REMAINING RELEVANT

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MODERN LANGUAGE STUDIES TODAY

edited by
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Editors' Foreword

The articles in this volume were written to mark the tenth anniversary of the Department of Foreign Languages at the University of Bergen. Since its formation as a new administrative unit in 2007, the department has provided the institutional framework for teaching and research conducted in nine different languages, as well as within (and often across) four different disciplines. The articles we present in this collection reflect some of that diversity, bringing together the perspectives of researchers in English, French, Italian, Russian, and Spanish literature, linguistics, cultural studies, and didactics in an enquiry centred on the topical issue of "relevance."

Across the humanities, similar queries about the continued validity of established areas, paradigms, and practices of research have been raised with increasing frequency for some time now. In many cases, such questioning arises in direct consequence of institutional pressures, as the policies of European as well as national research councils and other funding bodies place growing emphasis on the public engagement, reach and impact of research. In an increasingly complex geopolitical context, humanities subjects along with other academic fields are asked to address and help resolve social, cultural and economic issues that cut across geographical, cultural, and linguistic borders. The aim of the present volume is to explore such challenges with particular reference to the academic study of languages, literatures and cultures currently being conducted within the institutional framework of a department of foreign languages. We ask what our research contributes to the preservation, production, and distribution of knowledge in present-day society, and demonstrate

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how scholars in foreign language studies are in many cases particularly well placed to conduct comparative, multi-disciplinary, and cross-national research that may help us answer some of the most demanding questions facing societies today.

Preparing this volume has involved the work of several people to whom the editors would like to express their gratitude. First, we thank the contributors, who have shown remarkable patience and forbearance through drafts, submissions, revisions, and deadlines. We also gratefully acknowledge the detailed and attentive reports submitted by our outside readers, whose comments were invariably constructive as well as instructive. Further, we deeply appreciate the expert editorial assistance provided first by Barbara Blair and, in the final stages, by Stehn Aztlan Mortensen. Thanks are also due to the general editors of the Bergen Language and Linguistics Series for their enthusiastic reception of the initial book proposal, and last, but not least, to the Head of the Department of Foreign Languages, Åse Johnsen, whose generous support made the publication of this volume possible.

Bergen · September 2017

Margrete Dyvik Cardona, Randi Koppen and Ingunn Lunde

Introduction: Language Matters

Tine Roesen

This volume presents a variety of topics, amply testifying to the relevance of modern language studies today. The contributions analyse linguistic and literary representations of burning issues such as climate change and migration, as well as the ever-difficult memory of Holocaust, and the eternal question of aging. They highlight the intricate relations between linguistics and politics in Columbia, Russia, and Egypt, and reflect on appropriate methods of language learning in the twenty-first century. Furthermore, diverse analytical methods are applied, ranging from philology and linguistics to discourse analysis and narrative analysis, and employing concepts such as nostalgia, identity, and chronotope.

In addition to this impressive range of topics and methods, I would like to highlight a third characteristic of the volume: the wide variety of languages represented in the analyses. The authors do not make a point of this; to them, it is obviously completely normal to read and analyse texts in Norwegian, English, French, Italian, Russian, Arabic, or Spanish—and to present their results in English, the academic lingua franca in our part of the world. Not only does this fact deserve to be mentioned, but I also believe that, if we want to argue more clearly the relevance of modern language studies, this is actually a crucial point: that the specific language matters. Proficiency in specific languages, I thereby imply, enables us to access, understand, and enter into dialogue with the cultures and cultural identities expressed in these languages.

In the following, I would like to make a few observations pertaining to this overall point, in addition to considering language matters (in the second sense) in the light of general perceptions of languages and

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language studies in society, as well as developments within the field of language studies. My point of departure is the language situation in Denmark and the Nordic countries, but I also hope to make some points of general relevance, or at least general interest.

1. Foreign languages are important

Around the world, it is not difficult to argue the need for proficiency in at least a few foreign languages. As individuals, and as societies and states, we are faced with the fact of a globalised market and globalised media, as well as with local and national reactions to this globalisation. As this volume shows, we also face global challenges in the form of climate change, migration, and terrorism, as well as reactions to these challenges; and, obviously, violent clashes of culture and religion concern us all. In order to attempt to understand all this, we need historical, political and cultural knowledge, in addition to apt analytical approaches. However, if we want to do more than understand our own local or national developments, and to do more than discuss among ourselves, we also obviously need to study foreign languages and cultures.

Indeed, and somewhat paradoxically, the more "nationalistic" our reactions to global challenges, the more foreign languages we need in order to communicate across borders, due to the fact that national identity is often defined as rooted in the national language, which must be protected, promoted abroad and allowed dominance at home (cf. Lunde's article in this volume on language legislation in contemporary Russia). Not only globalisation itself and reactions to it, but also recent developments such as the rising global influence of China and intra-European tensions—most importantly the inclusion of Eastern European countries and languages in the EU and, most recently, Brexit—point to the fact that we are approaching a situation in which knowledge of one foreign language is not sufficient. The expectation of (Western) globalisation optimists that English would serve as a kind of "cultural calculator," to use the expression of Danish scholar Hans Lauge Hansen (Hansen 2004, 114), does not seem anywhere near realisation. To repeat with a twist: English is the lingua franca in our part of the world, but not in all parts of the world. A new Danish book entitled (my translation) "World Citizens with No Language" presents ample evidence of our anglocentric fallacy,[1]

1 For more on anglocentricity in European language policies, see Phillipson 2003.

as when Danish companies indicate that they lost contracts or control because of a (French, Spanish, Polish, Russian, German) business partner's inadequate English; or when the lack of success of the Copenhagen Climate meeting in 2009 was, reportedly, partly attributed to the absence of interpreters in a crucial meeting conducted solely in English (Verstraete-Hansen & Øhrgaard 2017, 41–43).[2]

Judging by the conclusions of recent conferences, reports and books on foreign languages and language studies in Norway, the UK and Denmark—including, in the latter two countries, ideas for a national language strategy—political and expert levels seem to agree that languages serve an important function in contemporary societies, both culturally and economically.[3] At the same time, we see a fascination, not least among young generations, with cultural products from outside the Western and American hemisphere, representing less familiar cultures and languages; for example, the Korean YouTube hit "Gangnam style" (2012) or the currently popular clothes designer Gosha Rubchinsky with his demonstratively Soviet Russian style, including Cyrillic logos and adornments.

Nevertheless, increased exposure to foreign cultures and languages, despite popular fascination, does not as yet seem to have led to an increased interest in studying and achieving proficiency in these foreign languages themselves. There are many possible explanations for this. Perhaps this is considered too difficult, perhaps we want the exotic to remain exotic, or perhaps language is not, in this context, recognized as important to the desired exchange, effect or entertainment. Moreover, as translators and interpreters around the world can testify, even when language barriers cause serious problems, these are rarely considered serious enough to be included in business strategies (Verstraete-Hansen & Øhrgaard 2017, 45–6). However crucial to negotiations, exchanges and operations—including hospital operations—the profession of translators and interpreters is poor in both economic and symbolic capital, and translator associations in many countries are kept busy securing even a

2 Verstraete-Hansen & Øhrgaard's other point in this connection is that the blame is invariably laid on the non-English speaking partner, and that Danish companies fail to realise their own lack of relevant languages for dealing with countries where English does not enjoy the same status as in Denmark.

3 For a selection of publications, see the list concluding this introduction. The Danish language strategy has not yet been announced.

basic pay and the minimum of citation credits defined in the copyright laws.[4] Apart from possible lack of courage or exoticization, what seems to be at play is a banalisation of what it means to learn and master a foreign language, and, consequently, a reduction of the act of translation to that of a "linguistic calculator," in line with Google translate—a banalisation based on ignorance not only of the complicated learning processes involved in language learning (see the didactics articles in this volume), but also of the elaborate, and still far from perfect, software developed for machine translation.

2. Foreign language studies in a critical situation

So, reports and strategies tell us that foreign languages are important, and yet, language studies all over the Western world are currently experiencing a crisis: every month, foreign language programmes are being shut down for financial reasons. Foreign language studies have difficulty competing with more prestigious programmes and attracting enough students to secure the programme economy, probably partly due to the low economic and symbolic capital previously mentioned. And, more generally, as critics such as Martha Nussbaum and Stefan Collini have pointed out, the dominant trends in contemporary university management world-wide—mercantilism and instrumentalisation—are damaging for universities as such,[5] but especially damaging for the Humanities. In *Not for Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities* (2010), Nussbaum identifies an international "silent crisis" in contemporary university education: it is viewed as primarily a tool for economic growth and therefore managed "along growth-oriented lines" (127), to the detriment of democratic societies and global cooperation. Collini, in his book *What Are Universities For?* (2012), calls this development a "mercantilism of the intellect" which, in combination with a "distrust of reasoned argument" (17), leads to a situation where only that which can be measured and counted is valued. In Denmark, accordingly, the quality of a university programme is measured only in terms of what

4 See for example European Council of Literary Translators' Associations (www.ceatl.eu).

5 These points are increasingly heard from inside various universities, see e.g. Halfmann & Radde 2015, as well as the Danish blog professorvaelde.blogspot.dk, the University of Aberdeen project and manifesto at reclaimingouruniversity.wordpress.com, and the "Council for the Defence of British Universities" (cdbu.org.uk).

can be quantified: the student/teacher ratio, the percentage of research staff, the number of students applying for the programme (the more the better), and the number dropping out (the fewer the better); in addition, in many universities a minimum of teaching hours per week must be met: for BA programmes 12 hours, for MA programmes 8 hours, regardless of the size of the auditorium (2 or 200 students). In the same vein, we see a utilitarian instrumentalisation of knowledge in our educations. Programmes must prove that they have "impact," that they lead directly to identifiable employment, and that they are relevant and worthwhile in economic cost-benefit terms.

Thus, universities seem to be managed ever more like (only) private companies, and ever less like (also or primarily) institutions of higher education. They are meant to compete with each other—most visibly in rankings—both for profit and prestige, and for themselves as well as on behalf of their states/nations. Education in the sense of *Bildung* seems to have been forgotten or discarded, as regards both the individual and society, and since it is very difficult to measure and compare the qualities and impact of critical thinking, self-reflection, language-based cultural understanding and historical knowledge, the Humanities (and some branches of the Social sciences) are probably suffering the most from this kind of public management.

Moreover, foreign language studies, in addition to being in the same trouble as the Humanities and suffering from low esteem in society in general, seem to have yet another problem, which may make us more vulnerable to current management principles, as well as to competitive criticism from other disciplines in terms of academic legitimacy. The problem is that we do not have a clear theoretical or methodological profile of our own, and that the language proficiency component is therefore often seen as a mere practical appendix.

3. The concepts, theories and methods of modern language studies

The contributors to this volume show the ability and willingness of modern language studies to engage with broader theoretical developments in the Humanities and Social sciences. They are able, therefore, to apply the most relevant methods directly to original text sources, and to the culturally embedded, linguistic details of these texts. This makes for very strong analyses. At the same time, however, this very diversity may also

be seen as a sign of an extremely inclusive and therefore somewhat diffuse scientific paradigm. Hans Lauge Hansen's diagnosis is that the scientific paradigm of modern language studies is suffering a crisis (Hansen 2005; see also Hansen 2004).

Hansen has called for a return to and revival of philology in the form of a "philology of culture," taking this concept from German Anglicist, Herbert Grabes (see Grabes 2002). Tracing the development of language studies from classical philology, through the (romanticist and historicist) national philologies of the nineteenth century to the modern language studies of the twentieth century, Hansen has shown how modern language studies, increasingly influenced by developments within the now separately organised comparative humanities and social sciences—history, linguistics, literary analysis, anthropology, sociology, etc.—have incorporated structuralism, Marxism, communications theories, poststructuralism, and cultural analysis, as well as the pragmatic turn within linguistics, the linguistic turn within cultural and social studies, and the cultural turn within literary studies (Hansen 2005, 305–11). It goes without saying that a single modern language programme (with ever fewer employees) cannot possibly incorporate all of this; yet, depending on the researchers involved in a programme and the relevance to the studied language and culture, any of these theories and approaches may be researched and taught. In addition, and somewhat ironically I would add, the so-called linguistic turn within cultural studies, with its focus on often rather abstract linguo-philosophical aspects, seems to have to some degree displaced rather than supported the study of concrete languages and specific linguistic issues. Likewise, the sociological tendency and favouring of popular culture within cultural studies, including the dethroning of elite culture, has not exactly been supportive of a philological interest in linguistic detail, creative individuality, and, thus, "high" literature.

It is no wonder, then, that modern language students are often confused about their method and perhaps also embarrassed about their status. "[P]hilology was the queen of the human sciences" and "synonymous with humanistic intellectual life," James Turner states in his *Philology: The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities* (2014). Nowadays, it would seem, our students are hard-working, underrecognized ants, and the term "philology" is most often used in a derogatory sense, signalling

something obsolete and not particularly useful. This also, I would argue, contributes to the crisis in language studies: if we cannot explain our academic value to ourselves, it is also difficult to convince others.

Can we change this? Can we define and clarify our scientific paradigm for the benefit of our own research, as well as our programmes, students and societal status?

4. The strengths of modern language studies

The university descendants of traditional philology have taken many forms and names—philology, modern language studies, language-based area studies, or area studies with a language component. At the core of all of these programmes, however, lies the question of how much (or how little) language is "necessary." In line with the banalisation of language skills, it is often argued—even from within the Humanities—that language serves best as an "add-on," i.e. as a practical tool supplementing "real" and essential academic competencies. However, this would potentially reduce modern language students to "tourists" rather than experts. Without excellent language skills, there is no access to all of the texts belonging to a given nation, society, and culture; and by implication, the academic study of foreign nations, societies and cultures, no matter how theoretically well-informed, would be based on second-hand knowledge and dependent on existing translations and interpretations. But who will produce new translations and interpretations? It is a simple truth but it needs to be reiterated: Without the continuous education of foreign language experts, there will not be any additional fact-finding research, translations and interpretations to lean on in the future.

In the "philology of culture" promoted by Hansen, the concrete reading of concrete texts is of central importance; in other words, the text is the crucial, common object of modern multidisciplinary language studies (Hansen 2005; Hansen 2004). Hansen is himself primarily concerned with the study of literary texts, but his concept of "text" is broad, inspired by Bakhtinian dialogism as well as semiotics, and his credo can, in fact, be used to encompass all kinds of cultural and linguistic practices, as long as we insist that the concrete reading and interpretation of "texts" in their original language and form is the strength and value of language studies.

Norwegian Germanicist, Helge Jordheim's (2001) proposal for a renewal of philology also focuses on literary texts and "the art of reading," but has been extended to include conceptual history (Koselleck), discouse analysis (Foucault), and speech act theory (Skinner); in other words, a more concentrated scientific paradigm, building on the strengths of linguistic competencies, which may, however, as this volume shows, also include the reading of non-literary texts.

To conclude, continuous research in foreign languages and cultures, as well as a continuous flow of language studies graduates who have studied a variety of languages, are necessary for the future production of not only original and strong, language-based analyses, but also of translations and textual commentaries; these may provide comparative disciplines and non-scholars with access to otherwise unknown and incomprehensible texts, be it YouTube videos, demonstration slogans, policy documents, archival sources, or works of literature, popular as well as high. That is the relevance of modern language studies, whatever we choose to call them.

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PART I

Language in Interdisciplinary Research:

The Discourses and Narratives of Climate Change

Stories about Climate Change in Political and Survey Discourse[1]

Øyvind Gjerstad and Kjersti Fløttum

1. Introduction

Narration as a fundamental activity practiced among human beings dates back from long before writing was invented, and spread throughout many different civilisations. Within cultural and literary studies, it underwent a renaissance through the work of the Russian folklorist and scholar Vladimir Propp, who analysed the basic plot components of Russian folk tales (published in Russia in 1928, translated into English in 1958, *Morphology of the Folktale*). Then, with the breakthrough of text linguistics, the narrative perspective entered forcefully into analyses of non-fictional texts (Wehrlich 1976, van Dijk 1980, Adam 1992). There have been many discussions about the number of components in the narrative structure, but there is currently a more or less clear consensus on the five-component schema: initial situation, complication, reaction, resolution, final situation. The narrative structure has also entered non-linguistic fields, such as psychology and political science, and more particularly into climate-change discourse, where even the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has described its reports as "narratives."

With this as its backdrop, the present contribution discusses the notion of narrative and its relevance in the analysis of climate-change discourse within various genres, to show that despite their differences in both content and structure, there is a common climate change narrativity. The comparison involves two very distinct genres. The first, which

1 The authors would like to thank the external evaluator for her/his careful reading and valuable comments.

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is the major object of study in the present article, is the political speech, exemplified by French President François Hollande's prepared remarks at the climate-change conference (COP21) in Paris in late 2015. The second genre, which is included for comparative purposes, has not yet received a fixed label, but has been called "survey discourse" (Fløttum 2017). This corresponds to answers to open-ended questions in a survey undertaken by the Norwegian Citizen Panel in 2015, where respondents answered freely in their own words the following question: "Concerning climate change, what do you think should be done?" The differences between the two genres are manifold. Political speeches are carefully drafted by professionals and represent an institutional commitment. Survey discourse consists of open answers to specific questions, formulated by anonymous respondents who most often are not specialists in the field, and who in no way are bound by their statements. Despite these differences, our findings show how these texts comprise a plot, and how different characters (heroes, victims, villains) are integrated into the unfolding 'story', thereby reflecting the socially pervasive nature of narratives. Another central aim of this paper is to show the theoretical and empirical value of analysing how a given narrative relates to other narratives on the same topic, through markers of linguistic polyphony (Nølke et al. 2004).

2. Theoretical framework

The analysis is based on two theoretical approaches, which describe different linguistic and text structural phenomena. At the macro-level of the text, we employ Fløttum & Gjerstad's narrative framework (2013a, 2013b, 2016), which is largely based on Adam's theory on the narrative text sequence (1992). At the micro-level of words and sentences, we identify and explore markers of linguistic polyphony (Nølke et al. 2004), which signal the presence of other voices than that of the speaker or author at the moment of utterance. Among such linguistic phenomena we find reported speech and negation. Our hypothesis is that climate-change narratives not only constitute stories on climate change, but that they also relate to other narratives, be it explicitly or implicitly.

In his text-linguistic approach, Adam (1992) identifies five components in the prototypical narrative sequence—initial situation, complication, (re)action, resolution and final situation—which together constitute a complete narrative arch coupled with stable situations at the beginning

and end. As shown in previous research (Fløttum & Gjerstad 2016), the dramatic and transformative nature of climate change lends itself to this kind of narrative structure, such as in the following example, constructed for illustrative purposes (Fløttum & Gjerstad 2016, 5–6).

(1) 1. (Initial situation) CO2 emissions increased dramatically between 1990 and 2007.
2. (Complication) Global warming has caused serious problems in numerous regions.
3. (Reaction) The UN organized an international summit in Copenhagen in 2009 (COP15) to discuss action on climate change.
4. (Resolution) But the negotiating countries did not reach any binding agreement of measures to undertake.
5. (Final situation) Climate change constitutes a serious threat to the Planet, and those who have contributed least to the problems are the ones most vulnerable to the consequences.

In a political, and more broadly, societal context, a climate-change (CC) narrative is not formed independently of others but inevitably relates to them by echoing these past narratives, either through their content, or by more clearly confirming or challenging them through the use of specific linguistic markers. Such markers give rise to polyphony, or 'multivoicedness', as described by the Scandinavian Theory of Linguistic Polyphony ("ScaPoLine") (Nølke et al. 2004). For example, through the use of negations, the author or speaker can refute an opposing point of view (pov) without naming its source, such as in the following example from the 2013 "Summary for Policy Makers," published by Working Group 1 of the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC):

(2) Sea level rise will *not* be uniform.

Through the use of *not*, the authors implicitly convey that someone has the erroneous point of view (pov) that 'sea level rise will be uniform' (Gjerstad and Fløttum *forthcoming*). It is up to the recipient to infer the identity of the individual or collective responsible for this refuted pov. In a narrative perspective, example (2) could be seen as a point of divergence

between two versions of the complication phase of an otherwise shared CC narrative.

3. From narrative sequences to climate-change narratives: Hollande at COP21

In section (3.1), we explore the narrative properties of President François Hollande's opening remarks to the Paris Conference, considering the difference in components between the initial and final situations. However, such a narrative not only comprises an internal structure but also relates to other texts on this vast issue. The question is how to seek out signs of this larger debate within the text. This is where the Scandinavian Theory of Linguistic Polyphony comes in. In section 3.2, we examine how linguistic polyphony can be viewed as the meeting point of competing narratives.

3.1. CC Narratives in political speeches

On 30 November 2015, French President François Hollande made the opening statement at the Leaders Event, which kicked off the 21st Conference of the Parties of the UNFCCC (COP21). Building on the common narrative of climate change as a man-made disaster, the speech focused on COP21 as the pivotal moment in the struggle to mitigate and adapt to its worst effects. In other words, COP21 is presented as a fork in the road.[2] The various components of the narrative (see Figure 1), are illustrated through examples drawn from the address.

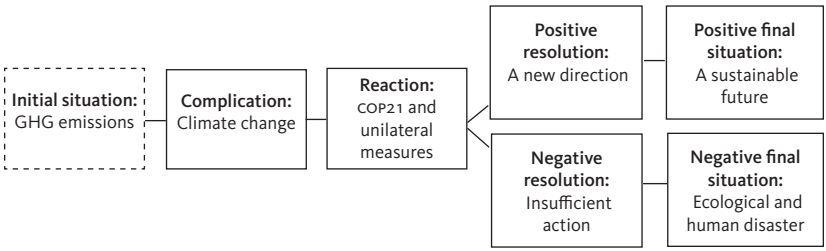


Figure 1: President Hollande's climate change narrative

2 See Gjerstad (2017) for analyses of other speeches at the same event, representing similar narrative structures.

The initial situation remains largely implicit, as it constitutes a well-known contextual backdrop for the problem at hand. It is only hinted at, for example, through two mentions of the word *émissions* and formulations such as "record de concentration de CO2 dans l'atmosphère" (see example (3)).

In contrast, the complication, i.e. climate change, is heavily elaborated upon, such as in example (3):

(3) 2015 a été l'année de tous les records : record de température, record de concentration de CO2 dans l'atmosphère, record du nombre d'évènements climatiques extrêmes, sécheresse, inondations, cyclones, fonte des glaces, hausse du niveau de la mer, acidification des océans. Les victimes de ces phénomènes se comptent par millions, et les dommages matériels par milliards.[3]

While this complication also constitutes commonly shared knowledge, the elaboration of this part of the narrative serves an argumentative purpose, in favour of the subsequent reaction. Furthermore, the secondary societal complications of climate change are also outlined:

(4) Le réchauffement annonce des conflits comme la nuée porte l'orage.[4]

In Hollande's story, the reaction phase starts in the build-up to COP21, when UNFCCC members were invited to announce their Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDC) for reductions in greenhouse gas emissions:

(5) 190 Etats ont formulé de plans d'action pour réduire les émissions de gaz à effet de serre et s'adapter aux dérèglements climatiques dans leur région respective.[5]

3 "2015 has been the year of records: temperature record, highest CO2 concentration in the atmosphere, record number of extreme climate events, droughts, floods, cyclones, ice melting, rising seas, acidification of the oceans. The victims of these phenomena are in the millions, and the material damages in the billions."

4 "The warming brings forebodings of conflicts as the rain clouds bring the storm."

5 "190 states have formulated action plans to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions and adapt to climate disruptions in their respective regions."

COP21 constitutes the second part of the reaction component of the narrative, which, interestingly, contains no reference to previous international negotiations to curb CC. The conference is framed as the pivotal moment in the story:

(6) Votre présence soulève un immense espoir que nous n'avons pas le droit de décevoir. Car ce sont des peuples et des milliards d'êtres humains qui comptent sur nous.
[…] Nous sommes au bord d'un point de rupture.[6]

This opens up two future scenarios, depending on the success or failure of COP21. The positive scenario is represented by three conditions that form a resolution in the narrative:

a. design a trajectory to keep global warming under 2 degrees, or at least 1.5 degrees if possible;
b. a solidary response to CC, which takes into account different levels of development and vulnerability
c. all societal actors need to get moving, including local leaders, investors, economic and social actors, and citizens.

Fulfilment of these three conditions would then lead to the final situation of the narrative:

(7) Cette transformation est à la fois une obligation morale et une opportunité mondiale. Elle ouvre des possibilités de développement grâce à l'émergence d'une économie décarbonée avec des énergies renouvelables, des modes de transport propre, le recyclage des déchets, l'agro écologie, la préservation de la biodiversité, l'accès de tous aux biens publics mondiaux.[7]

6 "Your presence gives rise to enormous hope, which we do not have the right to disappoint, because populations and billions of human beings rely on us. […] We are on the brink of a breaking point."

7 "This transformation is both a moral obligation and a global opportunity. It opens up development opportunities thanks to the emergence of a decarbonized economy with renewable energies, clean transportations, recycling of waste, agro-ecology, preservation of biodiversity, access to all common goods."

Example (7) lists the properties of a future decarbonized economy, and is the only segment of President Hollande's speech which outlines a future final situation as the result of a comprehensive agreement in Paris[8].

The negative scenario is less comprehensively described than the positive one, and is represented by only a couple of sentences, starting with the resolution:

(8) Le plus grand danger n'est pas que notre but soit trop élevé et que nous le manquions, mais qu'il soit trop bas et que nous l'atteignons.[9]

This potential fiasco is not accompanied by any extensive description of a negative final situation, other than what is often described as the most dramatic potential consequence of climate change: the disappearance of island nations:

(9) Je pense à ces îles qui peuvent à brève échéance purement et simplement disparaître.[10]

With regard to the characters involved in Hollande's narrative, there are heroes, villains and victims. The heroes are many, constituting a large group, and this serves to stress that the fight against climate change is a common global cause:

(10) Les collectivités locales, les entreprises, les investisseurs, les citoyens, toutes les grandes religions, se sont engagés pour le climat.[11]

At the level of governments, the 190 states which committed to the INDCs (see example 5) are also cast as heroes, with France and its Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius being singled out:

8 For an example of a more comprehensive final situation in the same context, see US President Barack Obama's remarks at the Leaders Event (Gjerstad 2017).

9 "The greatest danger is not that our goal is too high and that we miss it, but that it is too low and that we reach it."

10 "I'm thinking of the islands that can very soon quite simply disappear."

11 "Local communities, businesses, investors, citizens, all the major religions, have enlisted in the climate effort."

(11) La France a jeté toutes ses forces dans ce combat, et mobilisé l'ensemble de son gouvernement, à commencer par le Ministre des Affaires étrangères Laurent Fabius, dont je veux ici saluer la ténacité.[12]

Hollande also dramatizes the efforts by another group of heroes:

(12) Je rends hommage ici à tous les pionniers de la cause écologique, aux précurseurs qui, il n'y a pas si longtemps encore, devaient affronter incrédulité et dédain pour leurs alertes et leurs propositions.[13]

Example (12) echoes the Cassandra syndrome which is often associated with environmentalists, thus creating a sub-plot of tragedy around this group of heroes. This effect is emphasized by the use of the word *alerte*, which echoes the expression *lanceur d'alerte*, frequently used in the French public debate on climate change.

With regard to other characters, there are few concrete villains to be found, which corresponds with other analyses of government discourse (see Fløttum & Gjerstad 2013a, 2013b, Fløttum & Espeland 2014). In an international diplomatic context where the aim is to achieve global consensus, very little can be gained by singling out actors that are to blame for negative developments. This is reflected in the fact that the villain appears only in the form of the pronoun *nous* (*we*) and its corresponding determiner *nos* (*our*), such as example (13):

(13) Nous ne pouvons plus considérer la nature comme un vulgaire et inépuisable réservoir de ressources destiné à notre seul accomplissement.[14]

The use of the pronoun *nous* serves to mitigate any affront to the audience, as it includes both the speaker and an indefinite collection of other actors.

The victims of the story are the poor countries of the world:

12 "France has thrown all its strength into this battle, and has mobilized the whole government, notably the Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius, whose tenacity I salute."

13 "I pay tribute to all the pioneers of the environmental cause, to the forerunners who, not that long ago, had to face disbelief and disdain for their warnings and their proposals."

14 "We can no longer consider nature as a common and inexhaustible reservoir of resources uniquely reserved for our self-fulfillment."

(14) [C]omment accepter que ce soit les pays les plus pauvres, ceux qui émettent le moins de gaz à effet de serre qui soient les plus vulnérables. C'est donc au nom de la justice climatique, que nous devons agir.[15]

The discrepancy in historical responsibilities for GHG emissions and vulnerability to their consequences is a common topic in discourse on CC, and also constitutes an important point for negotiation within the UNFCCC (see Gjerstad 2017).

In general, Hollande's speech develops a climate change policy narrative which, in its fundamental structure (see figure 1) and its cast of characters, resembles that of other policy texts on the issue (see Fløttum & Gjerstad 2013a, 2013b, Fløttum & Espeland 2014, Gjerstad 2017). There is widespread agreement on the causes and consequences of climate change and the need to deal with the problem through collective and international efforts, as well as on the prospect of dramatically different outcomes in case of success or failure. However, within this commonly shared framework, there are differences. On a global issue involving diverging opinions and interests, the debate also comprises conflicting voices, and authors and speakers feel compelled to handle these voices in different ways, by for example refuting them or aligning with them. The manner in which this is done plays an important part in building support for policies and alliances among key actors. Furthermore, by including such voices in CC policy texts, the author or speaker also opens a window into alternate narratives, which may or may not be accurately portrayed. Analysing the polyphony of such texts, therefore, provides the opportunity to investigate how authors or speakers place themselves in the ecosystem of narratives that exist on a given policy issue. In the following, we explore the polyphonic interpretation of various linguistic markers that appear in President Hollande's remarks.

3.2. The meeting of narratives through linguistic polyphony.

Interestingly, there is no reported speech, which means that the President does not explicitly give the floor to other voices. However, the analysis of

15 "How can we accept that the poorest countries, those that emit the least greenhouse gases, are the ones that are the most vulnerable. It is therefore in the name of climate justice that we need to act."

more subtle markers such as negation and concessive connectives (e.g. *mais* (*but*)) reveals that these voices are far from absent. In the following, we consider three cases of negation which constitute meeting points between CC narratives in the speech:

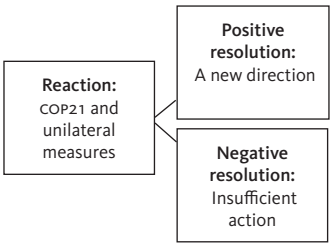
(15) Nous sommes en ce premier jour de la COP au pied du mur. Ce mur est l'addition de nos égoïsmes, de nos appréhensions, de nos résignations. Il est construit sur l'indifférence, sur l'insouciance, sur l'impuissance. Il *n*'est *pas* infranchissable. Tout dépend de nous.[16]

The negation here gives rise to an underlying point of view (pov), which the speaker refutes, without divulging the identity of the voice behind this pov (Nølke et al. 2004):

Pov$_1$: The wall is insurmountable.
Pov$_2$ (speaker): Pov1 is erroneous.

Going back to Figure 1, the sentence "It is not insurmountable" relates to the possibility to transition from the reaction to the positive resolution of the CC narrative, and pov$_1$ expresses the impossibility of this transition, as illustrated in Figure 2:

Hollande's version:



16 "On the first day of the COP, we are up against the wall. This wall is the sum of our egoisms, our apprehensions, our resignations. It is built on indifference, on insouciance, on helplessness. It is *not* insurmountable. Everything depends on us."

Refuted version:

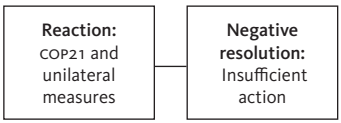


Figure 2: Arguing against fatalism

Hollande refutes the point of view that there is only one possible, negative, resolution, which could be attributed to a collective voice representing the fatalism which has been growing in the face of insufficient agreement at previous COPs. Such an attitude threatens to be self-fulfilling if not counteracted. Thus, the negation could be interpreted as a preemptive move by the French President.

The following negation represents conflicting views regarding the final situation of the narrative:

(16) Le plus grand danger *n*'est *pas* que notre but soit trop élevé et que nous le manquions, mais qu'il soit trop bas et que nous l'atteignons.[17]

As in example (15), the negation signals a confrontation between two povs:

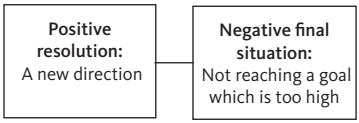
> Pov_1: The biggest danger is that our goal is too high and that we miss it.
> Pov_2 (speaker): Pov_1 is erroneous.

After negating pov_1, the speaker clarifies his position by offering an alternative, through the adversative *but*: 'the biggest danger is that our goal is too low and that we reach it'.

Thus, there are two versions of a negative final situation, in spite of a positive outcome of the Paris negotiations:

17 "The biggest danger is *not* that our goal is too high and that we miss it, but that it is too low and that we reach it."

Rejected version:



Hollande's version:

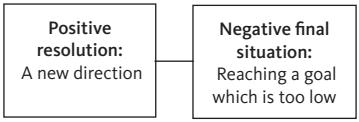


Figure 3: Competing final situations

The last example of a negation that serves to confront an opposing narrative also includes the concessive connective *mais* (*but*):

(17) Je mesure combien combiner l'impératif de l'urgence et les choix du long terme est un exercice difficile. *Mais* il n'est pas impossible.[18]

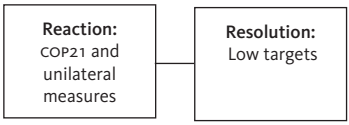
The negation gives rise to a pov that is refuted by the speaker: 'combining the imperative of urgency with long-term choices is impossible', echoing the fatalist voice in example (16). Furthermore, the concessive structure *X but Y* lets the speaker admit to an argument (i), while presenting a counter-argument (ii) as more relevant for the issue at hand. The two arguments are in indirect opposition to each-other, since they are oriented towards opposing implicit conclusions. In light of the situational context, it would seem plausible that these conclusions concern the level of ambition to bring to the negotiations at COP21:

(i) I realize that combining the imperative of urgency with long-term choices is a difficult exercise. → We should aim low.
(ii) It is not impossible. → We should aim high.

In narrative terms, this leads to two competing resolutions:

18 "I realize that combining the imperative of urgency with long-term choices is a difficult exercise. *But* it is *not* impossible."

Rejected version:



Hollande's version:

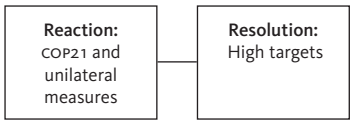


Figure 4: Competing resolutions

Throughout Hollande's confrontation with alternative CC narratives, the point of contention is not the existence of man-made CC, or the attribution of blame, but rather the level of ambition going into the negotiations. The French President presents himself as pushing for stronger measures, in contrast to less ambitious (and unnamed) negotiation partners. Thus, the speech has a consensus-oriented and motivational tone, in keeping with France's role as host.

4. CC Narratives in Survey Discourse

Having explored the polyphonic properties of CC narratives in a political speech, the question is whether survey answers on the same issue display the same narrative properties, and if so, whether there are polyphonic markers that serve as meeting points between narratives. Given the non-committal nature of statements given during such surveys, building and maintaining consensus has no interactional value. In addition, the issue itself is characterized by an array of competing interests and opinions, on a global scale. We hypothesize, therefore, that linguistic polyphony occurs at all stages of CC narratives in survey answers, depending on the respondent's view on CC, both as a natural phenomenon and as a policy issue.

In the two survey rounds (spring and autumn 2015) of the Norwegian Citizen Panel, respondents were asked the following question: *Concerning climate change, what do you think should be done?*

This question contributes to the construction of the CC narrative, firstly by mentioning and thereby imposing the complication ("climate change") on the respondents, and secondly by focusing the respondents' attention on the reaction ("what do you think should be done"). Furthermore, the necessity of this reaction is presupposed by the question, which implies 'something should be done'. In a polyphonic perspective, a presupposition is semantic content that is taken for granted by the speaker and is exempt from discussion, and is therefore also presented as accepted by the recipient (Nølke et al. 2004). In an interactional perspective, such an imposition of consensus can be problematic if the recipient does not agree with the presupposed content. This is reflected in some of the answers:

(18) Bare tull! Verden har forandret seg i millioner av år![19]

In example (18), the respondent directly challenges the existential presupposition of CC:

Pov$_1$: 'there is man-made climate change'
Pov$_2$: 'Pov$_1$ is nonsense'

By refuting pov$_1$, the respondent not only indicates disagreement with the fundamental premise of the question, but also dismantles the entire CC narrative by blocking the complication, and thereby removing the possibility of any further development in the form of reaction, resolution and final situation.

With regard to the answers that accept the presupposition of climate change and the need to act, many are brief, consisting of only sentence fragments in the form of noun phrases (19) or infinitive constructions (20), which reflects the spontaneous and often hurried nature of such survey answers:

(19) Høyere avgifter på klimautslipp. Prioritet på klimavennlig transport.[20]

(20) Begrense forurensningen av biler i nærmiljøet. Lære ungdommen å ikke kaste søppel der de finner det for godt. Ta vare på regnskogen.[21]

19 "All nonsense! The world has been changing for millions of years!"

20 "Higher taxes on climate emissions. Priority for climate friendly transportation."

21 "Limit car pollution in the local environment. Teach young people not to litter wherever they please. Take care of the rain forest."

These succinct lists directly answer the question, with no further elaboration or argumentation. Thus, the CC narrative is cut short, remaining embryonic in its lack of resolution, although details may be added to the narrative, concerning villains and causes to the problem. Nevertheless, many answers did enter into discussions on the question of what to do about climate change:

(21) Få industrien til å forstå for eksempel at det å sende fisken med fly til Østen for å få den renset, og så tilbake igjen, er GALEMATIAS, nemlig at industrien produserer helt unødig utslipp fra fly.[22]

In example (21), the respondent suggests that the reaction component of the narrative should be to change the behaviour of the manufacturing industry, which is portrayed as a villain using value-laden and emotional terms, through the use of the noun *GALEMATIAS* (*lunacy*) written in capitals. The utterance is polyphonic, as it outlines a possible future common point of view: 'sending fish by air to the East to get it cleaned, and then back again, is lunacy'. This pov is at the centre of the resolution of the narrative:

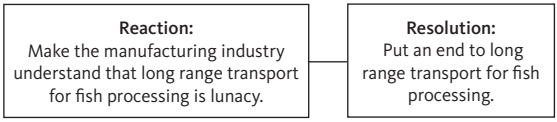


Figure 5: Converting the villain

The next example comprises a concessive connective, which gives rise to different povs and diverging narratives:

(22) Norge er allerede et land som tar klima på alvor og det skal vi fortsette med, men vi bør hjelpe andre land som utgjør en større risiko for klimaet enn hva Norge gjør.[23]

22 "Make the manufacturing industry understand that, for example, sending the fish by air to the East to be cleaned, and then back again, is LUNACY; namely, the industry is producing completely unnecessary emissions from planes."

23 "Norway is already a country that takes the climate seriously, and we must continue to do so, but we should help other countries that pose a greater risk to the climate than Norway."

As analysed in example (17), the counter-argumentative connective *but* allows the speaker or author to acknowledge a point of view (i), without accepting the conclusion which might be drawn from it, by offering a counter-argument (ii):

> (i) Norway is already a country that takes the climate seriously, and we must continue to do so → Norway is already making all necessary efforts (implicit)
> (ii) We should help other countries that pose a greater risk to the climate than Norway → Norway is not making all necessary efforts (implicit)

The indirect opposition between (i) and (ii) constitutes a point of divergence between two narratives:

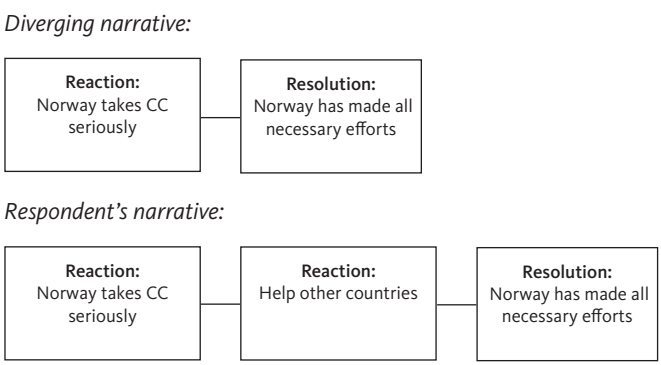


Figure 6: Diverging narratives through concession

As is to be expected from a nation-wide survey, the variety of answers is great, in terms of both length and syntactic structure. The societal salience of the climate issue is also reflected in the range of polyphonic markers used, which serve as meeting points between converging and diverging narratives. The expressive freedom of the anonymous surveys also gives rise to a large variety of CC narratives, despite the restricting effect of the survey question. The answers address a wide array of topics, such as public transport, energy transition, consumption and the international dimension. A few go so far as to deny the problem of CC alto-

gether, thereby challenging the presupposition of the question itself, and dismantling the entire narrative.[24]

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Comparing François Hollande's remarks at COP21 and the survey answers from the Norwegian Citizen's panel, there are clear similarities, despite the obvious linguistic and text-structural differences. At the level of narrative structure, the same components are often to be found or tacitly taken for granted: human CO_2 emissions are causing climate change, a problem which needs to be dealt with through local, national and international efforts. These similarities indicate that the general story of climate change is largely shared across cultures. Furthermore, at a theoretical level, our analysis shows that the narrative framework is applicable to very different genres. In the present case, one of these is characterized by high stakes and meticulous preparation, the other by low stakes and spontaneous expression. Lastly, the combined narrative and polyphonic analysis can serve to highlight the fact that a narrative is not only a "story" in its own right, but that it also derives its situational and societal relevance from its interaction with other narratives, traces of which can be found in the form of polyphonic markers. Thus, the narrative-polyphonic analysis of survey responses on issues such as climate change could identify societally dominant narratives by investigating their traces in these responses. Thus, the mainly theoretical findings of the present paper constitute a point of departure for future research on this empirical question.

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Climate Change in Cameroon Political Discourse: A Case Study of Paul Biya's COP21 Speech

Francis Badiang Oloko

1. Introduction

The aim of the present contribution is to provide insight into the political discourse on climate, with a special focus on Cameroon. The management of, and the concern regarding, climate change have been occupying a growing space in public debates in recent years. The various challenges which are linked to climate change can be said to have become a global concern, as there have been mobilisations from institutions and persons that work in various fields—science, politics and even arts. Frameworks have been developed over the years to enable people from all of these diverse fields to meet and discuss this issue which has a direct impact on the daily life of societies all over the world. The most important of such frames is the Conference of the Parties (COP) organised by the United Nations, where people from various fields meet to discuss what is at stake and the measures that can or should be taken in order to develop a coordinated, global response to the challenges the world faces due to climate change.

The discourse on climate can as mentioned be initiated by people in diverse fields. Research in climate discourse has sought to determine the distinct features of each of these. Thus, some studies have focussed on the scientific reports about climate (Fløttum & Dahl 2014) , on political discourse on climate (Fløttum & Gjerstad 2013) or even on blogs (Fløttum et al. 2014), with particular attention to linguistic features and/or language use. In the present article, I focus on political discourse which, as some previous studies have pointed out, also has a link to the scientific

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discourse, since political leaders often draw on research carried out in the domain they are considering. They sometimes use research results as authority arguments in a bid to persuade their partners on the points they raise. Scientific arguments and discourse are therefore used in the political field with rhetorical objectives. Fløttum (2010, 13) points out, therefore, that the transfer of knowledge from science to politics is realised through language. Furthermore, she highlights the need for people to know and understand what is going on in the climate debate at various levels: "If there are going to be any agreements at all, be they multi- or bilateral, global, regional or national, and if there are going to be sound and relevant actions, we at least need to know what is actually said and discussed and by whom, in the climate change debate." (Fløttum 2010, 1).

There has been a growing interest in the issue of climate and environment protection in the political field in Cameroon over the past few years. The advent of multi-partyism[1] in the 1990s triggered the creation of dozens of political parties, which have been taking part in various elections. One of these parties, is the Mouvement des écologistes camerounais (Mec),[2] which is affiliated to "The global Green" movement whose main mission is to foster a global value shift toward a sustainable and secure future. Central to the party's preoccupations are the issues of environment protection and the fight against climate change. Since its creation, this party has participated in various elections, the major ones being the presidential elections. It has succeeded, therefore, in having its green agenda included among the issues that were discussed during all the elections in which it has had a candidate.

In addition, it is interesting to note that not only the opposition has shown concern about the fight against climate change and environment protection. In fact, the officials of the country have also demonstrated some concern about the issue. In 2004, presidential decree no 2004/320 of December 8, 2004 creates and organises a ministry of environment and nature protection, which eight years later became the ministry of the environment, nature protection and sustainable development, following another presidential decree no 2012/431 of October 1, 2012. This ministry is responsible for coordinating the government's activity related to envi-

1 There have been four presidential elections since the advent of multi-partyism in Cameroon (1992, 1997, 2004, 2011).

2 Movement of Cameroon Ecologists

ronment protection and climate change. It also takes measures to deal with all matters concerning these two issues in the national territory, as well as participating in and organizing national and international forums on environment protection and climate change. In order to achieve these aims, it has two technical organs which are responsible for the implementation of its policies in this field. The Environmental Monitoring and Evaluation cell is charged with all national activities and measures related to climate-change mitigation. The role of the National Observatory on Climate Change is to initiate all awareness-raising and preventative activities relevant to climate change, to serve as an operational instrument in the context of reducing emissions, to propose government measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, and to promote cooperation with other regional and international climate-change entities. All of these activities are carried out under the patronage of the President of the republic, Paul Biya, who is more active in the diplomatic field. He has been active in various international summits on climate (change), the largest of which was the Conference of Parties (COP) where he has been very active, making frequent speeches and taking part in discussions involving international partners in the field. The speech which will serve as the basis of the subsequent analyses was made in this context.

The above provides a brief overview of what is being done in the field of environment protection and climate in Cameroon, and most importantly, the involvement of the government in this area. Turning to President Biya's COP21 speech as an example of the official communication on climate-related issues, this article now addresses the following questions: (1) Where does Cameroon stand in the major trends on climate (change)? (2) What is the relationship between Cameroon's voice and those of the other partners involved in the discussions? (3) Which strategies does Biya resort to in order to make his point?

The article is divided into four sections. After this introduction (section 1), section 2 briefly considers the theoretical framework that underlies this undertaking. It is concerned, more precisely, with the recent concept of discursive polyphony, which is here viewed as being a blend of two polyphonic theories: the ScaPoLine approach and the *praxématique* approach. It will further present the corpus data. Section 3 analyses a few typical examples drawn from the corpus data. Section 4 sums up the analyses and tries to identify the points that really matter to Cameroon.

2. Theory and methodology

The postulate of a discursive polyphony was raised by Gjerstad (2011). His undertaking was a syncretic one, which put together three major theories that fall within the framework of polyphonic analyses: the ScaPoLine approach (Nølke, Fløttum & Norén 2004), the *praxématique* approach (Nowakowska & Sarale 2011) and the Geneva Model (Roulet, Fillettaz & Grobet 2001). To these, he adds some interaction features, which are linked to the intentions of the participants in the discourse. The notion of communicative intention is crucial in the author's argument, as he views discourse from a pragmatic perspective, which holds that there is a communicative or pragmatic intention in every discourse. This should entail that the interpreter is able to use some contextual elements to help him gain a better understanding of the linguistic phenomena at stake in the discourse as a text (Micheli 2006). This operation would not be allowed by the ScaPoLine approach.

Gjerstad's study (2011) can be said to represent a significant step towards making the study of multi-voicedness an important part of the broad field of discourse analysis. In fact, the premises of this major turning point are found in the ScaPoLine itself, which has the clear aim: "to reveal not only explicit voices, such as reported speech, but also implicit voices, in a more or less hidden interaction through devices such as pronouns, sentence connectives, modal expressions, adverbs, negation, presupposition, information structure and many more" (Fløttum & Dahl 2014, 16). Moreover, it provides the interpreter with a clear and well-structured analysis scheme, which can lead to a more objective identification and analysis of the polyphonic phenomena. The polyphonic configuration also enables researchers to highlight the relationships between the voices that exist in the text; that is, the way they interact with one another. This last point is quite relevant as it coincides with the second aim of this paper. While ScaPoLine limits itself mainly to the linguistic level, discourse can also be viewed, as Chilton (1994, 583) suggests, as "l'usage du potentiel sémantique et pragmatique d'une langue en situation pratique."[3] We can therefore understand the limit of the ScaPoLine, especially when it comes to exploiting the semantic and pragmatic potential of a language, in relation to the practical situation which should be

3 The use of the semantic and pragmatic potential of a language in a practical situation.

viewed here as the context. Gjerstad (2011, 73) points out this limit while comparing the approach to the *praxématique*. He states:

> La ScaPoLine est une théorie sémantique, qui cherche à décrire la manière dont les voix font partie intégrante de la signification linguistique. Le dialogisme est d'ordre discursif, ce qui veut dire que la pluralité de voix est un phénomène susceptible de se produire dans l'interprétation, sans forcément relever du seul contenu sémantique de l'énoncé.[4]

This assumption gives rise to the need to complement an essentially language-oriented approach with one that takes into account context-based devices in an effort to develop a more discursive approach. This has been the main motivation of Gjerstad's study (2011), a motivation that also underlies the present paper. My approach differs from Gjerstad's perspective in that it seeks to narrow the scope of a discursive polyphony to include only two approaches: the ScaPoLine and the *praxématique*. It does not apply the Geneva Model which divides the complex nature of discourse into three modules: the interactional module which is related to the situation; the hierarchical module which is concerned with the text structure; and the syntactic and lexical module which has to do with the linguistic component of the text. However, it can be argued that the ScaPoLine and the *praxématique* consider these modules, although in a different way. The *praxématique* approach allows the interpreter to explore the context. This is achieved thanks to its interdiscursive dialogism, which views a speech as a response to a previous speech, and its interlocutive dialogism according to which a speech can anticipate the potential responding speeches. The polyphonic phenomena are likely, therefore, to occur out of the semantic potential of the words. In this new undertaking, I postulate here, both the linguistic and contextual elements will be relevant in the identification, analysis and interpretation of the polyphonic phenomena. This approach is expected to lead to a deeper and well-structured exploitation of polyphony in discourse, in a bid to more clearly identify who is

4 "The ScaPoLine is a semantic theory that seeks to describe how voices are an integral part of linguistic meaning. Dialogism is of discursive order, which means that the plurality of voices is likely to occur in the interpretation, without necessarily belonging to the semantic content of the utterance alone."

saying what and who is responsible for which position in a speech that deals with a global concern such as that of climate change.

The choice of political discourse as the object of study is socially relevant in the sense that the political authorities are the ones who have the power to implement measures, and they represent the people they rule. Their attitudes and their opinions really matter, as they can result in more direct action than those of scientists, for example, who do not have any political mandate—even though they have some societal responsibility. In other words, political discourse is more action-oriented than scientific discourse—to remain with this example. The speech analysed in this article is by Paul Biya, the current president of Cameroon, and was made in Paris on November 30,2015. The communicative setting is that of the opening session of the COP21 summit on climate change, where he was addressing representatives of the international community with prominent figures such as other Heads of States, Prime Ministers, and the Secretary General of the UN. The context here is therefore a diplomatic gathering, since the COP is a summit organised by the UN, where participants are mostly representatives of countries and NGOs. On such occasions, participants are expected to present a report on their views on climate change, the measures they have taken to combat it and what they intend to do in the future. It is therefore an arena where participants interact with one another to a significant degree through their individual speeches. Thus, language and language use are central when it comes to understanding what is going on in such meetings.

3. A polyphonic analysis

The analyses carried out employ the approach described in the preceding section; that is, a model based on the ScaPoLine and the *praxématique* methods only. The analyses constitute an attempt to implement a discursive polyphony based on the two aforementioned approaches. The text excerpts are taken as they arise from the speech and were selected based on the devices that create the multi-voicedness effect. The polyphonic effects are considered within the limits of the ScaPoLine and those of the *praxématique*. In fact, the polyphonic markers are likely to arise both from the language—words, syntactic structures, etc.—and from the situation, in relation to such elements as the participants in the speech event

and the topic of discourse. Meanwhile, the scheme used in the analyses is the configuration which is proposed in the ScaPoLine.

Polemic negation is one of the commonly encountered forms of polyphony. The polyphonic marker is the negation element which in French generally—but not only—has the form of *ne/n'… pas* and may correspond to the English *not*.

(1) NOUS *N'*AVONS *PAS* LE DROIT D'ECHOUER.[5]

The semantic instructions of this marker make it clear that there are two points of view (pov) in this utterance. From the purely linguistic (ScaPoLine) perspective, the following organisation can be identified:

pov_1: Nous avons le droit d'échouer.
pov_2: pov 1 is not valid.

The first pov is that of an unknown speaker—"non-identified voice" (Fløttum & Gjerstad 2013, 423)—while the known speaker is responsible for the second pov which rejects or invalidates the preceding one. A contextualisation using the ScaPoLine, which limits itself to the text, allows one to gain a clearer idea of the speaker being Biya, while no clear indication is given as to the identity of the person who can or could be responsible for pov 1—although the accurate identification of the source might not be cardinal for one in order to understand the challenge in the statement. This fact of non-identification of the discursive being is typical in negation and can be viewed as a rhetorical strategy that allows the speaker to highlight a controversy without necessarily identifying who is behind it (Gjerstad 2011, 103).

Nonetheless, when one considers the context using the *praxématique*, one can view this statement as an example of a discursive dialogism. It consists of Biya (pov 2) responding to some still unidentified speaker(s) who is responsible for pov 1, and represents the view that is often held by those who are sceptical about human contribution to climate change. From a rhetorical perspective, therefore, this seems to be done by Biya simply to emphasise the need for the participants to reach an agreement.

5 "We do *not* have the right to fail." Biya's speech is quoted from (Biya 2015). Translations are my own.

Less explicit, yet relevant to the identification of polyphony in a statement, is the phenomenon of presupposition:

(2) Le Cameroun, faible émetteur de gaz à effet de serre, entend *poursuivre* sa contribution à leur réduction.[6]

The presupposition lies in the verb *poursuivre* in the above statement. Its semantic instructions inform us of a process which has already begun, which is going on and which is to continue. The polyphony here seems to be based on three pov as follows:

pov_1: Cameroon has contributed to the reduction of the greenhouse gases.
pov_2: Cameroon is currently contributing to the reduction of greenhouse gases.
pov_3: Cameroon will contribute to the reduction of the greenhouse gases.

This strategy often leads to a positive portrayal of the role the speaker and his country, in this case, have been playing in relation to the issue discussed (Fløttum & Gjerstad 2013, 425). By employing this strategy, Biya seems to present his actions and those of his country as an example of a country that respects its commitments. One can add, based on textual elements, that he prefigures already that his country will respect any binding measures if that is the world's decision, as he himself makes the proposal of in this same speech.

Example (2) can be said to be complex due to the multiplicity of polyphonic markers in it. In fact, the incised apposition "faible émetteur de gaz à effet de serre"[7] seems to be in contrast with the rest of the sentence. In other words, there seems to be an underlying *but—mais* in French. Though the polyphonic effect seems to arise from interpretation in this case, the following organisation can be proposed, based on the scheme that the ScaPoLine proposes for the analysis of *mais* (Nølke, Fløttum, and Norén 2004, 92):

6 "Cameroon, a low emitter of greenhouse gases, intends *to continue* its contribution to their reduction."

7 "low emitter of greenhouse gases"

pov_1: A low emitter of greenhouse gases should/can stop its contribution in their reduction.
pov_2: Cameroon is a low emitter.

The awaited conclusion could then have been:

pov_3: Therefore, it can stop its contribution to their reduction.

However, Biya chooses the opposite to this logically-expected conclusion and states, implicitly:

pov_4: [Cameroon] will continue its contribution to their reduction.

By choosing this strategy, which is grounded on polyphony, Biya seems to indicate to Cameroon's partners in the negotiations that it could have logically stopped its efforts to reduce greenhouse gases as its production of them is currently low compared to that of some of the partners. But the country chooses to continue its efforts as a sign of good will and determination in the fight against climate change.

In addition, in some statements, one needs to associate the semantic instruction of the words with the context in order to decipher their polyphonic nature. This is the case with the following statement:

(3) *Deux* sujets interpellent la COP21.[8]

In this statement, Biya reduces the number of concerns that should be the topics for the debates in the COP21. While one can learn from the context that the topics of discussions were more diverse in nature and numerous, Biya's speech wishes them to be: (1) the destruction of the forests in Central Africa and (2) the fact that Lake Chad is drying up. Thus, the following voices can be highlighted:

pov_1: The COP21 is concerned with many topics.
pov_2: pov 1 is not valid.
pov_3: There are only two concerns in the COP21.

8 "The COP21 has two concerns."

Biya seems to invalidate the $pov_{1,}$ which could be understood as originating with the organisers of the COP21 summit. Having done this, he can now raise the concerns that matter the most to him. This should not be viewed as a dismissal of the other concerns, but rather as an attempt to put the interests of Africa, and particularly those of his country, first; the fact that Lake Chad is drying up and the destruction of the forests in the Congo Basin directly affect the inhabitants of the North and the South of his country respectively.

Modal expressions in utterances often evoke some voice(s) underlying that of the speaker. The following statements can offer insight into how polyphony is organised based on the modal verb form "devons" in French.

(4) NOUS *DEVONS* SAUVER LES FORETS DU BASSIN DU CONGO.[9]

(5) NOUS *DEVONS* SAUVER LE SECOND POUMON DE LA PLANETE.[10]

These two utterances express the same idea. The French modal *devoir* may correspond to the English *must*. In both of the utterances, it seems to express the view that this is a duty, hence its deontic significance. The polyphony here rests on the fact that, before something is considered to be a must, it needs to have been previously validated as possible; that is, it is likely to occur (Kronning 2001; Barbet 2012).

Furthermore, Kronning (1996, 19) highlights the polysemous nature of this modal and goes on to stress that this polysemy lies in its ability to express a deontic, an epistemic and an alethic meaning, all at the same time (Kronning 1996, 256). Based on this assumption, the following polyphonic configuration emerges for (4):

pov_1: It is possible to save the forests in the Congo Basin.
pov_2: It is necessary to save the forests in the Congo Basin.
pov_3: It is a must to save the forests in the Congo Basin.

9 "We *must* save the forests of the Congo Basin"
10 "We *must* save the world's second lung."

By calling upon his audience to take action in order to save the forests in the Congo Basin, Biya needs to have first assessed this action and concluded that it is possible to carry it out. He then proceeds by suggesting it as a necessity. He ends by presenting it as a must, an obligation.

However, taking into account the communicative setting of the diplomatic meeting that was described earlier, one does not expect the president of Cameroon to present such a reality as obligatory for his partners. This narrows the polysemy of this modal, therefore, to the expression of a possibility and of an absolute necessity (Kronning 1996, 256). The aim here seems to be the mobilisation of his partners to join his efforts in a bid to protect these two vital places.

The expressions of consequence can also conceal some polyphony, depending on the way they are structured. Some of the common devices that usually introduce other voices include *as such* and *so*, as can be seen in the statement below:

> (6) Nous sommes là pour répondre aux attentes et aux espoirs de nos peuples. *Alors*, faisons preuve de détermination et de courage politique.[11]

The French *alors* (6) may correspond to the English *then*. It is used at the beginning of a sentence which is supposed to be a conclusion/consequence to an argument that started in the preceding sentence(s) as (6) can illustrate. This results in the following polyphonic organisation:

> pov_1: Whenever one is called upon to respond to the needs and hopes of their people, one should demonstrate some sense of commitment and political courage.
> pov_2: We are here to respond to the needs and hopes of our peoples.
> pov_3: *As such*, we should demonstrate some sense of commitment and political courage.

Pov_1 belongs to common sense, that is what both interlocutors—Biya and the audience/his partners—hold to be true. Biya states this as a general fact, and then proceeds by introducing the present situation, the COP21,

11 "We are here to respond to the needs and hopes of our peoples. *As such*, we should demonstrate some sense of commitment and political courage."

as a typical example of such cases (pov_2). The conclusion should therefore be logical (pov_3). This strategy is commonly used in scientific papers, and the aim is not only to demonstrate but also to persuade the reader or the audience that something is true. Biya employs it for the second purpose. He seeks to persuade his partners in the ongoing negotiations that they have the responsibility to be politically courageous in an effort to meet their respective peoples' needs and hopes, which seem to correspond to the protection of the environment. He seems to use the argument related to the populations as a strong argument to persuade his interlocutors, most of whom represent their respective populations, of the necessity to respect their needs. By these needs, he seems to mean the reaching of an agreement on the measures that ought to be taken in order to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases.

By the same token, some syntactic structures aimed at expressing conditions are said to have a polyphonic nature, as they also contain, in addition to the speaker's voice, that or those of some other entities. The commonly used word to express a condition is *if*, whose French equivalent is *si*.

> (7) *Si* nous y parvenons, la conférence de Paris sera ce moment décisif que le monde, dans sa quête pour la survie de l'humanité, appelle de tous ses vœux.[12]

Kronning makes a distinction between three categories of conditionals based on the likelihood that their content will occur or not.[13] Such conditional sentences as (7) are those Kronning (2009, 98) refers to as "content conditionals"; that is, those whose content is genuine, likely to occur. One of their key characteristics is the tenses of their verbs: simple present (*q)* and future (*p*). There is a hypothetical relationship, *R,* between the semantic content of *p* and *q*, the two sections of the conditional sentence. As such, the structures with the form "*if P, Q*" require both segments to be true first. Kronning concludes that such conditionals have two points of view: the first simply states the utterance, while the second expresses some epistemic attitude about the relationship between *p* and

12 "If we make it, the Paris Conference will have been that crucial occasion that the world has been expecting in its quest for the survival of humanity."

13 For more details on the other categories, see Kronning (2009)

q. Let us consider that *p*= la conférence de Paris sera ce moment décisif que le monde, […], appelle de tous ses vœux; and *q*= Si nous y parvenons. The relation between these two is known as *R (*= probable). The speaker is responsible for this epistemic attitude, which is positive in this case. The following polyphonic configuration results:

pov$_1$[14] : TRUE (R (*p*, *q*))
pov$_2$: TRUE (POSSIBLE (*p*)) & TRUE (POSSIBLE (*q*))

Moreover, when the communicative intention of the speaker, which is to persuade his interlocutor(s), is taken into account, this same structure seems to follow the organisation previously encountered in (6) with three pov. When the linguistic and the context-based instruction are combined, the following final configuration can be suggested:

pov$_1$: POSSIBLE (we make it $_{(p)}$) & POSSIBLE (the Paris Conference will have been that crucial occasion that the world has been expecting in its quest for the survival of humanity $_{(q)}$)
pov$_2$: TRUE (R (*p*, *q*))
pov$_3$: (TOP (if *p*, *q*))

One can conclude that the epistemic attitude (positive) precedes the relationship *R* between *p* and *q,* because we can infer that this relation is positive and likely to occur because the speaker has previously judged the two sections individually to be valid. Once this is done, he goes further to assert that there is a relationship, *R,* between the two. It is this final assertion that opens up the possibility for the interlocutor(s) to join him and conclude that the Paris Conference will really have been that crucial event that the world has been awaiting in its quest for the survival of humanity.

Biya is again calling upon the individual responsibility of his interlocutors, mostly his colleagues, to make the Paris Conference a successful encounter. It seems to him that this success will guarantee that more sustainable measures are taken to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, which constitute one of the main causes of climate change.

14 Kronning uses the terms Voice (a) for pov$_1$ and Voice (b) for pov$_2$.

4. Closing remarks

This paper offered two major challenges: a theoretical one and an empirical one. I have tried to develop a discursive approach that relies only on the ScaPoLine and the *praxématique* theories, based on the features that the two approaches can share. The analysis undertaken shows that it is possible to combine a purely linguistic approach with one that includes contextual devices, in order to identify the polyphonic phenomena in a speech and propose an interpretation close to the reality of the events. Throughout the analyses, I have shown how polemic negation, presupposition, modal expression, consequence and condition, which are linguistic devices that function as polyphonic markers, could support a particular interpretation. The addition of contextual elements provides a better view of their polyphonic potential. For instance, it is evident that the context may limit the polysemy which is inherent to the modal *must*. Moreover, the context was useful in identifying the rhetorical function of the polyphonic excerpts analysed. In fact, multi-voicedness can be used for rhetorical and pragmatic purposes; for example, to persuade one's audience (modal expression), to raise their awareness by calling upon their individual conscience and responsibility (consequence), and to present oneself as a good example (presupposition).

In addition, the use of interdiscursive dialogism, which relies essentially on the context, can be helpful in understanding the overall aim of a speech from a rhetorical perspective. In this case, for example, Biya employs interdiscursive dialogism in an effort to ensure that the interests of his country are among the topics to be discussed during the negotiations.

Context is relevant, therefore, in the polyphonic analyses, in the sense that it takes one from a purely theoretical linguistic level, to one which is more empirical. The researcher no longer deals solely with virtual images of the speaker, but moves gradually to the real-life entities that are responsible for the various opinions and proposals. It enables researchers to deal with life itself; the use of the climate debate is there to reinforce this idea. Climate (change) is not virtual, it is a reality people struggle with in different parts of the world.

Finally, the polyphonic analysis of this speech reveals that Biya is willing to fight against climate change through the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. His audience learns that greenhouse gas emissions are low in his country, although they do occur. In spite of that, Cameroon has

been involved in this mitigation project, and it is currently active and will continue its efforts in this sense. Moreover, Biya uses interdiscursive dialogism to focus the attention of his interlocutors on what matters to him: the destruction of the Congo Basin forests and the fact that Lake Chad is drying up. Furthermore, the overall attitude of Biya in this speech reveals a quest for consensus that would lead to more binding measures to limit the greenhouse gas emissions. All of the polyphonic strategies that he uses seem to be directed towards the conclusion that the fight against climate change is not something that can be done successfully while alone; it is a global fight.

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The Framing of Climate-Change Discourse by Shell and the Framing of Shell's Climate Change-Related Activities by *The Economist* and *The Financial Times*

Oleksandr Kapranov

1. Introduction

This article involves a qualitative framing analysis of Shell's climate change discourse and how Shell's climate change-related activities are framed by the leading British financial newspapers. The present publication offers a novel research facet by focusing on Shell's framing of its climate change discourse in the 2014 AR and on *The Economist's* and *The FT's* reporting of Shell's climate change-related activities in 2014.

The article is structured as follows: first, previous studies of the press coverages of Shell's environmental and climate change-related activities will be presented. Second, the frames associated with climate-change discourse will be identified in Shell's 2014 AR and subsequently juxtaposed with the to-be-identified frames associated with Shell's climate change-related activities as reported by *The Economist* and *The FT,* respectively.

1.1. Previous research involving the framing of Shell's climate change-related activities reported by the British press

In general terms, framing as a concept is considered to be concerned with the construction of meaning (Browne et al. 2017, 11). According to Dahl (2017), "*the notion of framing concerns how individuals and groups organize, perceive, and communicate about the world*" (Dahl, 2017, 22). As indicated by Levin and his colleagues (1998), frames refer to those specific organising principles that are socially shared, relatively stable over

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time, and symbolically meaningful. At both the macro and micro levels of discourse, framing is assumed to provide specific problem definitions, causes, and possible solutions in meaning construction, information processing, and decision making (Entman 2004; Nisbet et al. 2013). Echoing Entman (2004), Wasike (2017, 180) posits that framing involves the emphasis of certain aspects of reality with the intention of promoting a particular definition, interpretation or evaluation.

Framing as a research methodology has been successfully applied to a range of disciplines as an analytical framework (Kapranov 2016), involving media studies and media discourse. Nisbet (2009) suggests that frames are storylines, which aim at communicating why an issue might be a problem, who or what might be responsible for it, and what should be done about it. In accordance with Fløttum & Gjerstad (2017, 2), framing "corresponds to the process which implies a strategic selection (conscious or not) of language features for a particular purpose." To further specify the notion of frame and framing in discourse, it should be noted that

> The repetitive use of a framing builds familiarity and allows for certain assumptions or theories to be left unstated, reducing the complexity of the issue being reported. Through deploying frames, certain viewpoints will be emphasised while others may be sidelined. For example, particular words, metaphors or images may be used repeatedly, rendering certain ideas or viewpoints more salient or memorable and others less (or in-) visible. (Naylor et al. 2017, 6)

The notion of framing is applicable to political discourse, as well as discourse involving environmental and climate change-related issues (Nisbet et al. 2013). The framing of climate-change discourse in the media refers to how mass media highlight the issue of climate change to make it memorable for their audiences (Nwabueze & Egbra 2016). There is a substantial collection of previous studies, which elucidate the framing of climate change by the media (Boykoff & Boykoff 2007; Carvalho 2010; Crist 2007; Jensen 2003; Nwabueze & Egbra 2016). Previous research indicates that the British press frames a variety of environmental and climate change-related issues as a polyphonic discursive space (Carvalho 2010). This space is characterised by a polyphony of voices including multiple actors; for example, the British government, the cor-

porate world, the general public, and research community. The framing of climate change by the British press is comprised of the above-mentioned polyphonic voices, involving scientific research, political debates and ethical considerations (Dahl & Fløttum 2014). It is inferred from previous research findings that the British press, as an authorised voice, exerts important influence over the public perception of climate change (Boykoff & Boykoff 2007; Crist 2007).

A meta-analysis of previous scholarship suggests that the framing of Shell's climate change-related activities by the British press appears to be well represented (Bakir 2006; Carvalho 2010; Jensen 2003; Kruse 2001; O'Neill 2013; Tsukas 1999). Previous research (Jensen 2003) indicates that one of the salient framings of Shell's climate-change practices by the British press involves the concept of citizenship. This concept is predominantly associated with the Shell-owned Brent Spar platform. In response to the Brent Spar accident, ordinary citizens in several European countries (the UK, the Netherlands, Denmark and Germany) have succeeded, by means of the consumer boycott, in forcing Shell to relinquish its plans to sink the Brent Spar oil platform in the North Atlantic. Jensen (2003) suggests that the British press framed the Brent Spar accident by the concept of a citizen who influences Shell's environmental agenda.

Another salient framing of Shell's environmental and climate change-related activities was construed by the British press employing the frames of 'Battle', 'Dominance', and 'War' (Jensen 2003). Specifically, Shell's plans to submerge the Brent Spar platform in the Atlantic were framed by the British press as a 'War' frame. The framing centred on narratives involving the threat to the environment and the consumers (Kruse 2001). Jensen (2003, 76) indicates that the British press framed Shell as a perpetrator of environmental crime, who wages a war on the environment, whilst Greenpeace enjoys positive coverage as the climate-change problem-solver.

Like Jensen (2003), Bakir (2006) argues that the British press frames Shell via the concepts of battle and war, respectively. This framing evokes a biblical reference to Goliath and involves "a series of 'sight-bites' with David-and-Goliath connotations, portraying the unevenness of the battle with the world's then largest non-state oil company" (Bakir 2006, 684). Specifically, "Greenpeace's victory over Shell was widely depicted in the UK and German press as a modern-day victory of David over Goliath"

(Tsukas 1999, 516). Previous scholarship seems to support, therefore, the contention that the framing of the Brent Spar incident by the British press was construed by the discursive means associated with battles, dominance, and wars (Bakir 2006; Jensen 2003).

It is inferred from previous research that the press seems to ascribe the role of villain or perpetrator to the multinational fossil-fuels corporations seen to be responsible for the negative consequences of climate change (Crist 2007; Swyngedouw 2010). In this regard, Crist (2007) argues that "the dominant framing of climate change—its identification as the most urgent problem that we face—all but bluntly declares that the sky is falling" (Crist 2007, 46). Echoing Crist (2007), Swyngedouw (2010) notes that the framing of fossil-fuels corporations in the British press, amongst others Shell, is embedded in the apocalyptic imaginary of the climate-change debate. Based upon these findings, it is possible to assume that the British press generally frames Shell's environmental and climate change-related activities employing Biblical, war-related and protest imagery (Crist 2007; Jensen 2003; Kruse 2001; O'Neill 2013; Tsukas 1999).

However, current literature does not appear to provide an account of how Shell's climate change-related discourse is framed by the British financial press. In particular, there are no comprehensive research data on the coverage of Shell's climate change-related activities by the leading financial newspapers in the UK, such as *The Economist* and *The FT*. Furthermore, there are open questions regarding, for instance, the juxtaposition of Shell's framing of climate-change discourse with the framing of Shell's climate change-related activities by the British financial press. These and other pertinent questions are further addressed and examined in this article.

3. Hypothesis and specific research aims

Based upon previous research findings (Bakir 2006; Carvalho 2010; Crist 2007; Jensen 2003; Kruse 2001; O'Neill 2013; Swyngedouw 2010; Tsukas 1999), it was assumed in the hypothesis that the British financial press would frame Shell's climate change-related activities employing Biblical, war-related and protest imagery. Also based on previous research (Livesey 2001; Mirvies 2000), it was assumed that Shell's corporate discursive space would generally frame climate change by the concept of

care, in contrast to the imagery in the British financial press. Hence, the following specific research aims were formulated: i) to identify the framing of Shell's climate change-related activities by *The Economist* and *The FT*; ii) to identify the framing of climate change discourse by Shell in the 2014 Shell AR and subsequently juxtapose the framing with that of *The Economist* and *The FT*.

4. Materials

The present study analysed the following materials: i) Shell's 2014 AR available at www.shell.com; and ii) articles about Shell's climate change-activities published in 2014 editions of *The Economist* and *The FT* available online at www.economist.com and www.ft.com. The choice of *The Economist* and *The FT* was motived by the following considerations: First, both *The Economist* and *The FT* position themselves as serious financial papers. Second, *The Economist* and *The FT* target similar readerships, comprised of business and financial leaders, government officials, and corporate executives. Third, *The Economist* and *The FT* are associated with the free market economy and deemed to be close to the international corporations. Fourth, the economics journalism in *The Economist* and *The FT* involved a register of socio-economic discourse that was suited to both specialist and non-specialist audiences (Boykoff & Boykoff 2007; O'Neill 2013).

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of the corpus

#	Article/AR	Title	Number of Words	Date of Publication
1	The 2014 Shell Annual Report	Chairman's Message, 6	962	11.03.2015
2	The 2014 Shell Annual Report	Chief Executive Officer's Review, 7–8	1213	11.03.2015
3	The 2014 Shell Annual Report	Environment and Society, 52–56	5119	11.03.2015
4	*The Economist*	Childish arguments: Greenpeace, Lego and Shell	562	17.10. 2014
5	*The FT*	Oil majors' R&D into conventional and renewable energy at risk	1263	25.09.2014
6	*The FT*	Monopoly is a bureaucrat's friend but a democrat's foe	922	12.08.2014

7	*The FT*	Scotland after the vote: investments	1316	12.09.2014
8	*The FT*	Raízen to spend $1bn on ethanol boost	481	28.12.2014
9	*The FT*	SNC-Lavalin agrees £1.16bn offer for Kentz	622	23.06.2014

5. Methods

The methodological framework employed in the study was based upon the guidelines proposed by Shehata and Hopmann (2012) in their research involving climate-change discourse. In accordance with Shehata and Hopmann (2012, 183), the climate-change frame was coded as present whenever a paragraph mentioned i) human activity as a cause of global warming; ii) emission reduction as a way of combating climate change; iii) natural variations as a cause of global warming; iv) climate science/knowledge regarding the extent or causes of global warming; v) the economic consequences of climate change-related activities and legislation in general economic terms or in terms of numbers.

In the present study, the corpus of online publications in Shell's 2014 AR, *The Economist*, and *The FT* was searched electronically for the keywords *climate change, Shell, Shell corporation, environment, The Kyoto Protocol*, *carbon capture, environmental pollution, fossil fuels corporation,* and then manually coded and analysed in accordance with the above-mentioned methodology developed by Shehata and Hopmann (2012).

6. Results and discussion

Data analysis yielded the results presented in Table 2. The table includes a number of frames associated with the climate-change discourse in Shell's 2014 AR and in the corpus of *The Economist* and *The FT*, respectively.

Table 2. The Framing of Climate-Change Discourse in the 2014 AR by Shell, and the Framing of Shell's Climate Change-Related Activities by *The Economist* and *The FT*

Frame	Shell	The Economist	The FT
Battle	yes	no	no
Care	yes	no	no
Immoral Corporation	no	yes	no
Money	yes	no	yes
Research and Development	yes	no	yes
Responsible Citizen	yes	no	no
Sinner	no	yes	no

The results of the data analysis indicate that, in 2014, *The Economist* and *The FT* employ different sets of frames in their discussion of Shell's climate change-related activities. Specifically, *The Economist* frames the activities using the frames 'Immoral Corporation' and 'Sinner', while *The FT* employs the frames 'Research and Development', and 'Money'. As evident from Table 2, Shell frames its climate-change discourse in 2014 using the following frames: 'Battle', 'Care', 'Research and Development', 'Money', and 'Responsible Citizen'.

6.1. The frames 'Immoral Corporation' and 'Sinner'

It should be mentioned that the computer search for the key words mentioned in the methods section yielded only one text by *The Economist* in the year of 2014 pertaining to Shell's climate-change activities. In that text, *The Economist* frames Shell as a multinational corporation with no feelings and no morals in the frame 'Immoral Corporation' (*The Economist* 2014):

> (1) If *Shell* comes to fear that drilling in artic waters will damage its brand and encourage other well-regarded companies to distance themselves from it, that may help dissuade it from further drilling. Worries about 'stigmatisation' belong in discussions of people with HIV, not in debates over corporations. *Oil majors do not have feelings and cannot be morally injured*. (*The Economist* 2014)

This framing is in contrast with Shell's framing with reference to responsibility and care, as identified in the 2014 AR by Shell (Shell 2015). Furthermore, *The Economist* frames Shell as a sinner, who plans to drill in the Arctic. However, the frame 'Sinner' in *The Economist* appears to involve all users of fossil fuels, as evident in Excerpt 2:

> (2) […] *we are all sinners*: In our driving, flying and phone-charging, in the buildings we work and in the homes we heat, we are all implicated in *the use of fossil fuel*. (*The Economist* 2014)

These findings support previous research (Bakir 2005; Doulton & Brown 2009; O'Neill 2013; Tsukas 1999), which indicates that the British press seems to frame Shell in terms of Biblical and moral themes. Arguably, the

framing of Shell via the frame 'Sinner' has religious implications, since *The Economist* simultaneously employs the concepts of morality and sin in the framing illustrated by Excerpt 2. In this regard, *The Economist* data are evocative of religious and biblical imagery of climate change reported in previous research by Bakir (2006) and Tsukas (1999).

6.2. The frames 'Research and Development' and 'Money'

In contrast to *The Economist* (2014), *The FT* frames Shell's climate change-related activities in 2014 using the frames 'Research and Development' and 'Money', respectively. It should be noted that these frames are embedded into a generally positive framing of Shell by *The FT*. Shell's positive, or at least neutral-positive, image is framed by *The FT* by referring to Shell as a household name; for example, "*Large companies* are all around us. We buy our mid-morning coffee from global brands such as Starbucks, use *petrol from* Exxon or *Shell* […]" (*The FT* 2014). Data analysis indicates that *The FT* frames Shell i) as a significant corporate actor, e.g. "*Large energy and industrial groups* such as *Shell* and BP […]" (*The FT* 2014); and ii) as a corporation popular with the investors, e.g. "Companies such as GlaxoSmithKline, *Royal Dutch Shell* and BP—whose shares are *popular with retail investors* […]" (*The FT* 2014).

Set against this positive background, the present data suggest that *The FT* frames Shell's climate-change discourse within the frame 'Research and Development'. *The FT* indicates that "*Shell* and Total are also the two *big oil companies* that have the greatest interests in renewable energy, including *biofuels* and *solar power*" (*The FT* 2014). *The FT* acknowledges Shell's interest in renewable energy and indicates that Shell invests in research and development (R&D) of new technologies, which mitigate the negative consequences of climate change. The framing of Shell's activities in 2014 via the frame 'Research and Development' is evident in Excerpt 3:

> (3) *R&D* spending gives a sense of where companies are placing their bets. *Shell* and Chevron cut their spending sharply during the downturn, and have since been reviving it. […] The *increased spending* appears to be showing results: Shell was granted 189 US patents last year, up from 127 in 2011… Shell's patents have more significance for the industry than its competitors. Gerald Schotman, *Shell*'s executive vice-president of *R&D*, says […] it [is] more important for the produc-

> tion companies *to develop their own technological strength* […]. (*The FT* 2014)

The frame 'Research and Development' has been identified in the 2014 AR by Shell; for example, "We are also *investing in research* to help *develop* and commercialise *advanced biofuels*" (Shell 2015, 54). Judging from the data, this frame is concurrent with another frame, 'Money', associated with the investments in new energy sources to limit carbon emissions; for example:

> (4) Shell plans to continue *to invest* in innovative technology, talented people and the development of *new energy sources* that will be vital to meet rising long-term demand, while *limiting carbon emissions*. (Shell 2015, 6)

Like Shell, *The FT* appears to frame Shell's climate change mitigation by the frame 'Money', as seen in (5):

> (5) Raizen, *Royal Dutch Shell's* joint venture in Brazil, plans *to spend close to 1bn* on 'second generation' ethanol plants over the next decade, in one of the boldest *investments* yet in biofuel production from sugar cane waste. […] For producers such as Raizen, the result of a 2010 tie-up between *Shell* and Brazil's Cosan, it also promises to boost productivity, and, potentially, *profits*. (*The FT* 2014)

Both (4) and (5) reveal that Shell and *The FT* embed the frame 'Money' into the narrative of the costs and investments that are associated with climate change. The results of the data analysis indicate that Shell frames its climate-change discourse in relation to profits, financial losses and additional expenses incurred from the negative consequences of climate change, e.g. "We already assess potential *costs associated with CO2 emissions* when evaluating projects. However, in future, governments may increasingly *impose a price* on CO2 emissions that relevant companies will have to incorporate in their *investment plans*" (Shell 2015, 52). By framing its climate-change discourse via 'Money', Shell emphasises that climate change may involve additional costs:

> (6) Rising *climate change concerns* could lead to additional regulatory measures that may result in project delays and *higher costs*. […] Over time, we expect that a growing share of our CO2 emissions will be subject to regulation and result in *increasing our costs*. (Shell 2015, 12)

Another aspect of the frame 'Money' is evident in Shell's narrative of itself as a social and moral corporation, a claim which mitigates the negative consequences of climate change by creating 'green' profit-generating technologies and production facilities. This facet of the frame 'Money' is evident in Shell's willingness to introduce environmentally friendly natural gas-based technologies, e.g. "Effective carbon-pricing systems are needed. They can drive a shift from coal- *to gas-fired power generation* […]" (Shell 2015, 8). This finding is evocative of the earlier contention that Shell's climate-change discourse involves sustainable development, which refers to "a complex notion that seeks to reconcile the goals of economic development and ecological wellbeing" (Livesey 2002, 315).

6.3. The frames 'Battle', 'Responsible Citizen', and 'Care'

Shell's framing of the climate-change discourse is associated with the concepts of battle, citizenship and care, which have not been identified in the 2014 data from *The Economist* and *The FT*. In the 2014 AR, the frame 'Battle' is foregrounded by placing it in the initial position of the report, in the section titled *Strategic Report. The Chairman's Message*. In this opening section, Shell presents itself as a responsible and climate change-aware corporation, which engages in climate-change mitigation:

> (7) All sectors of society must work together *to combat climate change* effectively […]. (Shell 2015, 6)

It should be observed that the frame 'Battle' feeds back into the frame 'Responsible Citizen' with its discursive space of corporate citizenship and corporate responsibility, e.g. "*All sectors of society* must *work together* […]" (Shell 2015, 6). These findings are in concert with Livesey (2002), who indicates that corporate citizenship is a typical feature of Shell's post-Brent Spar discourse related to the environment and climate change. In the 2014 AR, Shell frames its climate-change discourse via the frame 'Responsible Citizen':

> (8) Our success in business depends on our ability to *meet a range of environmental and social challenges*. We must show we can operate safely and manage the effect *our activities* can have on *neighbouring communities and society* as a whole. (Shell 2015, 52)

Shell's corporate responsibility is framed by foregrounding the concepts of society and community, as well as by the concept of inclusion, which is expressed in the recurring personal pronouns in the third person plural; for instance *our success*, *our ability*, *our activities*. These pronouns are micro-contextually related to the noun phrases *neighbouring communities* and *society as a whole* to frame Shell as an integral part of the community it operates in.

Arguably, the idea of corporate citizenship is concurrent with Shell's framing of its climate-change activities via the frame 'Care', where 'Care' is regarded as creating, helping, and sharing; e.g. "to *better share the benefits of our activities*, such as creating new jobs and *help develop local economies*" (Shell 2015, 56). The co-occurrence of the frames 'Care' and 'Responsible Citizen' is evident in the context of Shell's acknowledgement of the potential negative impacts associated with fossil fuels, as in the following quote:

> (9) *We* also work with communities, business partners, non-governmental organisations and other bodies to *address potential impacts* and *share the benefits* of our operations and projects. (Shell 2015, 52)

In (9), Shell addresses the issue of climate change concurrently with social and environmental topics (Shell 2015). Shell's self-image as a good climate-change-concerned citizen is facilitated and reinforced by the imagery of care, thus resulting in the framing of Shell as both a responsible and a caring citizen. Arguably, the frames of care and responsibility are employed in Shell's corporate discourse to frame Shell as a trustworthy, law-abiding citizen who is committed to sustainable development and is concerned about the issue of climate change.

The frame 'Care' is not novel in Shell's corporate discourse. Its presence has been discussed by Livesey (2002). Thus, the present data support previous research (Livesey 2001; Livesey 2002; Livesey & Kearins 2002), which argues that Shell presents a self-mage of a caring corpora-

tion in the matters of environmental sustainability, social responsibility and climate change. Shell's self-image as a caring corporation is part of the corporate strategy to maintain visibility and responsibility. Like other fossil-fuels corporations, Shell's corporate self-image is a significant factor in defining the company's identity.

Conclusions

This article presents a framing analysis of the climate-change discourse in the 2014 AR by Shell, which is juxtaposed with the framing of Shell's climate change-related activities in *The Economist* and *The FT*. The results of the framing analysis indicate that, in 2014, Shell frames its climate-change discourse via the frames 'Battle', 'Responsible Citizen', 'Care', 'Research and Development', and 'Money'. In contrast, *The Economist* frames Shell's climate-change activities in 2014 via the frames 'Immoral Corporation' and 'Sinner'. They evoke biblical and religious imagery and de-emphasise the concrete climate-change mitigating measures found in Shell's 2014 AR. On the other hand, this moral framing is absent in *The FT's* representations of Shell's climate-change activities in 2014. Specifically, *The FT* frames Shell's climate-change agenda employing the frames 'Research and Development' and 'Money'. Judging from these findings, it can be concluded that *The FT*'s framing of Shell's climate-change activities in 2014 partially coincide with the Shell's self-image with regard to the issue climate change. The present findings indicate that, while *The Economist* and *The FT* share a similar corporate readership, their framing of Shell's climate change-related activities in 2014 are qualitatively different.[1]

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PART II

Language and the Other:

Identity, Experience, History

Nostalgia and Hybrid Identity in Italian Migrant Literature: The Case of Igiaba Scego

Camilla Erichsen Skalle

1. In/Visible migrants and the humanistic disciplines

Today's challenging refugee and humanitarian crisis at the borders and shores of Europe, prompted by tragic developments in countries like Syria, Libya, and Afghanistan, has increased media attention to migration issues. Photos of overcrowded boats in bad conditions, of adults and children desperate to cross the Mediterranean, have become familiar to us; interviews with refugees fleeing from war, poverty, political or religious persecution, some of them to be granted asylum or residence permits, some destined to live in limbo waiting for a forced return to most uncertain conditions, touch us on a regular basis.

Moving and tragic impressions like the ones described above, figure side by side with what the mass media often seem to label a *wave*, *masses*, or an *invasion*, labels which, according to the art and media theorist Pamela Scorzin (2010), make the migrants both *visible* and *invisible* at the same time:

> One the one side they [the migrants] are made highly visible in the sense and form of actually being stamped and stereotyped, as strange and exotic foreigners, into a certain widespread and long-standing cliché, such as the well-known waves and floods of poor, hungry, strange and unskilled dangerous aliens; and on the other side, they are virtually made invisible as individuals and human beings, each with their own dreams and wishes, their hopes and desires. (Scorzin 2010, 102)

Remaining Relevant: Modern Language Studies Today

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While the mass media document the arrival of migrants, interview politicians and policy-makers, and warn their audience of the human tragedy on display as well as the possible danger the so-called *wave* of migrants might represent, the humanistic disciplines have a different, but crucial role in the interpretation and analysis of the societal phenomena of migration: by examining the aesthetic and cultural expressions which present and discuss the migrant's position, the Humanities have the ability to shift attention away from the apparently anonymous masses and the raw number of migrants onto the individual expressions of the migrant experience. Thus, by performing linguistic, historical, literary, symbolic, and cultural analysis of cultural and aesthetic expressions, the Humanities contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the world today, thereby reaffirming the disciplines' relevance and importance. By looking beyond the statistics, and by drawing attention to the (deeply) personal experience of migration, the Humanities, then, offer an important additional and broader understanding of the issues connected to the current migration situation and the migrant's position, a position which is often described as being between *here* and *there*, *home* and *away*, and *hybridity*.

The arts, in contrast to the political discourse, as stated by Mieke Bal and Miguel A. Hernandes-Navarro, "open up the possible visibility of situations, issues, events and people and leave its viewers or readers to enact that visibility; to answer that call by seeing" (2011, 14). Federica Mazzara, in an analysis of spaces of visibility for migrants, more specifically spaces of visibility for migrants arriving on the island of Lampedusa, shows that there is little room for the individual migrant in what she calls the *border spectacle*, borrowing the term from the anthropologist Nicholas De Genova (2002). In her essay, Mazzara seeks to challenge and change the media-created representations of migrants by presenting, and thus giving space to, stories of migrants who have succeeded in becoming *subjects of power* by gaining visibility through aesthetic and cultural practices. In order to reorganize what she calls the "realm of the visible" (Mazzara 2015, 460), Mazzara affirms the need to change "the position and the roles of observers and observees, in order to gain different perspectives" (2015, 460). One way to accomplish this, according to Mazzara, is through the arts:

> The aesthetics has a reinvigorating potential of disrupting and challenging any representational system that aims at reducing migrant subjectivities to mere bodies without words and yet threatening in their presence as a mass, a multitude, a haemorrhagic stream of anonymous and unfamiliar others. (Mazzara 2015, 460)

The island of Lampedusa, Mazzara states, becomes a space of both *visibility* and *invisibility*. The spaces of visibility are those where the migrants and those who support them succeed in humanizing and individualizing "the real actors of the Mediterranean passage: individuals with name, features, and stories," whereas the spaces of invisibility are those in which "the migrants are (de-)identified as mere bodies, masses, numbers" (Mazzara 2015, 452). The spaces of visibility, in Mazzara's opinion, are represented by different kinds of art practices "where migrants find their own subjective way of expressing their traumatic experience, becoming the political actors of their own counter-discourse" (Mazzara 2015, 453), thereby giving the migrants the opportunity to problematize or perhaps even change stereotypical and/or mass-media mediated images. Migrant aesthetics and cultural practices can thus become a counter-act to what Mazzara defines as the dehumanization of migrant bodies, that is performed by both legal and political discourse, which is then "reinforced in their public representations, where these mass-mediated bodies become monetarily perceptible, yet only as a mass" (Mazzara 2015, 458). Mazzara's representation of the legal and political discourses as unequivocally dehumanizing may be too clear-cut, but her claim that the role gap between the observers and the observees needs to change is nonetheless valid. Novels, films, ready-mades, graphic novels, performances, and so on, which thematize the migrant condition and situation, can, in my opinion, bring forth a complementary and critical response to the mass-mediated images and to the political discourses about migration which surround us every day. The aesthetic and cultural sphere, therefore, can represent *resistance* to dominant discourse and by resisting dominant discourse it holds potential for *radical* change. The aesthetic and cultural expressions may be capable of changing the representational system by giving voice to the individual migrant's experience and history, and the humanistic disciplines play, as previously stated, a crucial role in the un-

derstanding of these expressions due to their focus on such objects and their distinctive methodologies.

2. *Nostalgia and hybrid identity in Italian migrant literature: the case of Igiaba Scego*

Italy is one of the European countries most affected by the contemporary migrant crisis, but the newly arrived migrants are far from the only migrant presence in Italy. Historically, Italy has been a country of mass-emigration, and did not become a country of immigration until the 1990s when Albania fell apart and thousands of Albanians tried to reach the Italian South-Eastern coast. Even though Italian society has become fully multicultural in recent decades, it is still considered quite homogenous, which consequently accentuates the difference between the Italian *us* and the migrant *them*. By taking on Mazzara's challenge and expanding the realm of the visible, this paper seeks to participate in the reorganization of the migrant representational system previously outlined. The texts analysed in this article, do not directly thematize the ongoing humanitarian crisis, nor are they written by an author who herself has migrated to Italy. Nevertheless, as I set out to demonstrate in this article, they highlight the potential for creating a counter-discourse such as migrant art practices might be said to have.

In this paper, I will, more specifically, discuss the concepts of nostalgia and cultural identity in Italian migrant literature.[1] Nostalgia, from the Greek *nóstos* (return home) and *álgia* (pain), was originally a seventeenth century medical diagnosis for those suffering from severe homesickness, and the concept is often used by scholars of migrant and post-colonial literary theory. But what is home in contemporary migrant literature? How can one long for a home that one can no longer remember, or that one has perhaps never even lived in? How does nostalgia influence the migrant's local, national, and cultural identity? One of the authors who examine questions like these is the Italian-Somali writer Igiaba Scego, a second-generation migrant living in Rome. Scego was born in Rome in 1974 to Somali parents who were forced to flee from Somalia after the Siad Barre

1 In the following I use a definition of migrant literature based on content: it is not mandatory that the author of migrant literature has herself experienced migration. Migrant literary texts are rather those which represent and debate the migration situation and issues associated with it.

coup in 1969. Scego, who holds a PhD in pedagogy and collaborates with major Italian newspapers and literary magazines that take up migrant topics, is one of the most prominent voices in the Italian public debate on issues such as second and third generation migrant's situation, racism, and cultural identity. My analysis of nostalgia and cultural identity in Italian migrant literature will be based on readings of two of Scego's short stories, "Dismatria" ("Exmatriate") and "Salsicce" ("Sausages"), both published in the short story collection *Pecore nere*[2] *(Black Sheep)* from 2005, as well as her autofictional novel *La mia casa è dove sono* (*My Home Is Where I Am*), published in 2010.

3. Hybrid identity

Scego draws greatly on her own experience as a second-generation migrant in all of her literary works; her protagonists are often of Somali background, possibly experiencing the same challenges and dilemmas that the author herself has encountered. These protagonists contest homogenizing conceptions of identity and belonging, and represent instead, to quote Carine M. Mardorossian's description of migrant art, a "cosmopolitan, transnational, and hybrid vision of life" (Mardorossian 2002, 17). Thus, her protagonists destabilize and challenge any antithetical conception of the relationship between *here* and *there*, between the culture of origin and the one of destination. Scego's texts, therefore, seem to put on display and thematize Homi Bhabha's claims about hybrid identity in *The Location of Culture* (Bhabha 1994 [2004]). The concept of hybrid identity, which is one of the most recurrent theoretical concepts in post-colonial theory, is a critique of essentialist ideas of notions such as *culture*, *nation*, and *identity*. The term, which is borrowed from horticulture, refers to a mixing of cultural characteristics, narratives, identities, languages, and so on, and hybridity, in Bhabha's understanding, becomes a sort of counter-narrative which deconstructs the dominant discourse and culture.

As previously stated, Scego's texts seem to present literary characters of hybrid identity, and in the following I will discuss more closely how her protagonists destabilize and enrich the concept of cultural identity

2 Both "Salsicce" and "Dismatria" are published in the short story collection *Black Sheep* which also include short stories by three other migrant female authors writing in Italian (Ingy Mubiayi, Laila Wadia, and Gabriella Kuruvilla).

by emphasizing hybrid identity and the sense of belonging. The following quotation is taken from the conclusion of *My Home Is Where I Am*. The autofictional novel narrates the history of Igiaba's family, a family dispersed all over the world, and the account starts with Igiaba meeting her brother and cousin who live in Manchester. In order to remember the Mogadishu of their childhood, they try to draw a map of the city as they remember it. The map drawing and all the stories about family members, put Igiaba's identity to a test:

> What does it mean to me to be Italian… […]
> I had no answer. I had a hundred.
> I am Italian, but also not. I am Somali, but also not.
> A crossroad. A junction.
> A mess. A headache.
> I was a trapped animal.
> A being condemned to eternal anguish.
> Being Italian to me means… (Scego 2010 [2012], 159)[3]

The narrator cannot find a simple answer to the question, and the identity questioning makes her suffer like a trapped animal or like someone lost at a crossroad not knowing which direction to take. When she tries to put into words what it means to her to be Italian, she cites the short story "The Cardinal's First Tale" (1957) by Karen Blixen:

> I remember that a lady asked the Cardinal: "who are you?". The Cardinal replied: "Allow me to answer you in the classic manner, and to tell you a story." […] It was better to do as the Cardinal: try to tell the story up until then […] Here I have tried to tell the shreds of my story. Of my paths. Shreds because the memory is selective. Shreds because the memory is like a shattered mirror. We cannot (nor should we) glue together again the pieces. We shouldn't try to make a beautiful copy of it, sort the pieces, clean them of every imperfection. Memory is like a doodle. (Scego 2010 [2012], 159–60)

In order to say something about her identity, the protagonist needs to tell the bits and pieces of her life story, emphasizing the connection between

3 All translations from the Italian are my own, if not otherwise indicated.

identity and a shredded memory that is neither linear nor unequivocal. The map drawing that the family performs together becomes a graphic interpretation of the personal memories they have of the lost Mogadishu of their childhood. When Igiaba, at a later stage in the novel, recovers the map in her apartment in Rome, she realizes that it is not yet complete; the signs and indications of her Roman memories of places and events are missing. She then starts to make a palimpsest of memories on the sketched map by attaching sticky notes with memories of Rome to the map of Mogadishu, concluding the novel with the image of the two-folded map: "[…] my map is a mirror of these years of change. It is not a coherent map. It is the center, but also the periphery. It is Rome, but it is also Mogadishu. It is Igiaba, but it is also you" (Scego 2010, 161). The map becomes a representation of the protagonist's identity made up of memories of places and events. On the one hand, this is what characterizes the migrant's identity, while on the other, as Igiaba states in her concluding remarks, this is what characterizes the human condition: The map is a representation of Igiaba, but also a representation of us.

The notion of identity is also questioned in the short story "Sausages" (Scego 2005b) in which the protagonist, a young Italian-Somali woman, is having an identity crisis following the introduction of the Bossi-Fini law in 2002. This law harshly tightened the Italian migration legislation and was criticized both by the UN and by other Italian politicians. As the protagonist asks herself whether her Italian passport is evidence enough of her Italianness, she recalls her interview for Italian citizenship in which she was asked if she felt more Italian or more Somali?

> that vile question of my damned identity! More Somali? More Italian? […] I don't know what to answer! I have never "fractioned" myself before […] Naturally, I lied. I don't like doing it, but I had no choice. I looked right into those bulging eyes of her and said: "Italian." And then, even if I'm as black as coal, I turned red as a beet. I would have felt like an idiot even if I had said "Somali." I am not a 100% anything. I never have been, and I don't think I can be now. I think I am a woman with no identity. Better yet, a woman with several identities. (Scego 2005b, 28)

The young woman is unable to make a clean-cut choice between an Italian and a Somalian identity, stressing instead the fact that she has multiple identities. To explain this to herself, she sums up 13 things which make her feel Somali:

> Let's see: I feel Somali when 1) I drink tea with cardamom, cloves and cinnamon; 2) I pray five times a day facing Mecca; 3) I wear my *dirah*; 4) I burn incense and *unsi* in my house; 5) I go to weddings where men sit on one side and get bored, while on the opposite side, women dance, have fun, eat...in short, enjoy life; […] 8) relatives come to visit, from Canada, the United States, Great Britain, Holland, Sweden, Germany, the Arab Emirates, and from a long list of places that for reasons of space I cannot list here—all relatives uprooted, like us, from our country of origin; 9) I speak Somali and add my two cents worth in loud, shrill tones whenever there's an animated conversation; 10) I look at my nose in the mirror and I think it's perfect; 11) I suffer the pangs of love; 12) I cry for my country ravaged by civil war; 13) Plus 100 other things I just can't remember right now! (Scego 2005b, 29)

When she has finished the list of things which make her feel Somali, she does the same for the things which make her feel Italian:

> I feel Italian when: 1) I eat something sweet for breakfast; 2) I go to art exhibitions, museums and historic buildings; 3) I talk about sex, men and depression with my girlfriends; 4) I watch movies with the following actors: Alberto Sordi, Nino Manfredi, Vittorio Gassman, Marcello Mastroianni, […] Roberto Benigni and Massimo Troisi; 5) I eat a 1.80 euro ice cream: chocolate chip, pistachio, coconut without whipped cream; 6) I know all the words of Alessandro Manzoni's poem, Il cinque maggio, like any other Italian; […] 8) I choke up when I look into the eyes of the man I love, hear him talk in his cheerful southern accent and know there is no future for us; 9) I rant and rave for the most disparate reasons against the prime minister, the mayor, the alderman or whomever happens to be the president; 10) I talk with my hands; 11) I weep for the partisans, all too often forgotten; […] 13) plus 100 other things I can't keep track of! (Scego 2005b, 29–30)

The two lists identify things which make the young woman feel simultaneously Italian and Somali, replacing any understanding of identity as *either or*, and underscoring instead the fact that the two (or even more) identities co-exist without favouring either of them. In this way, both the short story's and the autofictional novel's protagonists destabilize the idea of a fixed and uniform identity, and both stress instead the fact that identities are a result of different cultures, places and stories.

4. Nostalgia and the concept of home

Nostalgia, as previously mentioned, was originally a seventeenth century medical diagnosis for those suffering from severe homesickness, and the concept has been adopted by several scholars of migrant literature. But what is home in contemporary migrant literature? How can one long for a home that one may never have lived in? In the following, I will discuss these questions based on how nostalgia, homesickness, is depicted in the literary texts by Scego presented in this paper.

In the previous section, we have seen that Scego's protagonists cannot choose between cultural identities; rather they combine the many expressions they identify with, while cherishing different elements in them. But what emerges when the protagonists reflect upon concepts such as here and there, home and away?

4.1. Home and migration

In both *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration* (Ahmed et. al 2003) and "Home and Away: Narratives of Migration and Estrangement" (Ahmed 1999), Sarah Ahmed discusses the relationship between migration and identity by problematizing the concepts of *home* and *away*. [4] "What does it mean to be-at-home" (Ahmed 1999, 338), Ahmed asks herself, introducing her discussion of the concept of *home*. In order to examine the relationship between migration and identity, she urges her readers to reflect upon the differences between being at home and being away without considering home as a "purified space of belong-

4 Ahmed also warns the reader about the danger of turning the migrant experience into a metaphor of "transgressive and liberating departure from living-as-usual in which identity (the subject as and at home) is rendered impossible" (1999, 332). To think of the migrant experience as a metaphor of an ontological condition would, in Ahmed's opinion, water down the significance of the migration which literally takes place.

ing" (1999, 339), or "identifying home with the stasis of being" (1999, 340) as some of the theories which she criticizes seem to do.[5] In the introduction to the more recent *Uprootings/Regroundings,* she stresses that "Rather than thinking of home and migration as constituted through processes that neatly map onto 'migrating' and 'homing', uprootings/regroundings makes it possible to consider home and migration in terms of plurality of experiences, histories and constituencies" (Ahmed et. al 2003, 1–2).

In the words of the sociologist Avtar Brah, home is "the lived experiences of locality, its sound and smells" (Brah, 1996, cited in Ahmed 1999, 341), and Ahmed takes up Brah's definition when she discusses how space and place penetrate our senses:

> The immersion of a self in a locality is hence not simply about inhabiting an already constituted space (from which one can simply depart and remain the same). Rather, the locality intrudes into the senses: it defines what one smells, hears, touches, feels, remembers. The lived experience of being-at-home hence involves the enveloping of subjects in a space which is not simply outside them: being-at-home suggests that the subject and space leak into each other, *inhabit each other.* (Ahmed 1999, 341)

Thus, home is seen as being *inhabited by space*, and Ahmed compares home to a second skin which lets us both touch and be touched by the world which surrounds us. She further states that the conception of home as a second skin "suggests [that] the boundary between self and home is permeable," as wells as "the boundary between home and away" (Ahmed 1999, 341). Conceiving of the concept and the feeling of home as a second skin allows Ahmed to consider migration not only as a dislocation in space, but also in time: "'the past' becomes associated with a home that it is impossible to inhabit, and be inhabited by, in the present. The question then of being at home or leaving home is always a question of memory, of the discontinuity between past and present" (Ahmed 1999, 343).

5 Like, according to Ahmed, Ian Chambers and Rosi Braidotti.

4.2. Home as a second skin in Scego

Many of Scego's protagonists illustrate what Ahmed says about the physical aspect of being-at-home, and in the following we will consider some examples of this.

In the short story "Dismatria," a young Italian-Somali woman is invited to a traditional Sunday brunch with her family, but she meets them with a heavy heart because she is hiding a secret desire from them: She is tired of the temporary way of life her family lives. She wants to buy a flat, but is terrified to tell her mother, who is a more nostalgic migrant, living with all of her dearest belongings in a suitcase while awaiting their return to Mogadishu. The mother is afraid of breaking the bonds to Somalia, bonds symbolized in small, and seemingly strange, objects such as magazines, old paintbrushes, ragdolls, and unused floppy discs, which she keeps with her in a collection of suitcases.[6] In contrast, the protagonist is painfully aware of the fact that today's Somalia is not what they used to know; it is a country torn apart by civil war, and impossible to return to. She thinks of the separation from Somalia as a state of being orphaned:

> We are *dismatriates*, someone had cut the umbilical cord that tied us to our motherland, to Somalia. And what does an orphan usually do? She dreams. And so did we […] Somalia, that dreamed, cherished, and desired land, survived only in our daydreams, in the women's nightly chatter, in the smell of our food, in the exotic scents of our hair. (Scego 2005a, 11)

While in "Dismatria," Somalia, the motherland, only survives in their memories and dreams, in *My home is where I am,* the streets of Mogadishu survive in the form of the sketched map:

> I am a crossroad, I guess. A bridge, a tightrope walker, someone that is always in balance and never is. At the end, I am only my story. It is me and my feet. Yes, my feet... […]

6 It is worth noticing, though, as it turns out at the end of the short story, that the protagonist's mother also keeps a few things, like a packet of spaghetti, a toy parmesan made of plastic, some dirt in a small plastic bag, in her suitcases, things which will remind her of her time in Rome when she can, eventually, return home to Somalia.

> I am not born in those streets. I did not grow up there. They didn't give me my first kiss. They haven't disappointed me deeply. Yet, those streets felt like mine. I had walked them myself and I reclaimed them. I reclaimed the streets, the statues, the few streetlights […] I reclaimed that map with force […]. She was mine, that lost Mogadishu. She was mine, mine, mine. (Scego 2010 [2012], 34–36)

The scents, the flavors, the sounds, and the streets are important attributes in the identity making of Scego's protagonists, connecting identity not only to feelings, but also to a physical experience of space and place.

The title of Scego's autobiographical novel, *La mia casa è dove sono* (*My Home Is Where I Am*), may be read as a paraphrase of the expression "home is where the heart is ("la casa è dove si trova il cuore"), and this slight shift in meaning may exemplify Ahmed's claim regarding the notion of home being something internalized or like a second skin. The feeling of *home* is created in a physical relationship with the place you live in: the smells, colours, streets and such. While Ahmed warns of the danger of fetishizing the concept of home, as may be the case for some of the characters in Scego's writing, especially those of the first generation, the author's protagonists seem to be conscious of the physical aspect of being-at-home. While the mother in the short story "Dismatria" for years has painfully been longing for a forever lost Somalia, never letting herself fully take part of the Italian reality out of fear of losing her motherland forever, her daughter represents a different solution to the dilemma of mixed identity: by combining her two heritages and not giving precedence to one of them, she is able to feel at home in the streets she recognizes as her own. It is not nostalgia which determines her sense of home and away, belonging and estrangement, so much as it is the physical presence of the body.

5. Conclusion

By focusing on the individual experience of cultural identity, Scego gives voice to the migrants whom the mass media call the *masses*, the *wave* and so on. She represents a transethnic and transnational voice in Italian literature, and shows that identity is not something static, but rather something that changes from context to context, from day to day, and something that doesn't exclude other expressions or feelings of belonging. The

answer to the question "who am I?" in her texts, is revealed through a story of the bits and pieces of memories of places and sensations. The migrant subjects of Scego's literary work, the *dismatriates* as she calls them, are not like the mythological hero Ulysses who, after decades of traveling, finally comes home to his patient wife Penelope and his kingdom Ithaca. Their return is instead performed through memories, dreams, scents, and traditions. The fact that Scego's protagonists will never be able to return to Somalia does not mean that they do not feel Somali anymore; and their longing for a lost Mogadishu does not mean that they reject their Italian identity. The two identities can co-exist in the same person, dialoguing and promoting cultural understanding. Thus, Scego's texts emphasize that it is essential to allow apparently different identities to play together in order for the subject to acquire a sense of a coherent self. Through something similar to Bhabha's *third space*, her protagonists achieve a deeper and clearer self-knowledge.

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"We are ourselves *fremdsprachig*": Foreign Literature Studies in the Twenty-First Century

Randi Koppen

Let me begin with a remark on the title of the volume for which this article is written. "Remaining Relevant," it would seem, begs the question of relevance, containing the proposition that foreign language studies and the research carried out within its various disciplines have at some time been considered "relevant" in one or more senses of that word. And yet the word "remaining" introduces a degree of doubt, as if change—changing times, changing conditions—were afoot, about to put that relevance under pressure, or perhaps even under threat of erasure.

It is not that it is difficult to make a case for the relevance of foreign language *studies*—in terms of practical skills, competence, intercultural communication, and the like. Nor would one be hard put to explain that the various disciplines—linguistics, literature, cultural or area studies—are all useful to that end. Questions start to arise when it comes to the kinds of *research* carried out in the various disciplines: what, for instance, is the relevance of research—conducted in a medium-sized Norwegian university—in areas such as French linguistics, Russian literature, Latin-American history and culture?

With the changes in research policies and funding that have taken place in recent years, questions like the above have become at once increasingly complex and urgent, since research in the humanities, as elsewhere, is expected to address global challenges and present solutions for the future, with "relevance" measured not only in terms of dissemination and outreach, but also in *impact*. In what follows, I want to consider the issue of relevance with reference to my own discipline, that of foreign language literary studies. How can research in this area help us think

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about, if not solve, the deeply intricate questions we are asked to tackle: the challenges of creating "inclusive, innovative and reflective societies," "engaging together globally," improving "mutual understanding" and "cultural literacy"?[1]

It may be argued that literary research in general has at least the potential to help us address such challenges, given that we think of literature as composed of texts that are intentionally wrought and imagined; representations that combine the powers of *Vorstellung* with those of *Darstellung*, using the textual space as a testing ground for alternative ways of modelling past and future worlds and narratives. What I want to make a case for in this article, however, is the particular heuristic, cognitive and ethical potential implicit in reading literature in a language that is not one's own. While foreign-language literary research spans a variety of methodologies and practices, the position of the foreigner, of being a stranger in another language, as well as in the place in which that language is grounded, brings with it a stance and a methodology that not only unites the field across languages, but also, I argue, translates into other disciplines and areas of enquiry as a comparative approach; a form of relational thinking that is especially important in a world that is becoming increasingly integrated and yet fractious.

As a way of exploring what such a stance might entail, I want to consider the case of a novel, Leonard Woolf's *The Village in the Jungle* (1913), written more than a century ago by one of the servants of the British Empire, which provides an early example of how thinking-through-fiction and thinking-through-another-language may have significant political and ethical repercussions. Before I turn to a discussion of the novel, however, it is pertinent to probe more deeply into the question of relevance in literary studies in general, to consider how questions of the type we are now being asked to address—of equality, fairness, mutual understanding, and cultural literacy—have impinged on, and actively shaped, the objectives and methods of literary studies, whether of national or "world" literatures, in the past.

1 See for instance the European Commission "Horizon 2020 Work Programme for 2016–2017: Europe in a Changing World—Inclusive, Innovative and Reflective Societies." (European Commission 2015).

1. Literary studies and geopolitical contexts: evolving definitions, paradigms and methods

In a European historical perspective, the case for the relevance of literary studies has been made with varying urgency and arguments over the years, depending on which understanding of relevance (and literature) is dominant at any particular time. Roughly speaking, relevance has been presented variously in social, moral and/or ethical terms: as promoting sensibility and sympathy in the nineteenth century; cultural integration and citizenship for large periods of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and critical literacy and understanding of otherness from the late twentieth century. Literary studies, in other words, have never taken place in a vacuum. In some senses, they have always been conducted in response to historical and socio-economic developments, with such developments impacting on practices of reading and interpretation, theories and research methodologies, as well as, most fundamentally, on different historical constitutions and reconstitutions of the discipline itself.

As an example of the latter in relatively recent history, it is instructive to consider the establishment of comparative literature as a discipline in American and European universities in the 1950s as a reaction to the climate of the cold war and growing nationalism. As pointed out by Susan Bassnett (1993) and others, the shift towards an increasingly formalist model of comparative literature after the Second World War was a consequence of a century with two major wars that had arisen from nationalist and territorial conflicts (Bassnett 1993, 36). In the Cold War era of imperialist nationalism, comparative literature, "the study of literature independent of linguistic, ethnic, and political boundaries," in the words of René Wellek, came with "a sense of transcendence of the narrowly nationalistic," which entailed an idealistic transnational approach and an idea of an inclusive world literature (Chow 2004, 294). Comparison, in this newly constituted discipline, rested on notions of parity, of peer-like equality and mutuality among those being compared: "communication, comingling, sharing were key words in this view of comparative literature, which depoliticized writing and aspired towards universal concord" (Bassnett in Chow 2004, 290).

In recent years, and increasingly from the 1990s onwards, the impact of a renewed understanding of globalisation across the sciences, as well as in society in general, has had consequences for comparison as a

method in literary studies, and for the discipline called "comparative literature" in particular. As in other subjects and areas of research, such as history and anthropology, comparison as an approach in literary studies has been challenged, discredited and disavowed in favour of more spatial modes of analysis based on interrelations, networks, entanglements and modes of circulation. Comparison, it is often said, develops within a history of hierarchical relations and a perspective that remains Eurocentric despite its transnational ideal, distorts the specificities of the objects being compared, and fails to consider what Susan Bassnett calls "the political implications of intercultural transfer processes" (2006, 6). In literary studies, this late twentieth-century critique of comparative methods can be exemplified by two well-known books: Susan Bassnett's *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction* from 1993, where she argues that the subject is "in its death throes," followed by Gayatri Spivak's radical pronunciation of the *Death of a Discipline* ten years later (2003).

Bassnett's call was for the emerging field of translation studies to take centre stage as the principle discipline, with comparative literature as "a valued but subsidiary subject area" (2006, 6). The argument was that translation studies were grounded in a sensitivity to cultural specificities and transfer processes that comparative methods did not permit. Spivak took a different approach, arguing that the way forward would be for comparative literature to reposition itself in what she called a "planetary," as opposed to global, context. Where globalisation imposes the same (capitalist) values and systems of exchange everywhere, planetarity, in Spivak's conception, could be imagined from outside the global exchange flows determined by international business. Rather than abandon comparison as a method, she calls for a comparativism of true parity that acknowledges the irreducibility of idiom, among other things (Spivak 2003). More specifically, Spivak proposes to combine area studies, with their expert knowledge of foreign cultures, with the attention to form and language that defines comparative literature, thereby allowing the difference and heterogeneity of a culturally foreign text to come into play. From Derrida, she borrows the concept "teleopoiesis" (literally "distant imaginative making") to designate a utopian practice of reading that crosses borders into foreign territory rather than accommodating the other in our own conceptual framework, reminding us that "we are ourselves *Fremdsprächig* [sic], 'foreign speakers'" (Spivak in Sorensen

2010, 22). For Spivak, then, teleopoiesis—preserving cultural-conceptual differences by way of imaginative work (whether of reading or writing)—constitutes the utopian possibility of overcoming the danger of eradicating nuances and specificities of otherness in the global market (Sorensen 2010).

Comparative methodologies and their relation to changing historical and geopolitical contexts continue to be a subject of debate in twenty-first century literary studies, as some recent issues of international literary journals suggest. Chow's reflections on "The Old/New Question of Comparison in Literary Studies" (2004), Bassnett's "Comparative Literature in the Twenty-First Century" (2006) and the *New Literary History* 2009 Special Issue on comparison, all testify to the continued relevance of this concern, along with the question of how to rethink structures of comparison in order to do justice to past and current postcolonial and global contexts. The call to rethink comparison comes with an awareness, as Rita Felski and Susan Stanford Friedman put it, that "the renunciation of comparison [is] neither possible nor desirable," firstly, because it is an indispensable form of human cognition that is built into the "deep structures" of language and forms the basis for figures of speech such as metaphor, simile, and analogy. Secondly, as cultures are brought "into ever greater proximity through the dissemination of new media and escalating patterns of migration […] acts of comparing seem ubiquitous and inescapable." Lastly, comparison is associated with an ethical potential: rather than automatically reinforcing hierarchical standards of measure, it can serve to decentre and unsettle them, to register inequality and injustice (Felski & Friedman 2009, v).

Why write at length about the theoretical debates surrounding comparative methodologies in a discussion of foreign-language literary studies, one may ask. The answer, I suggest, lies in the points made by Felski and Friedman above, concerning the ubiquity, as well as the particular actuality, of forms of comparison in the current geopolitical context. In foreign-language literary studies, comparison does not define the discipline, nor has it been given particular prominence or subjected to much debate as a methodology—and yet comparison is implicit in what we do, informing our position as well as our approach as scholars and students. The study of literature in a foreign language as it is practiced within the foreign-language disciplines, sets out to realise precisely the forms

of relational thinking Bassnett and Spivak have called for. For Spivak, the question "Who are we?" is fundamental to redoing Comparative Literature (Spivak 2003, 22). The answer, for the scholar and student of foreign-language literature, would be that we are *fremdsprachig*, foreign speakers, a definition and placement that is, in itself, "a shock to the idea of belonging." Occupying this position, learning to inhabit the cultural idiom of another place, and to see the other precisely as "placed, native," is to become aware, as Spivak points out, of the role of the interpreter, "of inter-diction, speaking between the two sides" (22, 38, 39). When the placement of the foreign speaker is refracted further through fiction as teleopoiesis, it becomes a place from which to not only interpret and translate, but also, significantly, to imagine.

How to understand the foreigner, the alien and outsider in our time, is both a political and an ethical question. In her book *Etrangers à nous-mêmes* (1988), translated as *Strangers to Ourselves* (1991), Julia Kristeva concerns herself with the notion of the "stranger"; of what it entails to be positioned between languages and places. She advocates an ethic of cosmopolitanism and a recognition of the foreigner that is deeply indebted to Freud's discussion of *das Unheimliche*: "[Freud] teaches us how to detect foreignness in ourselves. That is perhaps the only way not to hound it outside of us […] If I am a foreigner, there are no foreigners" (191–92). Spivak, too, acknowledges her debt to Freud: "I cannot forget that Freud urges us to investigate the uncanny because we are ourselves *Fremdsprächig* [sic], 'foreign speakers'" (22).

My argument in this article is not framed in psychoanalytic terms. My objective is simply to make a case for the connection between foreign-language competence and a set of (conscious and unconscious) operations that are set in motion by the linguistic encounter—interpretation, translation, comparison, analogy, etc.—which may have wider (meta-) cognitive and ethical implications. Of course, it would be absurd to claim that mastering a foreign language somehow comes with an ethical stance. As history has shown over and over again, linguistic proficiency may well be used to control and oppress, and even the most liberal and well-intentioned approach to intercultural literacy may be riddled by mistranslation, miscommunication and misperception. Nonetheless, I want to argue, occupying the position of the stranger in another language, seeing one's own language as foreign, letting oneself "be imagined […] without

guarantees, by and in another culture" (Spivak 52), may allow for a rethinking of singularities as well as collectivities. What interests me here then, is the relational thinking that occurs when one immerses oneself in another language and when literary texts serve, through teleopoiesis, as agents of comparison. The question I address is how this can help us think about the challenges that define the current European horizon: how to create "inclusive" and "reflective" societies that are able to engage productively with global flows of people, ideas, languages and cultures. To investigate this, I turn back in time to a moment in the history of globalisation that anticipates and may serve to illuminate current discussions. Leonard Woolf's novel *The Village in the Jungle* is a textbook example of a work of fiction that enables its author, as well as its readers, to think relationally in a manner that promotes understanding, solidarity and justice. Written by a servant of the empire from a position that attempts to be *fremdsprachig*, the novel facilitates the analysis and act of imagination that constituted Woolf as an anti-imperialist thinker and that he drew on in later political and historical works. The analogical thinking involved in writing the novel also gave rise to a transnational understanding of entangled, mutually constituted histories, and of how patterns of transfer, interpretation and translation may serve to illuminate one cultural experience by means of another.

2. A Foreigner in Ceylon: thinking through language

Today, Leonard Woolf is often thought of in connection with his wife Virginia Woolf and with "Bloomsbury," the liberal artistic and intellectual elite that was key to the construction and dissemination of modernism in Britain. My interest here, however, is in Leonard Woolf the writer and political activist, who argued against the empire as an economic and moral-political construct in major works such as *Empire and Commerce in Africa* (1920), *Economic Imperialism* (1920), and *Imperialism and Civilization* (1928), and who, by the 1920s had become established as the Labour movement's leading anti-imperialist thinker, working for the Labour Party's Advisory Committee on International and Imperial Questions. This is also the Leonard Woolf whose analysis of global inequality and theory of international cooperation and arbitration played a central role in the development of the League of Nations (Boehmer 2015, 182–83), and who thought of his years as colonial administrator in

Ceylon (1904–11) as laying the foundation for Leonard Woolf the anti-imperialist and left wing thinker on international relations.

Significantly, as Woolf himself observed in his autobiography, the process of writing the novel was key to translating the essentially fraught experience of colonial service into an analytic political and ethical stance. *Growing* (1961), the volume of his autobiography that deals with his time in Ceylon, describes the time as deeply traumatic and himself as increasingly ambivalent and "politically schizophrenic" (Woolf 1961, 25), an impression that is borne out by the texts he produced during his time in the colony. The Official Diary details the routine business of a dedicated and extremely capable colonial officer, while the private letters give vent to self-loathing and despair through satire of colonial life. Ethnographic vignettes show a mind split between sympathy with the indigenous population and abject disgust; "either gods or animals" (Woolf 1992, 69), the Sinhalese and Tamil people appear in a series of perplexing incidents and tableaux with Woolf himself staged alternatively as observer and agent, witness and perpetrator, in the endless series of degradations that is colonial life. "Some of the inhabitants of this place are scarcely human," he writes in a letter to his friend Saxon Sydney-Turner in October 1908, describing "wild savages from the hills, spectacles incredible to anyone who has not seen them" (Woolf 1992, 140–41). This, as Douglas Kerr phrases it, is "the orient as the spectacle of abjection," placing the "I" of the letters in the position of the spectator in a thwarted narrative of impotence, insufficiency, and disgust (1998, 263–64).

Begun in 1911, *The Village in the Jungle* is a fiction that sets out to process the experience of Ceylon and mediate this to a metropolitan audience. More than that, however, it offers an opportunity for analysis, for staging and perhaps resolving some of the contradictions outlined above. Since its rediscovery in the 1960s, the novel has been regarded as a seminal text by South-Asian scholars—the first novel in English to describe imperialism in Sri Lanka, and a significant social document about colonial Ceylon (Gooneratne 2004; Goonetilleke 2007). For Woolf himself, writing it was an attempt "vicariously to live their lives"; a "symbol of the anti-imperialism which had been growing upon me more and more in my last years in Ceylon" (Woolf 1964, 47). Set in the Hambantota district, the area that Woolf administered as an Assistant Government Agent during the last three years of his time in the country, the narrative centres

on life in a small village community of peasant-cultivators. Drawing on Woolf's own observations of the region in his capacity as administrator, adjudicator and magistrate, and on his studies of the languages and customs of the different ethnic and religious groups, the novel incorporates indigenous beliefs, customs and tales, as well as oral forms and modes of address that imitate the local Sinhalese idiom. The narrative is unusual for its time in being focalised mainly through the indigenous characters, revealing from within the colonised society how colonial bureaucracy and structures of power intervene in traditional forms of life, gradually unsettling and destroying a community.

At the centre of the novel are Silindu and his daughters, bound by subliminal ties to the jungle, marginal to a village life that is increasingly marred by the institutionalised power of colonial bureaucracy. Life in Beddegama turns upon a system of credit, debt, and exploitation instituted and sanctioned by colonial authority. The local headmen and moneylenders, whose power derives from their place in the colonial system, which gives them the right to issue taxes and licences for cultivation of crops, gun licences for hunting, etc., exercise control through a system of debt management. The narrative turns on the machinations directed against Silindu by these men and his consequent encounters with local and government authorities, including the white magistrate—a figure clearly modelled upon Woolf himself—who represents the legal apparatus of the colonial state. The encounters show how the British administrative and legal system were subverted by the manipulation and corruption of native officials, though fundamentally by its own incomprehension, irrelevance, and impotence. The analysis the novel offers by means of Silindu's story is of a hybrid society in which images of modernity and empire coexist with a pre-modern world ruled by superstition, fatalism, and tradition; and in which modern utilitarian rationality and capitalist economy function as ineffectual and violent impositions that rip apart the fabric of village life. While in tribal society the rights of the individual and his influence upon the powerful are safeguarded by public opinion, imperialism intervenes into this balance, producing a society ruled by colonial discourse and its literalisations; where power is secured by access to, and manipulation of, language and linguistic representations.

It is significant that Woolf's analysis is linguistically (and discursively) staged and performed. On the one hand, colonialism as a textual

enterprise comes under scrutiny by means of heteroglossia and multi-voicedness, as well as by staged encounters between linguistic and cultural paradigms that draw attention to mistranslation and misunderstanding, along with the implications of intercultural transfer processes; i.e. the transplantation and imposition of colonial language. Moreover, the novel's linguistic plurality produces a thick representation that enables narration from within, imaginative identification and, ultimately, understanding of the cultural and individual ramifications of colonial rule. The linguistically oriented analysis and Woolf's mode of narration both depend on a high level of linguistic proficiency and deep immersion into Ceylonese language and culture. Woolf's fluency in the Tamil and Sinhalese languages far exceeded the requirements of colonial administration, and he took great pride in his extensive knowledge of local history and culture. In the novel, explanatory footnotes reminiscent of the traditional Victorian ethnographic or anthropological narrative coexist with transliterated Sinhalese words and other local linguistic features indicative of a different kind of embeddedness and interiority. Almost every sentence contains a Sinhalese word; local terms for plants, crops, implements and methods of cultivation, animals, diseases, time, space and distance, family relationships, religious beliefs, social roles and functions—all are rendered in the local language. New terms are explained in approximate terms in footnotes and become part of the novel's vocabulary. The result is a form of linguistic density, a thick representation, which constructs a world as far as possible from within. There is also a sense of the irreducibility and singularity of language, of individual words, of rhythm and idiom. Footnotes and occasional commentaries by the narrator perform the work of translation, analogy and comparison, but still the words insist in their foreignness, in their attachment to and grounding in the world in which they came into being and where they circulate.

Woolf's choice of narration is central to the novel's imaginative thinking, as the unnamed narrative voice occupies perspectives from inside and outside the colonised community, creating an impression of "multi-voicedness," to use Elleke Boehmer's term, allowing different voices to interrogate and relativise each other, each rendered foreign by turn (Boehmer 2015). Much of the story is told from the perspective of the victim, even that of the doubly victimised. The chief protagonists, the hunt-

er and cultivator Silindu and his two daughters, Hamehani and Punchi Menika, are *veddas*, outcasts. With minimal distance to the characters, and a degree of imaginative sympathy unusual for its time, the narrative reveals the family's precarious position in the community, mediated through the protagonists' senses and perceptions. The storyline shows how Silindu and his family fall victim to the machinations of the village headman Babehami and the debt-collector Fernando, whose positions in the colonial order allow them to manipulate the colonial economic and bureaucratic machinery to their own ends. Silindu and his son-in-law Babun are brought before an English judge, the white *Hamadoru*, on a false charge of theft, with the ensuing trial set up as a strikingly illuminating encounter between different gazes and voices, the indigenous and the colonial. The narrative consciousness occupies different minds, juxtaposing and comparing the perspectives of the judge—the role Woolf had himself taken in numerous court cases—and the accused. Colonial discourse is rendered strange and out-of-place as the text foregrounds failures of interpretation and translation:

> From time to time the judge said a few sharp words in English to the interpreter: Silindu and Babun were never quite certain whether he was or was not speaking to them, or whether, when the interpreter spoke to them in Sinhalese, the words were really his own, or whether he was interpreting what the judge had said. (115)

Mistranslations and miscommunication multiply as the judge proceeds to ask the accused and the complainant questions that are misunderstood or answered partially and untruthfully. At the end of the trial the judge is left baffled and frustrated by his inability to get to the bottom of the case. Reading out his verdict "in a casual, indifferent voice, as if in some way it had nothing to do with him," the judge clearly feels estranged from the words he has written, from his own function in colonial rule as well as from the arbitrariness and incommensurability of the proceedings (126).

The novel's court scenes allow Woolf to stage his own role in the system of colonialism and as foreigner in another culture, a position that renders him as strange to himself as to the others. Not only are the failures of communication evident, but also his attempts at interpretation, at filling in the lacunas produced by miscommunication. Fundamentally

strange to each other, Silindu and the magistrate still experience moments of understanding, allowing the latter to sense and privately articulate the underlying story of colonial exploitation and corruption to which the legal document cannot testify, and against which the law provides no recourse (Boehmer 2015; Davies 2015; Mukhopadhyay 2015). For the reader, in turn, Silindu's story provides an understanding of the ramifications of imperialism at the level of the community and the individual. Such understanding is also provided by Silindu's contact with the various literalisations of empire that regulate everyday life: the permits, licences, certificates and legal documents that make government manageable but also open to manipulation. Through the machinations surrounding the *chena* permits, the reader comes to understand the workings of the enforced system of cultivation, the so-called *chena* economy with its oppressive cycle of poverty, debt and exploitation, which benefits the middlemen, the headmen and moneylenders. As the novel explains:

> The life of the village and of every man in it depended on the cultivation of *chenas*. A *chena* is merely a piece of jungle […] The villagers owned no jungle themselves; it belonged to the Crown, and no one might fell a tree or clear a *chena* in it without a permit from the Government. It was through these permits that the headman had his hold upon the villagers. (27)

> With the reaping of the *chenas* came the settlement of debts. With their little greasy notebooks full of unintelligible letters and figures, [the moneylenders] descended upon the *chenas*; and after calculations, wranglings and abuse, which lasted for hour after hour, the accounts were settled, and the strangers left the village […] In the end the villagers carried but little grain from his *chena* to his hut. (26)

What the novel describes here, as critics have pointed out, is a socio-economic predicament that follows from the structures of imperialism and global capitalism. The introduction of the *chena* system, with its conceptions of property alien to rural Ceylonese societies, was a direct consequence of Ceylon's development into a plantation economy governed by the networks of colonial capitalism and global trade (Davies 2015). Significantly, it is the novel's immersion into a local habitat, its victim-

oriented perspective (from within the local culture), and its accommodation of different languages, that allows it to uncover the ramifications of these global imperial structures at the level of the local community and the individual life. The life situation at the margins of an unevenly developed governmental apparatus, subject to a systemic corruption that exploits the poorest and most peripheral, is more than a narrative setting, it is what makes possible the machinations against Silindu and his family—the cause of his entrapment in a cycle of abuse and the cause of his tragic end.

The hybrid community created by colonialism permits scapegoating, as Silindu's narrative is intended to show. An understanding of these structures presupposed detailed insight into local cultural and social mechanisms, as I have argued. Strikingly, understanding in this novel is also enacted though another form of linguistic operation: the novel's transposition of racist discourse from the European to the Asian context, highlighting analogies in oppressive logic and scapegoating. In a recent article, the critic Janice Ho has shown that Woolf's representations of the colonial other in the novel are bound up with his Jewishness, the awareness of being part of a minority population in Britain that was systematically discriminated against. The novel draws on the representational practices of European anti-Semitism, such as racial stereotypes of the hypersexual and degenerate Jewish body in its descriptions of the indigenous population (Ho 2013, 715). More specifically, Woolf deploys the trope of the unjustly persecuted and suffering Jew in his depiction of Silindu, whose double victimisation, at the hands of his fellow villagers and through the machinery of colonial law, allows Woolf to interrogate the logic of scapegoating as it plays itself out in a community where communal law and public opinion have been suspended. Such a discursive transposition does not involve or assume a one-to-one relationship between entities, but constitutes a form of relational, comparative thinking between languages and cultures. In the novel's textual politics, recognising and representing the other as "the Jew" is not a form of erasure of difference; it serves as a form of comparison that establishes analogies and global connections between histories of racial oppression, between domestic discrimination and foreign domination, opening up the possibility of reading one story in light of another within a perspective of solidarity and justice.

The Village in the Jungle is remarkable as an early attempt to think in transnational and what Gayatri Spivak might call planetary terms, which describe global networks without reducing singularity and difference. For Spivak, the literary as teleopoiesis—preserving cultural-conceptual differences by way of imaginative work—constitutes the utopian possibility of overcoming the danger of eradicating nuances and specificities of otherness in the global market. At the same time, the consciousness of cultural specificity and singularity, and the irreducibility of idiom, does not exclude the comparative thinking involved in transcultural and transnational paradigms. Woolf's transposition of representational practices from the European (anti-Semitic) to the colonial (racist) space has broader methodological implications, pointing towards a transnational, planetary framework within which to conceptualise commonality as well as singularity, a form of comparative thinking that does not involve discrete entities but entanglements and transfer processes. As I have shown, the other aspects of the novel's poetics are also associated with a stance and a methodology that have a similar transfer value. *The Village in the Jungle* helped Woolf think, and serves to demonstrate modes of thinking and reading that are transferable to other situations, not least to the present challenges of creating inclusive and reflective societies, of understanding Europe within a planetary context.

What we have considered here is a novel that was produced by a writer with a high level of linguistic and cultural competence, combined with the awareness of being foreign, of not being native or properly placed. Woolf's immersion in Sinhalese language and culture allowed him to construct a linguistic space that accommodates different languages, in which each language occupies the position of being foreign in turn. It is a space that draws attention to failures of translation and interpretation, and to the irreducibility of idiom and the heterogeneity of the foreign, as well as to attempts at inter-diction, of speaking between, of negotiation and imaginative identification; i.e. to commonality as much as singularity. What results is a form of linguistic reflexivity and meta-discursivity, a teleopoiesis that opens up to other subjectivities, facilitating analysis of social, political, and economic structures, as well as a position of solidarity and justice. In this way, Woolf and *The Village in the Jungle* may have contributed to what Felski and Friedman call "the archive of comparative scholarship"; modelling alternative forms of relational thinking

that "decenter […] our standards of measure rather than reinforce them" (2009, v), establishing analogies and points of contact that do justice to past and present planetary contexts.

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Chronotopes in Patrick Modiano's Fictional Writing of History

Helge Vidar Holm

In France, the official memory of the years of collaboration with the Nazi occupants during World War II, has been much debated in recent years, due, in part, to the fact that the Nobel Prize in Literature was awarded to Patrick Modiano in 2014. In support of their decision, the Swedish Academy stated that: "The Nobel Prize in Literature for 2014 is awarded to the French author Patrick Modiano […] for the art of memory with which he has evoked the most ungraspable human destinies and uncovered the life-world of the occupation." (Nobelprize.org 2014).

Most of Modiano's novels (around 25 in total) are in some way linked to WWII or to the post-war years of the author's childhood, be it his works of *autofiction*, in which he and his family and their friends and acquaintances participate in the more or less fictional events; or be it the novels in which other characters dominate, for instance female first-person narrators. One novel, however, holds a unique place among Modiano's literary works: the novel *Dora Bruder* from 1997, published in English in 2000 under the title *The Search Warrant*.[1]

In this article, I shall examine some extracts from this particular novel, but let me first comment briefly on the features that distinguish it from Modiano's other novels. In fact, the novel entitled *Voyage de noces* (1990) (English edition: *Honeymoon*) is strongly linked to parts of the yet unpublished *Dora Bruder*, although all of the names and most of the concrete events are completely different in the two novels. However, in retrospective, after the publication of *Dora Bruder* in 1997, it is easy to

1 My edition of the *The Search Warrant*, (in the following quotations referred to as *SW*) was published by Harvill Secker (London) in 2014. The translation from the French is by Joanna Kilmartin.

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see how the two novels are linked. They have their common source in one special experience in the author's life, which he describes in the opening lines of *Dora Bruder*:

> Eight years ago, in an old copy of *Paris Soir* dated 31 December 1941, a heading on page three caught my eye: "From Day to Day." Below this, I read:
>
> PARIS
>
> Missing, a young girl, Dora Bruder, age 15, height 1.55m, oval-shaped face, grey-brown eyes, grey sports jacket, maroon pullover, navy-blue skirt and hat, brown gym shoes. Address all information to M. and Mme Bruder, 41 Boulevard Ornano, Paris. (*SW*, 3)

Then follows a comment on the area around Boulevard Ornano, where the first-person narrator, presented as identical with the author of the novel, used to visit the flea market as a boy, together with his mother. A little later, he reports that he used to return to this area as a young man around 20 years old, because his current girlfriend was living there:

> In 1965, I knew nothing of Dora Bruder. But now, 30 years on, it seems to me that those long waits in the cafés at the Ornano crossroads, those unvarying itineraries—the Rue du Mont Cenis took me back to the Butte Montmartre Hotels, the Roma or the Alsina or the Terrass, Rue Caulaincourt—and the fleeting impressions I have retained: snatches of conversation heard on a spring evening beneath the trees in the Square Clignancourt, and again, in winter, on the way down to Simplon and the Boulevard Ornano, all that was not simply due to chance. Perhaps, although as yet unaware of it, I was on the track of Dora Bruder and her parents. Already, imperceptibly, they were there. (*SW*, 6)

This is quite an extraordinary way of writing novels, especially of writing what might be considered a documentary novel. Modiano's conception of a novelist's ideal working methods, his theory of *the novelist* (not his theory of *the novel*), includes an important element of what he calls a gift of clairvoyance ("un don de voyance chez les romanciers," *Dora Bruder*, 52). In Modiano's case, this gift, or this faculty, helps him to reveal what

has been hidden, what has been an occult part of the collective memory. More specifically, the collective memory in question is that of WWII in France, where "everybody" was a resistant or at least was not actively collaborating with the Nazis, especially with regard to the denunciation of hidden Jews and other anti-Semitic war crimes…

What does it actually mean that, according to The Swedish Academy, Modiano received the Nobel Prize "for the art of memory with which he has evoked the most ungraspable human destinies and uncovered the life-world of the occupation?" (Nobelprize.org. 2014). How can we grasp his fictional technique, his very special art of memory? He uses time and place as basic ingredients; for example, in *Dora Bruder*, he visits places (streets, buildings, market places) and tries to reinstate himself as a narrator and the persons he presents as novelistic characters in a past setting—a specific year or time of year that may inspire his visionary art of memory. In fact, *The Search Warrant* is not at all a badly chosen title for the English translation of the novel *Dora Bruder*; throughout the novel, the narrator is searching for concrete information about the Jewish girl Dora Bruder and her parents, all of whom died or disappeared in Nazi concentration camps.

With the help of some dedicated historians and war-crime investigators, especially the famous lawyer and Nazi-hunter Serge Klarsfeld, the author obtains a lot of valuable information, but the issue addressed in this novel nevertheless remains the relation between a visionary narrator and his main character. This novelistic character is constructed on the basis of a historical person, completely forgotten until Modiano came across the search warrant, which he quotes in the beginning of the novel. It should be noted that Modiano has been severely criticized, by Serge Klarsfeld himself and others, for not mentioning the help he received from Klarsfeld regarding the historical facts related to the lives of Dora Bruder and her parents (see Hilsum 2012).

Modiano's use of time and space in his novelistic technique has clearly some affinities to Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of the chronotope. To quote from Bakhtin's essay "Forms of time and chronotope in the novel," in which he covers the historical development of the genre of the novel, from antiquity to the beginning of the twentieth century: "We will give the name *chronotope* (literally 'time space') to the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed

in literature." (Bakhtin [1981] 2011, 84). As we shall see, many passages from the novel *Dora Bruder* may be read as examples of this "intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships."

Consider, for example, the two first pages of chapter 3 of the novel, with the following quotation from Bakhtin's chronotope-essay in mind:

> In the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible, likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history. This intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope." (Bakhtin [1981] 2011, 84)

To the narrator of *The Search Warrant,* the project of investigating elements from the story of Dora's life in Paris and of her deportation is a project involving charging space and time in a way that responds to Modiano's artistic needs as a writer of fiction. This "fusion of indicators" is not, however, necessarily linked to the "detective" part of the plot, or at least it does not depend upon it. This is evident towards the end of the following quotation, in which the narrator begins to hesitate, finding himself "in two minds":

> It takes time for what has been erased to resurface. Traces survive in registers, and nobody knows where these registers are hidden, and who has custody of them, and whether or not their custodians are willing to let you see them. Or perhaps they have simply forgotten that such registers exist.
>
> All it takes is a little patience.
>
> Thus, I came to learn that Dora Bruder and her parents were already living in the hotel on the Boulevard Ornano in 1937 and 1938. […] Sometime during the last three or four years before the war, Dora Bruder would have been enrolled at one of the local State secondary schools. I wrote to ask if her name was to be found on the school registers, addressing my letter to the head of each […]. All replied politely. None had found this name on the list of their pre-war pupils. In the end, the head of the former girls' school at 69 Rue Championnet suggested that I come and consult the register for myself. *One of these*

> *days, I shall. But I'm in two minds. I want to go on hoping that her name is there. It was the school nearest where she lived.*[2] […] It took me four years to discover her exact date of birth: 25 February 1926. And a further two years to find out her place of birth: Paris, 12th arrondissement. But I am a patient man. I can wait for hours in the rain. (*SW*, 9–10)

To me, this quotation explains sufficiently why Modiano did not include the name of Serge Klarsfeld in this novel, either as an extra-textual reference, or as a character in the novel. This is neither a historical novel nor a documentary. It is a first-person novel, told by a *narrateur homodiégétique*, and even more so, by a *narrateur autodiégétique* (see Genette 1971, 253) who plays the central role both in his own story (the way he carries out and comments on his investigation) and in the story of the girl Dora Bruder, who never plays the central role in the novel, even though the original version of the novel is named after her.

I do not agree with scholars like Jeanne Bem, who criticize the author of *Dora Bruder* for his use of the term "novel" in connection with this book.[3] However, I share her view on the generic ambiguity of Modiano's project in this book, and I fully support her view that *Dora Bruder*, like all great works of fiction, investigates the limits of what literature can do.[4]

One should note what the narrator says about being "in two minds."[5] He does not really want to know whether or not the name of Dora Bruder is to be found in the register of the school at 69 Rue Championnet, or perhaps he prefers not to know exactly for the time being, because his presumptions, or his hopes, may turn out to be wrong. This hesitation is clearly part of the fictional project. It also highlights the essential difference between the narrator of the novel and its author, Patrick Modiano. It is impossible for the reader to know whether the author has checked

2 The emphasis is mine. I shall come back to this passage, which goes like this in the original version: "Un jour, j'irai. Mais j'hésite. Je veux encore espérer que son nom figure là-bas. C'était l'école la plus proche de son domicile." (*Dora Bruder*, 14).

3 "Aussi pensé-je que l'auteur a tort de faire suivre le titre *Dora Bruder* du mot 'roman'." (Bem, 1999, 222).

4 "*Dora Bruder* est un objet littéraire déconcertant qui, comme toute grande oeuvre, explore les limits de la littérature." (Bem 1999, 222).

5 In the French original: "Mais j'hésite" *Dora Bruder*, 14 (see note 2). This phrase could also be translated as: "But I hesitate," or "But I'm not quite sure."

the school register before or after the publication of the novel in 1997. However, the narrator never did, even if he informs the reader that "One of these days, [I] shall."

Let us consider how Modiano explains this kind of hope, presumption or clairvoyance:

> Like many writers before me, I believe in coincidence, and, sometimes, in the novelist's gift for clairvoyance—the word "gift" not being the right one, for it implies a kind of superiority. Clairvoyance is simply part of the profession: the essential leaps of imagination, the need to fix one's mind on detail—to the point of obsession, in fact—so as not to lose the thread and give in to one's natural laziness. (*SW*, 47)

In order to be able to write the novel *Dora Bruder*, Modiano had to approach his "point of obsession" by means of a detour, as it were, through another novel, based on characters without any direct connection to the historical person Dora Bruder, but with much the same destiny. Fundamentally, this other novel represents the same "point of obsession" as that which dominates the novel *Dora Bruder*:

> In December 1989, after reading the announcement of the search for Dora in the *Paris Soir* of December 1941, I had thought about it incessantly for months. The precision of certain details haunted me […]. At the time, the emptiness I felt prompted me to write a novel, *Honeymoon*,[6] it being as good a way as any of continuing to fix my attention on Dora Bruder, and perhaps, I told myself, of elucidating or divining something about her, a place where she had been, a detail of her life. (*SW*, 48)

Thus, to get close to the Jewish girl Dora Bruder, killed by the Nazis during World War II, Modiano uses primarily a literary tool. Even as he continues his "detective" investigations into the whereabouts and movements in and out of the Paris of Dora and her family, he starts writing a novel, with an invented story and other main characters, but with a focus on Dora and her destiny. Evoking the work on the novel *Honeymoon*, and quoting a few lines from this novel in which the main characters

6 *Voyage de noces* (Gallimard 1990).

leave the metro station *Nation* in Paris and experiences a big snowfield, Modiano, through his narrator in *Dora Bruder*, produces an astonishing meta-literary comment:

> Today, it occurs to me that I had to write 200 pages before I captured, unconsciously, a vague gleam of the truth. […] These back streets lay behind the Rue de Picus and the Holy Heart of Mary, the convent from which Dora Bruder made her escape, one December evening when it probably had been snowing in Paris. That was the only moment in the book when, without knowing it, I came close to her in time and space. (*SW*, 49)

An examination of Modiano's explanation of the novelist's clairvoyance (quoted above) as "the essential leaps of imagination" which helps the novelist capture, unconsciously, "a vague gleam of the truth," may enable us to understand how a chronotope is linked to Dora Bruder's escape "one December evening when it probably had been snowing in Paris." The chronotope in fact constitutes the one and only element in the writing process of the novel *Honeymoon* that enables the novelist to approach, with the help of his clairvoyance, the story he really wants to tell. This story would be that of Dora Bruder, or more specifically, that of the narrator's literary research project.

In his essay *Discourse in the Novel*, Bakhtin asserts that "behind the narrator's story, we read a second story; a story about what the narrator narrates, and also about the narrator himself." (Bakhtin [1981] 2011, 314).

This assertion is particularly true with regard to the novel *Dora Bruder*. There are many elements that link Dora Bruder's name, as well as her Jewish destiny, to Modiano's own family background and his own childhood, one of which is the loss of his brother Rudy when Patrick himself was 12 years old and Rudy 9. Rudy was Patrick's nearest friend and companion throughout a difficult childhood, and probably nothing else has marked Patrick Modiano's as seriously as Rudy's death from leukemia. The family name Bruder, which is German for "Brother," caught the novelist's eye on page 3 of the old copy of *Paris Soir*, and this element must have evoked his own childhood and what is probably his most constant preoccupation throughout his authorship.

The end of the quotation above ("That was the only moment in the book when, without knowing it, I came close to her in time and space" [*SW*, 49]) is actually a meta-literary chronotope, present and constitutive in the novel *Dora Bruder*, through its intertextual[7] relation to *Voyage de noces*. The meta-literary chronotope is not an example of what Bakthin calls a "major chronotope," whereas the *chronotope of the road* is a major chronotope according to Bakhtin. The chronotope of the road is quite evident in other contexts in the novel *Dora Bruder*, especially in the narratives of the narrator's almost endless walks through Paris' streets, searching for buildings where Dora might have lived or stayed, or other concrete signs of her Paris life. In combination with the meta-literary chronotope, which constitutes the closest or most significant dialogue between two of Modiano's novels, *Voyage de noces* and *Dora Bruder*, these *road chronotopes* enable us to go beyond the documentary part of the story, into the literary presentation of the novelist's faculty of voyance, these "essential leaps of imagination."

Let us consider one of the *road chronotopes* at the very end of the novel. Once again, it is a wonderful example of how the narrator's narrative of his search through the streets of Paris brings him to a time and place other than the actual situation in the street where he is walking:

> On Saturday 19 September, the day after Dora and her father left, the occupying authorities imposed a curfew in retaliation for a bomb placed in the Cinéma Rex. Nobody was allowed out from three o'clock that afternoon till the following morning. The city was deserted, as if to mark Dora's absence.
>
> Ever since, the Paris wherein I have tried to retrace her steps has remained as silent and deserted as it was on that day. I walk through empty streets. For me, they are always empty, even at dusk, during the rush-hour, when the crowds are hurrying towards the mouths of the metro. I think of her in spite of myself, sensing an echo of her presence in this neighbourhood or that. The other evening, it was near the Gare du Nord. (*SW*, 136–37)

This is another example of the novelist's clairvoyance, combined with the chronotopic effect concealed in the narrative of the streets of Paris and

7 Or *intra*textual, as the reference is to another text of the novelist's own authorship.

their history. Modiano does not bring anybody or anything "back to life"; he knows very well that World War II is over, and I do not think he would ever want to give new life to anything linked to that war. However, he wants to keep the memory of what happened alive, and I think his novel *Dora Bruder* is one of his greatest achievements in that respect.

If we now return to Bakhtin's definition of the literary artistic chronotope quoted earlier in this paper, we may see how both the meta-literary chronotope and the road chronotope make it possible for time to become "artistically visible," and how "space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history." The extraordinary effect of Modiano's use of these two forms of the literary artistic chronotope is to carry the reader beyond a mere factual understanding of an individual destiny during the Holocaust. Modiano is so doing both by the intratextual linking of the two novels *Voyage de Noces* and *Dora Bruder*, and by making the narrator's truly obsessional revival of the streets of Paris on "Saturday 19 September" (see the last quotation above) a space "charged and responsive to movements of time, plot and history."

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Love on the Final Slopes of Life: Fedor Ivanovich Tiutchev and "The Denis'eva Cycle"

Lillian Jorunn Helle

Old age represents a serious social issue. With the current rise in ageing populations, literary approaches to ageing have also emerged, illustrating how literature, as part of the new "humanistic gerontology," can complement other disciplines in the scholarly field of ageing. "Literary gerontology" has grown, over the last few decades, into a burgeoning academic activity, and parallel to the recent wave of novels about old age, ageing is now established among literary scholars as a critical perspective in its own right. This perspective is usually marked by an interdisciplinary stance, as in Helen Small's ground-breaking work on the ethics of longevity, *The Long Life* (2007).

It can easily be claimed that literary studies have much to gain from crossing the border into the field of ageing studies, not least by becoming more conscious about the surrounding world and by recognizing literature's continued relevance in relation to contemporary societal processes. This implies *inter alia* recognition of the important role of literature in the attempt to restore the worth of old age as a universal aspect of human life, and awareness of how reading prose, plays and poetry can contribute to intergenerational identification and intergenerational solidarity.[1] Moreover, literature can inquire in depth into the problem of what Kathleen Woodward refers to as "gerontophobia" (1991, 7), the continu-

1 Especially significant, in light of the heightening conflict now developing between generations as a result of the wave of senior citizens, is the conflict described most provocatively by the British author Martin Amis (2010) as a coming civil war. He even calls for legal drugs for suicide (euthanasia) as a method to stop the "invasion of terrible immigrants […], a population of demented very old people."

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ing stigmatization and tabooing of old age in our culture. This *phobia* implies, among other things, a tendency not to accept the signs of ageing in oneself, but to relegate these to others.[2] Through this relegation, our own old person becomes an uncanny stranger, as Simone de Beauvoir argued in her essay *The Coming of Age*.[3] And precisely because ageing so often seems to be an alien territory, literature can serve as a crucial means to re-appropriate the repressed. Against the bias of ascribing ageing to others and of othering our own elderly self, literary texts possess a specific potential for rendering the old I present and visible, thereby liberating it from marginalization, shame and silencing. The oppressive negativity of cultural constructions can thus be shaken, forcing us to think beyond clichéd dichotomies and the traditional "discourse of senescence" (Katz 1996).

By the same token, literature can allow access to *individual* ageing, enabling us to grasp the subjectivities and intricacies connected to growing old more clearly than quantitative, statistical sociological studies and medical reports can do. Literature can therefore free the lived realities of ageing from abstract generalizations, by exploring the phenomenologies of the older brain and body. And most notably for our present purposes, literature can investigate the domain of ageing senses and sensations, and widen our understanding of how elderly people experience sensual attractions, love and desire.

To demonstrate these assumptions, I will focus on the so-called "Denis'eva cycle" by the nineteenth-century Russian diplomat and aristocrat, Feodor Ivanovich Tiutchev, one of the greatest poets of the classical Russian tradition.[4] The cycle is generally characterized as being the most sublime body of love poems in the Russian language with a "lyrical intensity and psychological penetration unique in Russian literature"

2 Cf. Woodward (1991, 193): "We repress the subject of aging. […] We do not recognize it in ourselves."

3 For Beauvoir (1972, 289), the ageing self becomes the other within, a frightening and "unheimlich" intruder.

4 The poems have been the subject of numerous genre studies, since they were not originally planned as a cycle, created over a period of 18 years. Usually they are seen as representative of a "not intentional" lyrical cycle (Bukharkin 1977, 118), forming an undisputable unity through their thematic and stylistic coherence. The exact number of poems regarded as belonging to the cycle (from 17–21), is part of an on-going scholarly debate. For the discussions on genre, see Rydel (1995) and Petrova (1988).

(Gregg 1957, 158).[5] It is possible to view the strong emotional resonance of these poems in the light of their highly dramatic autobiographical subtext: the cycle retells, in lyrical verse, how the married (for the second time, as it were) Tiutchev, at 50, an advanced age at that time, fell in love with Elena Aleksandrovna Denis'eva, a noblewoman of 22 and a school-friend of his daughters. While not divorcing, the poet kept her as his "mistress" and over the course of 15 years she bore him three children. The liaison was considered scandalous and was condemned by polite society in St Petersburg. The female partner in the illicit union was particularly ostracized. Elena Denis'eva became *persona non grata*, and after being thrown into disgrace by both family and former friends, she became increasingly desolated, a victim of nervous breakdowns and bouts of depression.[6] The affair ended in utmost tragedy in 1865, when Elena Denis'eva, after a long period of deteriorating health, died from tuberculosis, closely followed by the death of two of their children. These events threw the aging lover into a spiral of endless despair and, although he was reconciled with his wife, the long-suffering German baroness Ernestine Pfeffer, this family reunion did little to lighten the despondency of his closing years.[7]

Based on this personal drama, Tiutchev has written a lyrical collection which questions, in an innovative manner, the prevailing stereotypes regarding love in the winter of a man's life. The poems display, in their rare psychological depth and passionate strength, the exceptional power of literature to present the human experience in all its contradictory and confusing complexity. In this sense, they allow unique access to emotional, sensitive and moral dimensions, thereby generating a type of insight into the human condition that could hardly have been obtained, for example, through philosophical analyses, ethical treatises or religious teaching. This insight, however, seems to have less to do with, for instance, finding solutions to problems, than with literature's capacity

5 This echoes the Russian Symbolist Dmitrii Merezhkovskii, who regarded the Denis'eva cycle as the greatest love poems not only in Russian, but in world poetry as well (1915, 110).

6 Society's condemnation, however, was typically one sided, revealing the double standard of the period's sexual morals. While Elena Denis'eva was blatantly rejected by *the beau monde*, Tiutchev continued to be a well-received guest both at the court and in the salons of the nobility (cf. Pigarev 1962, 148).

7 For more on Tiutchev (both life and works), see Gregg (1957) and Dewey (2010); for a standard Russian study, see Pigarev (1962).

to produce meaning and reduce suffering (cf. Cole 2014, 520).[8] Hannah Arendt has expressed this, with a citation from Karen Blixen: "All sorrows can be borne if you put them into a story" (Arendt 1998, 175).[9]

Indeed, putting sorrows into a story is exactly what Tiutchev is doing in the Denis'eva-poems, since this lyrical cycle also takes the form of a narrative. As such, it has more than once been compared to a lyrical diary, a lyrical novella or a novel in verse, with a discernible threefold structure: a prologue, a climax and an ending (Petrova 1988, 48).[10] The poems register (or rather poetically refract), in chronological order, the different phases of an often turbulent relationship, mapping with excruciating intensity the inner and outer world of the lovers. We follow them—in glimpses—from the glorious first meetings and moments of ecstasy, through bitter-sweet depictions of the birth of their illegitimate children, to the harsh attacks from the lyrical I, Tiutchev's alter ego, upon society for its sexual hypocrisy and for the way it degrades the feelings of his beloved and declares them a sin. Further, we are shown the heroine's compromized reputation, her faded appearance and growing desperation, her grave illnesses and death, and finally, the traumatized contemplations of the grieving male, a frail old man left with troubling guilt and ruthless self-accusations.[11]

When Tiutchev narrativizes his life in these poems, it could be argued that the inherent transformational potential of narrative contributes to a transcending of the chaos of reality and a rendering the meaningless meaningful.[12] Transfigured through the poet's lyrical tale, the pains and losses of the Denis'eva affair become part of a process of new cognition, as well as a testimony to the senescent subject in love. These lyrical texts, therefore, demonstrate the intimate interconnectedness of transformation, self-knowledge and narrative. Moreover, the narrative strains of the cycle, its clearly pronounced novelistic character, could pertain to it, in a certain sense, as an "education sentimentale." As Antoine Compagnon (2006) has asserted, this "education," with its implications for values and

8 For further discussions on this point, see Baars (2012, 197).

9 The citation stands as an epigraph to the chapter on action in the second edition of Arendt's book *The Human Condition* (1998).

10 On the cycle as a "kind of novel," see Bukhshtab (1970, 49).

11 For an English translation of the poems, see Tyutchev (2000).

12 Most notably Paul Ricœur has insisted upon the capacity of narrative to transform life and refigure the identity, see Verner (2000, 116 ff.).

moral matters, is an essential dimension in literary narratives. Hence, we have a linking of literature to the (contemporary) ethical turn, to the narrative's potential for triggering inner change and growth, and to the capacity for staging moral predicaments and existential problems. A similar capacity can be observed in Tiutchev. His "novel in verse" is permeated with guilt-ridden ethical dilemmas, questioning the integrity of the elderly poet's actions, the morality of his involvement with Elena Denis'eva and his right to ruin a young woman's life. His (or the lyrical I's) reflections on his own, often far from heroic figure and the recognition of his own inadequacy and selfishness are conveyed as agonized steps of self-discovery, in which Tiutchev (or his poetical alter ego) strives, with brutal candor, to understand or *explain* the entangled feelings of his final love. As Dmitrii Merezhkovskii once asserted, in these prose poems Tiutchev manifests a "passionate and pathetic" truth about himself with an unprecedented and merciless openness, exposing "the highest levels of truth," which can be expressed only through poetry (2015, 109).

Thus, the Denis'eva-story is an eminent illustration of the *explanatory* power of narrative, a topic Paul Ricœur has repeatedly insisted upon, once writing: "A narrative that fails to explain, is less than a narrative" (1992, 1, 148). This implies, amongst other things, that by simultaneously presenting and structuring time, narratives are able to organize the human experience in an irreplaceable manner. Knowledge of one's life, therefore, presupposes the hermeneutical circularity of narrative and time, situating the narrative form in a particularly valuable relationship to aging, making it intrinsically, if not constitutively, bound to the self-reflections of late life (cf. DeFalco 2010, 13). This is a connection that is revealingly exemplified in the cycle, not least in the poems written after Elena Denis'eva's death, which are usually considered the most profound of the whole collection.[13] In addition, they constitute a recollection and a confession, both genres commonly associated with ageing individuals' attempts to resurrect the past and restore some kind of coherence to their lives. In this respect, the latest poems in the cycle are senescent endeavours to come to terms with what has been, although in Tiutchev's lyrical reminiscences there are no traces of a naïve, soothing or sentimentalizing

13 See f. ex. the poems "All the day she lay oblivious," "The breeze has dropped," "Oh, this south, oh, this Nice," "In the sufferings of my stagnation," "On the eve of the Anniversary of August 4th 1864."

nostalgia. Instead, these poems are subtle investigations into the phases of mourning and represent a writing of loss that is also an expression of creativity, showing how crippling grief can generate the most moving (love) stories.[14] At the same time, the poems depict an old man who is navigating between different versions of himself, among them an elderly husband sedately ensconced (once again) within the family circle, while simultaneously living as a bereaved lover, possessed by haunting and harrowing memories. This is especially evident in the poem "The breeze has dropped," written some months after his mistress's death, when Tiutchev was travelling with his eldest daughters to Lake Geneva. The contrast between the poem's description of the idyllic Swiss landscape and the tormenting memories of a grave "back home" poignantly renders this conflict. Such splitting typically threatens the sense of a unified personhood, disturbing the stability of (an ageing) subject's existence. The cycle may also provide further insights on ageing, therefore, described as a process "of increasing multiple identities" (Skenazi 2013, 57).[15]

While the scope of this article does not allow for an extensive textual close-reading of the Denis'eva-verses, in what follows I will concretize some of my previous general remarks by referring to and commenting upon some of the poems, particularly the one entitled "Last Love" (1854), which is often seen as emblematic of the cycle and to incorporate, in a condensed way, its main themes:

Oh, how, in the ending years
Is love more tender and obsessive—
O shine! O shine, the parting rays
Of my last love, the evening sun!

14 Cf. also Woodward (1993, 97) on the connection between loss and renewal through reminiscing writing. She has elsewhere suggested that all reminiscing activity has the potential of revitalizing the future of an elderly individual, not only of reviving the past (1997, 13). In Tiutchev's case one could hardly argue that his poetical reminiscing restored a bright and forward-looking perspective to his ageing existence, but at least it led to a deeper recognition. The poetical retelling of the break, crisis and catastrophe in relation to the Denis'eva affair—circumstances threatening any harmonious completion of the old poet's biographical narrative—may thus have contributed to a certain reintegration in his life, however frail and fragile, and also have made his sufferings more endurable.

15 The topic of selfhood and the multiple senescent self is highly in focus in literary (and other) ageing studies (see for example deFalco, 2010), illustrating how the story of a person's old age may dissolve into multiple narratives or even anti-narratives.

The darkness cuts half of the sky;
And only the West has the roving glow,
Oh, time of evening, do not fly!
Enchantment, be prolonged and slow!

The blood may thin within our veins,
Yet more the heart preserves a tender passion—
O you, my final love,
You are my bliss and desperation.

At first glance, this poem (like all the Denis'eva poems) appears to be a quintessential product of Romanticism, reenacting the classical motif of the ephemeral and illusive character of the joys of love. And since the above text conveys the reflections of an elderly man, this illusiveness becomes especially precarious, and the fleeting aspect of the moment takes on a new significance, spurring the ageing lover to beg for it to last: "Enchantment, be prolonged and slow!"[16] His exclamation underscores the desperate quality of his last love, which is both "bliss and desperation," lending a more destructive dimension to his sensual pleasures. The oxymoronic nature of his feelings, the contradictory conjoining of pleasure and destruction, emhasizes the tragic dialectics or dualism of love and death which underlies the whole cycle. This dualism is a highly recurrent topos in Russian literature and culture, and can be regarded as a poetic convention, or as an exploration of a traditional Russian thought pattern—the concept that pleasure and pain are one and the same thing. Erotic passion becomes ambiguous, therefore, since it not only leads to sexual gratification, but also to human loss and annihilation.[17]

16 Reminding one of the famous, but fateful words uttered by Faust regarding the moment: "Oh stay a while, you are so lovely" (*Faust,* Part 1, Scene 4), lending as it were a fatal tone also to Tiutchev's evocation. Tiutchev was very familiar with Goethe's drama, having translated it into Russian (cf. Pratt 1984, 233).

17 On this topic, see Helle (1998) and (2011). A most radical version of the dark side of sex evolved in the Russian sects of castrates ("skoptsy"), in the 17th and 18th centuries. For the sectarians, the fear of the death present in the sexual embrace became so precarious that only self-mutilation, the surgical removal of sexual organs, could save the human soul from the dangers of the flesh. The novelist Lev Tolstoi, in his second period from 1880, came close to these conceptions, although he argued that man, to reach a pure condition, should be mentally castrated, by his power of will, and not by the knife (see Helle 1998). On the sects, see also Etkind (1998).

Typically, Tiutchev presents love as a form of enslavement or a battle, inevitably leading to the death of (one of) the parties involved, as expressed in "Predestination," a poem from 1854. This text uncannily anticipates the tragic fate of the female lover, inquiring into the notion of love as a fatal duel, with the weaker of the two, the woman, being killed, like "an animal" (Bukhshtab 1970, 49).[18] The catastrophic, even "grotesque" (Aikhenvald 1994, 388) core of sensual attractions is no less disturbingly present in yet another poem (1851) with the famous opening stanza:

Oh how murderously we love,
How in a tempestuous blindness of passion
We destroy most surely
That which is dearest to our heart.

Lines such as these provokingly illustrate the "Russian" idea of the fateful coupling of Eros and Thanatos.[19] From one point of view, the Denis'eva cycle elaborates upon such well-known poetical and rhetorical approaches, endorsing in its own brilliant manner, preconceived perceptions regarding the mortal ravages of love. On the other hand, the cycle transcends

18 On this topic and its element of sadomasochism, see also Tabachnikova (2015, 130ff) and Gatchev (1994, 21ff). Certainly, the motive of the fatal linking of love and death has played a role also in a European, not least in the Romantic literary and cultural tradition. But the dread of the death hiding in erotic love seems to have been particularly strongly felt in the Russian setting. Vasilii Rozanov (1856–1919), a Russian philosopher and writer who wanted to create an alternative to what he called the hysterical and hyperbolic asceticism of Russian culture, claimed that: "The terrible Skoptsian spirit, the rejection of the flesh, has suppressed the Russian people with a force that the West can have no understanding of" (1906, 8).

19 Actually, this "Russian" idea seems to have contributed to the development of psychoanalysis in Europe through the Russian-Jewish psychoanalyst Sabina Spielrein who, in her study *Destruction as the Cause of Coming into Being* (*Die Destruktion als Ursache des Werdens*) from 1912, presents a model in which destruction becomes pregnant with creation; the death instinct is an aspect of the life instinct. Sigmund Freud, for a while Spielrein's advisor, received decisive impulses from her work as can be seen his book *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (*Jenseits des Lustprinzips*) from 1920, in which he admitted her role in anticipating his ideas regarding the doctrine of Thanatos in a footnote. In Freud though, these ideas are transformed into an instinctual dualism, Thanatos and Eros (or libido) remain two independent forces standing in varying relations to one another. Freud therefore did not follow up on Spielrein's insistence on life and death as two facets of the same phenomenon, an ambiguous way of thinking deeply rooted in Russian religious and intellectual tradition (see Helle 1998, 44ff.).

the conventionalism of such dualistic notions, since this relationship had devastating implications also in real life. Furthermore, by retelling this story, with all its conflicting entanglements, Tiutchev, even when confirming one set of established conventions, subverts others; and above all, he dissolves powerful constructions pertaining to love and ageing. Like a palimpsest, these texts reveal clichés, prejudices and norms that still prevail in our culture, thereby challenging cemented stereotypes concerning love in old age.

Firstly, a common presumption regarding old age is that the weakened senses of senescence lessen sensitivity. However, as is evident in Tiutchev's "Last love" (cited above), the male protagonist indicates that the intensity of his emotions has actually increased in later life.[20] Despite the fact that his physical strength has decreased—the blood thinner and his body frailer—his ability to feel is stronger than ever, as he loves her, the poet asserts, "more tenderly, more obsessively." Thus, we can note an unmasking of the common conception of fixed periods of life with fixed characteristic traits.[21] According to these schemes, sensual love is associated with youth, while ageing is associated with reasoned self-reflection. Such social and cultural constraints that are imposed upon old age are continually resisted in the Denis'eva collection. The lyrical I in his "ending years" acts towards his beloved like a youth in the first haze of infatuation. As the Russian Symbolist Andrei Belyi once wrote: "The calm classic […] Tiutchev in old age falls in love, like a young man, with the passion of a volcano" (1911, 12). His passionate obsession is thus at odds with cultural scripts of elderly asexuality, undermining the polarities of sexual youth and neutered old age.

The way the cycle negates abstract age-related categories is also evident in the way the poems destroy the prevalent dual portrait of the ageing male as either a chaste and wise sage, or a sexually active pleasure seeker. In Tiutchev, this binarity is frequently dissolved since the lyrical I behaves like an ageing wise man sometimes, reflecting on his moral role in the affair; and like an ardent lover sometimes, lost in his emotional yearnings. In this interaction, contemplation is intertwined with

20 Tiutchev is here akin to the elderly Michel de Montaigne, who noted that, although his age had weakened his body, his sensitivity to their sensual qualities had actually increased, cf. Skenazi (2013, 112).

21 For more on the fixed ages of man, see Skenazi (2013, 8ff), see also Sears (1986).

pleasure, elderly wisdom with passion, intriguingly combining what has traditionally been kept apart by culturally construed dichotomies. One could, therefore, contend that "the standard oppositions of old age and youth, wisdom and folly, lust and chastity prove irrelevant when applied to the later life of a particular individual" (Skenazi 2013, 117). These words are totally appropriate when applied to our ageing poet, making the Denis'eva verses into a flexible tool for registering the ambiguities and ambivalences of the senescent self in love.

Moreover, texts about intergenerational love have tended to depict these liaisons in a more or less farcical manner, the greying paramour not seldom subject to laughter, a clichéd personage in an uneven age-related setting. Late-life sensuality is thus often translated into late-life hedonism, emphasizing in a comical fashion the supposedly excessive desire of the lecherous grandpa (cf. DeFalco 2010, 129ff.). Such clichés are clearly denunciated in the Denis'eva cycle, in which elements of ridicule and irony are absent in relation to the sensual and emotional bonds between the younger and the elder lovers. At the same time, the poems seem to problematize, or possibly criticize, another stereotype, that of intergenerational love leading to suffering, both for the young and old. In Tiutchev, grave repercussions follow the trespassing across generational boundaries, features that can be found, to mention a quite different context, in modern works such as Philip Roth's *The Human Stain* and *The Dying Animal*.

Yet another stereotype questioned in the cycle is the topos of the re-energizing force of a young woman's love, imagined as a magic fountain ensuring the waning man a second youth. These notions are equivocally expressed in Tiutchev. To a certain degree, in the description of the initial phase of their union, one could perhaps claim that "the gaze of the beloved"—also a well-known trope—invigorates the ageing male, as in the poem "I knew a pair of eyes, oh, these eyes."[22] Very soon though, the enchantment of her eyes is extinguished as readers are confronted with the affair's disastrous effects on the lyrical heroine, which also send the ageing lover into despair and unhappiness, dismantling, as it were, the

22 In this poem, the power of the female gaze is described as a metaphysical force tying the lyrical I to cosmic dimensions. On the development of the topos of "the gaze of the beloved," see Drpić (2016, 388 ff.).

idea of rejuvenating love.[23] Likewise, the topos of the young woman as an ideal of bodily and spiritual beauty, functioning as a source of inspiration for the elderly artist, is no less ambiguously refracted in the cycle. Initially, the female figure comes close to this Romantic perception, being depicted as blooming in her maidenly loveliness, an object of both lofty exaltation and lusty longing in the gaze of the ageing man. But this image is dramatically reversed, when the lyrical I describes her, only one year after their first meeting (and after the birth of their first child), as having lost both her exuberant joy in life and her former radiant looks. The roses on her cheeks have disappeared and the glorious smile on her lips has gone.[24] Through the regretful glance of the senescent lover, we see her painfully fade away, her youth taken from her, turning her, so to speak, into the anti-thesis of a traditional muse.[25]

However, by the same token the rendering of the heroine's premature ageing also becomes part of the cycle's dismantling of the boundaries between youth and age. The original differences in their appearances seem to diminish, as the younger woman is presented as increasingly weary and worn out. But the poet's feelings do not diminish, and his initial passion is combined with a growing sense of compassion, tenderness and care. Thus, it is typical that he loves her "more tenderly" (cf. "Last Love"), an interesting expression since it has been claimed that tenderness in Russian love contexts recalls the concept of compassion and pity, which were synonymous with love in the Russian language (Gatchev 1994, 21). Such an understanding of love, one might argue, confers new depth also on the love/death-binary. The pity he harbours for his mistress (despite their tumultuous relationship) shines through in every line, and his conscience-stricken sympathy for her sufferings enables him to understand the situation also from her perspective. Some of the poems are even written as if from her female point of view; in this, the cycle reveals a trespassing across not only intergenerational borders, but also gender borders. An example of this would be the poem "Don't say: he loves me like before" (1852), written in the voice of the woman and showing Tiutchev's ability to identify with his female lover's manner of speaking and inner

23 See especially the poem "How murderously we love" (1851).

24 See *ibid*.

25 The words of Lev Tolstoi are therefore very to the point: "Tiutchev is all too serious, he is not joking with his muse" (Chertkova 1960, 362).

world. This ability was noted already by the novelist Ivan Turgenev, who observed that the language of the female heart was "intimate to Tiutchev and easily rendered by him" (1963, 426). The empathy with which the beloved is described adds a new psychological dimension to the lyrical ego's scrutinizing self-searching. The result is a document, shattering in its emotional force, in which the elderly poet investigates his final love with such unconventional, undisguised honesty that it acquires a universal pertinence and touches the hearts of today's readers as well.

The cycle's original approach to a number of traditional themes, its reinvention of Romantic poetry, is also evident in Tiutchev's (or the lyrical I's) criticism of the Russian *beau monde* for its hypocritical condemnation of the "mistress." His writing reflects an awareness of women's precarious place in society and contains an element of social critique seldom encountered in lyrical love verses. This element lends a new facet to Tiutchev's interpretation of the Denis'eva affair and demonstrates once again his ability to combine and bring together flaming passion with psychological and social analysis, thereby destroying established oppositions between elderly wisdom and youthful infatuation. Furthermore, the manner in which Tiutchev in these poems builds his final love into an utterly gripping narrative, making bearable the tragedy of the experiences it is based on through its sheer literary and poetical magnetism, reminds one once again of the words of Karen Blixen: "All sorrows can be borne if you put them into a story." The meaning of this statement could hardly have found a better expression than in "The Denis'eva cycle."

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PART III

Language in Society:

The Politics of Communication

Poverty's Agent: The Framing of Poverty and Responsibility in Colombian Newspapers

Margrete Dyvik Cardona

1. Introduction

Without making any specific claim about the humanities' responsibility in relation to social relevance, this article offers an example of a linguistic research project that has been driven precisely by the desire to address a specific social problem.

In concrete terms, we aim to examine, by way of linguistic analyses, to whom or what the Colombian newspapers assign notions of responsibility, cause or blame when they address the topic of poverty. It is our assumption that specific attitudes may reveal themselves in linguistic patterns (among other things). Here, we examine the verbs that appear in connection with the word *pobreza* (poverty) as syntactic and semantic argument. In particular, we examine the agent, or highest argument (explained below) of the various verbs in detail, since the agent is the initiator of the verbal action, and therefore has the potential of accepting responsibility or blame for the action described.

The analysis considers the topic primarily from a quantitative perspective, in that features will be classified and counted (McEnry and Wilson 1996, 76). However, the analysis is also qualitative in nature, because, according to Susan Conrad (2002):

> all studies include both aspects of analysis to some extent. Recognizing patterns of language use necessarily entails assessing whether a phenomenon is common or unusual—a quantitative assessment. At the

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> same time, numbers alone give little insight about language. Even the most sophisticated quantitative analyses must be tied to functional interpretations of the language patterns. (Conrad 2002, 78)

This study is a contribution to the cross-disciplinary project POLAME, (*Poverty, Language and Media*), whose objective is "to study the language used by the most important newspapers in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Colombia to construct and convey the notions of poverty" (UiB 2016). The project has compiled an electronic linguistic corpus comprised of newspaper articles on poverty from the four countries included in the research project.

The present study is limited to the Colombian newspapers in the POLAME-corpus (*El Tiempo, El Espectador, El Colombiano*), and to verbs that have *pobreza* as part of their subcategorization.[1] Thus, adverbials and other adjuncts[2] have not been taken into account.

In the subsequent sections (2.1–2.2), we review relevant theories related to thematic roles, grammatical voice, lexical aspect and the influence of agenda-setting media.

2. Theoretical considerations

2.1. Argument structure, voice and lexical aspect

From a linguistic standpoint, the examination of a predicate's argument structure represents a formal, efficient and measurable way of identifying and analysing the participants of the event described by the verb. This, in turn, is an indispensable step in the quest for a responsible/culpable party for the concerns addressed by the relevant predicates.

The present paper will employ *Lexical-Functional Grammar's* (LFG) descriptive apparatus for the identification and classification of various kinds of verbs and their arguments. We have chosen this framework because we will be reviewing the relationship between syntactic argu-

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1 The term *subcategorization* is used in *Lexical-Functional Grammar* (*LFG*) theory "to refer to the set of grammatical relations which are specified in a verb's lexical entry" (Kroeger 2008, 17). The *lexical entry* of a word "contains information about the meaning, pronounciation, and grammatical features of that particular word" (Kroeger 2008, 14).

2 An *adjunct* is "a kind of phrase [that] can be added freely to virtually any clause that describes an event" (Kroeger 2008, 7). Thus, an adjunct is not an argument of the predicate (Kroeger 2008, 14).

ments and semantic roles, and the LFG framework is designed to give in-depth accounts of precisely this relationship, among others. LFG operates with three different levels of representation for sentence structure: a(rgument) structure, which deals with predicate-argument information, such as Agent, Patient or Theme; f(unctional) structure, which deals with functional information such as SUBJ and OBJ (Austin 2001, 5); and c(onstituent) structure, which is the overt surface phrasal syntactic representation (Dalrymple 2001, 45).

In the search for an agent and/or a responsible party for the verb action, it is the argument structure that is the most central level. Finocchiaro, Capasso, Cattaneo, Zuanazzi, and Miceli (2015, 223) state that "'argument structure' captures the idea that verbs denote relations between entities, and their role in the event is completely independent of the specific words used." Thus, the argument structure of a verb like *combatir* (combat), which appears frequently in the corpus with the word *pobreza* as argument, could be represented in the following manner:

combatir <agent, patient>

Fig. 1. Argument structure of *combatir*

Furthermore, the predicate is associated with specific grammatical relations that are linked to the arguments that make up the argument structure. The mapping of the relationship between the semantic roles (in the a-structure) and grammatical (in the f-structure) is referred to as linking (Kroeger 2008, 17), and can be represented in the following manner:

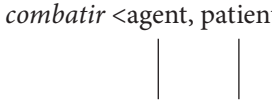

Fig. 2. Linking

Figure (2) illustrates the fact that for *combatir*, its agent-role (see definition below) appears in the subject position in an unmarked sentence, and that the patient-role appears in the object-position. This means that the identification of the syntactic arguments (f-structure) of the verbs in the corpus also makes their semantic arguments (a-structure) accessable.

Kroeger (2008, 9) proposes an inventory of ten thematic roles, eight of which have been identified in the present analysis:[3]

AGENT: causer or initiator of events
EXPERIENCER: animate entity which perceives a stimulus or registers a particular mental or emotional process or state
RECIPIENT: animate entity which receives or acquires something
BENEFICIARY: entity (usually animate) for whose benefit an action is performed
INSTRUMENT: inanimate entity used by an agent to perform some action
THEME: entity which undergoes a change of location or possession, or whose location is being specified
PATIENT: entity which is acted upon, affected, or created; or of which a state or change of state is predicated
STIMULUS: object of perception, cognition, or emotion; entity which is seen, heard, known, remembered, loved, hated, etc.
LOCATION: spatial reference point of an event
ACCOMPANIMENT (or COMITATIVE): entity which accompanies or is associated with the performance of an action

The interaction between these thematic roles and the various kinds of verbs that subcategorize for them, is accounted for in part by the *thematic hierarchy*, which is a hierarchy of relative prominence for the thematic roles (from left to right) (Bresnan 2001, 307). In other words, this hierarchy ranks the thematic roles with respect to their likelihood of functioning as logical subject (Austin 2001, 13). The hierarchy is as follows:

> *Agent* > *beneficiary* > *experiencer/goal* > *instrument* > *patient/theme* > *locative* (Bresnan 2001, 307)

This hierarchy has turned out to be especially relevant for the explication of cases where thematic roles other than the agent function as subject, such as the passive and middle voices.

3 The two thematic roles not identified in the corpus scrutiny were BENEFICIARY and ACCOMPANIMENT.

For the identification of agent/responsible party for the predicates that appear with *pobreza*, it is also necessary to classify the agent roles according to their degree of animacy. This is because an inanimate entity, even if it has the potential of denoting *cause*, cannot be assigned blame or responsibility. Hence, the agents of the different predicates have been classified, among other things, according to Silverstein's animacy hierarchy, as presented by Deane (1987, 67):

> 1st person pronoun > 2nd person pronoun > 3rd person pronoun > 3rd person demonstrative > Proper name > Kin-Term > Human and animate NP > Concrete object > Container > Location > Perceivable > Abstract

For our analysis, we have added a further distinction: plural NPs are lower on the animacy scale than singular NPs, because number has been identified as a feature that influences the animacy of an NP (Bianchi 2006, 2025), and also because the ascription of blame to collective entities is questionable (Pizarro 2014, 234).

Furthermore, since animacy correlates with the aforementioned concept of prominence (shown in the thematic hierarchy), in that agents typically are high in animacy (Fauconnier 2011, 534), the analysis will examine the frequency with which inanimate agents appear with the different predicates. This is relevant because inanimates are not expected, crosslinguistically, to occur as agents (Pizarro 2014, 533), and because they cannot accept blame.

In addition, it will be necessary to examine a specific kind of predicate that does not allow the identification of an agent argument at all. This is the middle voice, made up of unaccusative predicates (García-Miguel 1985, 323), and it is distinguished not only by the absence of an agent, but also by the impossibility of including one; nobody can be implicated as initiator of the process described by the predicate (García-Miguel 1985, 323). This is different from the passive voice, in which the predicate is analysed as having a suppressed agent argument (Austin 2001, 16). This means that, in the case of the middle voice, the verb has a complete argument structure in which the highest argument is some argument other than the agent, whereas for the passive voice, the predicate has an "in-

complete" argument structure, because the agent argument has been suppressed.

There is a third semantic distinction (in addition to argument structure and voice), which is important for the linguistic examination of the ascription of blame, and that is lexical aspect. This is relevant not only because it intersects with argument structure and linking at the lexical-semantic interface (Filip 2012, 721), but also because it reflects what the prospective agent is held responsible for. For example, is he held responsible for *eliminating* poverty, or simply for *combatting* it? In the first case, the verb is telic, while in the second case it is atelic. According to Filip (2012, 721), "Telic verbs express 'an action tending toward a goal', while atelic ones describe situations that 'are realized as soon as they begin'[…]" One specific prediction related to telic and atelic predicates is relevant to our study, and that is the fact that they "yield different patterns in the ordinary […] progressive: an atelic predicate V should licence the inference from the progressive to the perfect (*X is Ving* entails that *X has Ved*), while a telic predicate should not (*X is Ving* does not entail *X has Ved*)" (Marín & McNally 2011, 485). In other words, *X está combatiendo la pobreza*[4] *entails X combatió/ha combatido la pobreza,*[5] *but X está eliminando la pobreza*[6] *does not entail X eliminó/ha eliminado la pobreza.*[7]

Hence, the predicates found in the corpus will not only be classified according to argument structure and voice, but also according to lexical aspect.

2.2. Media influence on public perception

Since the aim of the POLAME project is to ascertain how the agenda-setting media portray poverty, i.e. whether they instil a notion of poverty in the mind of the public that makes it difficult to combat it, it is necessary to consider previous studies that have examined measurable effects on the public of different media portrayals.

Several scholars have found that there is indeed an influence. Wanta, Golan and Lee (2004, 364) state that "under certain circumstances, the news media do tell people what to think by providing the public with an

4 *X is combatting poverty* (all translations are my own).
5 *X has combatted poverty*
6 *X is eliminating poverty*
7 *X has eliminated poverty*

agenda of attributes—a list of characteristics of important newsmakers." Shanto Iyengar (1990, 19) addresses the issue of poverty specifically, and claims: "How people think about poverty is shown to be dependent on how the issue is framed." Martin Gilens (1996, 528) declares that "past research has shown that the mass media can exert a powerful influence on public perceptions and attitudes […]."

Chauhan and Foster (2014, 391) employ the Social Representations Theory (SRT) to explain how this influence works: "The theory rejects the notion of knowledge being a facsimile of some objective event or a mere description of events in the social world. Instead, it considers knowledge to be produced through acts of communication that are guided by the interests of the people involved." This is important, because "[t]he role of public opinion in democratic societies is critical, since it can influence governmental responses to social problems" (Chauhan & Foster 2014, 401).

The aim of the present paper is not to measure the public's response to the way Colombian newspapers' frame poverty, although we operate under the assumption that what we observe here could influence the way the community perceives this pervasive social challenge.

3. Analysis

3.1. Method

The present analysis, like the POLAME project as a whole, uses a linguistic corpus as its empirical basis. The POLAME-corpus is an annotated, searchable compilation of newspaper articles about poverty, from Brazil, Colombia, Agentina and Mexico. It comprises 37 million words, with articles assembled between the years 2000 and 2014. The use of a confined linguistic corpus is of great value for many different kinds of linguistic investigation, because it allows the investigator to carry out exhaustive, linguistically itemized searches on excerpts of authentic language, taking into account all relevant examples, not only those that conform to some pre-conceived hypothesis.

Furthermore, it has been shown that corpus linguistic techniques have been "important for discerning the strong associations that exist between the lexicon and grammatical structures" (Chauhan & Foster 2014, 81), and voice and argument structure, which are what we are focusing on here, are concerned precisely with the association between the lexicon and grammatical structures.

One of the greatest benefits of an electronically stored linguistic corpus, however, is the fact that it is possible to conduct large-scale searches on massive chunks of text in an automated and efficient manner. For the present analysis, this means that we have been able to identify each and every instance in which a verb co-occurrs with the lexeme *pobreza*.

There are, nevertheless, a great many linguistic phenomena that do not lend themselves to automated retrieval. These include the identification and delimitation of a verb's argument structure and voice, as well as the lexical aspect of predicates. A substantial part of the corpus search for the present analysis, therefore, has been conducted manually. This has precluded the possibility of a comprehensive search of the whole corpus, and that is the reason why this paper is limited to the Colombian newspapers. Annelie Ädel (2014, 68) states: "it is often not doable to examine a full set of data qualitatively. An important issue, then, is how to select a subset for further qualitative analysis." The makeup of the POLAME-corpus allows us to select a natural subset, since the corpus is divided into geographical domains.

Hence, our search has been conducted in the following manner: Firstly, the corpus was searched for all strings that contained a verb with the lexeme *pobreza* as one of the five[8] words to the right or to the left of it. The next step was to manually examine the search results to discard any instances in which the lexeme *poverty* was not an argument of the verb. All the remaining verbs were registered and counted individually. Subsequently, the most frequently used verbs were grouped together according to their subcategorization and voice. This step also involved identifying what thematic role the lexeme *pobreza* displayed in each case. Thereafter, the agents of these verbs were examined in further detail to ascertain specifically what kind of entities filled the agent role in each case (see section 3.2 for the specifications).

The following section presents the results of this analysis.

3.2. Results

There are 1564 cases in total of verbs that appear with *pobreza* as argument. These cases represent 82 different verbs. For these verbs, *pobreza* is either the direct object, the subject (of a passive or an active verb), the indirect object, or a prepositional object. The most frequent verbs to oc-

8 This number is a direct result of the corpus' search interface.

cur with *pobreza* as argument, are the following (the number to the right of each verb indicates its number of occurrences):

1. Reducir (reduce) (356)
2. Combatir (combat) (135)
3. Disminuir (diminish/reduce) (96)
4. Aumentar (increase) (88)
5. Superar (get past) (78)
6. Erradicar (eradicate) (78)
7. Medir (measure) (53)
8. Tener (have) (52)
9. Acabar (end) (45)
10. Caer (fall) (42)
11. Luchar (fight) (34)
12. Eliminar (eliminate) (33)

These twelve verbs are the ones whose argument structures will be scrutinized in further detail here.

In order for the analysis of the verbs' argument structures to be relevant for the issue of responsibility framing, we must also classify the verbs according to what kind of action they hold the agent responsible for. For instance, the agent of a verb like *tener* should not be grouped together with the agent of a verb like *eliminar*, because they are not performing the same kind of action (or any action at all, in the case of *tener*).

The analysis of the corpus occurrences has yielded the following four relevant semantic categories for the twelve verbs analysed. Some of the verbs may be categorized as belonging to more than one semantic category, depending on context.

a) *Verbs that refer to solving poverty*
Example: "[…] ya es hora […] de que su multibillonario Departamento de la Prosperidad Social empiece a *erradicar la pobreza* […]."[9] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014)

9 "[…] it is time […] that their multibillionaire department of social prosperity starts to *eradicate poverty* […]." (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

b) *Verbs that refer to cause/culpability for poverty*
Example: "[…] la crisis global de 2008–09 *ha aumentado la pobreza* y el desempleo […]."[10] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014)

c) *Verbs that describe measurement/definition of poverty*
Example: "[…] hoy los indicadores que *miden la pobreza* no se limitan a reviser los ingresos del hogar."[11] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014)

d) *Verbs that describe an agentless rise or fall in poverty*
Example: "Desde 2002 *la pobreza* en América Latina *ha caído* 15,7 puntos porcentuales…"[12] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014)

Table 1. The semantic categories of the verbs

a) Solving poverty		b) Cause of poverty	c) Definition	d) Agentless Rise/fall	
Telic	**Atelic**			**Telic**	**Atelic**
Eliminar (33)	*Reducir* (356)	*Aumentar* (16)	*Medir* (53)	*Acabar* (1)	*Caer* (42)
Erradicar (78)	*Combatir* (135)		*Tener* (52)		*Aumentar* (72)
Superar (78)	*Disminuir* (54)				*Disminuir* (42)
Acabar (44)	*Luchar* (34)				

All in all, these verbs constitute 1090 cases, which were analysed in detail. 74% (812 cases) were instances of verbs referring to solving poverty, 1.5% (16 cases) referred to cause or culpability, 10% (105 cases) described measurement or definition, and 14% (157 cases) described an agentless rise or fall in poverty.

The subsequent step of our analysis involves the examination of each verb's agent argument, or rather the argument highest on the *thematic hierarchy* (see section 2.1). The following modifications to the Silverstein hierarchy (Deane 1987, 67) were made based on our analysis:

a) The three specifications "1st person pronoun > 2nd person pronoun > 3rd person pronoun" have been reduced to "personal pronoun sg > per-

10 "[…] the global crisis of 2008–2009 *has increased poverty* and unemployment […]." (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

11 "[…] today, the indicators that *measure poverty* are not limited to revising household income" (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

12 "Since 2002, *poverty* in Latin-America has *declined* by 15.7 percentage points…" (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

sonal pronoun pl," since all personal pronoun agents in the corpus are 1st person plural.

b) The 3rd person demonstrative, kin-term and concrete object as agents have been eliminated, since they do not appear in the corpus.

c) Singular entities have been placed higher on the scale than plural ones, since our definition of animacy is motivated by our desire to identify a responsible or culpable party, and assigning culpability to a plural entity is questionable (Pizarro 2014, 234).

d) The categories "proper name" and "human and animate NP" have been conflated here, because they have the same kind of reference in the corpus.

Amended animacy hierarchy
Singular personal pronoun > Singular human and animate NP (including proper names) > Plural personal pronouns > Plural human and animate NPs > Container > Location > Perceivable > Abstract

The following kinds of agent were identified in the corpus, with the concepts from the amended animacy scale specified in parenthesis to the right:

Animate agents (from most animate to least animate)
a) One concrete person. (*singular human and animate NP*)
Example: "*El presidente de Chile, Sebastián Piñera*, afirmó hoy que el progreso económico alcanzado por su país le permite estar en condiciones para *erradicar la pobreza* y la desigualdad…"[13] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

b) "Nosotros," "us" pronounced by a representative of a specific group. (*plural personal pronouns*)
Example: "Hoy ven*imos* a Quibidó a enfrentar la realidad junto a ustedes, decididos a *combatir la pobreza* extrema desde la zona…"[14] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014)

13 "*The president of Chile, Sebastián Piñera*, affirmed today that the economic progress his country has achieved puts it in a situation to *eradicate poverty* and inequality" (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

14 "[…] today *we* come to Quibidó to face reality together with you, [and we are] com-

c) "Nosotros," "us" general. ("Us" as citizens, or "us" as humans) (*plural personal pronouns*)
Example: "Es un discurso que afirma que si quere*mos* algún día salir del subdesarrollo, *eliminar la pobreza* y disminuir drásticamente la desigualdad, Colombia demanda en muchas áreas unas políticas, no de gobierno, sino de Estado"[15] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

d) Group of people, plural form (*plural human and animate NPs*).
Example: "En los últimos diez años *los vietnamitas* han logrado *reducir la pobreza* en un 67%…"[16] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

e) People in general. (*plural human and animate NPs*)
"[…] *algunos* querrán matar a los pobres para *acabar con la pobreza* o eliminar a los ricos…"[17] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

Inanimate agents (from most animate to least animate)
f) Organization (political, religious or ideological) (*container*).
Example: "*El gobierno de Santos* hizo lo que ningún otro había podido o querido. *Acabar con la pobreza* en Colombia"[18] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

g) Geographical or administrative area (*location*).
Example: "*América Latina* afronta el desafío de evitar la violencia de género, *disminuir la pobreza*, adaptarse al cambio climático…"[19] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

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mitted to *combatting extreme poverty* in the zone…" (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

15 "It is a discourse which affirms that, if *we* one day want to overcome our underdevelopment, *eliminate poverty* and drastically reduce inequality. Colombia demands policies in many areas, not governmental policies, but state policies" (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

16 "In the last ten years *the Vietnamese* have succeeded in *reducing poverty* by 67%" (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

17 "[…] *some* will want to kill the poor in order to *end poverty,* or eliminate the rich…" (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

18 "*Santos' government* did what no other had been able or willing to. *End poverty* in Colombia" (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

19 "*Latin-America* faces the challenge of avoiding violence against women, *reducing poverty*, adapting to climate change…" (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

h) Scale of measurement (*perceivable*).
Example: "Según *el coeficiente Gini*, que *mide el nivel de pobreza* por la concentración del ingreso en la ciudad, […]"[20] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

i) Process or activity (*abstract*).
Example: "Según el presidente, *el crecimiento económico*, que este año será del orden del 4,5%, tiene un gran impacto social pues 'está reduciendo las desigualdades, *está reduciendo la pobreza*, […]"[21] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

j) Social phenomenon (*abstract*).
Example: "La Organización Mundial del Turismo (OMT) resaltó en la Cumbre de Johannesburgo, clausurada ayer, el creciente papel que *el turismo* puede jugar para *erradicar la pobreza* y lograr el desarrollo sostenible"[22] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

k) Social program (*abstract*).
Example: "El mejor camino es adoptar *un nuevo modelo* que rectifique los desvaríos neoliberales y contribuya a *erradicar la pobreza* y reducir las desigualdades"[23] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

The results of the analysis show that: of the agents of the telic verbs that refer to solving the problem (*erradicar, eliminar, superar, acabar* (233 cases)),

20 "According to *the Gini coefficient*, which *measures levels of poverty* according to the concentration of income in the city…" (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

21 "According to the president, *the economic growth*, which this year is 4.5%, has a substantial social impact because 'it is reducing inequality, it is *reducing poverty*…" (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

22 "At the Johannesburg summit, which ended yesterday, the World Tourist Organization emphasized the increasing role that *tourism* may play in the *eradication of poverty* (e.g. *to eradicate poverty*) and in achieving sustainable development" (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

23 "The best way forward is to adopt *a new model*, which rectifies the neo-liberal nonsense and contributes to *eradicating poverty* and reducing inequality" (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

32% are non-identifiable
14% are a political, religious or ideological organization
9% are singular persons
6.5% are social programs
6% are groups of people, in the plural form
5% are a general *us* (citizens or human beings)
5% are processes or activities
5% are geographical or administrative areas
3% are people in general
2.5% are social phenomena
1.6% are an *us*, representative of a specific group

Of the agents of the atelic verbs that refer to solving the problem (*reducir, disminuir, luchar, combatir* (579 cases)),

39% are non-identifiable
14% are a geographical or administrative area
12% are political, religious or ideological organizations
7.5% are singular persons
6.5% are processes or activities
6% are social programs
3.5% are groups of people, in the plural form
3% are social phenomena
2% are an *us* representative of a specific group
1% are a general *us* (citizens or human beings)
1% are people in general

Of the agents of the verbs that refer to cause or culpability (*aumentar* (16 cases)),

44% are social phenomena
39% are processes or activities
11% are social programs

Of the agents/highest arguments of the verbs that describe measurement or definition of poverty (*medir, tener* (105 cases)),

34% are non-identifiable
21% are geographical or administrative areas
14.5% are the lexeme *pobreza*
6% are general *us* (citizens or human beings)
4% are singular persons
4% are scales of measurement
4% are political, religious or ideological organizations
4% are NPs with *pobreza* as modifier
3% are are groups of people, in the plural form
2% are processes or activities
1% are social phenomena

The highest argument of the telic verbs that describe an agentless rise or fall in poverty (only *acabar*, and only 1 case) is the lexeme *pobreza*.

Of the highest arguments of the atelic verbs that describe an agentless rise or fall in poverty (*disminuir, caer, aumentar* (156 cases)),

83% are the lexeme *pobreza*
17% are NPs with *pobreza* as modifier[24]

Before we extract the most important findings from the preceding overview, it is important to revisit the thematic hierarchy and consider how it accounts for the argument structure of some of these predicates. Some of the verbs that have received a detailed scrutiny of their highest argument, lack an agent argument altogether. This is the case for *tener*, *caer*, and some cases of *acabar*, *disminuir* and *aumentar*.

1) "Hasta 1995, *la pobreza rural* también *cayó* más rápidamente que la urbana…"[25] (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

For all of these verbs, the highest, and only, argument, is the *patient*: "entity which is acted upon, affected, or created; or of which a state or change of state is predicated" (Kroeger 2008, 9). Since the patient is the only argument in these cases, it is the only one that can be assigned the subject

24 The head of these NPs are the nouns *cifra, nivel* or *índice*.

25 "Until 1995, *rural poverty* also *decreased* (e.g. *fell*) more rapidly than urban poverty…" (Quiroz and Tamayo 2014).

position. All these predicates, except for *tener*, are cases of the middle voice. *Tener* is not a case of the middle voice because it does not denote a *process* that affects the subject's referent (García-Miguel 1985, 323, RAE 2009, 3037–38), but rather a *state*.

In summary, the main findings of the present analysis are the following:

1) There are more than 16 times as many cases of verbs referring to solving poverty as there are of verbs referring to cause.
2) Among the verbs referring to solving the problem, there are more than twice as many atelic verbs as there are telic ones. In other words, mentions of combatting and minimizing poverty are far more frequent than mentions of eliminating or terminating it altogether.
3) For the verbs that referred to cause or culpability, none of the agents are animate.
4) 31% of all agents/highest arguments, for all of the verbs, are non-identifiable.
5) For verbs referring to solving poverty, the most frequent agent arguments are *political, religious or ideological organizations*.
6) For verbs referring to cause or culpability, the most frequent agent argument is *social phenomena*.
7) The most frequent highest argument for verbs of measurement or definition is *geographical area*.
8) 19% of all of the verbs examined describe an agentless rise or fall in poverty.

4. Conclusions

The aim of the present article has been to use linguistic analysis to examine to whom or what Colombian newspapers assign notions of responsibility, cause or blame when they address the topic of poverty. Several scholars (Wanta, Golan & Lee 2004; Iyengar 1990; Gilens 1996; Chauhan & Foster 2014) have found that mass media can exert a powerful influence on public perceptions and attitudes. The present paper operates on the assumption that what we observe here could influence the way the community perceives this pervasive social challenge.

In order to ascertain how Colombian newspapers assign notions of responsibility, cause or blame, we have examined the verbs that appear

with the word "pobreza" as syntactic and semantic argument. We have based the analysis on the LFG framework, and scrutinized the agent, or highest argument of the various verbs in detail, since the agent is the initiator of the verbal action, and thus has the potential to accept responsibility or blame for the action described.

For the identification of the agent/responsible party of the predicates that appear with *pobreza*, we classified the agent roles according to their degree of animacy, using a modified version of Silverstein's animacy hierarchy (Deane 1987, 67). An animacy ranking was deemed necessary because an inanimate entity, despite having the potential of denoting *cause*, cannot be assigned blame or responsibility.

The predicates' lexical aspect was also registered, both because it intersects with argument structure and linking at the lexical-semantic interface, and because it reflects what the prospective agent is held responsible for, an accomplished action, such as *eliminate*, or a process, such as *combat*.

The verbs were also subdivided into the following four semantic categories:

a) Verbs that refer to solving poverty
b) Verbs that refer to cause/culpability for poverty
c) Verbs that describe measurement/definition of poverty
d) Verbs that (lexically) describe an agentless rise or fall in poverty

The most important findings were:

1) There are more than 16 times as many cases of verbs referring to solving poverty as there are verbs referring to cause.
2) Among the verbs referring to solving the problem, there are more than twice as many atelic verbs as there are telic ones. In other words, mentions of combatting and minimizing poverty are far more frequent than mentions of eliminating or terminating it altogether.
3) For the verbs that refer to cause or culpability, none of the agents are animate.
4) 31% of all agents/highest arguments, for all the verbs, are non-identifiable.

5) For verbs referring to solving poverty, the most frequent agent arguments are *political, religious or ideological organizations*.
6) For verbs referring to cause or culpability, the most frequent agent argument is *social phenomena*.
7) The most frequent highest argument for verbs of measurement or definition is *geographical area*.
8) 19% of all of the verbs examined described an agentless rise or fall in poverty.

It is worth noting that none of the verbs have arguments that refer to the general public's *attitude* towards poverty, i.e. their perception of it, which is the focal point for the POLAME-project. In other words, society's perception of the poor as victims or culprits, and the effects this view may have on the fight to overcome poverty, is not reflected in the verbal argument structure of the articles in the newspapers examined.

The present study could, and should, be used as a basis for a comparative scrutiny of the same phenomena for the other countries represented in the POLAME-project. It may also benefit from a supplementary study that takes into account a larger segment of the linguistic contexts in which the verbs considered occur.

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Culture as Politics: A Note on Language Legislation in Putin's Russia

Ingunn Lunde

1. Introduction: culture as politics

One of the goals of this volume, and of the conference that led to its compilation, is to highlight the significance of our fields, to show the world the ways in which languages—and modern language studies—are important; to demonstrate that language, history, culture, literature—and knowledge about these topics—are essential to society. Now, there are a variety of possible answers to the question "important to whom?" In this article, I will discuss some of the ways in which culture in general, and language in particular, has become an important focus of attention for the authorities in today's Russia—for a particular purpose. Over the last decade, Russian authorities have significantly increased their involvement in the field of culture, creating programmes for the patriotic education of citizens ("O programme" 2015), adopting new laws and regulations that apply to film, literature and art (Gorham & Weiss 2016/17), and exploring the capital of culture for all it is worth (Schmid 2015). It is important to gain a firm grasp of the state's renewed interest in culture, in order to assess its impact in the broader context of Russian politics and society. In the following, I will discuss a few concrete examples of state involvement in the cultural sphere, focusing in particular on the question of language legislation.

"Culture" has in recent years entered state documents where one would think there was little room for it; for example, the latest Russian national security strategy, adopted on New Years Eve, 2015. Here, "culture" comes in as one of nine thematic sections, with a particular focus

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on the possible "dissolution of traditional Russian spiritual and moral values," which is represented as a threat to national security. The phrase "traditional spiritual and moral values" is repeated eleven times in the document and further specified as

> the priority of the spiritual over the material, the protection of human life, human rights and human freedom, the family, constructive labour, service to the homeland, moral and ethical norms, humanism, compassion, justice, collaboration, collectivity, the historical unity of Russia's peoples, the continuity of Russian history. (Ukaz Prezidenta 2015)

These values, we learn, are threatened by Western values, which may be spread both through information campaigns and "poor-quality" foreign popular culture.

The phrase "traditional Russian spiritual and moral values"[1] clearly echoes another state strategy document, the "Framework for a State Policy on Culture" signed by Vladimir Putin in December 2014, which emphasizes, in particular, the need to convey these values to the younger generation. The state policy on culture, we read, "is designed to ensure the strategic cultural and humanistic development as the foundation for economic prosperity, national sovereignty and the country's civilizational identity" (Osnovy 2014).[2]

The attention paid to the younger generations is particularly evident in the field of history and history teaching in schools. In 2013, President Putin launched the idea of a "universal history textbook," a retelling of Russian history free from ambivalences and diverging interpretations. The idea was a response to a series of controversies during the previous decade about the various history books used in schools and their representation of Russia's totalitarian past (Zvereva 2009). The debate reached a climax with the publication of a new series of textbooks in 2007, the so-called Filippov books, named after one of their main authors. In their representation of the darker chapters of Soviet history, these books em-

1 For a systematic investigation of the concept of "spiritual-moral values" and its way from the political fringe to the centre of Russian public security debate, see Østbø 2016.

2 Here and in further quotations, translations are my own.

phasized "positive results" and "necessary measures," while suppressing or belittling the situation of the victims of Stalinist repression. The public response to these books was mixed and ranged from active support to open letters of protest (Enstad 2011). After a few years work on a "universal history textbook," the idea was abandoned; meanwhile, a new "historical-cultural standard" has been agreed upon that will lay the foundation for a whole range of textbooks in several school subjects, and should "terminate the excessive intellectual disputes of the 1990s, the senseless 'pluralism' of opinions on the history of the country and the importunate ideologized interpretations of the most important historical events," as Minister of Culture Vladimir Medinskii expressed himself on the matter (Medinskii 2016).

A number of institutions have responded with great enthusiasm to the state's more pronounced involvement in the cultural sphere. 13 January 2015, the Military History Society posted the following statement on their homepage, signed by, among others, Deputy Prime Minister Dmitrii Rogozin, Minister of Culture Vladimir Medinskii and film maker Nikita Mikhalkov:

> […] We cannot lose the youth! We need a consolidation of state and society based on the values that our history has inseminated in us. We need a patriotic current in public consciousness. We need movies, books, exhibitions, modern video games, a patriotic Internet, patriotic radio and TV. Against us—and therefore against the truth—there's a new blitzkrieg. We need to support the president's course and launch an ideological counter-attack on all fronts—in this war for the peoples' minds. (Zaiavlenie 2013)

The Military History Society, together with other institutions and societies, has been instrumental in carrying out the five-year programmes for patriotic education that were initiated in the early 2000s and that have been extended for several periods. The programme features summer camps, courses, exhibitions and activities that give young people a sense of "belonging to Russia's great history and culture" (O programme 2015).

Policies related to both the culture documents and the national security strategy highlight the role of the Russian language, which is considered fundamental to Russian culture and history. Turning now to

the field of language cultivation, linguistic regulation and legislation, it is evident that state involvement has been considerable for more than a decade. What is new in the linguistic policy of recent years is, once again, the turn towards culture.

2. Language policy in post-Soviet Russia

During the first post-Soviet decade, the state showed little interest in questions of language legislation. This changed with the turn of the century, and in 2005, The Russian Federation adopted a Law on the State Language of the Russian Federation, following years of lively debate, both within and outside parliament and government commissions. Research on both the debate and the law itself has convincingly demonstrated the ideological goals behind the legislative initiative, and how ideas about language policy are closely intertwined with notions of national identity and statehood (Ryazanova-Clarke 2006). Linguist Maksim Krongauz went so far as to call the 2005 law a "patriotic utterance" (Krongauz 2005). As stated above, the "patriotic" trend toward government involvement in the cultural sphere has grown stronger in recent years. With regard to language legislation, it is possible to sense, already in the process leading up to the 2005 law, a shift of focus away from questions about minority languages and linguistic rights, fields that sociolinguists usually refer to as *status planning* (and that had played a decisive role in late Soviet and early post-Soviet language legislation in the (former) Soviet republics). There was a move towards a greater emphasis on questions about standardization, norms and the nature and functional realms of Russian, questions that belong to the field of *corpus planning*. One of the most contested paragraphs in the discussions about the 2005 law concerned the norms of the standard language. It states:

> 6. When using Russian as the state language of the Russian Federation, it is forbidden to use words and expressions that do not comply with the norms of contemporary Russian standard language, with the exception of foreign words which do not have commonly used equivalents. (Zakon 2005)

As Lara Ryazanova-Clarke points out (2006, 49), the text reflects a very non-linguistic, unprofessional view of language, suggesting that "loan-

words" either have "equivalents" or not, in which case they are acceptable. Furthermore, it refers to "the norms of the standard language" without specifying, but with a clear underlying assumption that such a concept is possible to define and refer to. While it is obvious that a legal document cannot set out the details of a definition on the same level as, for example, a scholarly linguistic text, the wording of the law's text seems to reflect an understanding of "the norms of the standard language" as a fixed and defined entity. At the same time, the concept emerges as a rather abstract notion of the highest variety of the language within a hierarchy of varieties. In other words, the text of the law reflects a linguistic culture informed by a standard language *ideology* in the sense of Lesley and James Milroy's conception of the standard language as an "idea in the mind rather than a reality—a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent" (Milroy & Milroy 1985, 22–3).

Russia is indeed a country with a strong standard language ideology. Adherence to linguistic norms has traditionally played an important role in Russian language culture, which is also characterized by a strong tradition of linguistic cultivation, a centralized linguistic policy, the high status of normative and authoritative dictionaries and grammars, and the promotion of the one and only correct standard language in schools. With perestroika, glasnost and the subsequent breakup of the Soviet Union, shifting linguistic ideologies contributed to the questioning of the authority of the standard language. As a result, there was a strong tendency to relax the norm in official speech culture, in the mass media and in other written genres, including literature; and, with the advent of new media technology, in digital genres. The norms of the standard language were challenged by two main sources: a massive influx of words from English, the language of globalization; and a dissemination of "internal" loans from various non-standard varieties of Russian, such as jargon, slang, or verbal profanity. It is therefore not surprising that the language debates of the 1990s and early 2000s were dominated by these two issues—foreign loanwords and non-standard varieties—and that the paragraph about the norms of the standard language was also among the most contested in discussions about the 2005 law.[3]

3 Research on post-Soviet language culture is growing, see Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999), Krysin (2000–2012), Gorham, Lunde & Paulsen (2014) and Gorham (2014) with bibliographies.

The vagueness surrounding the definitions of "norm," "standard" and, for that matter, "state language" in the 2005 law becomes all the more obvious in view of the implementation of the law. Who is to decide whether a foreign word has a Russian equivalent? Who is to define whether a particular instance of language usage complies with "the norms of contemporary standard Russian?" Although linguistic expertise was drawn upon in specific cases (see Levontina 2005; Baranov 2007; Weiss 2008; 2009; Brinev 2009), the law on the Russian language seems to have been notoriously difficult to implement. Nevertheless, its role as part of the nation-building project of the Russian state from the 2000s onwards has been quite clear and as such, the law should be seen in the context of the many state initiatives promoting linguistic cultivation in the 2000s. These include the "Russian Language" federal target programme (2002–2020), which has sponsored conferences and festivals on language-related topics, information campaigns, publications, TV and radio broadcasts; the internet site Gramota.ru (2000–), which offers authoritative grammatical and lexical resources and an information service that as of May 2016 had received and answered more than 288,000 questions; the "Year of the Russian Language 2007," associated with numerous events in Russia and abroad promoting the study of Russian, as well as its status as an international means of communication, and many others.

3. The 2014 anti-obscenity law

In recent years, the trend has been to widen the contexts in which the use of the "state language" of the Russian Federation is required, and consequently, in which Russian, according to the law, has to "adhere to the norms of the standard language." These contexts now include essential cultural fora, such as literature, music and theatre. These latest amendments to the Law on the State Language of the Russian Federation took effect on 1 July 2014. They ban the use of obscene language in film, theatre and public performances of music or literature. The original 2005 law, as mentioned, already contained a passage forbidding "the use of words and expressions that do not comply with the norms of contemporary Russian standard language, with the exception of foreign words which do not have commonly used equivalents" (Zakon 2005). In the revised law, the phrase "including uncensored swearing" was added in brackets after "Russian standard language," and the law includes a set of new contexts

where Russian has to adhere to these (revised) norms of the standard language: "in public performances of literature, art, folk art, in the form of theatre, cultural, educational and entertainment events" (Zakon 2014). Another important detail is that the original law contained a passage allowing for the use of non-normative language in contexts where this use "is an indispensable part of the artistic idea" (Zakon 2005). This passage has now been deleted.

The revised law does not prohibit writing, publishing or selling books or songs that contain non-normative words. What is forbidden is the performance of this kind of material publicly. However, books and audiovisual material with non-normative words have to include a notice warning of their content (e.g. "contains uncensored swearing"). Offenders face fines of up to 2,500 rubles for individuals and up to 50,000 rubles for organizations.

The question of where to draw the line between forbidden words and "only bad" but not forbidden expressions was hardly discussed, probably because this issue was considered to have been resolved by parliament's approval a year earlier of a law banning the use of profanity in mass media. In this instance, the Federal Service for Supervision of Communications, Information Technology and Mass Media (Roskomnadzor), with the help of linguists from the Russian Academy of Sciences' Russian Language Institute, produced a list of four words: *khui*, *pizda*, *ebat'* and *bliad'*. These words, and their large number of derivatives, are forbidden.[4] In addition, the text of the new law refers to the use of "independent expertise" where there is any doubt.[5]

With the Russian language's rich resources for inflection, word formation and phraseological creativity, the actual possibilities for forming words and phrases based on these four roots are essentially without limits (see Plutser-Sarno 2001; 2005). This makes it all the more surpris-

4 The four words were listed in the letter from the linguists of the Academy of Sciences, whereas the mass media, where traditions of linguistic self-censorship were already strong, tended to use the circumscriptions found in Roskomnadzor documents: "The uncensored designation of the male sexual organ, the uncensored designation of the female sexual organ, the uncensored designation of the process of intercourse, and the uncensored designation of a woman of immoral conduct, and also all words formed of these linguistic elements." (Zykov and Kondrat'ev 2013). English equivalents would be 'cock', 'cunt', 'fuck' and 'slut'.

5 For general and specific discussions of the use of linguistic expertise in legal cases, see Levontina 2005, Baranov 2007, Weiss 2008; 2009, Brinev 2009.

ing that the discussions of the proposed law in the parliament did not touch upon the difficult question of drawing lines between the forbidden and the tolerated. Several factors, such as euphemization or word play, may influence the meaning of a phrase that formally contains an obscene word; and, vice versa, vagueness or ellipsis may produce statements that clearly function as verbal profanity, but without using the actual forbidden word.[6] Thus, the four-word list produced by Roskomnadzor clearly reflects a conception of language in which such instances of potential semantic ambiguity are not taken into account.

The motivations for proposing the new law were formulated in terms that the reader will recognize from my introductory remarks: the prohibition of verbal obscenity should safeguard the moral and spiritual standards of citizens, in particular those of children, as summed up by one of the bill's initiators, E.Ia. Rakhmatullina:

> The present legislative proposal is, in fact, first of all aimed at the cultivation and protection of a healthy spirituality (*dukhovnost'*) and morality, at the formation of a culture of speech and communication in contemporary society. In addition, one of the most important tasks today is the protection of the younger generation against attacks of anti-culture, also including the linguistic sphere, of phenomena that have a harmful effect on its morality and spiritual well-being. (Pervoe chtenie 2013)

This set of motivations fits well with the conservative values highlighted in Russia's recent initiatives in cultural policy, as evident in the "Framework for a State Policy of Culture" (Osnovy 2014), and reflects the general tendency towards stronger government involvement in the cultural sphere that I contextualized briefly above (see Kalinin 2015, Schmid 2015).

The law against verbal obscenity (usually called *mat* in Russian) has been widely discussed and debated in the mass media by politicians, journalists, linguists, writers, theatre directors and other artists.[7] Arguments in favour of the law have tended to repeat the concern about

6 Levin (1996) provides a very useful categorization; see also Daniel Weiss' (2008) discussion with illustrative examples.

7 In a recent article, I have studied the reactions to this new law from people in the cultural field (Lunde 2017).

moral standards, culminating in keywords such as *bezdukhovnost'* ("lack of spiritual culture") and *bespredel* ("lawlessness"),[8] while arguments against it focused on the dangers of censorship in art. In addition, the usual Russian clichés about verbal obscenity were frequently heard, as emblematically expressed in filmmaker Nikita Mikhalkov's comment: "Russian obscenity (*russkii mat*) is one of the greatest and most subtle inventions of the Russian people, and impossible to translate into other languages" (Naralenkova 2014).

One may wonder why Mikhalkov, a strong supporter of president Putin who was one of the signees of the patriotic statement by the Military History Society (quoted above), comes in here too, now as a great supporter of Russian verbal obscenity. This has to do with the special status of obscenity among the non-standard linguistic registers of Russian. It not only enjoys authority and legitimacy among users with liberal attitudes towards linguistic variation and non-standard language, but is also endorsed by larger groups in society, including cultural and intellectual elites that otherwise support the hegemony of the standard language.

Writers, artists and cultural activists have either ignored the new law, not taking it seriously, or expressed their strong indignation, for example by organizing protests in the honour of verbal obscenity (Lunde 2017). The protests culminated in a nationwide event on 30 June 2014 where writers, actors, musicians and artists in nine Russian cities organized performances of texts, songs, films and plays that contain obscene language. At 11:59 pm, a moment of silence was held for verbal obscenity, before the new law took effect. One major ambition of such actions was to highlight the great significance of verbal obscenity in Russian culture and its implications; these dimensions of obscenity were felt to be reduced ad absurdum with the listing and banning of four words. The protest events tried to present verbal obscenity as something that cannot be isolated from the rest of the language and therefore constitutive of "Russian culture." For example, Zarema Zaudinova, theatre director and organizer of one of the protest events, explained that "Our cultural-*mat* action is not motivated by a wish to use obscene language, but to show that *mat* in art, in particular in literature, is a means of expression that allows one to disclose the essence of a phenomenon. It's a totally peaceful action by those

8 On this term and its broader context, see Gorham 2014, 93–97, Borenstein 2008, 197–212.

who love art and the Russian language […]" (Panikhida 2014). It should be noted that Zaudinova labels the event *kul'turno-maternoe meropriiatie*, combining the two adjectives "cultural" and *maternoe* ("relating to *mat*"), and brings together *mat* and "the Russian language" in a relationship bordering on equivalency.

Online discussions about the law and the protest events stress that the question about *mat* in art and *mat* in everyday language is a question of two totally different kinds of obscenity: "We advocate 'cultural *mat*'. 'Literary *mat*', not abuse. *Mat* in art is something different. It's not vulgar abuse." (Stiazhkin 2014). Actor and artist Sergei Pakhomov plays openly on the quasi-sacred status of *mat* in Russian culture in his sarcastic comment on the law, and urges the authorities to go even further in the prosecution of "holy language":

> I actually support the law on *mat*. For the simple reason that we get even more of those secret, sacred things. That is, when prohibited, *mat* becomes "holy *mat*," the language of the chosen ones. The fear of being punished for the use of *mat* words is, on the one hand, huge; on the other hand, there is no such fear at all. Until we have the first public execution for *mat*, it will remain in a semi-holy state, you know. But as soon as the first person is publicly executed for the use of *mat*, it will finally become a sacred language. (Karev et al. 2014)

This sarcastic stance illustrates the total lack of trust that characterizes the attitude of intellectuals, and more generally, of the "creative class,"[9] towards the authorities and lawmakers during the third presidency of Vladimir Putin. In this sense, the distinctive form of the protest events can also be linked to the wider context of protest culture in Russia today. In the autumn of 2011, when Putin's candidacy for a third presidential term was announced, many writers, artists, film-makers, journalists and intellectuals joined the wave of protests that followed, and, more gener-

9 "Creative class" is a term coined by Richard Florida (2002) and originally applied to the US, but which has gained currency in Russia as a label designating the emerging cluster of young, urban, educated people including cultural workers, creative professionals, journalists and entrepreneurs. A frequently debated concept (e.g. Saprykin et al. 2012), the term came to prominence during the post-election protests of 2011 and 2012.

ally, took a more active political stance than previously.[10] Since May 2012, the intensified crackdown on free expression and the flood of new legislative measures limiting civil rights have significantly stifled the voices of dissent, including those of artists and intellectuals. Recourse to the kind of "creative responses" that were evident in the protests against the 2014 law (Lunde 2017) is also a direct consequence of distrust in the effectiveness (and even possibility) of more traditional means of protest and opposition. A potent mixture of sentiments—including concern for the freedom of art, strong emotions "on behalf of" verbal obscenity, and a generally playful and ironic style—informs the protest events, which together contribute a clear voice to the debate about verbal prohibition in the realm of culture.

4. Concluding remarks

The case of the 2014 anti-obscenity law reveals some of the problems involved when the cultural realm becomes subjected to official regulations. With the new laws of 2013 and 2014 banning obscene language in the mass media, film, literature and cultural performances, verbal prohibition has entered a new phase in Russia. The use of obscenity had been the object of legislative measures in post-Soviet Russia before 2013; it figures in §130 of the Criminal Code on insults and in the Code of Administrative Offenses' §20.20 on petty hooliganism. However, there is a crucial difference between using obscene language in an insult and using obscene language on stage or in a song, as part of an artistic representation. In the cases of insults and petty hooliganism, the obscene expressions are intentionally directed against a particular person in order to offend him or her.[11] It is meant to be an insult, someone suffers and complains about it. This is not the case when profanity is used in the mass media and even less so when it figures in literature, film or theatre.

In the reactions to the 2014 law, there is a constant urge to demonstrate that obscene language used in artistic expression is fundamentally different from obscenity used in everyday life. Art is considered a special

10 For broader assessments of the role of art in protest movements in contemporary Russia, see Gabowitsch (2013) and Jonson (2015).

11 It is, of course, sometimes very difficult to prove whether verbal obscenity is used with the intention of offending, since it has so many other functions and meanings (see Levin 1996; Weiss 2008).

case, and the new regulations are perceived as a gross violation of the right to define the conditions of artistic expression. At the crux of the matter are conflicting claims to the power to define culture, define language usage and define the conditions of artistic expression. The question of legislating the use of verbal obscenity is a particularly interesting one, since verbal obscenity is by many people obviously viewed as part of the "great Russian culture," on the one hand, but does not fit the state's conception of "spiritual and moral values" to be supported by its cultural policy, on the other.

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Why Regional Prosodic Variation is Worth Studying: An Example from Russian

Margje Post

1. Introduction

This paper is based on a talk in which I presented a few of the many arguments for the relevance of studying and teaching foreign languages at Norwegian universities; and since the author is a specialist in Russian linguistics, it focusses on Russian in the Scandinavian context. For this reason, most examples are taken from Russian or from Scandinavian languages. In particular, this essay will argue for the value of studying regional prosodic variation in Russian, which is one of the main keys to identifying the regional origin of a speaker. However, most arguments are valid for language studies in general, and could just as well have been exemplified with other languages.

The paper is built up as follows: first, I will give some general arguments for the study and teaching of foreign languages, followed by a gradual narrowing of the focus to consider the relevance of Russian regional prosody and its potential social meanings, with particular reference to the first results of our own studies. Finally, a planned corpus project for Russian regional speech is presented, which will address this neglected area.

2. The importance of studying and teaching foreign languages

Language is an essential part of all research, since it is our most important means of communication. Societies need people with a solid knowledge of foreign languages, as acknowledged in the newly published Parliamentary Report on the Humanities, which maintains that foreign-

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language competence in Norway must be enhanced (Meld. St. 25 (2016–2017), § 6.1).[1] As philologists, we teach our students to read original texts carefully.[2] Translations are mere approximations of the meaning of the original utterance. Students of foreign languages learn the nuances in meaning of utterances in other languages, as well as the cultural and social context details that are necessary to interpret them. This competence is now more essential than ever.

I would like to add that we teach not only how to *read*, but, ideally, also how to *listen* carefully. Speech is prior to writing, and a great deal of information is communicated by the way sounds, words and utterances are pronounced; information that is not conveyed in written language.

3. The many linguistic and indexical functions of speech...

Speech provides various kinds of information simultaneously. In addition to fulfilling linguistic functions, speech is also a rich source of so-called indexical information:[3] it expresses emotions and attitudes, it reflects personal characteristics of the speaker and it provides sociolinguistic (social and geographical) information about the speaker and the speech situation (Abercrombie 1967; Laver & Trudgill 1979; Foulkes, Scobbie & Watt 2010).

... and of prosody

An essential part of speech is its prosody—the suprasegmentals of speech,[4] such as stress, tone, rhythm and intonation, expressed in the pitch contour, (relative) length and loudness, which can be measured acoustically as fundamental frequency, duration and amplitude. Whereas speech is prior to writing, prosody is prior to the segmental features of speech. Research has shown that, already before they are born, babies

1 "Fremmedspråkskompetansen må styrkes" (Meld. St. 25 (2016–2017), § 6.1)

2 As pointed out by our Danish colleague Tine Roesen, when visiting our Institute of Foreign Languages at the University of Bergen on 23 November 2016.

3 The term index in the sense of marker was introduced by Pierce and elaborated by Abercrombie (1967). Laver & Trudgill (1979) give a clear introduction to the formers' usage of the term.

4 Following Amalia Arvaniti, I prefer the term prosody to suprasegmentals, so as to avoid the layering metaphor inherent in the latter. She argues that prosody is not supplementary to segmentals (as the layering metaphor implies), but an integral part of speech organization and intricately linked to the realization of segments (Arvaniti, to appear).

learn to distinguish their mother's language from other languages, based on prosodic information, primarily melody.[5]

Like speech in general, the prosody of spoken language serves both phonological (linguistic) and indexical functions. Three linguistic functions of prosody that are addressed in my language of study, Russian, are exemplified here. First, the position of stress can discriminate lexical meaning (Russian *'zamok*[6] "castle" vs. *za'mok* "lock"). Second, the difference between statement and yes/no-question can be expressed by intonation only:

1) È*to* podarok^{L*}.[7] "This is a gift." vs.
2) È*to* podarok^{H*L}? "Is this a gift?"

Third, the placement of pitch accents is used to express information structure, just as in English:

3) È*to* moj *dom*^{L*}. "This is my *house*." vs.
4) A è*to* *tvoj*^{HL*} dom. "And this is *your* house."

Prosody also reflects emotions and attitudes. A hearer is not interested in just the semantic content of what a speaker says, as pointed out by Pike in 1945:

> The hearer is frequently more interested in his attitude than in his words—that is, whether a sentence is 'spoken with a smile' or with a sneer […] If one says something insulting, but smiles in face and voice, the utterance may be a great compliment; but if one says something very complementary, but with an intonation of contempt, the result is an insult. (Pike 1945, 22)

5 See e.g. Mampe et al. (2009) and the references therein.

6 Russian words are transliterated to Latin script following Comrie & Corbett's (1993) transliteration system.

7 The pitch accents (intonation of the main pitch movements) are notated following the ToRI intonation transcription system (Odé 2008). L and H stand for a low resp. high tone; H* stands for a high tone target on the accented syllable. The pitch accent L* corresponds to a prototypical realisation of the intonational construction IK-1 in the better known intonation framework of Bryzgunova (Bryzgunova 1980); HL* corresponds to prototypical IK-2 and H*L to IK-3.

Finally, prosodic cues indicate personal and social attributes of the speaker, such as age, gender, social class, communities and networks, and regional provenance. The prosodic expression of emotions and social attributes is partly universal; for example, children speak with a high pitch level, and relatively high pitch in a speaker's pitch range expresses arousal. However, most prosodic information has a language-specific encoding (Ladd 1996, 292) and every language shows language-internal, sociolinguistic prosodic variation. Sociolinguistic differences carry social meaning: whereas some sociolinguistic variables that indicate social group identity are not consciously noticed by speakers of the language, others are salient and evoke strong attitudes.

Thus, a proper knowledge of a language includes in-depth knowledge of the information provided by the way it is pronounced, including its prosody. Since most of this information is encoded language-specifically, the prosody of a language should be learnt by new speakers of the language—both children and adult second-language learners—in order to fully grasp the meaning and connotations of utterances. Even communication between speakers of the same language may break down if they are not aware of social and regional variations in their own language. Vol'skaja (2013) found a generational difference in the intonation of speakers of Russian from St Petersburg, which can lead to misunderstandings because the contour she studied, characterised by a so-called late peak, is interpreted differently by different generations (Vol'skaja 2013).

4. Prosodic studies and their applications

In spite of the primary role of speech in linguistic communication, most research in language studies is based on written language (Linell 2005), especially in Russian linguistics, where written language appears to have an even higher status than in other languages (Kibrik & Podlesskaja 2009, 25; Tatjana Nikolaeva, p.c.). Among those who do study speech, most have focused on segmental features, not on prosody.

This lack of attention is understandable since prosodic features are complex and hard to describe, for both theoretical and practical reasons. Thomas (2011) calls intonation, the most commonly studied prosodic feature, a "bewilderingly complex topic" (Thomas 2011, 200). As explained previously, pitch, loudness and length simultaneously reflect

both linguistic and a range of non-linguistic phenomena, which vary greatly with person, dialect, situation and context. These intertwined features and functions of pitch, loudness and length are not easy to extract. The phonetics and phonology of stress, tone, rhythm and intonation are still much debated (e.g. Ladd 1996; Yokoyama 2014), and linguists have long been struggling to measure both rhythm and stress in a satisfactory manner (e.g. Fletcher 2013).

However, the incredibly rapid technological development in both hardware (microphones, recording devices, extremely powerful computers) and software (e.g. freely available software programmes for the acoustic analysis and elaboration of speech, such as PRAAT; Boersma & Weenink 2017) have made prosodic studies much more accessible. The rapid expanse and improvement of machine translation, text-to-speech generation and automatic speech recognition elevated speech technology to the front cover of *The Economist* on January 7th 2017 (Now We're Talking 2017).

While prosody plays a minor role in speech technology (Baltiner & Möbius 2005; Van Santen 2005), prosodic knowledge is applied in many other fields; for example, in forensic linguistics (voice recognition; e.g. Harris, Gries & Miglo 2014), in second and first language acquisition (e.g. the distinct intonation of child-directed speech; e.g. Snow & Balog 2002), in pragmatics (e.g. Wharton 2012) and in sociolinguistics, as part of so-called sociophonetics, i.e. the study of socially structured phonetic variation in speech (e.g. Thomas 2011; Foulkes, Scobbie & Watt 2010), which is the focus of this essay.

5. *The prosody of Russian*

In section 3 I mentioned three fundamental phonological functions of Russian stress, intonation and accentuation. The intricate Russian system for word stress placement has received considerable attention (Kodzasov 1999), but is hard to classify in prosodic typology: previous research on the Russian default stress pattern and metrical structure has yielded conflicting results (Lavitskaya 2015).

The literature investigating the phonetics and phonology of Russian intonation and phrasing, and their interplay with information structure, is also rather extensive (see Yokoyama 2014 for an overview), and Bryzgunova's intonation constructions (Bryzgunova 1980) are an inte-

gral part of most L2 Russian language instruction. However, neither the inventory of the objects of transcription, nor the levels of precision of intonational transcription have yet been agreed upon for Russian or any other Slavonic language, and Yokoyama regrets the near-absence of theoretical work addressing the phonology of intonation in these languages (Yokoyama 2014, 127).

Most studies of rhythm in Russian address the rhythmic structure of the word, i.e. the relative length of stressed and unstressed syllables, showing regional variability (e.g. Potebnja 1866; Vysotskij 1973). In the Central Russian dialect area, including Standard Russian pronunciation, words have a heavy nucleus (stressed and pre-stressed syllable) and light marginal parts (Potebnja 1866; Kodzasov 1999); i.e. vowels in immediate pre-stress position are much less reduced in both quality and length than other unstressed vowels in the same word. The word *moloko* "milk" is pronounced [məlaˈko] or [məlʌˈko], with a relatively short *schwa* and a long *a*. In other, non-central varieties of Russian, the unstressed vowels are more equally reduced in both quality and length.

6. Socially and geographically conditioned prosodic variation in Russian

Socially structured prosodic variation in Russian has seldom been studied. This is no surprise, since sociolinguistic variables as a whole are an understudied area in Russian, although there are some exceptions.[8] According to Zemskaja, Kitajgorodskaja & Rozanova (1987) and Yokoyama (1999), Russian women tend to use intonational means differently from men. As mentioned in section 3, a small study by Vol'skaja (2013) found a generational difference in the intonation of speakers of Russian from St Petersburg.

With regard to geographically-based prosodic differences, most studies have considered traditional rural dialects (e.g. Paufošima 1983), primarily their rhythmic word structure (see previous section; e.g. Potebnja 1866; Vysotskij 1973). Regional prosodic variation in modern Russian urban speech is a virtually unexplored field.[9] Intonation was taken into

8 There are only a few sociolinguistic variationist studies of Russian; i.e. empirically based studies of actual variation. A notable exception are the works of the Perm' school of linguistics, empirically studying socially stratified variation in the speech of the inhabitants of Perm' (e.g. Erofeeva 2005).

9 Among the exceptions are, besides Grammatčikova et al. 2013, a dissertation by Grišina (2003) about local prosodic traits in the speech of people living in Krasno-

account in Verbickaja et al. 1984, a study of regional phonetic differences in the speech of urban Russians, but in a later publication on the same topic, Bondarko & Verbickaja (1987, 11–12) discarded intonational differences, because Russian intonation lacks a clearly defined standard for intonation. They go on to argue that, without a standard, deviations cannot be measured.[10]

Grammatčikova et al. (2013) measured the word-prosodic structure, not in traditional dialects, but in the speech of young students from different parts of Russia. Their study confirmed the differences found in earlier studies of rural dialects between central Russian varieties with a heavy nucleus and the non-central varieties without. However, they analysed only a few speakers. Their preliminary results need to be confirmed using larger data sets.

The following sections focus on one specific reason why regional prosodic variation deserves to be studied in Russian: prosody is probably one of only a few cues in Russian that can discriminate regional provenance.

7. Prosody as a cue to language and dialect discrimination: claims

It is a common belief that prosodic characteristics, mainly intonation and rhythm, play a prominent role when lay people identify languages and dialects (e.g. Peters et al. 2002). To take an example from Scandinavia, it is claimed that the most prominent dialect/regional feature in Danish is intonation: Danes can often hear from a distance whether a speaker is from Bornholm, Copenhagen or Southern Jutland, even when the words cannot be understood, due to the—regionally coloured—melody of the stress groups (Grønnum 2005, 340).[11]

jarsk, and a study of Odessa intonation by Janko (2015).

10 While there is a widely used description of Russian intonation (Bryzgunova 1980), the authors claim that the boundaries of what can be regarded as normative intonation are unclear: «Причиной этого являются главным образом теоретические трудности: недостаточная разработанность интонационных норм русского языка и пределов их вариативностью, из чего вытекают и практические сложности при оценке нормативности—ненормативности интонационной интерпретации текста информантом». (Bondarko & Verbickaja 1987, 11–12).

11 "Det er trykgruppens lille talemelodi, trykgruppemønsteret, der er vores stærkeste dialekt- og regionalsprogskendemærke. Det er først og fremmest på disse små tonale figurer at vi (gen)kender hinanden som bornholmere, københavnere, sønderjyder o.s.v. Sådan kan man ofte høre—uden at forstå hvad der bliver sagt—tværs igennem et lokale hvor mange mennesker står og taler sammen, at derovre taler fx en born-

Similarly, Mæhlum and Røyneland (2012) claim that, even for Norwegians, intonation is the main key to dialect identification (2012, 29),[12] although the dialects vary in many more realms of language. However, regional prosodic differences are particularly interesting to study in the languages of centralised countries with little regional variation, such as Denmark—or Russia. The variability of Russian speech is very low compared to that of Norwegian; most young urban Russians display few regional features in their speech. Nevertheless, Russians can often, after hearing the first word, distinguish speakers from, say, Brjansk (Southern Russia), from Perm' (Ural region) and from Moscow, as claimed by Grammatčikova et al. (2013, 72). We expect that much of this ability is due to regional differences in prosody, as Grammatčikova et al. (2013, 72) wrote earlier, since prosody appears to be less prone to standardisation than other features of language.

8. First experimental verification in other languages

The claims regarding the prominent role of prosody as a reliable cue for language and dialect discrimination are mainly impressionistic. Prosodic features usually play a minor role in dialect descriptions, if mentioned at all.[13] However, linguists have recently been undertaking perception experiments for a couple of other languages, which indicate that intonation may indeed be a cue in the identification of regional varieties, in particular when identifying one's own dialect (e.g. Gooskens 1997 for Dutch and English; Peters et al. 2002 for varieties of German; Van Leyden 2004 for Orkney and Shetland English). For instance, by using controlled manipulation of intonation, Van Leyden found that native listeners had no difficulty in discriminating between the Orkney and Shetland varieties when

holmer." (Grønnum 2005, 340) A prosodic stress group, or foot, in Danish is the stretch of speech from one stressed syllable the next.

12 "[I]ntonasjonen er det målmerket som lekfolk først og fremst bruker for å identifisere dialekter" (Mæhlum and Røyneland 2012, 29); cf. Hognestad (2012, 183) for a similar claim.

13 To take the Norwegian example again, some studies describe the intonation of one or more Norwegian dialects (e.g. Nilsen 1992; Abrahamsen 2003; Hognestad 2012), and quite a few address the realisation of the two tonal word accents in various dialects (e.g. Fintoft 1970; Hognestad 2012). However, the existing descriptions of prosodic dialect features in this language are seldom comparative, and I am not aware of any perception studies of prosodic differences in Norway.

presented with speech fragments containing only melodic information (Van Leyden 2004). Recently, Grønnum's claim regarding Danish dialects received experimental support (Kristiansen, Pharao & Maegaard 2013). The role of other prosodic cues besides intonation has been studied as well. Szakay (2008) found that rhythm is perceptually relevant for the identification of two ethnolects of New Zealand English—Maori English and Pakeha English (i.e. the variety of English spoken by New-Zealanders of European descent).

9. The social meaning of prosodic cues

When prosodic features are a characteristic of regional "accents," they can carry social meaning; a local accent may trigger stereotypes that are associated with people from the actual region. If people can hear that a Danish speaker is from Bornholm, this knowledge evokes certain expectations about this speaker.

Does the same account for speakers with local Russian prosody? How many Russians can actually perceive the subtle prosodic regional differences that we expect to find? And if they do, what social meaning is attached to them, and are they salient? Sociolinguistic variables are often ranked as indicators, markers or stereotypes, in increasing order of awareness (following Labov 1972). While indicators are variants with little or no social message attached, markers are salient variants that are socially significant, and stereotypes are popular, but imprecise, characterisations of speech as used by social groups (Labov 1972; Honey 1997). Markers and stereotypes are subject to stylistic variation and may be used by social groups as social markers—markers of social identity—to distance themselves from other groups or imitate more prestigious groups (Honey 1997).

10. Social indicators, markers and stereotypes in Russian

Russia is a country with a dominant economic and cultural centre, and a strong monoglossic ideology (e.g. Del Valle 2000), and Standard Russian has an accordingly high status. According to this ideology, a Russian should try to speak without regional features. Of course, this does not mean that regional features are not used; like other languages, Russian has socially-structured linguistic variables that function as indicators, markers or stereotypes. Some are stigmatised, but seem to have covert

prestige when used under the right circumstances; others may have little social significance and not even be noticed, being within the norm for standard language use.

Mikhail Gorbachev's language was characterised by stigmatised linguistic features. He was well-known for his "bad" Russian, which was ridiculed in a 1995 song that became very popular.[14] A Russian told me that the mere sound of his voice was—and is—enough to evoke negative connotations. Is this true for many Russians, and to what degree is this impression due to his Southern Russian pronunciation? The degree to which Gorbachev's southern Russian phonetics has contributed to his unpopularity in Russia is still to be studied. In contrast, the highly respected Vladimir Putin speaks impeccable Standard Russian.

The most wide-spread and salient Southern Russian feature is arguably the pronunciation of the voiced velar as fricative [ɣ], corresponding to Standard Russian plosive [g]. Previous perception studies (e.g. Andrews 1995) indicate that this feature is stigmatised in the traditional high-status domains, at least when used in the formal domain of reading texts.

One should keep in mind that the indexical, social functions of a sociolinguistic variable are not usually the result of categorical usage or non-usage of a particular variant, but are rather manifested in statistical differences in a form's distribution across speakers, groups, or speech styles (Foulkes, Scobbie & Watt 2010). Studies of the speech of the city of Perm' suggest that some regional phonetic variables are actually used by all social groups in this city, though least often by highly educated inhabitants (Erofeeva 2005). This may indicate that they have relatively high prestige, at least in Perm', but they may also be mere indicators, with little social meaning attached. Or are they markers after all, for example, of a local identity?

Fortunately, there has been a recent increase in speech-perception experiments investigating individuals' use of sociophonetic information (Warren & Hay 2012, 637; the references in section 8), even in Russia (e.g. the above-mentioned Andrews 1995). Nevertheless, studies of prosodic variation and its social meaning are still scarce.

14 The song "Gospodin Daduda" by Mixail Zadornov (1995).

11. First results

Russian and foreign colleagues have started studying the social meaning of regionally coloured speech in Russian (e.g. Krause 2011). Our studies seek to answer the following questions: Do Russians pay attention to regional differences in speech? And what are the social consequences of having a regional "accent," if there are any? (cf. Krause et al. 2015). However, before it is possible to study the social connotations of accents, the regional differences themselves need to be identified.

The preliminary findings of Grammatčikova et al. (2013) regarding the rhythmic differences in the speech of young students from different parts of Russia need to be confirmed using larger data sets. Based on recordings made by Benedikte Vardøy and the author (Vardøy and Post 2015), we are currently analysing vowel quality and relative length in the speech of young people from Perm', Novosibirsk and Moscow. The initial analyses of our first recordings from these three Russian cities confirm previous findings about regional differences in vowel quality and rhythm.

Vardøy has interviewed a group of adolescents in these three cities and asked them about regional differences in Russian. On these recordings, several of those interviewed in Perm' imitate the long, pre-stressed [a]'s—"Ma-askvá"—characteristic of the speech of many people from the Moscow area (Vardøy, in prep.).

The intonation in our recordings is yet to be studied. The late peak contour in St Petersburg Russian described by Vol'skaja (2013) also appears to be frequent in our data from other Russian cities, as well as among speakers from the Siberian city Krasnojarsk (Grišina 2003). In addition, another question requiring further study is whether the difference Vol'skaja (2013) found is purely generational, or whether its distribution also shows geographical variation. Following the analysis of the recordings, perception studies are needed in order to find out both the linguistic meanings and the social connotations of the differences among various social groups.

My own study of a typically Northern Russian intonation contour suggests that it is mainly used for a specific subtype of questions, a subgroup that has a specific intonational configuration in (dialects of) other languages as well (Post 2008).[15] This subtype appears to have a distinct

15 The "broad hat" contour is typically used in utterances with a strong bias to a positive answer and a lesser degree of questionhood, such as in requests for confirmation of

intonation in Standard Russian as well, but its form and function have not yet been studied in detail, even in Standard Russian. In describing regional intonation, researchers often lack a robust intonational model for the standard language to compare with.

12. SCoRRUS: A planned spoken corpus with both read and spontaneous speech

In order to be able to study regional differences in pronunciation, more comparable speech data has to be gathered and analysed (Krause et al. 2015). Therefore, a group of linguists from Russia, Germany and Norway has designed a project to study objectively measurable regional differences within the Russian language in Russia, as well as the subjective attitudes of the language users towards these differences, taking into account both horizontal (geographically based) and vertical (socially based) linguistic variation. These data will be gathered in a corpus entitled SCoRRUS (*Spoken Corpus of Regional Russian Urban Speech*; Krause et al. 2015). My contribution to the project will be the study of prosodic differences. The project is inspired by previous studies of regional variation in Russian (Verbickaja et al. 1984; Bondarko & Verbickaja 1987; Skrelin & Sherstinova 2000) and, among others, by the project *Intonational Variation in the British Isles* (Grabe, Post & Nolan 2002; Nolan & Post 2014) and various atlases and other databases of regional variation in intonation or prosody in a range of languages.[16] Unlike most speech corpora and previous projects on Russian regional variation, these databases include several speaking styles of a single speaker, including both read, semi-spontaneous and spontaneous speech, thus meeting the requirements of both comparability and ecological validity; that is, how close the recordings are to natural speech communication (Post and Nolan 2012, 544). In the new corpus, several speaking styles will be represented and, at a later stage, various social groups. The data should be made easily available and easily searchable, for example, like the small dialect database *Ustya River Basin Corpus* (Waldenfels, Daniel & Dobrushina 2014).

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an inference going counter to an earlier presupposition of the speaker (Post 2008), e.g. a counter-expectational "So this is your house?"

16 E.g. by Prieto & Cabré 2007–2012; Martínez & Fernandez 2003–2015; Frota & Prieto 2015.

13. Concluding words

In this essay, I have argued that the study of prosody, and of speech in general, is essential for a proper understanding of verbal communication, and focused on the contribution of prosodic features to the conveying of linguistic and social meaning.

In successful (intercultural) communication, the collocutors are aware of language-specific social markers. Salient sociolinguistic variables evoke certain expectations regarding the speaker. A good language user is aware of their social meaning, since some markers evoke strong attitudes. Part of this indexical meaning is provided by prosodic means. Even in languages with relatively little regional variation, such as Russian, native listeners can often identify the regional origin of a speaker, possibly largely based on prosodic cues.

Thus, prosody is worth studying; it carries communicatively relevant meanings, and certain features may be social markers. But these meanings can only be studied after we have established a proper description of the features themselves. To this day, many facets of prosody and its social meaning remain *terra incognita*. And without proper knowledge of our subject, we do not even know what knowledge we are missing.

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Language and Conflict: Arguing for Interdisciplinarity and Usefulness

Karol Janicki

Part 1—General considerations

"Not everything that counts can be counted"
(Collini 2012, 120)

1. Some remarks on interdisciplinarity and the humanities

This essay includes two parts. In the first, I briefly highlight the value of interdisciplinary research and its usefulness to society at large. I draw upon philosophy (the philosophy of language, in particular) to indicate that it is possible to argue for *any* study to be socially relevant, difficult as it may be to argue for some studies to be so. In the second part, I indicate that my own recent research can be seen as interdisciplinary and useful outside academia.

There has recently been much discussion, both formal and informal, about the relevance of the humanities as an academic field to society outside of the academia. This discussion has included references to interdisciplinary research and its possible benefits. With reference to interdisciplinarity, opinions have been voiced on how the social/human sciences relate to the natural ones, and how the one can contribute to the development of the other. As expected, while pondering the question of the relevance of the humanities to the larger non-academic community, there have been critics, advocates, sticklers, enthusiasts, doubt mongers, fear mongers, and others. Needless to say, the question of what we humanists

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do and how useful to the society we are has been addressed within the academia itself and especially in political circles, in Norway and in other countries.

Some critics are of the opinion (mainly in private and semi-private conversations) that what we, the humanists, are concerned with in our teaching, research and publications is hardly useful and widely irrelevant to what the society at large needs. In public statements, this opinion is usually toned down or labeled as untrue. However, the recent perceived or real financial cuts that some humanities departments have suffered from, leave little doubt that the humanities are not valued highly by those who control university funding. Quite often, the natural sciences, and the technologies emerging from them or related to them, are praised as advancing society. This may be well deserved, although what it means to "move society forward" remains questionable (see the discussion of "useful" and "relevant" below). Extolling the virtues of the natural sciences and the technologies associated with them should not, however, lead to a denigration of the humanities. Many authors have recently discussed the role of the humanities in contemporary society, and some have argued that the humanities should not be looked down upon, as they often are, but rather fully acknowledged and promoted (see, for instance, Kronman 2008, Nussbaum 2012, Small 2013, Berg & Seeber 2016). Research related to both the natural sciences and the humanities may, in fact, be seen as supplementing each other. In sum, and also metaphorically, it would probably be difficult to live only with a computer and without a book on human behavior. We might actually be happier with only a book on human behavior and without a computer, rather than the other way round. Let us assume, however, that we need both.

One of the reasons why we may assume that we need both is the value of interdisciplinary thinking. The humanities may be viewed as a set of disciplines (or as a single large discipline if one wishes to see the humanities as such). If one appreciates the value of interdisciplinary thinking, one should be tempted to perceive the humanities as a fragment of academic or scientific activity that has potential benefits, including tangible social ones. The richness of one discipline (whether we see it as belonging to the humanities, to the natural sciences, to technology, to the arts, etc.) may feed another, no matter how distant the goals and research methods of the two interacting disciplines are from each other. Unexpected

connections that our brain makes between different ideas, issues, facts, etc. (how it *connects the dots*, using psychological terminology; see for instance, Shermer 2011) may serve different purposes. One of them is to formulate new research questions, viewed as interdisciplinary or not. In other words, attention to the natural sciences and technological developments can lead to new ideas in the humanities, and attention to how human beings behave under everyday conditions—what we expect, what we feel, how we suffer—may lead to new research in the natural sciences and to new technological developments.

The issue of suffering brings me to one specific example of the interaction and interpenetration that may occur among various kinds of ideas, observations, emotions, etc. Alfred Korzybski, the Polish-American engineer who founded what is known as *general semantics*, is reported to have commented on the horrors of World War I: "He was appalled by the massive war destruction and determined to answer the question of how humans so successfully advance technologically yet make such a mess of their general human affairs" (Kodish & Kodish 2001, 17). Very likely, the sight of the bodies lying around in the streets, of the injured, and of the dying made an overwhelming impression on him. He may have asked himself questions such as how can we, as humans, be smart enough to build impressive bridges, airplanes, and automobiles, and not sensible enough to prevent wars and the usual carnage and suffering that accompany them. This led Korzybski to later conclude that our lack of awareness of how language works and of how we create meaning may be one of the reasons why we tend to engage in conflicts, wars, and atrocities of all kinds. This thought, in turn, led him to found a new discipline—*general semantics*—which, by any definition, is better placed in the humanities than in the natural sciences or in the area of technology (see Korzybski 1933). Thus, an engineer's observation of how humans behave led to an insight that supported a whole new discipline. Bod (2013) reports a number of cases where ideas and stimulations that emerge in what is commonly seen as one discipline have permeated another. He points out that, throughout history, ideas within the humanities have given rise to ideas and developments in the natural sciences and technologies. Bod stresses that scientists such as Galileo, Kepler and Newton were also philologists (2013, 353).

While the above-mentioned Korzybski example may be best seen as illustrating interdisciplinary *thinking*, examples of how researchers across disciplines actually cooperate and arrive at new hybrid disciplines, are easy to find. Recent developments in linguistics provide numerous examples of how the field has been successfully combined with disciplines such as law, medicine and education (see, for instance, Coulthard & Johnson 2007), which in turn leads to new perspectives on how the legal process is to be viewed or on how doctor-patient interaction can be improved—clearly findings of interest to society at large. Consider Philips (1998), for example, who shows how judges differ with reference to the kinds of questions they ask ("yes or no questions," or open questions) and how different types of questions may influence the legal proceedings and the final sentence. Examples such as this seem to be rewarding, powerful, and encouraging enough to allow us to view academia as one realm of activity rather than a set of separate compartments, the largest of these being the natural sciences and the social sciences/humanities. Separate compartments (usually called departments) may be handy if one is to hold meetings, pick up mail or deliver reports, but they appear much less advantageous when it comes to developing new ideas and embarking on new projects.

2. What is useful or socially relevant research?

Recently, at many universities and other academic institutions, researchers have been strongly encouraged to cooperate across disciplines. This has been manifested, for example, in the funds allotted to large international and interdisciplinary projects (in which at least three institutions are involved), rather than to low profile individual ones. I assume that the tacit assumption behind this big-project thinking has been that such projects are probably more useful and socially beneficial both in the short and in the long term. This brings us directly to the title question of this section.

The discussions of and disagreements about how *useful/useless* or *socially relevant* a study is may be taken up as a linguistic or philosophical question. In other words, we may address principally the questions *what does "useful" mean?* and *what does "socially relevant" mean*? These are what some researchers call *what-is-questions* (Popper 1972), and others what-is-irritants. There are still many thinkers and researchers who be-

lieve that there is some essence in "usefulness" and "social relevance"; this position is often referred to as *essentialism* (Hallett 1991). If one adopts a version of essentialist philosophy, one will be tempted to believe that, once the essence of "usefulness" is located, a study may be judged to be "useful" or "useless," "socially relevant," or "socially irrelevant," in some absolute sense. Essentialism promotes binary opposition ("yes" or "no" answers on any question) and, in my view, does not help us to understand how the world works.

I have argued for a non-essentialist position on several occasions (see, for instance, Janicki 2006, 2010b) and I fully endorse it in connection with the discussion of what kind of research may be seen as useful or socially relevant. Here, I wish to invoke two arguments supporting my non-essentialist reasoning. One is extremely simple, and is obvious to any linguist, namely, that "useful" and "socially relevant" are words and only words, which, like all words (except onomatopoeic ones) refer to some other things in a conventional and arbitrary way. In other words, "useful" means what we, language users, agree it to mean. We may disagree, argue, or be furious about how some people use the word, but, ultimately, the word will always mean what it means to a group of people or to an individual. Non-essentialism involves the position that meaning is in the individual language user's mind rather than in the word, in some absolute sense.

Another (related) non-essentialist argument as to what "useful research" means takes us to the realm of experience. Meanings of words, which call up concepts and mental images, are grounded in our experience (on the question of meaning and experience, see, for instance, Lakoff 1987, Gibbs 1999, Evans & Green 2006). To put it differently, what the words "useful research" mean to me depends upon the experience that I have had throughout my lifetime with the words "useful and research." What the words "useful research" mean to you, the reader of this essay, depends upon the experience that you have had throughout your lifetime with the words "useful and research." No exo-experiential and exo-human meaning of "useful research" exists! Needless to say, people are all different, as are their experiences in relation to the words "useful research." To put it in very simple terms, we have different ideas of what is useful research, no matter how similar to other people in this respect we may turn out to be. We understand and share the meaning of "useful

research" with other people to the extent that we share with them the experience in which the words we use are grounded.

One of the consequences of non-essentialist philosophy is that concepts can be best viewed as continua. Like most other concepts, the crucial ones discussed in this essay—"useful" and "socially relevant"—may then be treated as continua as well. In other words, rather than saying that a study, or a discipline, is useful to something or not, we should be prepared to say that it may be more useful, less useful, very useful, almost useless, etc. This approach allows us to make non-categorical evaluations (e.g., linguistics is quite useful for some people in some situations), which are so much easier to make than categorical ones (e.g., linguistics is definitely useful). Viewing "usefulness" or "social relevance" as continua allows us to point to typical cases, about which we will tend to agree. For instance, given the finding that the way questions from the prosecution are asked in court may affect the way they are answered by the defendant, we will tend to agree, I think, that such findings may have significant legal consequences. Research on how such questions and answers work is then very likely to be widely seen as socially useful. We will, however, tend to disagree or be in doubt about borderline cases, for example, about whether research on accommodation in discourse (i.e., on how we adapt our language to the language of our interlocutors) is socially useful. Some of us will probably see it as useful; others as hardly useful or as useless.

The above brief argument against essentialist thinking does not directly involve the question of interdisciplinary research, but the former should not be seen as totally unrelated to the latter. On the contrary, the question of what is or is not useful may be more pressing in view of the current almost ubiquitous administrative encouragement to develop interdisciplinary projects. As stressed at the beginning of this section, we may assume that one of the main reasons interdisciplinary projects are encouraged and funded generously is that the benefactors see them as useful. However, as the argument against essentialism shows, whether one type of research or a particular research project is useful or relevant to society at large can always be called into question. This is independent of whether we are engaged in one discipline or in multi-disciplinary research, whatever the definition of a discipline.

Part II—my own research

The considerations in Part I should lead us to the conclusion that it is up to the individual, or a group of individuals, to decide whether a particular study, or research project, or a discipline, is useful or relevant to society at large, and to what extent. No one answer to questions of relevance and usefulness should be expected. Since *any* dots (ideas, views, beliefs, etc.) can be connected, and since we as individuals are free to make different connections, it is possible to argue that any research in the humanities is useful and relevant, at least to some extent or potentially in the long run. I do not see my own research as an exception; I consider it to be useful and relevant. It is, however, ultimately up to the individual reader to share my opinion or disagree with me.

My own research may be considered interdisciplinary, as it combines linguistics, communication, psychology, sociology, politics, etc. Although the considerations in Part I above encourage interdisciplinarity, the usefulness of my research, as I see it, is not due to the interdisciplinary approach that I adopt. I consider its usefulness to be related to what I believe people need to know; I can only hope that many other people will agree with me. However, to be faithful to the non-essentialist philosophy that I advocate and live by, I am prepared to accept the opinion that my research is completely or partly useless, should anybody want to see it as such. No research is useful in its own right; it is ultimately up to a group or an individual to evaluate it as such.

In recent years, my research has focused on two main topics: (1) language and conflict, and (2) lay views of language (folk linguistics). On the first topic, I have published four books: Janicki 1999, 2006, 2010b, and 2015. In these books, I show how our views of language can lead to peace building, neutrality and indifference, or to destruction, conflict building, and warmongering. The philosophical basis for my reasoning is non-essentialism (see above), which implies a philosophical stance on meaning. To reiterate, this stance involves the assumption that words do not have basically one correct and ultimate meaning. The non-essentialism that I promote involves the assumption that language users assign meaning *to* words, and that the assigned meaning differs depending on who the language user is, their education, profession, sex, past experiences, etc.

A related idea permeating my research is that essentialist views of meaning lead to conflict. Analyses of numerous cases of conflicts (e.g.,

political) support the idea that in conflict situations much depends on how the people involved handle language. Moreover, there is overwhelming support for the view that the belief that there is one correct meaning of a word is socially dangerous. It leads to continuous disagreements as to what words mean, should mean, or have meant. Fighting about word meanings easily leads to verbal squabbles going beyond language issues, and may ultimately lead to physical violence.

With regard to the second topic—lay views of language (folk linguistics)—my research has addressed the question of what the lay language user perceives as language-related problems and how they feel such problems could be solved. This research has been concerned with what I see as one of the basic questions of language and communication. I assume that linguists may be considered useful by lay language users if the latter feel they need a linguist to solve language-ridden problems (on this point, see also Roberts 2003). Identifying the problems in question may help the linguist to direct his or her research toward what the lay language user really cares about.

My research on lay people's views on language-ridden problems (published mainly in Janicki 2002, 2010a, 2011, and 2014) has shown that the major problems are related to meaning, misunderstanding, miscommunication, and related phenomena. In other words, lay language users report that they face problems and difficulties, or undergo stress, when they do not understand other people (e.g., doctors, lawyers, but also, importantly, colleagues, friends, or family members), when they misunderstand other people, or when they feel they are misunderstood or not understood. Although respondents report on other language-related problems (for instance, the inability to express verbally what one wants to say), in my view, meaning and understanding related problems become most salient and most socially relevant.

Meaning, understanding and misunderstanding issues appear to bind my research on language and conflict on the one hand, and that on lay views of language problems on the other. Given that language permeates most of our daily activities, and given that talking to other people, understanding them, and trying to make ourselves understood occupies a significant part of our daily lives, the social relevance of research on language, conflict and understanding can be easily argued for, no matter

how unusual and far from the typical our definition of "social relevance" might be.

Conclusion

In this essay, I set out to do three things: (1) to highlight the value of interdisciplinary thinking and research activities (including interaction between the humanities and the natural sciences/technology); (2) to show that the question of what is useful or socially relevant research may be tackled as a philosophical issue and is a matter of contention; and (3) to draw upon my own recent research as an example of what I personally consider to be useful research, while leaving it entirely up to others to agree or disagree with me. My rationale for labeling my own research as useful springs from the assumption that, given the omnipresence of conflict in human affairs, it would be useful to have the necessary skills to understand and handle it. My main claim is that, given the central place of language in conflict, our knowledge about how language works can contribute to averting it. Furthermore, I claim that, in order to avoid conflict, it is beneficial to adopt a non-essentialist philosophical position.

What is important to people, what we care about, how we reason, what we expect, how we thrive or suffer is all studied by and reflected on by the scholars and scientists in a myriad of disciplines and in projects that can be seen as crossing the discipline boundaries of history, sociology, cognitive psychology, art, philosophy, economy, and others. Given the pervasiveness of language in practically all walks of life, linguistics may be seen as a valuable contributor to such projects.

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PART IV

Language Learning:

Teaching, Testing, and Quality Assurance

Introducing the CORYL Corpus: What it Is and How We Can Use it to Shed Light on Learner Language

Angela Hasselgreen and Kari Telstad Sundet

This article presents CORYL (CORpus of Young Learner language), and demonstrates how the corpus can help reveal or shed further light on many phenomena which are manifested in the written English language of Norwegian school pupils. The paper begins with an introduction of CORYL, then focuses on learner language and the role of corpora in the study of this. The following sections are devoted to what we term *Computer-aided Error Analysis* and *Interlanguage Analysis* (not involving errors). Within these sections, extracts and other findings from CORYL-searches are presented to illustrate what we believe CORYL is able to indicate about the language of these learners.

1. Introducing CORYL

1.1. Background and development

CORYL (see *http://clarion.uib.no/korpuskel*), is a learner corpus, which consists of English texts written by pupils in Norwegian schools. CORYL is hosted by Corpuscle, which "is a corpus management and analysis system for annotated corpora" (*http://clarino.uib.no/korpuskel/page).* The tool is being developed at Uni Research Computing, in collaboration with colleagues at the University of Bergen. The work has been supported by grants from The Research Council of Norway, the Meltzer foundation and the CLARINO infrastructure. The authors have been involved in the tagging and proofing of the texts in the corpus.

The aim of compiling CORYL was to allow researchers to carry out a range of investigations into the *interlanguage* (Selinker 1972) of these

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learners, which can be regarded as the learner's current mental version of the target language. While corpora are not well suited to studying the idiosyncrasies of an individual's interlanguage, they can expose patterns in the language use of the group, or subsections of the group. This may involve using the corpus data to investigate phenomena that are already thought to characterize the language of these pupils (corpus-based/informed research), or to allow the corpus to reveal patterns in the language, which can then be further investigated (corpus-driven research). It is important to note that while this will often involve studying errors, non-errors, according to Callies (2015, 41), "can reveal as much about learner language as errors, e.g. when it comes to avoidance phenomena, […]."

The term 'errors' has somewhat lost favour in recent decades, as the Interlanguage perspective has gained ground in SLA (Second Language Acquisition). 'Error' is, however, used here in accordance with other literature on corpus linguistics, e.g. Granger et al (2015). This is because it is necessary in corpus tagging to have a precise notion of what is being selected for analysis. A term such as 'non-targetlike form' may be open to interpretation. Following the recommendation of Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005, 59), the errors identified in CORYL are restricted to *absolute errors*, as opposed to *dispreferred forms*, which would involve subjective judgments.

The texts that make up the current corpus were collected in the course of the National Tests of English in 2004 and 2005, and can thus be considered largely synchronic, although the recent addition of new texts adds a diachronic dimension to the corpus. The tests were designed to measure pupils' writing abilities in English, the pupils being given a number of tasks, such as: *Write a post card*, *Describe what you see in the picture*, and *Write a letter to the editor*. The language in the corpus can be considered 'natural' in that pupils were given a free hand as to the actual language they used. The genres and themes are limited to what was prescribed by the tasks; texts are annotated for the task type/genre.

The texts were taken randomly from pupils in the 7th, 10th and 11th grades, to ensure some degree of representativeness in the texts. The texts were collected in the course of National Tests of English Writing, and were from randomly selected schools distributed widely across the country. The corpus at the time of writing contains 272 texts from pupils in

7th and 10th grades, and a number of texts from the 11th grade will soon be uploaded to the corpus. Recently collected 7th-grade texts, which add a diachronic dimension, will also be added to the corpus. The texts are annotated for gender, as well as the approximate age of the pupils: 11–12 years (7th grade) and 15–16 years (10th/11th grade). No information is available regarding the L1 background of the writers, although it is assumed that most pupils have Norwegian as an L1 or an L2. The original texts were handwritten and had to be typed manually. Each of the transcribed texts has been proofread by a rater to ensure that it has been accurately copied. To safeguard the pupils' privacy, the texts have been anonymized and any potentially identifying information has been removed from the material.

A notable feature of the corpus is the fact that most of the texts have also been assigned to levels and half levels on the CEFR by multiple raters. Thus, while no equivalent native speaker corpus exists for purposes of contrasting language phenomena, a comparison can be made between texts not only from older and younger pupils, but also from pupils placed at different levels of proficiency.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the limited nature of the CORYL corpus (currently totaling 129,421 words) places limitations on the elements that can be searched for, and yields low numbers of occurrences in many instances. No claim is made that generalizations are possible based on the corpus findings; these should be regarded as no more than indications. Thus, it is particularly important that CORYL corpus searches are followed up by or combined with experimental research, for example in the language classroom.

1.2. Error annotation in CORYL

Because an important intended use of the corpus is to reveal patterns of errors, the texts are manually annotated, or tagged, for all errors, following the coded classification shown in the appendix. The tagging has been carried out by a native speaker of Norwegian with high-level English competence, and checked by a native speaker of English, with a good knowledge of Norwegian. As it is impossible to reconstruct any part of a corpus text in a 'correct' form, a certain degree of interpretation is inevitable, in order to hypothesise the intended target meaning (Ludeling & Hirschmann, 2015, 141–43). In the case of CORYL this has sometimes proved difficult, especially in low-level texts, with a consensus having to

be sought between tagger and proofreaders; occasionally a tag of 'nonsense' has had to be used. Those who subsequently work with the corpus data must be free to disagree with the tagging, which reinforces the need in corpus research to combine automatic searching with 'hands on' judgements. In order to be able to search for words without depending on correct spelling, CORYL contains corrected version of all spelling errors.

The decision was made from the start not to use an automatic Part-of-Speech (POS) tagger, due to the large number of errors in many of the texts, especially in the 7th grade. Even when used on standard English texts, these have been shown to misidentify many tokens; Manning (2011) cites a misidentification rate of 270 words for every 10 000. With so many CORYL texts being written at CEFR levels A1–A2, POS tagging would necessitate the manual correction of many thousands of errors.

Below is an example of a sentence that it would be impossible for a machine to tag correctly, but that can be interpreted by a native speaker familiar with the context in which it was written:

Example 1: L1 phrase
theyr **in theyr best age**. (Norwegian: De er i sin beste alder)
(p07–10)

It is important to point out at this point that while 'L1' is used frequently here, and in the actual tagging, it should not be interpreted as strictly meaning the first language of the writer, as this was not identified in the material used to compile CORYL. It can, in fact, rather be interpreted as 'Norwegian', which is the school language for these pupils, and the first language of most. Recent additional texts have been collected to expand the corpus, which contained details of pupils' first languages. While these have not yet been fully analysed, first indications would suggest that Norwegian has a strong influence on the writing of pupils with first languages other than Norwegian.

2. *Studying learner language with the help of* CORYL

The study of learner language using an electronic corpus has two specific advantages over more traditional SLA studies, according to Granger et al. (2015,1). Firstly, language samples are accessible from a large number of speakers or writers, who are arguably more representative than in tradi-

tional studies that sometimes use only a handful of subjects. Secondly, the search for phenomena can be done rapidly, without the cost in time and resources that would be necessary for manually studying samples. An additional advantage is that data can be sorted and contrasted; for example, comparing the language of pupils placed on different CEFR levels or in different age groups. While the CORYL corpus is relatively small, and limited in terms of themes (and therefore vocabulary), it is sufficiently large to allow for the study of many phenomena that occur frequently in the language of pupils in this context. Either by setting out to investigate issues that we know to be salient, or by allowing the corpus to reveal phenomena we were not previously aware of, it is possible to identify characteristics of learner language which may prove useful for researchers, teachers and course-book writers, as well as others involved in the English language of young learners in the Norwegian school context, and hopefully beyond.

Two distinct areas of study related to learner language, using CORYL, are identified here: *Computer-aided Error Analysis* (CEA) and *Interlanguage Analysis* (IA). These terms are based on the presentation of the topic in Callies (2015, 38–41). For the second of these areas, Callies employs the term *Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis* (CIA), since such studies normally contrast the interlanguage in the corpus with the language of native speakers. However, in the case of CORYL, no parallel corpus of native-speaker language is available, which corresponds with regard to the age of the writers and the tasks responded to. Thus, the term *Interlanguage Analysis* is used to describe the study of language in the corpus that does not (necessarily) involve errors, but nonetheless reveals patterns in the language that warrant further investigation.

Extracts from the CORYL corpus will be used to exemplify features of language use. These are accompanied by a reference to the writer (pupil); for example, p04–10 or p151–07, which denotes pupil ID and grade.

3. Computer-aided Error Analysis (CEA)

In this section, the focus is on writing errors detected in the texts in the corpus, and the way these can be analysed, or used as the basis for further study. It has long been acknowledged, for example by Odlin (1989), that many errors appear to be caused by the interference of the writer's L1, or another familiar language, on the interlanguage. Other errors appear not

to be influenced by the specific L1, but may be due to developmental factors. These two types of error will be categorized respectively as 'interference errors' and 'non-interference errors'.

3.1. Interference errors

Interference errors are frequently ascribed to *transfer*. Ellis and Barhuizen (2005, 65) state: "Transfer relates to the introduction of an L1 form into the interlanguage system." This can be illustrated by the phrase in example 2:

> *Example 2: L1 phrase*
> […] the old man […] **looks** angry **out**. (Norwegian: *Den gamle mannen ser sint ut*)
> (p18–10)

Ellis and Barhuizen (2005) distinguish transfer from *borrowing*, by which an L1 item is simply used as it stands, e.g. using the word Norwegian word 'paraply' for 'umbrella'. 'Transfer' is preferred here to the term 'crosslinguistic influence', frequently used in SLA literature, e.g. Kellerman and Sharwood Smith (1986), as it is felt the latter term could be interpreted as including borrowing.

CORYL contains numerous examples of both transfer and borrowing. The latter is easiest to identify, and is simply tagged in CORYL as L1. With regard to transfer, caution has to be employed when ascribing an error to this category. According to Osborne (2015, 351): "It is not enough to identify errors in learner production and attribute them to transfer solely on the grounds that similar forms exist in the learners' L1, if other sources of error have not reasonably been ruled out". In the CORYL tagging process, errors have primarily been tagged according to the surface form of the error; for example, wrong preposition. Where it seems likely, by comparison with Norwegian, that transfer may have occurred, the error is also tagged as L1, but the researcher is warned that this is a fairly subjective judgment. It is convenient for a researcher using CORYL to search for instances where transfer is likely to have occurred, but this should not be regarded as more than an indication. The tagging in not intended to explain *why* an error has occurred; that is a task which researchers using the corpus might address. Examples 3 and 4 are tagged as preposition and modal errors respectively, but are also tagged as L1-influenced.

Example 3: Preposition/L1
I'm scared **for** sleep in the wood (Norwegian preposition in this context: *for*)
(p248–7)

Example 4: Modal/L1
John was like a hero when he s**hould** save a pizza from horrible things. (Norwegian modal in this context: *skulle*)
(p45–7)

Transfer is frequently found in lexical errors, notably in those apparently caused by cognates or 'false friends', which Ringbom (1983) ranks as the greatest single cause of written errors among Swedish-speaking learners of English. *Nature*, as used in Example 5, is one of numerous false friends found in the corpus:

Example 5: Wrong word/L1 (*cognate*)
They throw sigaretts in the **nature (**Norwegian equivalent in this context: *naturen*)
(p146–10)

The top ten wrongly used words in CORYL are shown in Table 1. Many of these might be described as 'core words', referred to in Section 4, that learners tend to over-rely on. Another favourite cognate, *mean,* which is often used to denote *think*, is ranked number 24.

Table 1. The top ten words used incorrectly in CORYL (expressed as percentage of total number of wrong words)

1. got (2,30%)
2. take (1,91%)
3. the (1,71%)
4. came (1,45%)
5. took (1,38%)
6. get (1,32%)
7. nature (1,32%)
8. go (1,18%)
9. went (1,12%)
10. back (1,05%)

In addition to affecting single vocabulary items, transfer appears to result in the direct translation of whole phrases from the L1 (tagged as L1P), as seen in example 6, which show the influence of the Norwegian phrase *ta telefonen* = *'take the telephone'*.

Example 6 also contains another instance of the word *to take* (*took*) used incorrectly. While this may also be a direct translation of the Norwegian word 'ta', it could be being used in the sense of 'picked up' or 'grabbed' rather than as part of a telephone-related phrase.

Example 6: L1 phrase
Then I took the telefone and I ring my dad. But he **not take it.**
(p280–7)

This finding confirms those of Salido (2016), obtained in an error analysis of 'Support Verb Constructions' (SVCS) in written Spanish learner corpora. This study maintained that one of the most frequently collocation types used correctly and incorrectly in the corpus was that of SVCS. These consist of a verb+noun construction, in which the verb carries little lexical meaning and this is provided by the noun. Salido found evidence that learners, while choosing the noun correctly, had problems identifying the correct support verb, often due to the restricted range of these available to them, compared to native speakers.

An example of an error in CORYL in which *got* is incorrectly used as a support verb is found in example 7, where *had* would have been correct.

Example 7: L1 phrase
my mother **got** a heartattack
(p176–10)

There is another source of interference error, which cannot be directly attributed to transfer, but nonetheless reflects the relationship between the L1 and target language. This is the phenomenon Hasselgren[1] (1994) refers to as *divergence*, which occurs when a single item in one language has a number of equivalents in another language. An example of this is the present tense verb form, which in Norwegian has only the simple form, while English has both simple and progressive forms. While the use of

1 Later spelt Hasselgreen.

the simple tense when the progressive is required can perhaps be directly ascribed to transfer, teachers of English in Norway, and possibly beyond, know that the progressive form is frequently used when the context requires the simple form, as demonstrated in example 8:

Example 8: Verb tense (*overuse of progressive form*)
The bus **is leaving** the railway station at 14.00
(p04–10)

Another example of divergence is the Norwegian *det er*, which can be translated as *it is* or *there is* in English. Example 9 shows an error in this feature:

Example 9: It/there is
[…] **it is** a little bit to walk to get there.
(p272–10)

A divergence-related finding that was unexpected was revealed when searching for wrong function words in CORYL. At the very top of the list, with twice the frequency of the word that was in second-place, we find the word 'the'. On closer examination of the texts, it becomes apparent that, while there are many of the more predictable article errors, *the* also commonly seems to be perceived as the most natural equivalent of the Norwegian word *det* (which may also be translated as *there*, *it or that*) and used accordingly. Examples 10 and 11 show the use of 'the' to convey a variety of meanings based on *det*:

Example 10: Wrong function word (*the = there*)
the were a dog on the flor.
(year 7)[2]

Example 11: Wrong function word (*the = that/it*)
Wath is **the** ?
(year 7)

2 The pupil id is unavailable for this examples

Divergence is also a common source of mischosen lexis. In a study by Hasselgren (1994) of the English vocabulary of young Norwegian adults in translation texts, it was found that over half of the words wrongly chosen could be ascribed to divergence.

This can be exemplified by the Norwegian word *gå,* which in English can be translated as either *go* or *walk*. Example 12 is one of occurrences in the corpus, where the word *went* is used with the meaning *walked*.

Example 12: Wrong word/L1 (*divergence/cognate*)
My mom **went** through my door and shouted…
(p222–10)

3.2. Non-interference errors

The examples shown from CORYL so far have involved errors believed to be influenced by interference from the Norwegian language, mainly due to transfer of Norwegian forms on pupil's English. However, many errors cannot be ascribed to interference, but rather to the stage of the development of the interlanguage.

As a learner's interlanguage grows, its development will, to some extent, reflect the learner's L1, but the findings of researchers such as Pienemann and Johnston (1987) revealed that common stages in the acquisition of certain structures seemed to exist universally, regardless of the L1 of the learner. Lightbown and Spada (2006) consider a number of these, including negation, question formation, possessive determiners, relative clause structures and references to the past. Errors that are developmental in nature can be studied in CORYL, by comparing the language of pupils placed on a range of CEFR levels.

Regarding the use of the past tense, it is interesting to note a development from A1 to A2. A1 pupils commonly use only *was* to indicate past tense, but on reaching A2, they start attempting to use other forms of the past tense, although this generally involves simply applying the *ed*-ending to most or all verbs.

The findings outlined below derive from a fairly superficial preliminary search for evidence in CORYL of the way verb tenses develop across CEFR levels. A more thorough search would be very worthwhile. The examples here illustrate what appears to be a typical progression in verb tense development across CEFR levels.

At **level A1**, pupils tend to consistently use *was* to indicate past tense, while virtually all other verbs are in the present or infinitive form. This is illustrated in Example 13:

Example 13: A1
I **go** in and **sad** HALLO! But nobady **sas** noting. The window **wos** knust. I **go** into my brothers room, and all hes things **wos** gone. I **call** my mom and dad.
(p30–7)

At **level A2**, pupils are generally still not using the past tense appropriately, but they are making various attempts, commonly involving an incorrect use of progressive forms. They may also use *ed*-endings wrongly. Examples 14 and 15 show typical A2 attempts:

Example 14: A2
Thay **are starting to build** a hut
(p215–7)

Example 15: A2
I **go** to the silver to see **wats has happening** with that. But it was ther. But many thing was **stoled**
(p26–7)

These findings confirm the findings of a study carried out by Salaberry (2000) on the acquisition of English past-tense verbs by Spanish leaners of English. It was found that irregular past-tense forms of frequently used verbs appeared to be acquired more readily than regular verb forms. This was attributed to the greater effect of saliency and frequency compared to that of the lexical aspects in the early stages of acquiring inflectional morphpology.

According to Salaberry: "In essence, the prediction is that the more frequent and irregular the verb, the more likely it will appear first in the development of past marking of adult instructed L2 learners, […]" (2000, 138); and he goes on to conclude: "In sum, the analysis of data from this study provided evidence that irregular morphology (e.g. extended past

tense marking of stative *be* as irregular *was*) correlated more strongly than lexical aspect with morphological past tense marking" (2000, 148).

At **level B1,** pupils demonstrate similar types of errors to those of A2 pupils, but here there are fewer verb errors relative to other error types. More complex verb errors of the type shown in example 16, in which the context demanded *grew up* or *have grown up*, start occurring relatively more frequently:

Example 16: B1
Because adults **are grown** up in an evironment that they had to work hard to get food.
(p53–10)

At **level B1/B2**, errors tend to occur in more advanced verb constructions, as shown in examples 17 and 18.

Example 17: B1/B2
I am looking forward **to see** you there.
(p55–10)

Example 18: B1/B2
I **remembered I forgot** my food
(p80–10)

At **level B2** there are very few verb errors, and these are typically quite subtle, as shown in example 19.

Example 19: B2
If there's anything that **bothers** you I'll do my best
(p79–10)

Regarding lexis, Hasselgren (1994) revealed that, in her data, about one in three of the wrong-word errors appeared to be caused by a misselected synonym. Although *much* is arguably a function word rather than a lexical word, it can be regarded as belonging to a group of synonyms: *much, many, a lot (of),* where the selection depends more on grammatical/syntactic considerations than semantic meaning. Its similarity with

the Norwegian *mye* may account for the fact that it tends be a favourite choice among learners, as illustrated by example 20:

Example 20: Wrong function word
Music means **much** to almost everybody
(p267–10)

Tagging items as errors on the grounds of inappropriate style or connotation is done with caution in CORYL, as choices may have been made consciously for rhetorical purposes, such as the use of irony. However, there are instances where a clearly unfortunate choice is made, as illustrated in example 21, which is an extract from a letter to the editor:

Example 21: Wrong word (*style/connotations*)
They put garbarge on the ground and **don't give a shit.**
(p278–10)

This section has been devoted entirely to illustrating how CORYL can be used to investigate some areas of pupil error, whether due to interference or the developmental stage of the interlanguage. The examples found have been tagged for specific errors and this tagging has been used to retrieve manifestations of these, leading to a discussion of how the error may have arisen, drawing at times on the literature of corpus linguistics or SLA.

In the next section, the focus moves from errors in the interlanguage of pupils, to those aspects in which actual errors do not necessarily take place, and yet the language is stamped by their development as learners. This means that we are no longer able to depend on the corpus tags to guide us to the features we are interested in (as in corpus-driven research). We need to begin any search with a hypothesis or at least a 'hunch' as to what to look for in the data.

4. Interlanguage analysis
While the language of learners is certainly not always 'incorrect' there are many instances in which it is simply 'different' from that of a native speaker in an equivalent situation. One of the principal ways in which

this is manifested is through the avoidance of certain forms, often accompanied by the overuse of others (Osborne, 2015, 336).

In the case of CORYL, while it may be suspected that Norwegian learners underuse a certain word or structure, the absence of a parallel native speaker corpus for comparison makes this difficult to establish; experimental study with pupils may be the best way to find evidence of over- and underuse. It is, however, possible to undertake a comparison between subgroups of CORYL, in order to find indications that this may be happening.

A comparison of age groups can shed light on what elements learners, even at similar CORYL levels, only acquire as they mature. One such area appears to be the acquisition of conjunctions/adverbial conjuncts. Hasselgreen and Moe (2006) investigated the use of conjunctions in the writing of Norwegian pupils aged 12/13 and 15/16, on levels A2 and B1, and concluded that regardless of level, the younger pupils used a distinctly narrower range of conjunctions than the older pupils. This is perhaps unsurprising, given that studies such as Nippold (2006) cited in Hasselgreen & Caudwell (2016), found that the development of conjunctions and adverbial conjuncts in English as a first language does not take off fully until adolescence.

Table 2 contrasts a selection of conjunctions/adverbial conjuncts in CORYL, for the different age groups. With the exception of *because*, it can be seen that those used by the older pupils, though admittedly in small in number, are virtually never used by the 7th graders.

Table 2: a selection of conjunctions/adverbial conjuncts in CORYL, contrasting age groups

	Age: 15/16	Age: 12/13
However	16	0
Since	16	1
Even if	11	0
Although	9	0
Even though	5	0
Therefore	1	0
Because	146	72

Because is used with great frequency by both groups. The ease with which these pupils, even at very low levels on the CEFR use *because* can account for the rather high frequency of complex sentences among these pupils.

It is worth noting that a range of aspects of language development, such as syntactic attainment (e.g. adverbial conjuncts) and lexis (including abstract concepts and derivational morphology), as well as certain aspects of discourse and pragmatics, occur late in childhood, in some cases even extending into young adulthood (Nippold, 2006). When investigating the ability of an L2 learner to use a phenomenon, it can be important to determine whether the learners can use its equivalent in his/her L1.

What Hasselgreen (1994, 237) terms *Lexical teddy bears*—words "we regularly clutch at" and "feel safe with"—may be associated with errors, but can also be seen to be present in language where no actual error occurs; this can be clearly seen in the case of core words, as demonstrated by Hasselgreen (1994). Here all-purpose forms, such as *have, get*, or a *lot*, were shown to be used in contexts where native speakers chose a word more specific to the collocation, such as *acquire, undergo* or *profusely*. This reflects Salido's (2016) findings in his study of support verb constructs, referred to above; Salido noted that SVCs were common in both correct and incorrect collocations in learner language. A study of core words in CORYL might involve searching for the word itself, for example *get,* and finding which words it tends to collocate with. Then these words could be examined to see which alternative words they occur with, looking for a variation in these across CEFR levels. This investigation has not been undertaken at this stage. What has been noted is the extremely high frequency of occurrences of *get,* and the virtual absence of its synonyms as given in the Oxford Dictionary. Table 3 illustrates this:

Table 3: occurrences of get and synonyms in CORYL

Word	Number of occurrences in CORYL
Get/got	446
Acquire(d)	0
Receive(d)	1
Fetch(ed)	0
Achieve(d)	0

A result such as this is probably best followed up by experimenting with pupils, to see how adept they are at using appropriate synonyms of core words.

5. Conclusion

This article has hopefully demonstrated that the CORYL corpus has the potential to add significantly to our knowledge of the development of the English of young learners in Norway. We may begin by searching for phenomena we intuitively know to exist, for example, looking for prepositions used wrongly; or by allowing the corpus to surprise us, for example in the list of 'wrong words' or 'wrong function words' found in the corpus. Some of these may seemingly be due to interference, others to developmental factors such as learner progress across CEFR levels or related to maturity. It can also shed light on non-erroneous language forms. However, as has been stated several times in the article, corpus findings on their own are rarely sufficient for us to draw absolute conclusions, and should be followed up, for example in classroom-based studies.

The article is not based on full-scale studies undertaken using CORYL; such studies are in their infancy at the time of writing. It has certainly not provided absolute answers regarding the way written English as an L2 in Norwegian schools develops. Many aspects of language, such as vocabulary development, have not been touched upon, being largely beyond the capacity of a small and limited corpus such as CORYL. It has however shown some directions CORYL can take us in an effort to learn more about the language of these learners. It is informed by what we, as compilers of the corpus, have been struck by over the time we have worked with it. Virtually every search has been an 'aha- experience' in some way. Just playing with CORYL has been inspirational, and one hopes that the reader will be tempted to spend some time doing some searching of their own in this unique and fascinating body of language.

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Appendix: CORYL error tags
(taken from the CORYL website: clarino.uib.no/korpuskel/)
Below you will find a list of all the error code tags used to annotate CORYL, with a brief description of what they stand for and how we applied them.

Code	Stands for
SP	Spelling (correct form supplied)
APOS	Apostrophe (correct form supplied)
CM	Compound, e.g. holiday cottage (correct form supplied)
SEP	Separation of word into 2 parts (correct form supplied)
L1	Norwegian word
SMS	SMS or slang, e.g. L8 or wanna
V	Wrong form of verb, excl. concord. This includes a wide variety of wrongly formed/used verbs, and also cases where a word wrongly used as weak regular verb, with –ed ending, e.g. *comed* (also tagged as NW in some cases).
VC	Concord error, e.g. he were
MV	Modal verb used wrongly
WFO	Wrong form of word (excl. verb), e.g. plural or –ly ending
NW	Nonexistent or unintelligible word (excluding clear verb- or word-form errors)
MFS	Missing full stop
NONSE	Nonsensical/ impossible to understand sentence
SE	Incomplete or multiple sentence, e.g. linking with commas
ART	Any clear article error (overuse, underuse or wrong choice of article)
PREP	Wrong preposition
SY	Anything other than the above categories that affects the syntax of the clause, e.g. word order or prepositions that are missing or added. This also includes missing copula 'to be', e.g. *he coming*.

WW	A wrong lexical word (i.e. not of a closed class)
WFU	A wrong function (i.e. non-lexical) word, such as a pronoun, possessive (e.g. my) demonstrative (e.g. these), conjunction (e.g. and) other linking word (then, when, because, so, as, that, like, [...]). This includes 'the' used in wrong translation of 'det' (not as article). Also *much/many/a lot*
CAP	Missing or overused capital, e.g. i
IT	It/there errors
WPH	A phrase that is wrong, most often with multiple, complex errors, but where it is virtually impossible to decide exactly what is wrong or why.
WI	Wrong idiom. A pupil has used a phrase that appears to be an idiomatic one, but which does not exist in Eng or Nor. This also includes 'good' idioms which are used wrongly in the context, and appear to have been misunderstood.
L1P	L1 phrase. When the whole phrase has a Norwegian formulation translated, e.g. *I hope you have it nice, very fun,* [...]

Quality Assurance in the National Tests of English: Investigating What Makes Reading Difficult

Angela Hasselgreen, Craig Grocott and Torbjørn Torsheim

This article presents two studies, the second building on the findings of the first, which investigate the relationship between features of test items/texts used in the NTE (National Tests of English) test of reading and the difficulty of items. It will look for indications that the features found to influence difficulty are reflected in the progression of descriptors of reading ability in the Mastery levels used in reporting test results.

1. Background

The NTE is taken by virtually all pupils in Norwegian schools, early in 5th and 8th grades. The tests, which are delivered online, consist of 40 to 50 items, covering a wide range of difficulty and a variety of formats. The tests are designed to test general reading in English. The University of Bergen, in association with Uni Research, has been responsible for the development, trialling and analysis of the NTE. The authors have been involved in all of these processes.

According to the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (*Utdanningsdirektoratet)*:

> The purpose of the national tests is to provide schools with information on pupils' basic skills in […] English. Information from the tests should provide a basis for ongoing assessment and quality development at all levels of the education system" (translation) (Nasjonale prøver 2016)

Remaining Relevant: Modern Language Studies Today

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Teachers receive advice in the test guidelines on how to use the individual pupil's test results to support his/her development in English reading. The test scores are converted to a series of mastery levels, three for 5th grade and five for 8th grade (see Appendix). These contain detailed descriptors of which subskills a pupil at the particular level can be expected to master (Mestringsbeskrivelser 2016).

The team responsible for developing the test, including the guidelines and level descriptors, have recently undertaken a series of studies on test item data. The purpose of these studies was, primarily, to establish what pupils had to 'do' (or which subskills were necessary) in order to correctly answer specific test items, and to determine how these subskills are associated with item difficulty. This in turn should inform us both in the creation of items intended for specific levels of difficulty and, importantly, in adjusting the descriptors for the mastery levels

Before embarking on the studies themselves, investigating the link between features and item difficulty in the NTE, we will first consider what other researchers have concluded with regard to the features that make reading texts and tasks difficult.

2. Features of texts/tasks found to be associated with difficulty

Difficulty in reading can be caused by features inherent to the text itself, by properties of the task the reader is required to carry out, or to both.[1]

2.1. Features of texts

Studies such as Alderson (2000) and Crossley, Greenfield & McNamara (2008) focus on features of the overall text which have been found to contribute to difficulty in reading.

Alderson (2000) identifies a number of features of a text that affect difficulty. The first is vocabulary difficulty, which "has consistently been shown to have an effect on understanding for first-language readers as well as second-language readers" (Alderson 2000, 69). However, the author notes the effect of topic (un)familiarity on vocabulary difficulty. The second feature identified is syntactic complexity; i.e. the "opacity and heaviness of the constituent structures which make it difficult for readers to parse syntax" (Alderson 2000, 69). However, the author notes that

1 Here 'item' is used to refer to a 'text plus task', while 'task' refers only to what the pupil has to 'do' and not the text itself.

"simplifying syntax does not necessarily make texts more readable, since a thorough syntactic analysis of text may be unnecessary" (Alderson 2000, 73). Topic, cohesion, coherence and 'readability' were also cited, with a warning of simplistic assumptions, due to interactions between features.

Crossley, Greenfield & McNamara (2008) found that a high count on three variables was likely to indicate an increase in the ease of reading, by reducing the cognitive load for the reader. The first variable is the lexical index, based on the proportion of high-frequency words. The second variable is the syntactic index, based on similarity of the syntactic constructions in the sentences in the text. The third and final variable is the meaning-construction index, based on how often content words overlapped in adjacent sentences.

2.2. Features of tasks

In contrast to predictors of reading difficulty inherent to overall *texts*, other studies have investigated features that predicated difficulty when carrying out particular *tasks* in reading tests. Lumley et al's 2012 study focused on the parts of a text that the reader needed to understand in order to do the task, and found that five variables correlated significantly with item difficulty: competing information, relationship between the task and required information, concreteness of information, familiarity of information, and reference to information from outside the text (world knowledge, personal beliefs, ideas and opinions).

In another study, Gao and Rogers (2011) concluded that difficulty in carrying out reading test tasks is increased by several features: the number of plausible distractors, the requirement of high-level inferencing, the degree of syntactic knowledge required, the need to use contextual clues to work out the meaning of unknown vocabulary, and the degree to which the required information is spread throughout the text.

This wide range of predictors of difficulty associated with tasks can perhaps be reduced to two basic types of features. The first are features associated with *the information required by the task*—its location, its concreteness or familiarity and the relationship or degree of overlap with the wording of the task. The second are features associated with *the level of reading processing required* to do the task—recognising and understanding lexis, using syntax (and morphology) to understand sentences, con-

structing meaning across texts, and using outside information or intuition to make inferences. This second set of features is reflected in Khalifa and Weir's (2009: 43) hierarchy of levels of processing, as follows:

Constructing a representation across texts
Constructing a representation of the whole text
Inferencing
Creating propositional meaning at clause and sentence level
Syntactic parsing
Accessing lexical meaning
Word recognition

3. Study one

The first study was carried out using data from 5th-grade tests, with the aim of identifying features of items which appear to influence difficulty. A sample of items whose p-values were known formed the basis of the study, and the features studied included a number of those identified above as being associated with difficulty. Where subjective judgements were necessary, the items were rated by seven trained raters and an analysis was carried out to investigate the associations of item features and p-values.

3.1. Sample

The study was based on 176 test items. As the number of variables/predictors investigated was to be 17, a set of 176 items was considered an appropriate size, in the light of the statement by Crossley et al (2008) that: "Generally, a minimum of 10 cases of data for each predictor is considered to be accurate" (2008, 482). It was considered preferable to use items used in the past two-three years in order to best reflect current items. As each actual test consists of no more than 50 items, the items for the study were chosen not only from test data but also from piloting data (i.e. items whose p-values were known but which had not been used so far in tests). The items were chosen with the aim of putting together a set which reflected the distribution of format/task types typically used in a test.

The 17 potential variables included eight that required rater judgements. These eight included four which were related to language/reading processing—*recognising vocabulary, understanding simple sentences, un-*

derstanding complex sentences, and *making links between sentences.* The remaining four were more explicitly associated with the task—*reading to find information/detail*, *reading to grasp overall meaning/main point* and *inferencing*, as well as the presence of *competing information*.

The nine categories which did not require rater judgements, being inherent features of the tasks/texts, included *text length* as well as eight categories of *format/task type*, for example, *move object*, or *who could say*.

3.2. Procedure

The training of seven raters was carried out over four sessions, with individual rating followed by discussion. The description of predictor categories was adjusted after each round, and in some cases the categories themselves were changed. The final rating was carried out by all seven raters individually. The raters were issued with a spreadsheet with the instruction to place a cross under all of the features that they felt were present in the individual items, without a limit as to how many crosses could be placed per text. If the rater chose the category 'sentence', the category 'vocabulary' would also be chosen, as one cannot understand a sentence without understanding the vocabulary within it.

3.3. Analysis

Inter-rater correlations were calculated for all item features, using intraclass correlations from ANOVA.

As tasks might tap several processing components, we computed task-feature combinations. Based on the study classification scheme, each item was classified according to the highest level of complexity. The low-level complexity group consisted of items requiring vocabulary only. The intermediate-level group consisted of items requiring sentence-clause combinations, reading to form overall meaning, and linking sentences. The high-level group consisted of items requiring inferencing and including competing information. The association between level of complexity and p-correct was tested using Oneway ANOVA, as was the overall effect of task complexity.

To identify the relative importance of specific task features, a multiple regression analysis was used, regressing p-values on all features in order to establish which items significantly contributed to the prediction of p-correct, and hence difficulty.

3.4. Results

The statistical analysis showed acceptable inter-rater correlations (over .70) on all categories, using intra-class correlations from ANOVA, which suggests that the mean of the ratings was reliable.

The Oneway ANOVA of the task complexity groups showed that task complexity had a statistically significant effect, $F(2, 173) = 19.21$, $p < 0.001$, eta-squared= 0.18, indicating that the p-correct varied as a function of task-complexity group. The mean p-correct was lowest in the high-complexity group ($M = 0.43$), and highest in the low-complexity group ($M = 0.65$).

To assess the specific importance of all task features, a multiple regression model was tested using p-correct as the dependent variable and task features as independent dummy variables. Vocabulary was used as the reference category. The results of the multiple regression analysis are displayed in table 1. The following processes were established as having a positive effect on difficulty, using multiple regression: the requirement to understand a *sentence/clause* (involving syntax, morphology and function words and reflected in M-2 descriptors), and the requirement to make *inferences* (reflected in M-3 descriptors).

A separate analysis of item characteristics revealed that text length was a very strong predictor of difficulty for items overall. However, this was not the case in items requiring vocabulary understanding alone. Another characteristic that was a good predictor or difficulty was task format; those based on pictures were less difficult than those based on text alone.

Table 1. Model Summary from Multiple Regression of p-correct Regressed on Task Features

Variable	B	SE	Stardardized Beta
Intercept	0.65	0.026	-
Sentence/clause	-0.17	0.033	-0.38***
Complex sentence	-0.02	0.036	-0.03
Link sentences	0.05	0.043	0.09
Read for overall meaning/main pt	-0.14	0.105	-0.09
Inference	-0.16	0.061	-0.18**
Competing info	-0.06	0.035	-0.12

Note.** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

3.5. Discussion

Limitations on the study were related to the fact that there were very few items testing overall meaning, and that the item data was taken from a number of sources (both real tests and pilot versions), which can affect the parity of item behaviour. The p-value of an item may depend on whether the item was used in testing or piloting; this can be attributed to students taking actual tests more seriously than pilot tests.

The findings of this study, to a large extent, reflect the discussion above regarding features that have been found by other researchers to predict difficulty. These include levels of cognitive processing as well as features of the task—the concreteness of information (Lumley et al, 2012), being associated here with the presence of pictures in the tasks.

A consequence of the study was that the test development team's awareness of what items appeared to measure increased. This led to a revision of the coding of items in the item bank and an adjustment to the information provided in the teacher guidelines regarding what items measure. Up to this point, this information had been given on a one-dimensional scale, with elements such as *understand vocabulary, link sentences, find main point*, or *find detail*. Each item had been coded as measuring one or more of these elements. This meant that several labels could be assigned to the same item; moreover, there was no limit as to how many categories an item could be assigned to, although some of them are mutually exclusive. There was an apparent need to separate the categories, which was undertaken in the following study, with a view to developing a clearer structure.

4. Study two

After completing the first study, which used data obtained from the 5th-grade items, this study was replicated using data from 8th-grade items, with some extended (or revised) elements.

The deeper understanding which resulted from the 5th-grade study, and the apparent need for separation of categories, led to a new, two-dimensional model for coding items, with levels of cognitive reading processing as one dimension, and the operation required by the task as the other. For each category, only one feature could be chosen per item.

Dimension 1- the levels of reading processing are presented as a hierarchy, with each level building on the one preceding it, as follows:

1. VOCABULARY: *Understand vocabulary-* understand a word or phrase, possibly with the support of the context
2. SENTENCE: *Understand sentence(s)-* understand a sentence/clause, or a number of adjacent sentences/clauses
3. LINK: *Link sentences/parts of the text-* make the connection between sentences which are separated in the text. This can also involve linking between different types of text, e.g. diagrams.

Given that the categories assigned to Dimension 1 are hierarchical in nature, they cannot be mutually exclusive in the way that the categories in the second dimension are. Nevertheless, each item is placed in only one category, since one can assume that, per definition, the categories higher up in the hierarchy incorporate the 'lower' categories. For example, one cannot link sentences which are separated in a text without understanding the sentences themselves. There can be exceptions to this rule in theory, but these are rare enough to accept this hierarchical structure. Given that no texts were very long (maximum, ca 350 words) and no items involved linking information from several texts, these categories were comprehensive in that they covered all items.

Dimension 2—the operation required by the task is expressed as five mutually exclusive categories:

1. INFO/DETAIL: *Find (specific) information/understand (specific) detail-* find a specific piece of information or detail which is given in a text or picture.
2. MAIN POINT: *Understand the main point-* identify the main point of a text or a section of a text.
3. INTERPRET: *Interpret and understand-* interpret or have a more intuitive understanding of the text—the information required is not to be found directly in the text.
4. GRAMMAR: *Understand/use grammatical structures-* select or provide a particular grammatical structure (syntax/morphology/function word).
5. COHESION: *Understand cohesion*—put a series of disconnected paragraphs in a text into the right order.

The categories in Dimension 2 are considered to be mutually exclusive because they represent distinct item types and do not necessarily incorporate one another in a hierarchical structure as with those features in the first category. Some of the operations required by the task do, however, have an intrinsic connection to certain reading processing levels in Dimension 1. For example, if an item has *main point* as its key operation, the level of reading processing would automatically be classed as *link*, since different parts of the text have to be understood in order to ascertain what the main point of the text is. The only feature in the second dimension that could be argued not to be exclusive is the first, *info/detail*, as one must understand individual details in order to, for example, interpret the main point of a text. However, it is necessary to include the *info/detail* feature as a separate 'operation' category, in order to cover items that require *only* this operation.

The categories *grammar* and *cohesion* are unique in that they are both tied to specific task types. Grammar, as explained above, usually involves filling a gap in a sentence, either with given alternatives or without, in order to demonstrate the candidate's understanding of specific grammatical structures. It is not tied to one specific level of reading processing, but is virtually always paired with *understand* sentence; it would be unlikely to be paired with *link*. *Cohesion* on the other hand is always tied to *link*, as the candidate must be able to connect the different parts of an entire (usually longer) text.

Study two was carried out in the autumn of 2016, after the new coding of items had been established. This study differed from the earlier one in that the 8th grade test was the object, rather than the 5th-grade test. This was largely because the items offered more scope in the range of what was tested; it was more common at this level to test for overall meaning, inferencing and cohesion. In addition, the 8th-grade tests spanned all five mastery levels. Data was provided showing the calculated mastery level assigned to each item.

4.1. Sample

It was decided that the most logical and practical variables to investigate should include the eight categories represented in our two-dimensional model. This would make the findings directly relevant, as these categories are those referred to in the guidelines for teachers using the tests.

Moreover, as the team were familiar with coding items in these categories, this was expected to enhance rater reliability. As all eight categories involved features relating to actual tasks, rather than to the texts on which they are based, it was decided that one category relating to the entire text should be included in the dataset; therefore the *Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level Readability* index was included for each item. The reasoning behind including this was that it takes into account aspects of the text that are not necessarily reflected in the two dimensions explained earlier, such as sentence length and average word length (Flesch-Kincaid n.d.). These can be regarded as indirect measures of sentence and vocabulary complexity. Text length was also noted and included in the analysis since study one indicated that text length was a strong indicator of item difficulty.

As ten potential variables were to be investigated, it was not necessary to use data from more than roughly 100 items, following the principle of 10 raters per category described above. This meant that the actual data from two entire tests could be used. This had the advantage of using more comparable p-values, as piloting p-values tend to differ slightly from test p-values. In fact, the number of items used was 92, this being the number of test items in the 2014 and 2015 tests, on which the study was based.

In addition to p-values, data was also available for the mastery (M)-levels each item was assigned to. The M-level for each item had been established using item-difficulty estimates based on IRT calculations, combined with the percentage distribution of items across levels. The assignment of items to these levels was the responsibility of *Utdanningsdirektoratet*.

4.2. Procedure

All items were rated individually, going through the test online, with no access to the original coding. In deciding the coding on the first dimension, the raters had to consider what was strictly necessary, in terms of the level of processing, in order to do this task. If, for example, recognising a single word or phrase was sufficient to arrive at the answer, then the item was coded for *vocabulary*, regardless of how long or complex the text might be. For the operation dimension, the wording of the task, and how this related to the text, was crucial to the coding.

The rating was done in two stages. For a sample of approximately one quarter of the items, agreement was reached by consensus following the

individual rating. For the remaining items, individual ratings were registered and the final coding required that at least four of the seven raters were in agreement. On the occasional instances where this produced no clear result, a verdict was reached after discussion with the raters.

4.3. Analysis

A range of statistical methods were used in the analysis. Bivariate correlation was employed for all individual features to find associations between item features and difficulty. The relative importance of task dimensions was assessed through blockwise hierarchical regression, placing levels of reading processing in the first block and task operations in the second block. Finally, to detect possible non-additive effects, regression trees were estimated using item difficulty as the dependent variable, and all task features as predictive variables.

4.4. Results

When considering all ten features investigated, we estimated the association between item features and p-correct (item difficulty). The associations are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Bivariate associations between task features and task difficulty (p correct)

Task feature	p-correct
Vocabulary	.185
Sentence	-0.174
Link	0.021
Info/detail	**.252***
Main point	0.45
Interpret	0.32
Grammar	**-0.380****
Cohesion	.006
Words	**.235***
Readability	**-.463****

Note.** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

The task operations (Dimension 2) *understanding information/detail* (easy) and *grammar* (difficult) were significantly related to item difficulty. Features of the text—*length* and *readability* (roughly associated with

sentence and vocabulary complexity)—were also significantly related to item difficulty.

To understand the relative importance of the two dimensions of features, these were entered in a blockwise hierarchical regression analysis (not reported in table). Levels of reading processing were placed in the first block, whereas task operations were placed in the second block. The first block did not have any predictive value, as indicated by the nonsignificant change in R-squared. The task operations in the second block had a statistically significant increase in R-squared of 0.113 (*F-change*(3, 82)= 3.69, p< 0.015)). Adjusting for other variables, *Grammar* achieved statistical significance, with a standardised coefficient (Beta) of -0.36 (B =-0.209, t=3.23, p<0.002).

When considering only the task operation (Dimension 2), items were divided into three groups of hypothesized task complexity: items requiring finding *information/detail* as the least complex, items requiring *main point* and *interpret/inference* features as being of intermediate complexity, and items requiring *grammar* and *cohesion* as the highest level of complexity. According to this classification, 55 items belonged to the low-complexity group, 15 to the intermediate-complexity group, and 21 items to the high-complexity group.

A one-way ANOVA, using complexity classification as the independent factor predicting item difficulty (p-correct), revealed the significant main effect of feature complexity on item difficulty. It indicated that an increase in the complexity of items, in terms of operations, was associated with increased item difficulty. Thus, tasks requiring *information/detail* were easier than those in the *main point- interpret/inference* group, which in turn were easier than those in the *grammar–cohesion* group.

To examine the non-additive effects of item features, we used classification and regression trees to predict item difficulty. As the current sample size of items was quite low, only a learning sample was used. Thus, the replicability of the tree was not assessed.

The regression tree showed that the *grammar* items have the highest degree of difficulty, with indications that *main point* and *link* were also associated with high difficulty; *information/detail* items were shown to be most closely associated with low difficulty.

When considering the regression tree for p-correct, it could be seen clearly that items requiring the cognitive level *vocabulary* only were

significantly easier than those requiring understanding of *sentences*. Interestingly, where sentence understanding was necessary, items with the operation *main point* were shown to have a high level of difficulty.

To sum up, the results indicate that, with respect to reading processing (Dimension 1), the items requiring an understanding of *vocabulary* were clearly easier than those requiring an understanding of *sentences*. There was some indication that making *links* between sentences adds to difficulty. The main effect of reading processing was not strong. However, the regression tree for mastery level indicated some interactive effects: making links added to difficulty when the task did not involve grammar.

In terms of task operations (Dimension 2), items requiring finding *information/detail* emerged as the easiest, while those requiring finding the *main point* and *interpreting/inferencing* constitute a group of intermediate complexity, and *grammar* and *cohesion* items comprise the most complex group.

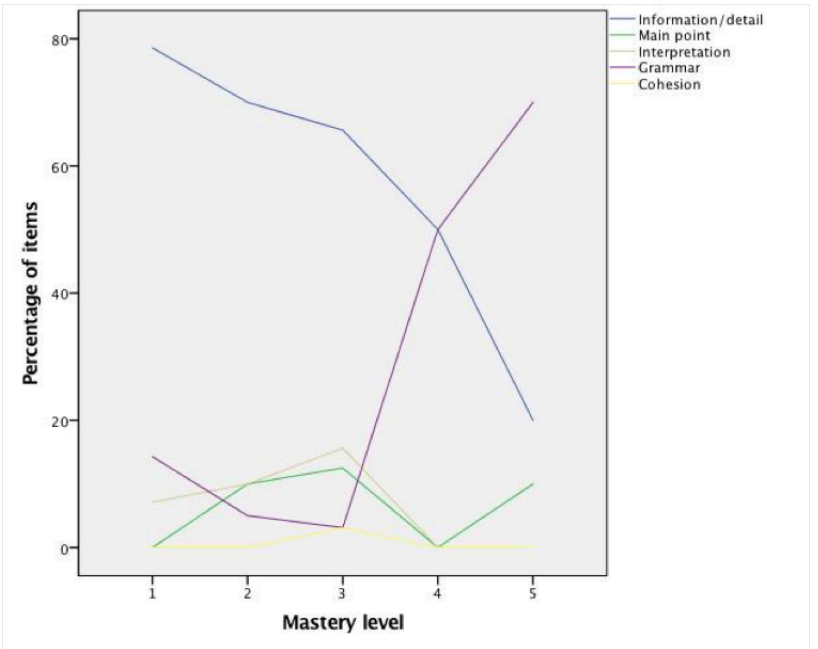

Figure 1. A visual representation of the distribution of item task features at different levels of mastery

It also emerged that the features of the text investigated—text length and readability—correlated significantly with text difficulty.

Whilst most of the analysis in study 2 refers to p-correct, further analysis indicated that the results on mastery levels were almost identical to the results reported for p-correct (such as correlation, hierarchical regression, and regression trees). The correlation between mastery level and p-correct is very strong, a negative correlation at around -0.91.

Figure 1 shows a visual representation of the distribution of item task features at different levels of mastery.

5. Implications of the findings of the studies

While it was beyond the scope of the studies carried out to investigate all the subskills of reading included in the mastery levels (Appendix), the studies have shown that, in the case of the features investigated, the difficulty associated with features is largely reflected in the descriptors for the M-levels.

In the case of reading processing (Dimension 1), the findings from a previous study were borne out to a large extent by studies one and two. Items requiring only an understanding of words and phrases were found to be easier than those requiring an understanding of a sentence or clause; the difficulty increases further when it is necessary to make links between non-adjacent sentences in a text. This finding is reflected in the mastery levels.

Vocabulary is, of course, essential to understanding any text, and is therefore mentioned at all M-levels. The nature of the vocabulary differs with the level, however, being most concrete and familiar at level 1, and steadily increasing in complexity throughout the levels. While the nature of the vocabulary was not included in our studies, this feature is commonly cited as a predictor of difficulty by other researchers, such as Alderson (2001). The understanding of sentences is not a requirement before level 2 where only simple sentences are mentioned, while more complex sentences are added at level 3. Again, this is a commonly cited feature of text difficulty, for example by Gao and Rogers (2011), but it should be noted that in study 2, where complex sentences were included as a feature, these were not found to significantly add to the difficulty. Linking information in different parts of a text is included at level 3 and is more firmly established at level 4.

Regarding Dimension 2, the operation required by the task, it was found that the simplest of these, *finding information/detail*, is clearly present as early as mastery level 2. Operations of intermediate difficulty, *understanding the main point* and *interpreting/inferencing*, emerge gradually at level 2–3 and 3–5 respectively. The two most difficult operations were found to be *cohesion* (ordering paragraphs) and, at the extreme end, *grammar* (involving choosing a grammatical form). The ability to relate paragraphs is mentioned in the level 3 descriptors, while making grammatical choices is not included until levels 4–5.

6. Further Study

Further study is needed to investigate the impact on difficulty of other features cited in the research, such as competing information. In addition, the fact that there were indications of a relationship between characteristics of the text itself (as opposed to features of the task) and task difficulty suggests that further investigation into this relationship would be useful. It would be of great interest and importance to establish whether or not characteristics of the text itself have less or as much (or even more) impact on the difficulty of the item than the features of tasks discussed in this paper.

Nevertheless, it can be concluded that, in the case of the features studied here, there is an indication that the way these affect difficulty is represented in the descriptors for the 5 mastery levels used in the National tests of English.

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Appendix—Mastery levels
(Mastery levels 1–3 apply to 5th grade tests. Mastery levels 1–5 apply to 8th grade tests.)

Mastery level 1
Pupils

Can understand some concrete, common words and expressions
Can find common, concrete words in a text
Can follow clear, simple instructions
Can link common, concrete words to pictures
Can make links between familiar, concrete words within a theme, e.g. *fish* and *acquarium*

Can recognise some learnt grammatical expressions and simple function words in context, e.g. personal pronouns.

Mastery level 2
Pupils

Can understand a number of common words and expressions
Can understand simple sentences
Can link simple sentences to pictures
Can make links between common words in a text, when they are within a theme
Can find specific details in a longer text
Can find simple synonyms in a short text
Can understand the main point In a simple text
Can find simple information even when there is some competing information in a text
Can navigate back and forth in a text to find information
Can draw simple conclusions when there is a good deal of support in the text
Can recognise and use some simple function words and grammatical structures in context

Mastery level 3
Pupils

Can understand rather abstract and less common words and expressions
Can construct meaning from some complex sentences
Can construct meaning from shorter and longer texts
Can understand the main point In a text
Can find information even when there is competing information in a text
Can read a text closely
Can understand how the paragraphs in a text relate to each other
Can link simple information from different parts of a text
Can use the context to understand difficult parts of a text
Can draw simple conclusions

Can recognise and use basic grammatical structures/ function words in context

Mastery level 4
Pupils

Have a fairly wide vocabulary
Can work pout the meaning of unknown words from the context
Can understand quite complex sentences
Can understand quite long and complex texts
Can link information from different parts of a text
Can draw conclusions
Can make choices between some grammatical structures/ function words in order to express him/herself.

Mastery level 5
Pupils

Can use appropriate reading strategies
Have a quite wide and sophisticated vocabulary
Can understand complex sentences
Can understand long and complex texts
Can read between the lines and draw advanced conclusions
Can make choices between a range of grammatical structures/ function words in order to express him/herself.

The Language of Schooling: A Challenge to Subject Learning

Eli Moe

1. Introduction

This article focuses on the importance of language as a tool for acquiring knowledge in traditional content subjects at school. In history, mathematics and other subjects, students learn through reading texts, listening and talking to teachers and peers, and answering questions, tasks and assignments in writing. A low level of language competence, therefore, would influence students' subject learning.

This article builds on findings drawn from the project *Language descriptors for migrant and minority students' success in compulsory education*, which was sponsored by the *European Centre for Modern Languages* (ECML) in Graz in 2012 and 2013 (and on materials collected in connection with an ECML think tank on the language of schooling in September 2016 (ECML 2016).

The project *Language descriptors for immigrant students' success in compulsory education* (ECML 2012–2015) had two main aims. The first was to indicate the minimum language standard, in terms of levels on the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), that students at the age of 12/13 and 15/16 need to have in order to experience success in history or civics and mathematics in compulsory education. The project group also developed a tool, a set of language descriptors for listening, reading, speaking and writing, to support teachers and students and make them aware of the language challenges students face when learning academic subjects.

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Much of the research carried out in this field has focused on describing the language of schooling and on determining language requirements associated with subjects and specific age groups. Few researchers, so far, have looked at challenges related to preparing teachers and schools for organising and teaching the language of schooling. In 2016, the ECML set up a think tank called *Whole school approaches to the language/s of schooling* (ECML 2016). The main activity of the think tank was to collect information from educational experts across Europe on how to focus on the language of schooling at a school level. The ECML, with a moderation team of three persons, collected information through an online questionnaire and a workshop with experts in Graz in September 2016.

2. Aim and motivation

The article's aim is twofold: to introduce the term *language of schooling* and to present some of the findings derived from a questionnaire focusing on whole-school approaches to the language of schooling. The questionnaire findings are included in order to explore what needs to be done in order to enable subject teachers to take the language of their subjects into account when teaching this subject.

The term *language of schooling* needs to be introduced since it is relatively new, and since it represents a challenge to all subject teachers. In particular, this is of concern for those who teach according to a curriculum in which aims for basic skills and subject topics are integrated. In Norway, for instance, this is the case. Aims for reading, speaking and writing, are inherent in the competence aims in traditional subjects like geography and mathematics. Many subject teachers may not have reflected on the language challenge represented in their subject and the fact that knowledge is acquired and expressed through language. However, they are aware that, in order to learn, students have to read textbooks or articles and listen to what teachers say. The language of schooling is a topic rarely addressed in subject teacher education, in in-service courses or when planning lessons.

On the one hand, there is the way the language of schooling has been characterised by some researchers and what this may mean in terms of age. On the other, there is the question of how to build on research findings, and go one step further and explore how to teach subjects like history and science with the language of schooling in mind.

In the second part of the article, we present some findings from a questionnaire, which was distributed online by the ECML in spring 2016. The questionnaire focused on whole-school approaches to the language of schooling. The language of schooling is one of three priority topics in the ECML's 2016-2019 program, and the questionnaire marked the first activity of a new *Languages of schooling think tank* (ECML 2016). The motivation for focusing on the materials collected in this questionnaire is to show what the respondents think needs to be done in a school context, as well as some of the challenges subject and language teachers are faced with when teaching subjects and language at the same time. To shed light on these issues, we have focused on four of the questions in the questionnaire. Two of them were open-ended and therefore gave the respondents an opportunity to elaborate when giving their answers.

3. Background

Since the late 1970s, Jim Cummins has been focusing on bilingual education and equal opportunities for all students. Cummins' main message has been that the language used in school is often a challenge for students with an immigrant background, and that there is no one-to-one relationship between mastery of everyday language and of the language used in a school context. Cummins (1979) defines two different types of language: *Basic interpersonal communication skills*, BICS, and *Cognitive academic language proficiency*, CALP. BICS refers to the language used in everyday contexts, which often develops rapidly in a second language. CALP, on the other hand, is the language that students meet in a subject context at school. According to Cummins, the language used at school is in many ways a barrier blocking 'vulnerable' learners' efforts to reach their potential. Discourse functions like *describe*, *compare*, *evaluate*, *analyse* etc. are examples of CALP functions students have to master. When teachers are not aware of the inherent language challenges represented in subjects like science, history, mathematics etc., learning may become very problematic for students with an immigrant background, as well as for other 'vulnerable' groups of students.

During the last decade, the language used in a school context has received renewed attention from educational experts, researchers and teachers. Educational experts agree that, in order to learn and acquire knowledge, students need language (Beacco et al. 2010, Schleppegrell

2006). Many have stated that the language used in a school context differs from everyday language (Cummins 1970, Schleppegrell 2001). Teachers have always known intuitively that, from around grade four and onwards, the language setting students start to work with and in becomes slightly more academic than that which they experienced during their first years in school. Most students are ready for this change, while a few have problems coping with demands related to, for instance, increasingly abstract vocabulary and greater text complexity, as well as their ability to express their knowledge (orally and in writing) and to show understanding in different subjects. There is a growing awareness among researchers and teachers that learning a subject implies more than learning facts. In order to acquire knowledge in traditional non-language subjects, it is also necessary to master a language; it is this that makes learning possible. According to Beacco et al. (2010), all knowledge building in the school context involves working with language. Students have to be able to read and understand what is presented in textbooks, to understand what teachers and peers are saying, to exchange information and ideas in group work, and to hand in written assignments and perform on school tests. In short, they have to use the language as a means both to show their understanding, and to develop their skills and their knowledge. Newspaper articles and public discussions show that many immigrant students and other 'vulnerable learners' have problems acquiring knowledge in many subjects due to language problems. They struggle to reach their potential in school subjects because their level of language proficiency is too low (Christensen 2014a, 2014b; Gudbrandsen 2014). Unless we focus on this issue specifically, the gap between those who are able to learn and master the language of textbooks, tasks and teacher talk, and those who are not, will keep on growing throughout the school years.

4. The language of schooling

The earliest use of the term *language of schooling* that the author has been able to find, is in the 2001 article by Mary Schleppegrell entitled "The linguistic features of the language of schooling." According to Schleppegrell, she cannot guarantee that the term was not used earlier. She says she did not take it from any other source, but wanted to use a term that was different from "academic language" to indicate that it is in the context of schooling more generally that children encounter language

used in new ways (personal communication). From 2005, the Council of Europe's Language Policy Division has used the term *language(s) of schooling* actively and supported projects and activities related to this. In 2009, the council set up an electronic resource platform dedicated to the language(s) of schooling, including articles, studies and political documents, which could support teachers and schools and ensure plurilingual and intercultural education for all. Since 2010, teachers, researchers and educational experts in several countries have used the term.

Language(s) of schooling refers to the language all students have to relate to and communicate in during their education, both first and second language users.

4.1. Characteristics

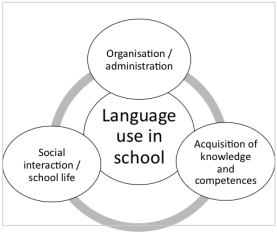
Mary Schleppegrell (2006) stresses that the linguistic challenges in academic language are connected with the way knowledge is conveyed and organised, as well as the authoritative way meaning is expressed. Academic language is information dense and full of abstractions. This makes it difficult for many students to grasp the content of texts. Second language learners, in particular, are challenged since the use of dictionaries seldom helps. Using examples from O'Halloran (2003), Schleppegrell (2006, 55) shows that, in mathematics, students have to cope with three different languages, more or less simultaneously. They have to link the teacher's oral explanations with the symbolic language of mathematics. In addition, the written language they meet in textbooks is different from the language the teacher speaks. Another example is that, when students write at school, they are expected to structure their texts in specific ways. Requirements vary from subject to subject and, in some cases, from teacher to teacher. A report from an experiment in physics would be structured in a different way than a literary analysis or a social science text discussing the consequences of use and misuse of drugs. Students have to learn such genre requirements for each subject separately. The last point Schleppegrell raises is that good textbook authors express themselves efficiently, accurately and with authority, using relevant vocabulary. They also have to express themselves as experts in order to make readers respect their knowledge. According to Schleppegrell, academic texts are full of passive constructions, the style is neutral and objective, and the focus is on subject matter and not the author himself. It is there-

fore of vital importance that subject teachers provide their students with tasks that promote learning and help them develop the academic language the subject requires them to master (Schleppegrell & O'Halloran 2011).

Beacco (2010), Vollmer (2010), Pieper (2011) and Linneweber-Lammerskitten (2012) discuss the language students need to cope with in order to meet academic challenges at the end of compulsory education, at the age of 15–16.[1] The specific linguistic and semiotic competences students ought to have at this point include strategic competence, discourse competence and formal (linguistic) competence. Strategic competence implies that students have the ability to plan, execute, evaluate and correct the linguistic activities they are involved in in school. Discourse competence means being able to understand and cope with the different types of discourse that students encounter in school subjects. Textbooks, lectures, reports, articles, news items and documentaries are examples of types of discourse students may meet in different school subjects. Formal competence is, according to the authors mentioned above, the ability to formulate sentences and texts with correct spelling, morphology and syntax, as well as to use different discourse functions, such as to argue, classify, compare, explain, define, illustrate etc. All of these functions, and more, are typically used in most school subjects.

The outlines above primarily focus on the academic language used at school. Thürmann, Vollmer and Pieper (2010) provide a wider perspective on what characterises the language used in a school context. According to these authors, the language of schooling includes all language used in school. Figure 1 shows the different varieties of school language.

Figure 1: Language of schooling (Thürmann et al. 2010, 8)



1 In most European countries, compulsory education is the period from when the students are 5–6 until they are 15–16 years old (European Commission/Eurydice, 2015)

The language of schooling includes all language used in connection with knowledge building and the development of skills in all subjects, both in language classes and in traditional subjects, such as science and history. In addition, students have to cope with the more formal or administrative language, which they encounter in rules and regulations in a school context. Finally yet importantly, students have to be able to interact and communicate fluently in social settings at school. According to Thürmann, this means that students have to develop and master different language varieties in order to succeed socially and academically. These varieties are not totally separated from each other, but are more of a combination of informal language uses, content language and academic language. It is a great challenge to ensure that vulnerable students' school results mirror their potential and abilities, and not their lack of language proficiency.

4.2. Age

All students face increasing language challenges as they move upwards in the educational system. Some students find these challenges particularly difficult to overcome. In this respect, students with an immigrant background and those with a socially- and economically-disadvantaged background are vulnerable groups. Many large-scale assessment studies have identified this trend (Yang Hansen et al. 2012; Caro et al. 2012; Mullis et al. 2012).

Several studies have indicated specific levels of language competence that students at a certain age ought to have in order to do well at school. Table 1 gives an overview[2] of six studies relating age to language requirements in terms of levels of the *Common European Framework of reference for Languages*, the CEFR (2001).

Beacco (2010), Vollmer (2010), Linneweber-Lammerskitten (2011) and Pieper (2012) have produced four documents, which are available at the Council of Europe's *Languages of schooling platform*. The documents follow the same structure and have the same aim: to offer support to those creating a curriculum for a subject "which explicitly takes into account the discursive and linguistic dimensions of this school subject" (Beacco 2010). All four authors refer to the general language requirements all students in compulsory education need to meet when they are 15-16 years

2 The list may not be extensive, but as far as the author knows, these are the only studies (pre-2017) that relate the language of schooling to age and the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR), 2001.

old. Second-language learners face particular challenges since they, in addition to learning a new language, also have to acquire knowledge in a language that is not their mother tongue. Beacco, Vollmer, Linneweber-Lammerskitten and Pieper have studied curricula, competence goals, relevant discourse functions, exam papers and tests that students at the end of compulsory education work both with and toward in the following subjects: history (Beacco), science (Vollmer), mathematics (Linneweber-Lammeskitten) and literary studies (Pieper). Their claim is that students at this age should have a language competence mirroring the level B2 of the CEFR in order to be successful in school.

Table 1: Overview of some studies relating language of schooling to age

Author	Basis for determining required CEFR level	Subject in focus	Age group	Required language level
Beacco 2010	Investigation of curriculum goals, exam papers	History	15–16	B2
Vollmer 2010	Investigation of curriculum goals, exam papers	Sciences	15–16	B2
Linneweber-Lammerskitten 2011	Investigation of curriculum goals, exam papers	Mathematics	15–16	B2
Pieper 2012	Investigation of curriculum goals, exam papers	Literary studies	15–16	B2
Moe, Härmälä, Kristmanson, Pascoal, Ramoniené 2015	Questionnaire answered by teachers from 21 countries	History/ social science Mathematics	12–13 15–16	B1 B2
Moe, Blair, Sundet (*in production*)	Study of textbooks	Social science	9–10 12–13 15–16	A2 (+) B1 (+) B2 (+)

In the project *Language descriptors for migrant and minority students' success in compulsory education,* Moe et al. (2015) developed and validated CEFR-linked language descriptors for the subjects history/social science and mathematics for two age groups: 12/13 and 15/16 year old students. This included descriptors for listening, reading, speaking and writing for the CEFR levels A2, B1 and B2. Then, 102 mathematics teachers and 127 history/social science teachers from more than 20 European countries assessed whether students at 12/13 and 15/16 needed to be able to do what the descriptors indicated. The overall results revealed that, according to these teachers, 12-13 year old students need a B1 competence both in history/social science and in mathematics in listening, reading, speaking and writing in order to reach competence goals in the subjects. The findings also suggested that 15-16 year old students ought to have a B2 competence in the same subjects and skills (Moe, Härmälä & Kristmanson 2015). These findings are in line with those of Beacco (2010) and Linneweber-Lammerskitten (2011).

In another study, Moe, Blair and Sundet (Blair & Sundet 2016) analysed the reading competence, in terms of CEFR levels, that students in the fourth, seventh and tenth grades in Norway were expected to have in order to read and understand Norwegian textbooks in social science. The language of six textbooks in social science was analysed, using 'the Dutch grid', a method suggested by Alderson et al. to support test developers and ensure a valid linkage of texts and tasks to the CEFR (Alderson et al. 2006). The findings of this study suggest that fourth-grade students in Norway (age 9) need to have at least an A2 reading competence in order to be able to read fourth grade textbooks. Seventh graders need a B1 or B1+ competence, while tenth graders need at least a B2 reading competence. The findings regarding Norwegian seventh (12/13) and tenth graders (15/16) are in line with the findings of Moe, Härmälä & Kristmanson (2015) mentioned above.

5. ECML questionnaire on whole-school approaches to the language of schooling

Researchers have tried to define what the language of schooling is, and have stressed and explained the importance of mastering this language. Relatively few, to date, have investigated how to teach the language of schooling. One of the reasons for this is probably the fact that many stake-

holders think that this would require organisational amendments at their school. Not all teachers of mathematics, science or history are language teachers and vice versa. However, in many countries, educational experts agree that learning a subject also involves learning the language of this subject (Schleppegrell 2006, Thürmann et al. 2010). Because of this, requirements for basic skills, such as for instance reading and writing, have been incorporated in competence goals of all subjects in a number of countries. This means that competence goals mention not only the topics students should work with, but also how they are expected to perform and display their subject knowledge.

In order to find out more about what schools and teachers need if they are to develop a strategy for teaching the language of schooling, the ECML organised a think tank focusing on the language of schooling (ECML 2016). The think tank focused on whole-school approaches to the language of schooling. A moderation team, led by Marisa Cavalli from the ECML, was in charge of developing and launching an online questionnaire and organising a two-day think tank workshop in Graz, Austria, in September 2016. The questionnaire included 24 questions, 11 of which required elaborate answers from the respondents. A link to the questionnaire was sent out to educational experts and national contact points in many European countries. The questionnaire produced 107 complete answers from respondents in 33 countries. Most of these were teachers from all sectors, from pre-primary to upper-secondary schools. Approximately one fifth were teacher trainers and almost one fifth were academic researchers. In addition, there were responses from parents.

In this article, we focus on a few of the findings the questionnaire produced and on the answers to four of the questions, numbers 7, 12, 15 and 19 (ECML 2016). The motivation for choosing these questions is twofold: the answers say something about *who* should be involved in a project like this, and *what* would be necessary in order to embark on such a journey. We consider that the answers shed light on the question of why teachers seem to be hesitant about getting involved in teaching the language of schooling. In addition, they offer ideas about possible ways to proceed. The four questions that will be examined more closely are the following:

> *Question 7*: Which of the following people should be responsible for implementing a whole-school approach to the language of schooling?

Question 12: In what way can whole-school cooperation projects for support in the language(s) of schooling best be facilitated?

Question 15: Do language teachers have a specific role to play in such projects? How can they support subject teachers?

Question 19: Outline the steps you think a school has to follow in order to be able to implement this kind of cooperation (these could include organisational aspects such as role definitions, space and time available).

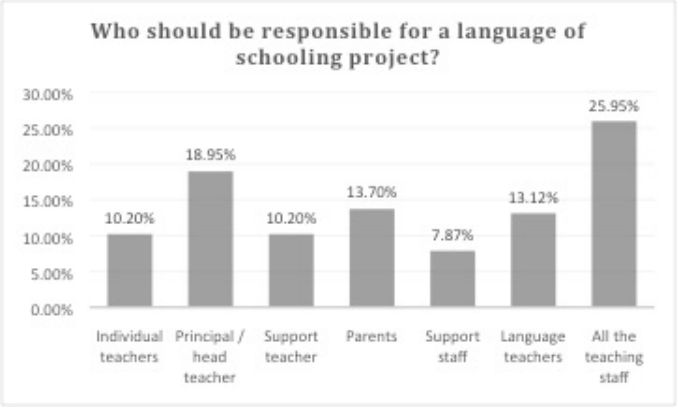
Questions 7 and 12 are multiple-choice questions, while questions 15 and 19 are open-ended. The responses to the questionnaire have been analysed by Marisa Cavalli and Margit Huber from the ECML, as well as by Gunter Abuja, Austria, and Eli Moe, Norway, who were members of the ECML moderation team. The full questionnaire is included at the end of this article.

5.1. Question 7: Which of the following people should be responsible for implementing a whole-school approach to the language of schooling?
The respondents could give several answers to this question. The spread of answers given indicates that the respondents think that several stakeholders ought to be involved in a project focusing on the language of schooling. 26% of the answers say that the whole teaching staff should be involved in such a project. Many also think that parents need to take part. The answers indicate that since the idea of teaching the language of schooling would be something new, as many as possible would need to be involved and informed about what goes on in order to ensure a successful outcome. (See figure 2).

On the one hand, the answers indicate that all stakeholders need to take part in such a project. On the other, the questionnaire produced elaborated feedback on what role the head teacher would have to play. He or she would have to lead the whole institution throughout the project. One of the respondents expressed the following thoughts on the head teacher's role as institutional leader:

> The head teacher needs to have a vision of the importance of languages of schooling, and s/he needs to be able to communicate this understanding to the staff, so that the school is able to develop a school-wide approach to language development. S/he needs to be willing to support teachers' training in the area, and allow them to bring in members of the different language communities to support students' learning.

Figure 2: Who should be responsible for a language of schooling project?



The head teacher would also have to be a constructive leader organising the project in a way that would make progress and learning possible. One of the experts answered as follows:

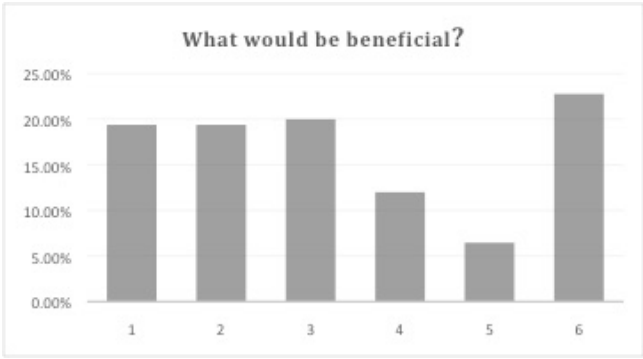
> The head teacher's role should be to guide and motivate the teachers through this challenge and to provide opportunities for dialog, training and support. Education is dynamic and changing at an alarming rate; head teachers need to spear point the efforts and facilitate the development of the language of schooling by fostering communication between language and subject teachers.

Last, but not least, the head teacher would have to feel responsibility for getting the staff on board the project. One of the respondents put it as follows:

The role of the head teacher is crucial, since he/she should point out to the teachers how important it is for them to get a better insight into the role of language in their subject. He/she should stimulate and make it possible for the teachers to learn more about this and set a goal for the subject teams to develop methods for teaching the language of their subjects.

5.2. Question 12: In what way can whole-school cooperation projects for support in the language(s) of schooling best be facilitated?
The respondents could choose to answer up to three of the options for this question.

Figure 3: What would be beneficial when engaging in a language of schooling project?



1. Examples of concrete school projects which have involved the cooperation of different teachers (language/subject) and/or other players (head teachers, parents, learners) in relation to the language of schooling
2. A step-by-step guide based on real school experiences of how to move towards cooperation involving all players
3. The development, piloting and evaluation of teaching materials to be used in classrooms with other subject teachers
4. Examples of school language policies or strategies
5. Testimonies from head teachers who have successfully initiated and supported this kind of cooperation
6. Training modules for teachers and head teachers

The answers indicate that the teachers would like to have support and support materials in a language of schooling project. As shown in Figure 3, most answers are distributed evenly between four of the options, numbers 1, 2, 3 and 6. The answers indicate that the respondents

think they would like to learn from other people's experiences if they were to participate in a language of schooling project. This could either be done by being informed about similar projects (20%) or by attending training modules for teachers and head teachers (23%). They could also follow a detailed guide developed with such a project in mind (20%). In addition, respondents think that they would learn from taking part in a project where they could develop their own teaching materials and pilot it in their own classes (20%).

5.3. Question 15: Do language teachers have a specific role to play in this cooperation? How can they support subject teachers?

The respondents differ slightly in their views on the role language teachers and subject teachers ought to have in a whole school project of this type. On one hand, several of the respondents stress that language teachers have an important role to play in a project concerned with the language of schooling. Many say that the language teachers should make subject teachers aware of the role language plays in knowledge building. On the other hand, a number of respondents point out that subject teachers must be in charge of teaching the content of specific subjects. They also say that language teachers may be able to focus on genres/discourse functions, but that there is a danger of superficial teaching if content is not taken seriously. In their view, the language teachers' role should be limited to monitoring and assisting subject teachers, and support from language teachers should be request-based.

Other respondents stress that a whole school project is a joint project in which the entire staff participates, which means that all teachers are language teachers. Furthermore, according to the respondents, language teachers can support subject teachers by making language progress visible to them (and their students), encouraging them to rethink the aims of their subjects and reflect on the scaffolding of students. Respondents claim that cooperation between subject teachers and language teachers would make subject- and language-learning experiences interesting and meaningful, and probably tap into students' interests and resources. They also say that cooperation between subject and language teachers should include issues like lesson planning, preparation of teaching materials, team teaching, discussion and reflection on student assessment.

The respondents seem to think that, since language teachers probably are more aware of issues related to the language of schooling, they must be active in raising awareness and discussing learning from a multitude of angles, at least in the initial phase. Still, the main lesson to be learned from the responses is that the entire staff should be included and be responsible in such a project. In order to help students achieve their potential, different stakeholders must cooperate.

5.4. Question 19: Outline the steps you think a school has to follow in order to be able to implement this kind of cooperation.

Several of the respondents suggested a type of classical project planning in which the first step would be to formulate a vision, then prepare a project plan and recruit key personnel on whom the project would rely. Much of the work in the initial phase would be to raise awareness among the staff and other stakeholders of the rationale of the project. In addition, those in charge of the project should ensure that the vision, major steps and outcomes are transparent to those involved. As one of the respondents said: "Communicate, communicate, communicate!"

The next step would be, as far as possible, to plan the project in detail. This would involve practical issues with regard to the organisation of staff, as well as ideas about teaching methods and materials.

Many projects benefit from cooperation with other schools and institutions. If resources allow, teacher trainers and researchers could function as supervisors, either during the whole project or for a short period. Since this would be an innovative project, it would be of vital importance to have a constructive approach and learn from examples of good practice.

5.5. Some reservations

Since research on the language of schooling is limited, especially research related to teaching methods and practices, some of the respondents feel there is little evidence supporting the idea of setting up a whole-school project. Such a project would be time consuming, and schools would have to allocate many resources to it. Many of the points the respondents raise are related to teacher training and research on the language of schooling. If teacher training focused on teaching the language of schooling, both subject and language teachers would be more aware of language compe-

tence as an important variable in subject learning. In addition, teacher trainers and students would start to reflect on methods for teaching the language of schooling. Stakeholders would like reassurance regarding the outcomes before embarking on a large project. According to feedback collected, head teachers and subject teachers would need some sort of evidence supporting their involvement in such a project.

6. Language of schooling: concluding remarks

6.1. Subject and language learning: the current situation

Educational authorities in many countries recognise the role language plays in knowledge building by integrating language requirements in subject curricula and competence goals. How the schools and teachers in different countries teach subject and language warrants a study of its own. Many of the respondents to the ECML questionnaire came from France, Spain and Switzerland, which may indicate that the authorities and teachers are particularly interested in this topic in these countries. In Norway, basic skills underpin competence goals in all grades and subjects in compulsory education. In 2012, The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training introduced a framework for basic skills, which is to underpin all curricula for all grades in basic education in Norway (2012). According to this framework, there are five skills considered basic: oral skills, reading, writing, digital skills and numeracy. For each skill, five competence levels are described. These skills are considered fundamental to learning in all subjects and they are therefore inherent in competence goals in all subjects in Norwegian basic education. The competence goals are expressed in terms of a range of tasks students should be able to do. The basic skills are considered a means by which students can express their understanding and knowledge in all subjects. At the base of this framework is a recognition of the role language plays in knowledge building. At the time of writing, in 2017, the framework is not validated, and we do not know whether the levels of this framework are perceived and used in the same way within and across subjects and grades. Perhaps the Norwegian framework for basic skills could become a more practical tool for teachers if small-scale studies were set up, the aim of which would be to describe in detail students' basic skills in different subjects and grades. In the next round, the descriptions of skills could be mapped in relation to different levels of the framework for ba-

sic skills. Presumably, useful discussions would arise from such studies, which would feed back to teachers, and fuel creative and innovative work among stakeholders.

6.2. Organisational amendments

According to the responses to the ECML questionnaire, individual teachers should not be the only ones responsible for teaching the language of schooling. The responses to question 7 indicated quite clearly that many stakeholders ought to be involved in a language of schooling project. In answer to question 15, the respondents indicated that subject teachers and language teachers should cooperate in teaching the language of schooling.

The cooperation between subject teachers and language teachers stands in contrast to traditional teaching, where normally one teacher is responsible for what goes on in classes that he or she is teaching. If different stakeholders are to be involved in teaching the language of schooling, this will, without doubt, have implications for the way the timetable is organised and for the allocation of rooms and offices in a school. Staff must have time to plan teaching periods and lessons, and rooms where this can be done.

The ECML questionnaire focused on whole-school approaches to the language of schooling. It is possible to organise a language of schooling project on a smaller scale, involving, for instance, one class or the classes of one grade in a school. However, whether such a project is carried out on a small or a large scale, good planning and organisation are vital for its success and meaningfulness for those involved.

In contrast to CLIL teaching,[3] teaching the language of schooling involves working with the main language used in most subjects in a school. In CLIL, the same teacher often teaches a foreign language and a traditional 'knowledge' subject, for instance history, in the same class. The students will then learn history in English or French (or another foreign language). CLIL projects are often voluntary, driven by individual teachers' interest and enthusiasm, and such projects often require few organisational amendments. Teaching the language of schooling, on the other

3 CLIL is an abbreviation for *Content and Language Integrated Learning*, a teaching method aiming to combine content learning and language learning; for instance, Norwegian pupils learning math in English or French.

hand, would in many cases involve a great deal of organisation. In many countries, teachers teach one or two specific subjects. A teacher of physics will not be a language teacher and vice versa. For these teachers to cooperate, organisational amendments are necessary that would involve not only teachers, but also people from the administration, who would have to consider timetables and room allocation. In some countries, one teacher is responsible for teaching most (or all) subjects in one class in primary school. This is the case, for instance, in the Nordic countries. In such cases, it would be easier to set up smaller language of schooling projects, which would not require many resources to organise.

6.3. Implications for teaching and teachers

In order to develop knowledge and understanding of a subject, students need to focus not only on learning facts, but also on working in and with the subject-specific language. They have to learn subject-specific vocabulary and style, as well as ways of structuring texts and formulating ideas.

A consequence of this is that teachers are responsible for developing students' knowledge and basic skills in their subjects by making language and knowledge accessible to them. In order to do so, the teacher(s) must have a good grasp of important knowledge issues, as well as a clear view of the language requirements implied. Teachers have to be able to analyse the subject language required at particular educational stages, as well as how this develops through the grades. With such a background, teachers must provide their students with tasks, scaffolding and models of good practice that help them to develop their knowledge reservoir and basic language skills in the subject. An emphasis on the language required to participate in subject classes enables teachers to set objectives that relate not only to the acquisition of content-related information, but also to the language functions necessary to negotiate meaning in that content area. According to Sherris (2008), the establishment of specific content and language objectives is a prerequisite for lesson planning in subject classes.

To illustrate the potential role of language in, for example, mathematics, let us consider an example from the mathematics classroom. If students are asked to read a table and communicate the main information included in the table, teachers need to equip their students with the linguistic tools necessary to perform this task (e.g. "This table tells me that 32% of students in Norwegian schools never go skiing"; "I can see in this

table that 16% of girls prefer volleyball"). An awareness of the language required to express certain ideas reminds subject teachers to provide language models for learners to follow.

In history, teachers may want students to read primary source documents in order to extract various points of view on the same historical event. Since this is not only a content-related task, but also a linguistic one, teachers could show their students examples of different ways of expressing points of view. Moreover, they could teach reading strategies in order to facilitate the extraction of main ideas from a text. In addition, the prior knowledge that language functions related to comparing and contrasting would facilitate the achievement of this task would remind teachers to provide examples of ways to communicate comparisons (e.g. "From the point of many Norwegians, the German invasion in 1940 was seen as a provocation and a serious threat to Norwegian independence. However, from the perspective of some Norwegians, cooperation with the Germans would provide alliance to a powerful nation, which could yield financial advantages."). One can see from this example that certain words, phrases and transitional terms would be useful to learners in order to enable them to achieve the curricular outcomes. Mindfulness of such linguistic scaffolding gives teachers a way to see themselves not simply as subject teachers, but also as contributors to their students´ language development.

The language of schooling could be taught in two main ways in traditional subject classes. Either subject teachers take the responsibility for teaching subject content and subject language; or subject teachers cooperate with other teachers who could guide and support them in providing students' with access to subject-specific language and setting goals for subject language development. According to the respondents of the ECML questionnaire, subject teachers and language teachers ought to cooperate since few teachers teach both traditional subjects like mathematics/history, as well as languages.

Researchers have studied the language of schooling in relation to specific factors such as characteristic features, discourse functions and age. What is lacking are studies focusing on how subject teachers work with language issues in the subject classroom. It is equally important that teacher-training addresses this topic and that data from research on

teaching practices can feed back into new teaching methods and ideas regarding the way in which the language of schooling is or could be taught.

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Appendix: Languages of schooling Think tank questionnaire (*spring 2016*)

Question 1	In which country do you work?
Question 2	Your role (in relation to the language/s of schooling) (you may tick more than one box). 1. Parent 2. Trainee teacher 3. Teacher of the language(s) of schooling 4. Teacher of modern languages 5. Teacher of classical languages 6. Subject teacher (please specify below) 7. Head teacher 8. Teacher trainer 9. Academic researcher 10. Consultant 11. School inspector 12. Policy maker 13. Other (please specify below)
Question 3	The educational stage in which you are involved (you may tick more than one box): 1. Pre-primary education (ISCED 0) 2. Primary education or first stage of basic education (ISCED 1) 3. Lower secondary or second stage of basic education (ISCED 2) 4. (Upper) secondary education (ISCED 3)
Question 4	In comparison with other educational priorities in your country, this particular topic is considered: 1. A priority 2. Important 3. Quite useful 4. Marginal 5. I don't know
Question 5	How do schools ensure that children gain full access to education when their first language is other than the language of schooling? 1. Helping them become proficient in the language of schooling 2. Encouraging the use of their first language 3. Restricting the use of their first language

Question 6 Learners are helped to become proficient in the language of schooling by:
1. Withdrawal from mainstream class for support in the language of schooling
2. Teaching the language of schooling before admittance in mainstream classes
3. Short duration withdrawal or in-class support for language of schooling support teacher
4. Including first language in curriculum delivery
5. Encouraging first language use in classroom to develop language awareness

Question 7 Which of the following people should be responsible for implementing a whole-school approach to the language of schooling?
1. Individual teacher
2. Principal / head teacher
3. Support teacher
4. Parents
5. Support staff
6. Language teachers
7. All the teaching staff

Question 8 Where parents do not speak the language of schooling their role in children's language education
1. - is unhelpful
2. - is limited
3 - can be harnessed through their first language as support for curriculum learning

Question 9 Has your educational system already started to implement some forms of whole-school cooperation for the language of schooling?
1. Yes
2. Partially
3. No
4. I don't know

Question 10 School projects which underline and explicitly address the language dimension in learning/teaching are
1. common practice
2. a practice in a few schools
3. a rare practice
4. a very rare practice
5. I don't know

Question 11	In your context, have the following staff members received/are they receiving specific training in this area? (The respondents answer Yes, No or I don't know for each of the following) 1. Teachers of the language of schooling 2. Teachers of Modern languages 3. Teachers of classical languages 4. Subject 5. Head teachers 6. Trainee teachers
Question 12	Whole-school cooperation for support in the language(s) of schooling can be best facilitated by: 1. examples of concrete school projects which have involved the cooperation of different teachers (language/subject) and/or other players (head teachers, parents, learners) in relation to the language of schooling 2. a step-by-step guide based on real school experiences of how to move towards cooperation involving all players 3. the development, piloting and evaluation of teaching materials to be used in classrooms with other subject teachers 4. examples of school language policies or strategies 5. testimonies from head teachers who have successfully initiated and supported this kind of cooperation 6. training modules for teachers and head teachers
Question 13	Please explain why the topic of the language of schooling is or is not a priority in your country.
Question 14	What difficulties or resistance do you foresee in the idea of whole-school cooperation in this area?
Question 15	Do language teachers have a specific role to play in this cooperation? How can they support subject teachers?
Question 16	What are the resources the teachers can draw on if they want to support different language groups in the understanding of the language of schooling?
Question 17	What could the role of the head teacher be?
Question 18	What kind of contribution can parents make and how will this be beneficial both to the parents themselves and to their children?

Question 19 Outline the steps you think a school has to follow in order to be able to implement this kind of cooperation. (These could include organizational aspects such as role definitions, space and time available.)

Question 20 Do you have models of successful school cooperation of this kind in your country that you could share with us?

Question 21 To what extent do you think it is important that each school develops and makes public its language policy or strategy? Should the aspect of whole-school cooperation be emphasised?

Question 22 Could you indicate any other aspects of whole-school cooperation in the language of schooling not so far addressed by this consultation?

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