistically, widows worldwide provide more bereavement-related data than widowers. Given their longevity, widows indeed seem less mortal than widowers, giving rise to such preposterous concepts as that of comparing a widow to a witch. With many unattached women around, widowed men, if so inclined, find it much easier to remarry – a factor that also puts the widow in a less favorable light in most cultures (cf. Silverman 2004: 4). Widows, newly single women, become a potential threat to married women and, sometimes, single men. After Iris Murdoch's death, John Bayley found himself at the center of female attention to the point that he was frightened of one of them as she was so persistent in her role as caregiver (Bayley 2003: 448).

In the light of the above data, it seems natural that the figure of the widow also predominates in grief memoirs. Even if their economic and living circumstances are not as dire as those of widows in India or Nigeria, Western widows often share with them the experience of a lower social status, financial problems, and unequal social treatment that make them self-conscious and do not contribute to the recovery of the grieving self. Via bereavement narratives, widows in Western cultures are taking a stand and sending a message that the widow is a part of every culture as are many other bereaved people.

From all the grief memoirs I have examined, Oates's comes across as the most self-involved and self-pitying. She strikes one as a mixture of Freud's mourner and melancholic, because, after the loss, she suffers not only from acute loneliness and identity disruption, but also from clinical depression accompanied by self-reproach coupled with suicidal thoughts. And yet, amid her pain and confusion, she manages to expose the harshness of life after a loss and pushes the reader to consider multiple definitions of what it means to her to be a widow. She pronounces her new self in the title of her narrative, *A Widow's Story: A Memoir*, incorporating this rather undesirable identity into the matrix of culturally endorsed stories and identities. As Oates reflects on her situation, she comes to the conclusion that the widow in society is actually non-existent because she has no distinct voice: "the widow speaks a language others can't understand" (2012: 325). Consequently, Oates makes it her aim to let the widow be heard.

There are three issues that stand out in Oates's narrative: 1) a pervading sense of aloneness, emptiness, and alienation; 2) the acute realization of mortality; and

3) awkward interactions of the widow with others. These issues have already been partially addressed at various points in this discussion, but additional select examples from Oates's account of widowhood deserve a closer look.

In her attempts to define who a widow is, Oates stresses the general denial people exhibit in the face of mortality. As long as death does not interfere with our life directly or through the death of someone else, our identity remains intact, or so we think. After her husband is hospitalized with what was initially diagnosed as pneumonia, but turned out to be an E. coli lung infection, Oates keeps vigil at his hospital bed. Exhausted, she dozes off and dreams of some "primitive bacterial forms" (2012: 30–31). She wakes up with an odd sensation that she might have been infected as well. In recollecting this memory, Oates states:

> *Something of the derangement of Widowhood is beginning here. For in dreams our future selves are being prepared. In denial that her husband is seriously ill the Widow-to-Be will not, when she returns home that evening, research E. coli on the Internet. Not for nearly eighteen months after her husband's death will she look up this common bacterial strain to discover the blunt statement she'd instinctively feared at the time and could not have risked discovering:* pneumonia due to *Escherichia coli* has a reported mortality rate of up to 70 percent. (2012: 31)

The most poignant moments in Oates's memoir are those when she expresses her longing for her husband combined with a sudden realization of how impermanent everything is. "In the days immediately following Ray's death," Oates remembers, "I felt like inert matter bombarded by radioactive waves – every minute an acute, profound realization – heart-stopping revelations! … *So this is what life is! Life is – bounded by death! People die! We will all die! We will all suffer, and we will all … die*" (242). To some, Oates may sound like a manic prophet, not an unusual image of a grieving woman in patriarchal cultures. While not all women are classic affective grievers, and not all men are instrumental grievers (Martin and Doka 2000), Oates confirms the social bias presenting the widow as an emotional individual. Yet, hers is a constructive portrayal: the widow is wrecked not only by grief but also by an acute realization that her loss will be compounded by other losses, including her own identity and, in the future, her physical self. These reflections classify as legitimate reasons for a less stoic state of mind. The widow, in other words, embodies what all people will become some day: a mortal who suffers after the loss of a mortal. "To the widow, all wives are widows-to-be," Oates sums up, "Ours is the basilisk stare you will want to avoid" (2012: 240).

Oates's deepening emptiness and loneliness caused by Ray's death make her aware of her alien social status, and her alienation and self-alienation power her emptiness and loneliness. She exchanges e-mails with friends, meets some of them from time to time, but most of her endeavors to socialize result in a strengthened sense of being different and painfully lonely. Only a widow, in her mind, can feel

the pain she does and no amount of empathy from her friends sets the widow on the course to feeling socially accepted:

> Most days – most hours – the widow dwells in a netherworld of *not-here and not-there*. … For the widow is a posthumous person passing among the living. When the widow smiles, when the widow laughs, you see the glisten in the widow's eyes, utter madness, an actress desperate to play her role as others would wish her to play her role and only another widow, another woman who has recently lost her husband, can perceive the fraud. (2012: 332)

Oates's subjective reflections upon the image of the widow find their confirmation in several social gatherings and her attempts to execute such gatherings. Oates's close friends look out for her, which she takes comfort in, yet some of her colleagues at the university fail to keep the widow's social self alive, promising "phantom" dinners that never materialize (Oates 2012: 180–181).

In a chapter titled "Cruel Crude Stupid 'Well-Intentioned'," Oates describes an unfortunate dinner during which some of her and Ray's "oldest Princeton friends" raise their glasses in a toast to marriage and "their conversation turns upon old times … in their marriages" (2012: 286). "I am miserable with longing to be away from these people," Oates concludes, "away from their unwittingly cruel talk that so excludes me …. *How can they not know how they are hurting me?*" (2012: 286). She leaves abruptly, crying and escaping one of the men who follows her to apologize (Oates 2012: 286). Such reminiscences would probably hurt most bereaved people who suffered a significant loss. The widow, while not alone in her inability to adjust to her single status, seems to suffer in a particularly acute manner. She is unattached and lonely. It is significant that none of the women in that restaurant run after the writer to enquire what happened.

Much as Oates tries to assemble a new self, "the Widow" (Oates frequently speaks about herself in the third person) overshadows all other identities. One of the saddest social interactions takes place a couple of hours after her husband's death. Oates rushes to the hospital and, after spending some time with her husband, she is told by the hospital staff to gather and take away her husband's belongings before she leaves:

> It is my task – my first task as a widow – to clear the hospital room of my husband's things. Not yet have I realized – this will take time – that as a widow I will be reduced to a world of things. And these things retain but the faintest glimmer of their original identity and meaning as in a dead and desiccated husk of something once organic there might be discerned a glimmer of its original identity and meaning. (2012: 63)

Many widows take comfort in tasks and rituals that follow a death. Many keep up a task-oriented lifestyle months and years after a death in an effort not to think about the enormity of their losses, an approach that is recommended in the early stages of bereavement, but, in the long run, may be detrimental to one's well-being

as the reality of a loss may resurface unexpectedly and lead to complex reactions and health issues. "The Widow," Oates says about her persona, "takes comfort in such small tasks, rituals; the perimeters of the Death-protocol in which experienced others will guide her as one might guide a stunned and doomed animal out of a pen and into a chute by the use of a ten-foot pole" (2012: 63). But it also bothers her that along with the primary loss, everything else seems to have lost meaning as well. The hospital procedures, devoid of human warmth and empathy, do not ease the emerging feeling of desolation that the Widow experiences. The indifferent hospital staff are a harbinger of how various institutions and acquaintances will react to the widow and her loss, and Oates signals this aspect of widowhood several times in her memoir. Being handled instrumentally contributes to the diminishment of identity that the widow faces after a loss.

Although the overall image of the widow in Oates's grief account is not very uplifting, it is constructive and culturally important. By revisiting her loss in writing, she attempts to restore additional meaning in the Widow's life. The progress is slow and there are many setbacks. Oates confirms that socializing, even if ridden with failures, and addressing taboos, such as making others aware of their mortality, are all ways to rebuild the widow's identity. The most crucial method to adjust to a new life, however, seems to be the task of writing about her grief experiences. A couple of days after her husband's death, Oates writes to her friend, author Edmund White: "*The days are not too bad, it's the nights and the empty house that fill me with panic. … But just typing this letter is satisfying somehow. We are addicted to language for its sanity-providing*" (2012: 115). Oates draws attention here to a democratic medium that has helped many people, not only professional writers, to face traumas by slowing down cognitive processes and allowing one to look at one's problems from the outside. The healing power of writing has been extensively studied by psychologists since James Pennebaker's famous systematic research. In *Opening up: The Healing Power of Expressing Emotions*, Pennebaker admits that his inspiration to study how writing improves mental and physical health had its roots as much in his own attempts to write self-reflectively as in the literary concept of catharsis: "Individuals have been known to produce major literary works while under great conflict. Eugene O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey into Night*, Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar*, … and many other masterpieces express the fundamental psychological fears and traumas of the authors" (Pennebaker [1990] 1997: 98–99). Oates's *A Widow's Story* is a self-healing account, but it does much more than that: it makes the reader aware of the challenges that the widow, even in developed countries, faces daily and of how the image of the widow can be restored, along with her identity, by a more open social approach. On the last page of her memoir, in a section aptly titled "The Widow's Handbook," Oates restates her message: "Of the widow's countless death-duties there is really just one that matters: on the first anniversary of her husband's death the widow should think *I kept myself alive*" (416). What ultimately matters to the widow, and what should

matter to all of us, are not mourning restrictions and demands, but the fact that she is a living self, a temporarily lost identity, that, nevertheless, wants to live in spite of all the associations she may evoke in the rest of us.

CONCLUSIONS

In her 1977 essay "Women in widowhood," Carol Barrett points out, "Most widows hate the word 'widow.' Many have told me that people respond to them as if they have an infectious disease" (1977: 856). The situation has not improved much today. When one of her friends keeps rescheduling a dinner invitation, Oates realizes that, in fact, her friend and her husband are dreading to see her. "C_ is erecting obstacles to our dinner as in an equestrian trial in which each jump must be higher than its predecessor, and more dangerous," comments Oates. "I envision a thirty-foot dining room table and at the farther end the widow placed like a leper, as far from the lovely C_ as possible," she adds (2012: 181). World organizations, human rights activists, journalists, writers, and many other individuals draw attention to the position and treatment of widows across societies. The image of the widow has been gradually changing in Western cultures (see e.g. Silverman's *Widow to Widow*), but the progress is slow, and it is even slower, or non-existent, in many developing countries.

Although this analysis only scratches the surface of the problem, it aims to draw attention to the self of the widow which, in the aftermath of losing a beloved spouse, disintegrates to a large extent and suffers from many more adversities than grief alone. Such a self needs all the help she can get. For those of us who have not suffered such a loss in life, it might be hard to fathom how easily one's identity might be lost due to grief and how difficult it is to adjust to a life without the loved one. All of us, however, will lose someone in our lives and our identities will be questioned during the grief process. "It's good for the widow to be told that there are other widows in the world. Plenty of other widows," Oates reflects (2012: 110). If there is a universal lesson to be learnt from the stories of widows presented in this analysis, it is that there are plenty of bereaved people in the world who are forced to face multiple adversities, often life-threatening, along with the suffering of grief. All of them, regardless of their gender, deserve widely-understood social support in their pain.

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A LITERARY TRANSLATOR'S STATUS IN A GLOBALISED WORLD. REFLECTIONS IN LIGHT OF ZYGMUNT BAUMAN'S LIQUID MODERNITY IDEA

The main aim of this paper is to present the results of a questionnaire study on the everyday functioning of a group of literary translators within the Polish publishing industry. Building on Zygmunt Bauman's idea of liquid modernity, the author of the study makes an attempt to demonstrate that the new reality of the translation industry leads to the emergence of a new style of communication within the publishing industry and of a new characterisation of the professional literary translator. The author will also try to show a translators' status in the contemporary cultural and social agenda of the 21st century.

KEYWORDS: sociology of translation, literary translators, Zygmunt Bauman, liquid modernity, globalisation

INTRODUCTION

This article intersects two sub-disciplines of translation studies, namely, translation sociology and translation philosophy, attempting to describe translationas a social practice. Recently, there have been an increasing number of publications within the sociology of translation and the philosophy of translation fields, although it has to be underlined that the two sub-disciplines of translation studies still remain as relatively new research areas. These aspects of the functioning of translation, which are mainly undertaken within the above research areas, to a considerable extent, relate to themes such as the status of translators in a social structure, translation as a sociological phenomenon, or translation as an activity regulated by social actions (see Wolf, Fukari 2007: 1). Nowadays, the terms 'sociological turn' as well as 'power turn' are very popular among not only translation scholars but also sociologists, philosophers, and historians. As Daniel Simeoni (2005: 12) stated, a sharpening of the social eye in translation studies has taken place in recent years. With regard to the above, it, however, has to be stressed that despite the considerable interest attracted by the social reality in which translation functions, too little attention is devoted to the process of the degradation of the status of

translators as well as the influence of economic and political changes exerted on the translation profession.

As for the theoretical perspective from which the sociological phenomena are analysed, translation scholars often refer to the theory developed by Pierre Bourdieu or to Luhmann's theoretical concepts (see Tyulenev 2012). However, the author of the article claims that the theoretical constructs which are characteristic of the two theoretical systems, are not sufficient for the comprehensive description of changes which, in recent years, have been taking place with reference to the category of translation and the community of translators. Therefore, it is suggested that the description of the situation of translators as well as a broadly defined 'translational reality' should be enriched by the main tenets and features of the theory of liquid modernity as developed and promoted by Zygmunt Bauman (2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006), a famous sociologist and philosopher of Polish origin.

LIQUID MODERNITY

Zygmunt Bauman is a well-known sociologist and philosopher of Polish origin, who spent almost his entire life in Great Britain, thus making his theoretical and philosophical perspective "distinctly Western" (Oxenham 2013: 8). He uses the term 'liquid modernity' as a way to describe the conditions of contemporary living as well as the status of an individual in a world fraught with overwhelming uncertainty, excess, chaos, lack of hope, constant changes, precariousness, rivalry, global capitalism, etc. Liquid modernity is often contrasted with so-called solid modernity which, as opposed to the liquid variety, has more to do with an industrial society, social security, the certainty of social benefits, and humanity. Zygmunt Bauman described the two phases of modernity in the following words:

> Light modernity let one partner out of the cage. 'Solid' modernity was an era of mutual engagement. 'Fluid' modernity is the epoch of disengagement, elusiveness, facile escape and hopeless chase. In 'liquid' modernity, it is the most elusive, those free to move without notice, who rule…
> If 'solid' modernity posited eternal duration as the main motive and principle of action, 'fluid' modernity has no function for the eternal duration to play. The 'short term' has replaced the 'long term' and made of instantaneity its ultimate ideal. While promoting time to the rank of an infinitely capacious container, fluid modernity dissolves – denigrates and devalues – its duration. (Bauman 2000: 120, 125)

The passage from so called 'solid' modernity to its 'fluid' counterpart brought a variety of changes to the human condition, namely, an increased feeling of uncertainty, the ambiguity of moral values, unending changes in the sphere of economy, society, and culture, as well as nomadism of an individual, which

might be reflected, for instance, in the area of work conditions and work processes. Let us refer to Bauman's words:

> Secure jobs in secure companies seem to be the yarn of grandfathers' nostalgia; nor are there many skills and experiences which, once acquired, would guarantee that the job will be offered, and once offered, will prove lasting. No one may reasonably assume to be insured against the next round of 'downsizing', 'streamlining' or 'rationalizing', against erratic shifts of market demand and whimsical yet irresistible, indomitable pressures of 'competitiveness', 'productivity' and 'effectiveness' 'Flexibility' is the catchword of the day. It augurs jobs without in-built security, firm commitments or future entitlements, offering no more than fixed-term or rolling contracts, dismissal without notice and no right to compensation. No one can therefore feel truly irreplaceable – neither those already outcast nor those relishing the job of casting others out. Even the most privileged position may prove to be only temporary and 'until further notice'. (Bauman 2000: 161–162)

The theory of liquid modernity has been chosen as a theoretical framework in this paper, because it is believed that Bauman focuses exclusively on 'change' as the main decisive factor of 'modernity'. The author of the article, then, building on Bauman's notion of development and the constant changes occurring in today's world, hypothesizes that a rapid development and modernisation (e.g. the expansion of markets, new dimension of poverty and labour, an illusion of individuality and self-power, decentralisation, etc.) have serious consequences as far as representatives of the intellectual elite, namely translators, are concerned. The assumption behind the paper is that the translation profession, besides being subject to the process of liquefaction, is characterised by the following features: a growing individualization of translators, a constant fear and uncertainty, flexibility of the translation industry, a lack of stability, disengagement between capital and labour, and an increasing self-management.

THE AIM OF THE STUDY

The study presented in this paper constitutes an initial stage of a larger project within the sociology of translation field, whose main objective is to analyse in detail the current situation of contemporary literary translators in Poland. The main goal of the study project is to contribute to the understanding of work procedures and translators conditions as well as of their relationships with different players within the Polish publishing industry: the owners of publishing houses, editors-in-chief, managing editors and proof-readers. This paper, however, was written with the aim of presenting how literary translators in Poland perceive their own role and status in light of current trends and tendencies in the publishing industry worldwide. The author of the paper will also reflect upon the idea whether, and to which extent, Bauman's philosophy of liquid modernity might be used to explain and interpret current phenomena of the working lives of contemporary literary translators.

METHODOLOGY

The study involved 24 participants (all of them being English-Polish professional literary translators cooperating with publishing houses on a regular basis) who belong to the Polish Literary Translators Association, a professional organisation established in 2010 in Warsaw with the aim of bringing together literary translators and gathering knowledge about their working conditions[1].

This study bases on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of a questionnaire which was sent in October 2016 via e-mail to all members of the above-mentioned association. The questionnaire, entitled *The situation of a literary translator in Poland*, contained 32 open- and closed-ended questions. The questions related to issues such as education, translation experience, the type of literature that the participants of the survey translate on a regular basis, a typical day in a particular translator's job, the participants' opinions concerning the situation of literary translators in Poland, the way the translators cooperate with publishers, remuneration, job satisfaction, the perception of the status of literary translators in Poland, the process of recruitment, and the notion of prestige as seen from the participants' points of view. Some of the questions required very detailed answers, while others were either single or multiple choice questions. Furthermore, the questionnaire contained a numerical rating scale. Despite the fact that open-ended questions are usually discouraged by methodologists, such items were added to the questionnaire in order to avoid highly reduced and distorted data which could result from the answers to their closed-ended counterparts.

RESULTS

In this section, data will be presented according to the following criteria: demographics, education, job experience (including the type of literature that the respondents have translated, the number of titles that the subjects have rendered), motives behind the respondents' decision to become professional translators, career beginnings (including the recruitment process), the type of contracts that the respondents sign with publishers, remuneration, a typical working day as a literary translator, the respondents' opinion about the situation and the prestige of a literary translator in Poland.

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[1] For more see http://stl.org.pl/english/.

DEMOGRAPHICS

Data show that out of a total of 24 subjects, 50% are women and 50% are men, which is a bit surprising given the fact that the issue which is often raised in discussions concerning gender in the translation profession is that of its feminisation. Of course it must be underlined that the sample size is not representative enough to draw definitive conclusions; however, it would be interesting to discuss in detail the trends in gender distribution among literary translators.
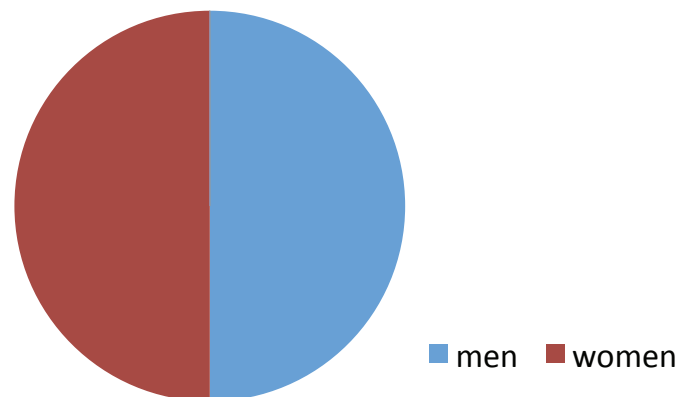

Figure 1. Gender and the translation profession

As far as the age of the participants is concerned, the majority of respondents (18) fall into the 30–42 year-olds category. Only 5 subjects are 50 and over, and one respondent is 26. Interestingly enough, there is a noticeable gap between the younger and the older generations of translators, which is reflected in a lack of respondents falling into the category of 43–49 years.
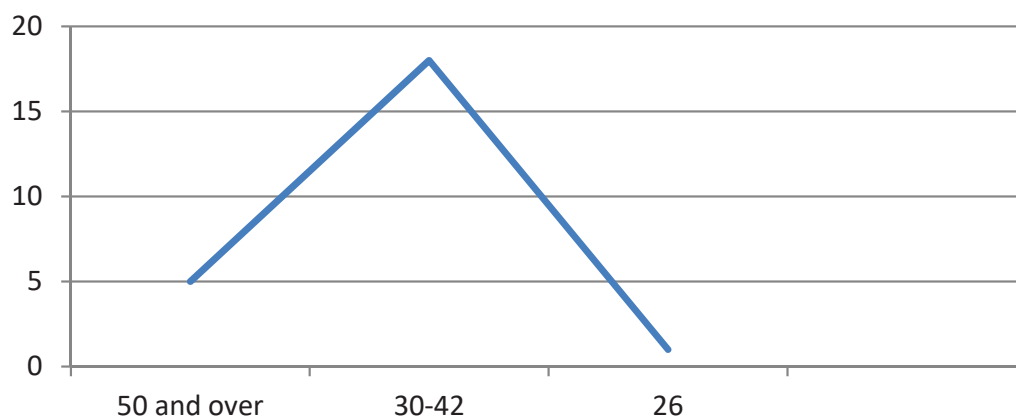
Figure 2. Age and translation profession

EDUCATION

Data collected on education show an interesting aspect of the literary translation profession: 5 participants graduated from one of the Polish institutes of applied linguistics, where they studied translation,[2] while 7 respondents have a degree in English studies.[3] 3 respondents completed post-MA studies in translation, 1 participant graduated from post-MA in proof-reading, and 1 in Jewish Studies (Oxford University). The remaining subjects have a degree in a subject other than translation, namely, Polish studies (2), Scandinavian studies (1), psychology (1), sociology, Ph.D. (1), physics and environment protection, Ph.D. (1), technical physics (1), journalism (1), cultural studies (1), classical philology (1), Hispanic studies (1), rehabilitation sciences (1). Two respondents completed Individual Humanistic and Social Studies (MISH).

After having analysed the relationship between age and education, it can be noticed that these are the representatives of an older generation (50 and over) who do not hold a degree in translation studies. Out of a total of 5 such respondents, only one completed English studies. The remaining four have a degree in Polish studies, physics, classical philology, and rehabilitation science respectively. Those respondents who have an MA in applied linguistics fall into the younger generation category (26–39 years of age). As for the category of age "in between the above two" (40–42 years of age), the respondents usually have a degree in English studies.

JOB EXPERIENCE

In the study, some questions were asked whose objective was to describe the nature of the profession of the literary translators. A considerable number of respondents (14) have worked as translators for over 10 years, out of which 3 are professionals with more than 20 years' experience in translation for publishing houses. However, as a correlation coefficient function demonstrates (calculated using Excel), job experience is not strongly correlated with the age of the participants (r = 0.6).

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[2] It should be noted that in Polish higher education, translation is usually studied within the field of applied linguistics.

[3] It has to be noted that some of the respondents who have a degree in English Studies completed post-MA studies in translation.
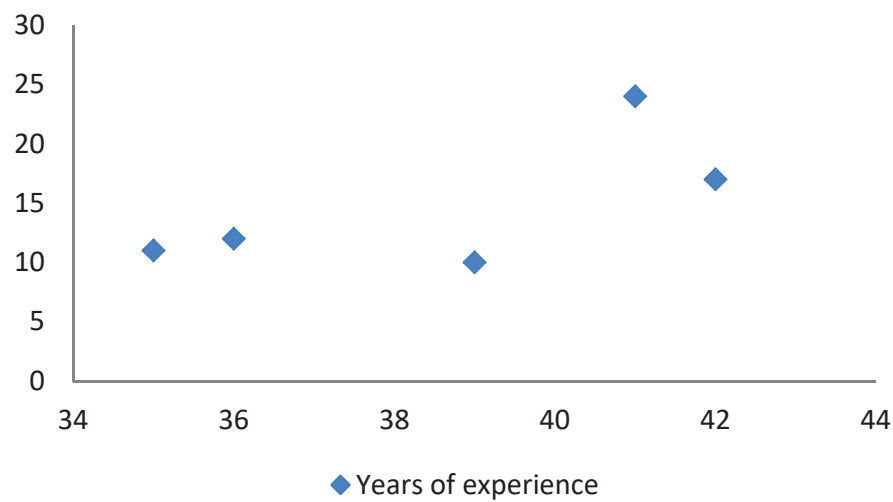
Figure 3. Correlation between age and years of experience

As for the types of literature that the respondents have translated, the majority of subjects declare that they have experience in rendering belles-lettres, non-fiction, young adult literature, children's literature, popular literature, crime fiction, drama and poetry. As for the number of titles translated, 2 respondents stated that they had translated over 100 titles, 8 study participants managed to render over 50 titles, six subjects fell into the category of 30 titles and more, 5 respondents translated between 15–29 books, and 3 participants answered that they had less than 15 titles in their translation portfolio. However, the data indicates a weak correlation between the number of years' experience and the number of titles that the respondents have translated ($r = 0.3$), which means that the age of a participant does not tie in with how many books he/she has translated up to the time of conducting the study.
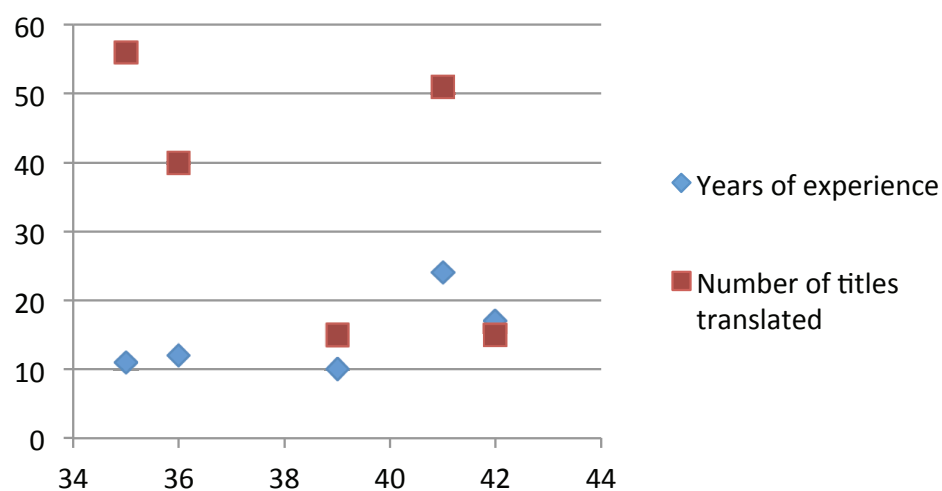

Figure 4. Correlation between years of experience and the number of titles translated

CAREER BEGINNINGS

Respondents were asked to describe how their translation careers began. Some of them declared that they were simply recommended by someone else for translating. Let us refer to one such response:

> While I was still studying, my friend, who was then translating for one of the publishing houses printing self-help books, recommended me to translate a book for the publisher. However, after many years I came to realise that the publishing house had treated its translators poorly and unfairly, taking advantage of young and inexperienced translation trainees. If you ask me about a serious translation career, I have to say that I just knocked on the door of one of the literary publishing houses and asked whether I could provide a free translation sample. The publisher liked the sample, and so I started working as a translator.

Translation samples still remain one of the most effective ways of obtaining a first commission. Firstly, they are a good way of evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of the translator. Secondly, they provide an editor-in-chief with information concerning a given applicant's level of translation competence:

> At the very beginning, I just translated samples of some literary works. When I obtained my first commission, I translated with one of the editor's close cooperatives so that I would learn a lot about the translation process as well as about proof-reading and editing. I perfected my translation skills in this way. Then I sent e-mails with my CV and translation portfolio to other publishing houses.

Sometimes it was the translation trainer who, when satisfied with his/her translation trainees' progress, would recommended them for translating a particular work or suggested that they translated a book together: "One of the translation teachers at the ILS proposed a cooperation; she also recommended me for translating a book for a publishing house." Two respondents declared that a decisive motive for starting their translation careers was the winning of a translation competition or obtaining a reward for the best MA dissertation within the field of translation studies. An interesting aspect was raised in the study: one of the respondents stated that before she started translations, she had worked as an editor of translations. As she claimed, it was the quality of the translations that she verified that motivated her to start working as a professional translator. A few study participants declared that they came to the decision to become translators due to their life's circumstances; they simply had to start earning money to support both themselves and their families. Nevertheless, as the data demonstrates, a translation career often started unexpectedly, which is frequently connected with the afore-mentioned fact that professional translators do not always have a degree in applied linguistics or translation:

A friend of mine worked in one of the publishing houses. One of the translators who cooperated with the company did not manage to finish the commission on time. Due to the fact that the subject matter of the source text was closely connected to my education and the work I had been doing for many years in the USA, I obtained my first commission in this way. It was a success, and I discovered my true passion in life. The adventure has never stopped since then.

The aspect of career beginnings is strictly connected with motives behind the respondents' decisions to become professional translators. The study participants were asked whether the profession was their dream job or whether something else exerted a huge influence on their becoming a translator. As many as fourteen respondents declared that translation was strictly their dream job. The rest of the study participants reported a wide variety of reasons for translating books. Let us look at them:

Table 1. The reasons for cooperating with publishers

I do like translating fantasy works; however, I earn a living by translating different genres.
Perfecting both my native and the second languages.
It was not my dream job, rather the result of some plans. I like working at home (also for health reasons) and doing something creative.
When I started translating, I liked it a lot, and so it has continued.
The beginnings of my career were, at least to some extent, coincidental, but I can state without exaggeration that now it is my dream job.
It was, first of all, the realisation of my dreams but also the willingness to develop myself, and simply a curiosity about the world.
I decided to become a translator because writing is my true passion, though not the only one; therefore, I am also psychological skills coach.
It has always been my life's fascination.
The opportunity to not only learn languages but also the pleasure of dealing with the matter of various languages.
It is not my main job. I am a writer. Translating is my side-job.

As for the recruitment process, the majority of the respondents sent a CV with a portfolio (sometimes with a publishing offer which is usually ignored, though). Then they obtain a translation sample to complete on which the publishers base their decision whether a translator will get a commission or not. Interestingly enough, one of the respondents compared the process to 'a casting' and 'a party':

In this respect, publishers are careful. They send samples even to those translators who possess a rich translation portfolio. Some time ago I was informed that I had participated in such

a casting and I had been chosen because of the high quality of my translation. However, I never came to realize how many translators had taken part in this 'party.'

The other translators usually are either recommended or, due to the fact that they have cooperated with a given publisher for a long time, do not apply for jobs at other publishing houses, the representatives of which sometimes look for translators via translation associations and come up with a translation proposal themselves.

FORMAL ASPECTS OF COOPERATION WITH PUBLISHERS

Respondents were asked to describe the way they cooperate with the publishers. In order to do so, the subjects had to specify what type of contract they sign when starting a particular commission. Data shows that a considerable number of respondents (58.3%) sign a license agreement with the translation rights transferred to the publisher, for a specified period of time (usually for 5 years), whereas 16.7% sign a contract for a specified task with the publisher, with the transfer of translation rights for an unspecified period of time. Moreover, 8.3% of the study participants conduct business activity, which means that they issue invoices for the translation service that they offer, whereas the other 16.7% marked the answer 'other', not specifying the basis of the contract or license they work.
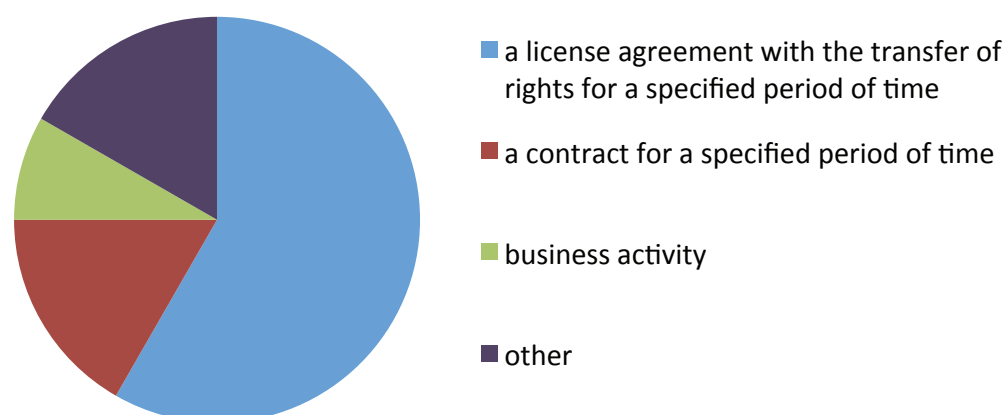

Figure 5. The types of contracts the respondents sign with publishers

Besides, only 25% of respondents stated that they had any control over the publishing process of the book that they translated or over the process of selecting books to which translation rights should be purchased. As many as 22 participants revealed that although they often attempted to help a publisher to choose a title that definitely should be bought and translated, seldom did the publisher take the translators' suggestions into consideration. Likewise, only one fourth of the subjects declared that a publisher had considered their suggestions regarding a book title

in the Polish language. Furthermore, the data shows that half of the respondents often do not have any real (personal) contact, apart from e-mails and telephone conversations, with the representatives of the publishing houses.

REMUNERATION

The study participants were also asked to specify how much they earned for translating a publisher's sheet (40 thousand characters including spaces). The standard wage amounts to PLN600.[4] As many as 16 respondents fall into the PLN550–650 category for a publisher's sheet, and 4 subjects fall into the greater than PLN650 category. Only one respondent declared that they earned PLN1335 for a publisher's sheet. Likewise, in only two cases, the remuneration was less than PLN500. One respondent did not specify the exact wages, stating that he obtains royalties and sometimes additional remuneration for the rights to the premiere of a particular play.
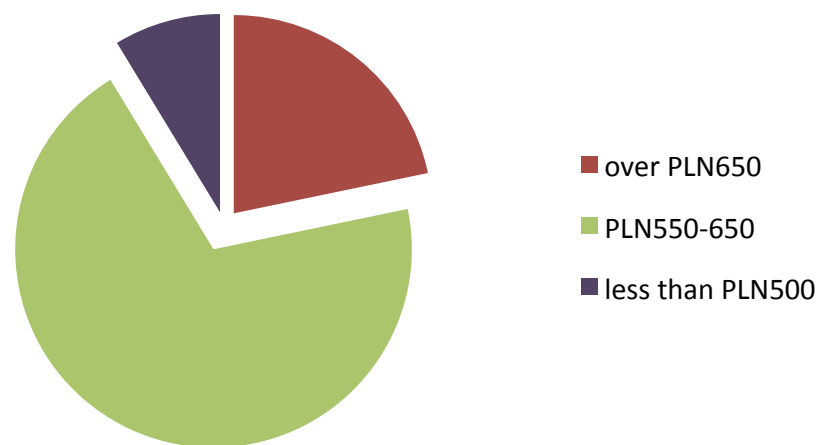

Figure 6. Remuneration for a publishing sheet

When asked whether they are satisfied with how much they earn, 50% of the participants marked the answer 'rather yes'; however, others expressed their dissatisfaction with wages offered by publishers. 37.5% of respondents marked the answer 'rather no', while 12.5% 'definitely no'.

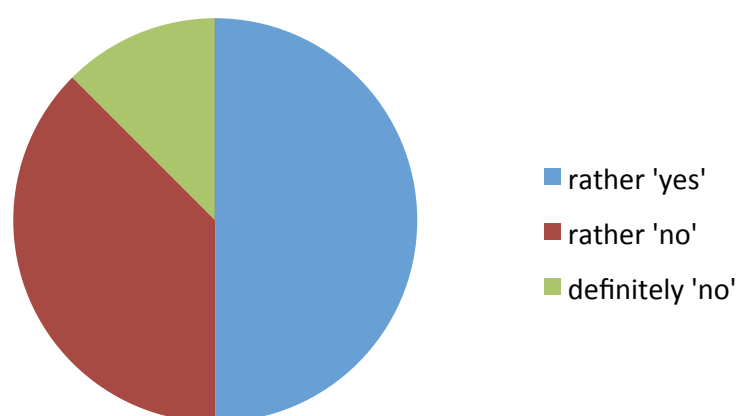[4] The remuneration is given on the basis of gross value.

Figure 7. Satisfaction with remuneration

What is surprising is that only half of the respondents receive their remuneration on time. 83.3% of the subjects revealed that they were not forewarned of any delays in payments. What is also crucial in this respect is that 58.3% of the study participants declared that they had to do some extra jobs in order to be able to provide for themselves and their families. As many as 18 respondents revealed that their colleagues also had to supplement their translation income by doing extra commissions (e.g. by teaching English).
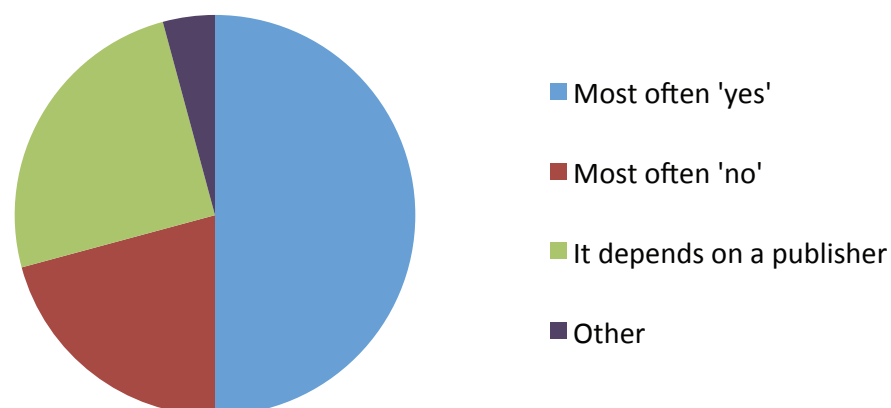
Do you obtain remuneration on time?

Figure 8. Obtaining remuneration on time

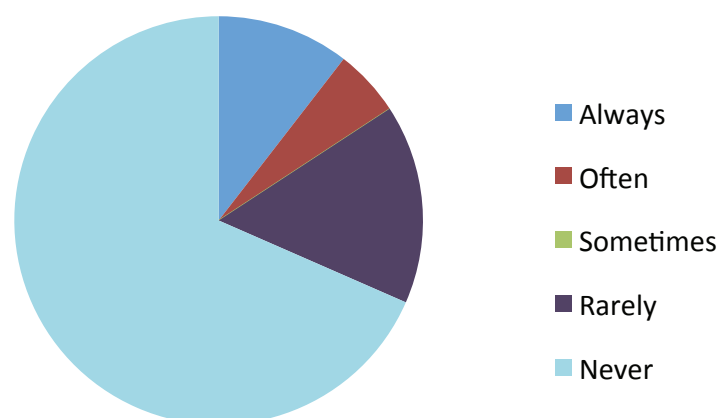Are you forewarned of any delays in payment?

Figure 9. Warnings about possible delays in payment

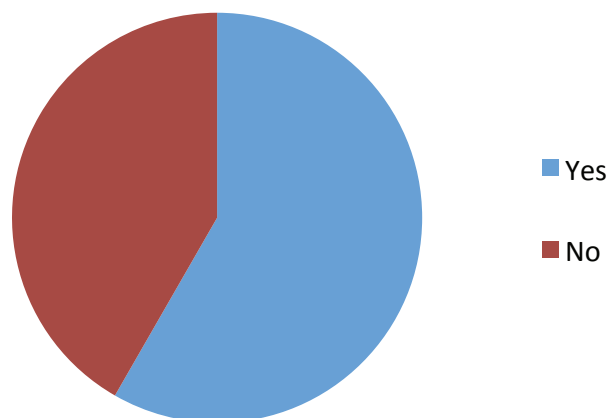Do you have to do some extra job apart from translating?

Figure 10. Doing extra job

A TYPICAL WORKING DAY AS A LITERARY TRANSLATOR

The majority of respondents work from home, which is not surprising given the fact that literary translators are mostly freelancers, although one person revealed that she sometimes worked in a local library. Accordingly, the study participants declared that they usually organized their working day, taking into consideration the nature of the commission, the deadline, and other professional duties:

> I usually plan my work from book to book, and I know how many pages I have to translate every single day. Because my work is most effective in the morning, I usually work from 8am to 12 noon in which time I try to translate as many pages as possible. In the afternoons and in the evenings, I translate those texts which do not require so much creativity and imagination.

Data show that the respondents often translate a few hours (usually 4–6 e.g. from 7am to 12pm) and after having translated a specific portion of a text, they take a break in order to arrange some private matters, do some household chores, or simply "go for a walk." After the break they start translating again. They usually work till 6–7 pm:

> First thing in the morning is to drink a cup of strong coffee and to check my e-mails. Then I start working. I work until 12pm, and then I take a break. I return to translating in the afternoon, unless I have to work to a tight deadline – in such cases a translator's best friends are coffee and pain-relieving muscle creams.

It can also be seen from the data that the participants often work at weekends and in the evenings. One respondent revealed that he worked as long as he could without forsaking his household chores. Sometimes, though, literary translation is treated as a specific break between those translations which are described by the respondents as "strictly profitable" and literary ones, and some respondents work

only at nights because translation is their side job. Only two respondents declared that, on average, they devote 2–4 hours daily to translating; in most cases, however, translation requires spending long hours behind a desk.

RESPONDENTS' OPINION ABOUT THE SITUATION AND THE PRESTIGE OF A LITERARY TRANSLATOR IN POLAND

The respondents were asked to assess whether translating literary works as a job is regarded as prestigious by Polish society and to specify what they think about the situation of literary translators in Poland. In the study, 21 out of 24 participants stated that the general situation of translators cooperating with publishing houses is bad. They complained of poor remuneration, tight deadlines, and a lack of professional cooperation between a translator and an editor. Let us look at the following statements:

[The situation of literary translators is] very bad. Increasing pay cuts, problems with getting new commissions, low standards of work in publishing houses which are forced to reduce all possible costs, strict deadlines, and, what is most significant in this respect, the lack of any legal protection: health insurance contributions, social insurance contributions, holiday leave, etc.

[The situation is] embarrassing. Low wages, delays in payment. I am tired.

Low wages. Unsatisfactory cooperation with publishers and editors who are sometimes not competent enough to do their jobs well. Actually, editors are a dying breed. I met a competent editor only once.

Wages are quite low. Delays in payment, caused by problems of delays in payment encountered by the owners of wholesale stores, and the lack of financial liquidity in publishing houses, are not rare.

It can only be a hobby but not a real job, unless one translates from Polish into English in which case wages are somewhat different.

The translator is in the shadow of the publisher.

Likewise, the majority of respondents believe that society does not regard translation as a prestigious and valuable job, although, as one of the subjects declared, the job itself arouses interest in some people. The participants of the study revealed that, unfortunately, translators are still in the shadow of the book market and are appreciated only by those who love literature or consider translators mediators between cultures. Interestingly enough, one respondent stated that according to many people, translation is an activity which might be performed by anyone who has a good command of a foreign language.

Furthermore, the respondents complained about not being recognised as important 'actors' within the publishing process. As one person rightly revealed, prestige is often connected with remuneration; accordingly, the translation profession cannot be regarded as prestigious due to the above-mentioned financial problems, low wages, and delays in payment. Finally, translation is not considered a real job by society, mostly because of its character: working at home, no regular working hours, no distinct work location, etc. As one person stated, "When I tell someone what I do for a living, I often feel like an alien, and then an awkward silence falls."

DISCUSSION

The main objective of the study was to investigate the current situation of literary translators in Poland. In order to examine the translators' working conditions and their opinions concerning the status and prestige of the profession in Poland, the author of the paper conducted a questionnaire which was sent to selected members of the Polish Literary Translation Association. The study provided evidence that the translation profession in Poland remains in a phase of liquid modernity, which also means that translation constitutes a specific ontological entity subject to the process of liquefaction. Building on the findings of the research and on Bauman's idea of liquid modernity, especially with relation to relationships in work life, the author of the paper distinguished the key features of the fluid phase, affecting literary translators' working conditions: 1) individualization, 2) flexibility, 3) "disengagement between capital and labour" (Poder 2013: 138), 4) "an increased emphasis on employee's own self-management (*ibid*.), and 5) uncertainty and liquid fear.

The findings presented above seem to provide convincing evidence that contemporary translators are subject to the process of growing individualization. Bauman (2000: 31–32) sees this phenomenon as "transforming human 'identity' from a 'given' into a 'task' and charging the actors with the responsibility for performing that task and for the consequences (also the side-effects) of their performance." Furthermore, it is required that the individuals define their tasks themselves and decide about the way these tasks are to be performed (Poder 2013: 141). This feature might be seen not only in the nature of specific translation tasks to be solved (translators are freelancers), but also in the process of searching for new translation commissions. The results indicate that in the modern world, translators are subject to never-ending challenges of rivalry on the translation market; they often have to advertise themselves on a regular basis in order to get new commissions allowing them to support their families. As one respondent revealed, even the most experienced specialists in the field are still expected to provide

translation samples, which means that in the professional world of translators, extreme competitive rivalry is widespread, and, unfortunately, often it's not the most competent ones who win the game. This view is clearly expressed by Paszkiet (2013: 133–134):

> It might seem, in a situation where so many translations are appearing on the Polish market, that recognized and distinguished translators would be highly sought-after and bombarded with proposals. However, this is not the case and the large printing houses not only refrain from fighting over them, but treat such translators with reserve, as they are often meticulous, responsible, and demanding people. They won't agree to any half-measures, they demand a deadline appropriate to the difficulty and size of the work, as well as a suitable payment. Furthermore, they expect professional collaboration with a publishing house employing specialist editors and proof-readers.

The transformation from a 'given' into a 'task' and the self-management can be seen in the way publishers treat translators' suggestions concerning new titles to be purchased. The majority of respondents revealed that such offers were usually ignored by the representatives of publishing houses, especially if it did not concern books with a potential to sell well on the Polish book market and to bring considerable profit. Besides, literary translators are not granted any legal protection, and the feeling that they can control their life is illusory.

The translators who participated in the study are cognizant of the fact that it is no longer the final quality of the product that they might offer that is the most important. Being forced to compete with inexperienced and incompetent persons, who often agree to do a translation for a lower fee, literary translators in Poland "are to be found at or below the poverty threshold set ..." (Fock 2010: 45, cited after Paszkiet 2013: 124), which is directly correlated with so-called flexibility as well as epidosicity:

> With no state of ultimate perfection looming on the horizon of human efforts, with no trust in the fool-proof effectiveness of any effort, the idea of 'total' order to be erected floor by floor in a protracted, consistent, purpose-guided effort of labour makes little sense. The less hold one has on the present, the less of the 'future' can be embraced in the design. Stretches of time labelled 'future' get shorter, and the time-span of life as a whole is sliced into episodes dealt with 'one a time'. Continuity is no longer the mark of improvement. The once cumulative and long-term nature of progress is giving way to demands addressed to every successive episode separately: the merit of each episode must be revealed and consumed in full before it is finished a next episode starts. In a life ruled by the precept of flexibility, life strategies and plans can be but short-term. (Bauman 2000: 137–138)

This is a concise description of translators' working conditions, where particular commissions might be compared to short-term episodes and where the specialists cannot strive for holding a permanent post and following a clear career path. Bauman (2000: 138) pointed out that work, once defined as the sphere of order-

building and future-control, has drifted to the realm of a game where workers are players focusing on short-term objectives, "reaching no further than one or two moves ahead." In a similar vein, translators cannot plan anything, working 'from commission to commission.' As Bauman suggests (2000: 139, 147), work no longer offers security and stability around which one can "wrap and fix self-definitions, identities and self-projects":

> 'Flexibility' is the slogan of the day, and when applied to the labour market it augurs an end to the 'job as we know it', announcing instead the advent of work on short-term contracts, rolling contracts or no contracts, positions with no in-built security but with the 'until further notice' clause. Working life is saturated with uncertainty.

The whole situation could be reflected, for instance, in the types of contract that translators sign with publishers. According to the above findings, almost half of the respondents in this study sign either a contract for a specified task (with a full transfer of translation rights to the publisher) or are forced to run a business activity. This situation, as Paszkiet (2013: 132) rightly suggests, can be explained, at least partially, by political and economic transformations which occurred in Poland in 1989 and in the nineties:

> Until 1989 there were around a hundred state publishing houses printing literary fiction in Poland, often in what were enormous print runs for the conditions of the time, as well as a small group of Church, cooperative and other publishing houses publishing in limited print runs. After the political and economic changes of the 1990s, the market began to rule the book industry. The result was the emergence of hundreds of new publishing houses, as well as a veritable flood of translations, often hurriedly and unprofessionally done, since the growth in the number of publishing houses went hand in hand with a deterioration in the quality of translation and editing.

The above considerations indicate the presence of disengagement between capital and labour in the Polish translation industry. As Poder put it (2013: 138), "in liquid modernity, capitalism is no longer heavy in the sense of being tied to local communities like factories used to be", which means that the market in general and the translation industry in particular are imbued with the state of the above-mentioned notions of flexibility as well as precariousness:

> Once the employment of labour has become short-term and precarious, having been stripped of firm (let alone guaranteed) prospects and therefore made episodic, when virtually all rules concerning the game of promotions and dismissals have been scrapped or tend to be altered well before the game is over, there is little chance for mutual loyalty and commitment to sprout and take root. Unlike in the time of long-term mutual dependency, there is hardly any stimulus to take acute and serious, let alone critical, interest in the wisdom of the common endeavour and related arrangements which are bound to be transient anyway. (Bauman 2000: 149)

It is only to be hoped that with the attempt of such associations as the Polish Literary Translation Association and with the presentation of the findings of studies like this one, literary translators will manage to "put up an organized resistance to whatever decision the capital might yet take" (Bauman 2000: 150).

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

At this point, because of the limited number of the participants (24), no definite conclusions can be drawn from the results of the study. Despite the limitations, it was possible to describe some general tendencies of the way literary translators function in the Polish publishing industry and perceive their own status. However, such issues should be studied in more detail in future, especially with regard to the relationship between the economy and market policies and the status of a literary translator in a given community. More insights into historical factors determining the status of translators in society could be gained by means of analysing ideological features of particular political systems within which translators work.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of this paper was to show the findings of the first part of a larger sociological project whose main objective is to gain access to social aspects of the literary translation profession. The theoretical framework of the study is the idea of liquid modernity by Zygmunt Bauman. The assumption behind the project is that translation constitutes a liquid entity and that high-skilled translators are low-paid people holding precarious positions. An on-line questionnaire, containing both closed- and open-ended questions, sent to some members of the Polish Literary Translation Association who translate from English into Polish or from Polish into English, was completed by 24 respondents. Data confirmed that globalisation and inevitable changes in the book market influenced the way literary translators are perceived not only by society in general, but also by themselves. Although the respondents regard themselves as professionals deserving a decent salary, they are cognizant of the fact that the situation of literary translators in Poland is going to deteriorate. Fortunately, members of the Polish Literary Translation Association have made attempts to reverse this trend by popularising the image of a literary translator in Polish society. It is also to be hoped that through such studies as the one presented in this paper, awareness about literary translators' working conditions will be raised.

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