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Pushing European Boundaries towards East and West: Gulliver in Japan and America[1]

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Abstract

Worldwide, in the East as well as in the West, one character has become a part of everybody's childhood, regardless of ethnicity, national or cultural belongings, age and status. The fame of Lemuel Gulliver has survived from the early eighteenth century until today, outlasting many other fictitious protagonists in world literature, making Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* a real classic. At the mention of Gulliver's name, it is immediately and inseparably associated in everyone's mind with his travels to Lilliput, an imaginary land. However, two out of four of his journeys are destined for landscapes that are not at all imagined or imaginary, but are nonetheless inhabited by 'the Others'. It is the purpose of this paper to shed light, by using the theoretical framework of (post)colonial studies and the prism of cultural studies, on Otherness in environments at the opposite ends of the world from Europe – Japan in the farthest East and America in the farthest West – in order to prove that this absolute openness to the Other has greatly contributed to Swift's supreme value that persists to this very day.

Keywords: Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, Lemuel Gulliver, Japan, America, Otherness

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Introduction

Initially seen as a children's book, due to strange characters and phenomena, such as very small people, giants, talking animals, nonsense languages and weird customs, Jonathan Swift's book *Gulliver's Travels* has since been acknowledged as one of the greatest satires ever, both in its form – ridiculing the then popular genre of travelogue, and in its content – attacking human nature and its deficiencies, on the universal level, and various contemporary England's socio-cultural elements, on the national level. These include, but are not limited to: the political scene, most of all the current Whig government; many statesmen and other important people, among whom the most prominent object of Swift's satire is Robert Walpole, the first British Prime Minister (and, of course, a Whig); bureaucracy and all its deformities; or Royal Society and the developments in scientific circles of the epoch. But, *Gulliver's Travels* is also, and above all, "certainly one of the strongest and most cynical fictional responses to the philosophy of utopia, embodied first and foremost in Thomas More's famous book" (Čudić, 2014, p. 106).

The most famous part of *Gulliver's Travels* is his voyage to the imaginary land of Lilliput, but in the course of his journeys he also visits two countries that are not imagined and still really exist: Japan and America. This is a lesser known fact, just like certain details concerning the life of Gulliver's creator – Swift, in particular that, though of English origin, he was born in Dublin, and even ordained in the Church of Ireland. This factor is very significant, since being the Other in his own life certainly helped Swift supply such extreme examples of the Other in his celebrated work. The meaning of Otherness in *Gulliver's Travels* does not refer only to the size of the people he encounters, but also to the fact that they belong to other races and ethnicities. In this paper, the theoretical framework of (post)colonial studies will be used in order to analyse the elements of Otherness in *Gulliver's Travels* and prove that the enormous and everlasting popularity of this book is at least partially due to Swift's cultural openness to the Other, both in his personal life and in his masterpiece.

It is, therefore, of utmost importance to start by supplying some additional details about the life of this intriguing author, from the perspective of cultural and (post)colonial studies. In this context, it should be stressed that, according to many theoreticians in the field, the word 'postcolonial' does not refer only to the period immediately after the colonies gained independence, owing to the tremendous impact of the colonial era on their future development, and this term "as it has been employed in most recent accounts has been primarily concerned to examine the processes and effects of, and reactions to, European colonialism *from the sixteenth century* up to and including the neo-colonialism of the present day." (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2007, p. 169, our italics). Consequently, 'postcolonialism' also encompasses the period in which Jonathan Swift lived and created, since it has been defined "not just as coming literally after colonialism and signifying its demise, but more flexibly as the contestation of colonial domination and the legacies of colonialism" (Loomba, 1998, p. 12), and as such is deemed to be the suitable framework for the analysis carried out in this paper.

Jonathan Swift as the Other

Jonathan Swift, who was born in 1667 and died in 1745, lived during a rather turbulent age of frequent political changes in Britain. His life spanned the reign of as many as six monarchs: Charles II, James II, William III, Queen Anne, George I, and George II; marked by continual confrontation between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, on the one hand, as well as the two rising political parties – the Tories and the Whigs, on the other; and even the Glorious Revolution that took place in 1688. One event he did not personally experience – the English Civil War – nonetheless also greatly influenced his life, since it had forced his father to leave England and move to Dublin, where he died just several months before his son was born. That is why Jonathan Swift is labelled as an 'Anglo-Irish author' (cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*), and indeed, he spent his entire life moving between England and Ireland, London and Dublin, or – as colonial studies scholars phrase it another way – between *the centre* and *the periphery*.

However, this is not the only binary opposition that frames Swift's life, nor is it the only inconsistency between his wishes and the reality that helps us understand his worldview, as well as its reflection in the creation of distorted indigenous Others in his most famous work, *Gulliver's Travels*. Namely, the very reason why Swift vacillated between his country of origin – England, and his country of birth – Ireland, was his craving to find a job that he felt suited his extraordinary capacities: he had a B.A. from Dublin University, an M.A. from Oxford, and finally, the degree Doctor of Divinity at his alma mater. Having first worked in England for Sir William Temple as his personal secretary and assistant, Swift left that position and was ordained as a priest in the Church of Ireland. But since he was given a parish *at the periphery* – both in the sense of colonial studies and in the literal sense – he went back to his former employer, only to leave England once again upon Temple's death, after all hopes were lost that his Tory affiliation would secure him a position in that country, and not in its colony – Ireland, on the margins and at the periphery. The final blow was the return of the Whigs to power, which forever sealed his fate, and he served as the Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin from 1713 to his death, thus being marginalised and far away from the centre, as the postcolonial theorists would put it.

It should be mentioned here as well that, though the Church of Ireland is Anglican, it contains components of several creeds: starting from St. Patrick's Celtic Church in its source, via pre-Reformation Catholic practices, and lastly including the English Reformation elements. In that sense, it is a clear example of *hybridity* understood in the colonial discourse as a mixture of elements from different cultures ensuing from their encounters and interaction. Furthermore, though it is part of the Anglican Communion, it is still its 'autonomous *province*[2]', which – translated to the jargon of the colonial studies – again signifies *periphery*. And last but not least, when Bhabha defines cultural hybridity as an "interstitial passage between fixed identifications" (Bhabha, 2003, p. 4), he actually refers not only to ethnicity and culture on the level of nations or states, but also to the individual level. Thus, his phrase "in-between the designations of identity" (Bhabha, 2003, p. 4) is fully appropriate as regards the fact that Jonathan Swift simultaneously had a career as a man of letters – writing about the

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[2] The term 'province' is even used at the official site of the Anglican Communion for its Member Churches: http://www.anglicancommunion.org/structures/member-churches.aspx.

English society of the time, and another one as a man of the church – that of Ireland, this being the final proof of his own personal cultural hybridity.

Lemuel Gulliver as the Other

While he was the Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, in 1726, Jonathan Swift published, under a pseudonym, his masterpiece *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World (In Four Parts. By Lemuel Gulliver, First a Surgeon, and then a Captain of Several Ships)*. It is more than evident that the protagonist of the book, Lemuel Gulliver, though a fictional character, is at the same time the proponent of his creator's opinions. Nevertheless, at first he was thought to be a real person, since in the first edition he is named as the author of the book, and his portrait is even there on the covers. So, it can be said that he is concurrently imaginary and genuine – given the fact that he not only wrote a book about his own travels, but also exists as a man of certain looks, as witnessed in his portrait. However, this is not – as it was also the case with Swift's life – the only binary opposition and inconsistency regarding Gulliver and verisimilitude. Namely, in all four parts of the book, first serving as a ship's surgeon and later becoming a sea captain, Gulliver travels to strange lands (strange in more than one sense) and in each of them represents the Other (also in several senses). But, conversely, he can also be seen as the representative of the greatest Empire in the world, and in this case the countries in which he arrives can be interpreted as colonies, and the natives as the Others. And yet, in many of these countries he is confined in one way or another for the simple reason that he is different from the norms of the relevant society, therefore again becoming the Other in comparison to the natives, because he is forced to the role of a subaltern – subordinate and inferior, by the process of *Othering* (cf. Spivak, 1985, p. 254-256).

Another binary opposition in *Gulliver's Travels* is the one between what is considered proper and what is deemed improper in various cultures: his motherland, on one side, and the lands to which he travels, on the other. This discrepancy reaches its culmination in the fourth part of the book, but is constantly present since the first one, in which Gulliver pushes the corporeal to the utmost in two instances: the detailed scene of 'unburdening' and the episode of 'passing water' in order to extinguish the fire that caught the palace. Last but not least, Gulliver's Otherness changes its character from one voyage to the next: being a giant in the first country inhabited by very small men (Lilliputians), he becomes that very small man in the second country, inhabited by giants (Brobdingnagians). It is obvious that Swift purposefully plays with the size of the *Other*, but also of Gulliver him*Self*, since after having been in the shoes of a giant in Lilliput he must have felt much smaller versus the giants in Brobdingnag than he really was – and such relativeness is quite typical for (post)colonial studies. Moreover, this change of perspective and status certainly reflects Gulliver's innate power versus his weakness in relation to his hosts, which can again be interpreted as a mirror of Swift's varying position in England and Ireland, as well as during the reign of the Tories and then the Whigs, respectively.

Fictional vs. Real Lands in Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*

As it has already been mentioned, the book has four parts on different voyages of the protagonist, whereas the fact that the plot consists of a series of stories on his roamings through strange countries which are rather loosely connected "is completely

in harmony with the requirements of the picaresque matrix that had been so influential over many centuries" (Čudić, 2014, p. 112). In the first part of the book – A Voyage to Lilliput, Gulliver is stranded on this island populated by tiny people, whom he helps fight against their enemy, the Blefuscudians, who live just across them, on the island of Blefuscu. The second part is A Voyage to Brobdingnag – a kingdom in which live people and animals so huge that a nine-year-old girl, Glumdalclitch, keeps Gulliver in a box, and eventually an eagle grabs him and throws him into the sea. In the third part, named A Voyage to Laputa, Balnibarbi, Luggnagg, Glubbdubdrib and Japan, Gulliver visits Laputa, the Flying Island; the island of Balnibarbi which is located below Laputa; then the islands of Glubbdubdrib, and Luggnagg, inhabited by immortals; to arrive finally in Japan, from where he sets for England. The last, fourth part of the book – A Voyage to the Land of the Houyhnhnms, has become famous mostly thanks to the strange inhabitants of this island whom Swift named Yahoos, and whose uncivilised and brutish behaviour is contrasted by that of noble and intelligent horses called Houyhnhnms.

All the four titles already unambiguously tell the reader that Gulliver has mainly travelled to imaginary lands. In spite of this, there are several real places, mentioned either in the titles or in the text itself. For instance, the Leeward Islands and Barbados, which Gulliver refers to at the very beginning of Chapter I in Part IV, really exist: "I had several men who died in my ship of calentures, so that I was forced to get recruits out of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, where I touched, by the direction of the merchants who employed me" (Swift, 1986, p. 235). Despite that fact, first of all, he does not stay there at all, and secondly, this is the only time that Swift mentions them in the entire book. Another example is Brobdingnag, which is – by Gulliver's reckoning – a peninsula located somewhere on the northwest coast of North America, but Swift does not speak of it as of America, and confers to it a fictitious name, surely in order to be able to populate it with equally fictitious inhabitants. Even so, America itself and California appear under their own names many times in the book, especially in its second part, when Gulliver describes where Brobdingnag and Luggnagg are situated (Swift, 1986, p. 115 and p. 205, respectively), and in the fourth part he even mentions "the savage Indians of America" (Swift, 1986, p. 242) and "the naked Americans" (Swift, 1986, p. 314).

Therefore, the only existing country figuring under its own and still existing name in the ocean of these nonexistent places is Japan, through which Gulliver passes on his way back home from Luggnagg. But even before he sets sail for Japan in Part III of the book, the Land of the Rising Sun is mentioned several times: for the first time, as early as in the last chapter of Part I, when the protagonist boards "an English merchant-man [vessel], returning from Japan by the North and South Seas" (Swift, 1986, p. 79). Then again, in Part II, Chapter IV, Gulliver asserts that "our geographers of Europe are in a great error, by supposing nothing but sea between Japan and California" (Swift, 1986, p. 115). The reader finds more about this non-fictitious country later on, already in Part III, but still a long time before the final Chapter XI which is devoted to Japan. Namely, in Chapter VII Swift gives a detailed account of the position of Luggnagg, but also informs the reader about its diplomatic ties with Japan:

> The continent of which this kingdom is a part, extends itself, as I have reason to believe, eastward to that unknown tract of America, westward of California,

> and north to the Pacifick Ocean, which is not above an [*sic!*] hundred and fifty miles from Lagado; where there is a good port, and much commerce with the great island of Luggnagg, situated to the north-west about 29 degrees north latitude, and 140 longitude. This island of Luggnagg stands south eastwards of Japan, about an [*sic!*] hundred leagues distant. There is a strict alliance between the Japanese emperor, and the King of Luggnagg, which affords frequent opportunities of sailing from one island to the other. (Swift, 1986, pp. 205-206).

After that, in Chapter IX, Gulliver reveals his plan to go back home via Japan self-proclaimed as a Dutch sailor:

> I thought it necessary to disguise my country, and call my self an [*sic!*] Hollander; because my intentions were for Japan, and I knew the Dutch were the only Europeans permitted to enter into that kingdom. I therefore told the officer, that having been shipwrecked on the coast of Balnibarbi, and cast on a rock, I was received up into Laputa, or the flying island (of which he had often heard) and was now endeavouring to get to Japan, from whence I might find a convenience of returning to my own country. (Swift, 1986, p. 217).

Finally, in Chapter X, Japan is mentioned only in fleeting comparison with other countries: „this breed of Struldbruggs was peculiar to their country, for there were no such people either in Balnibarbi or Japan, where he had the honour to be ambassador from his Majesty" (Swift, 1986, p. 224). But, nevertheless, immediately after that a rather interesting and important piece of information is supplied by the narrator about Japan in this context:

> in the two kingdoms above-mentioned [Balnibarbi and Japan], where during his residence he had conversed very much, he observed long life to be the universal desire and wish of mankind. That, whoever had one foot in the grave, was sure to hold back the other as strongly as he could. That, the oldest had still hopes of living one day longer, and looked on death as the greatest evil, from which nature always prompted him to retreat [...] For, although few men will avow their desires of being immortal upon such hard conditions, yet in the two kingdoms beforementioned of Balnibarbi and Japan, he observed that every man desired to put off death for some time longer, let it approach ever so late; and he rarely heard of any man who died willingly, except [sic!] he were excited by the extremity of grief or torture. (Swift, 1986, pp. 224-225).

And truly, the Japanese are well-known worldwide for their longevity, and Japan still has the oldest life expectancy in the world (cf. OECD, 2016, p. 87), so this is one of the rare details that were not made up by the author. The analysis of several more true facts about Japan that Swift included in Gulliver's Travels will help us resolve the dilemma of why the author opted for Japan, and not some other far-away country, as the only existing place in his book.

WHY Japan?

This decision can, first of all and above all, be justified by a detail from cultural history of early eighteenth-century England: at the mere mention of Japan, the readers certainly conjured the image of a phantasmagoric landscape[3], since they were not at all familiar with that country, not only because it is geographically distant, but also because, after the seventeenth-century Tokugawa shogunate, Japanese borders were closed for all wayfarers from Europe, apart from Dutch traders (cf. Da Costa Kaufmann, 2004, p. 308). Even their movements were restricted to the area around the present-day city of Nagasaki, which Swift calls 'Nangasac' (Swift, 1986, p. 230 and p. 231), and lets his protagonist duly emphasise this piece of information by saying: "I knew the Dutch were the only Europeans permitted to enter into that kingdom" (Swift, 1986, p. 217). This exclusiveness of Japan helped Swift turn that real country into a landscape that seems even more fictional than the imagined countries in *Gulliver's Travels*:

> Shut off from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries by the self-imposed isolation known as *sakoku* from all but a few contacts with Europeans, and these almost exclusively with the Dutch, Japan may well have seemed as fantastic to most of Swift's European contemporaries as were islands which floated in the air, or places whose inhabitants were immortal. (Da Costa Kaufmann, 2004, p. 304, italics in the original).

However, as if all that Otherness of Oriental Japan in the eyes of his European readers was not enough, Swift throws in a couple of oddities which, strangely enough, represent historical facts in the midst of all the fake details supplied lavishly for other places that Gulliver visits and tells us about. First of all, there are the Japanese pirates – *Wakō*, who in the real world presented a force to be reckoned with, starting from the Middle Ages[4] and reaching the peak of their might in the late sixteenth century, though this is not a piece of information that was or is widely known. Japanese piracy is mentioned several times in *Gulliver's Travels*, for instance when the protagonist engages in a skirmish with pirates and discovers their nationality only after they capture him: "The largest of the two pirate ships was commanded by a Japanese captain" (Swift, 1986, p. 165).

Then, there is the fact that Gulliver, who was fluent in many foreign languages that were real, as he himself avows: "I spoke to them in as many languages as I had the least smattering of, which were High and Low Dutch, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, and Lingua Franca, but all to no purpose" (Swift, 1986, p. 26), and kept learning other, imagined languages of imaginary countries he came to, to the extent that he could claim, for instance, that he "spoke very well" the Balnibarbian language (Swift, 1986, p. 221), was not at all conversant in the Japanese language. It is true that Gulliver himself draws the reader's attention to the main reason for this deficiency by confessing that: "my stay in Japan was *so short*, and I was so entirely *a stranger to the language*, that I was not qualified to make any inquiries [about the Struldbrugs]"

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[3] Which is one of the characteristic tropes of Orientalism, best explained by Edward Said: "The Orient was […] a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences" (Said, 1979, p. 1).
[4] The most ancient monument which corroborates this fact, the so-called "Stele of Gwanggaeto the Great" dates from 404 AD (see more about that in: Sansom, 1961, p. 265).

(Swift, 1986, p. 229, our italics), but still the readers would have expected such a polyglot to know at least the basics, were it not for the fact that the Japanese language must have been all Greek to them – and literally so, as well. Nonetheless, disregarding the truth that the Japanese script is so different from that of European languages, the readers could see previously that the Balnibarbian language which Gulliver "spoke very well" was not at all a piece of cake, by simply looking carefully at the picture of "the writing machine from the Academy of Lagado, Balnibarbi", supplied in the 1726 first edition of the book, and many subsequent ones, too (cf. Swift, 1986, p. 195). One would say that, if he could cope with such a difficult language – and a fictitious one, besides, Gulliver should certainly have managed to learn a couple of Japanese words and greetings, instead of remaining "a stranger to the language" – that is, *the linguistic Other*.

And last but not least, the custom "of *trampling upon the crucifix*" (Swift, 1986, p. 231, italics in the original), as Swift calls it, is certainly proof of Japanese idiosyncrasy. This tradition, though it may seem weirder than the invented mores in other nonexistent places in *Gulliver's Travels*, is in fact an authentic ritual from Japanese history[5] called *fumi-e* or *e-fumi*, and practiced from the late 1620s to the second half of the nineteenth century. Briefly put, it was introduced in order to persecute the Japanese who converted to Christianity, but later on it was implemented on all Christians, local and foreign alike, since that was "a belief whose expression was at the time forbidden in Japan" (Da Costa Kaufmann, 2004, p. 303). On the basis of several authentic Japanese historical documents, Da Costa Kaufmann explains at length how "the process of forcing Europeans as well as Japanese to trample on Christian images seems to have been introduced" (Da Costa Kaufmann, 2004, p. 303), to be stopped in Nagasaki in 1858 and in some other areas in 1871, according to the reliable Japanese sources (cf. Da Costa Kaufmann, 2004, p. 312). It consisted in forcing the alleged Christian to trample on the plaquette of Jesus or Virgin Mary made on paper, wood or copper, with the aim of demonstrating publicly the absence of the Christian faith, by desecrating instead of venerating these sacred images, and that test was a kind of inquisition. And although Da Costa Kaufmann claims that "*Fumi-e* can hardly be considered examples of hybridity, [...] since they represent rejection, not assimilation" (Da Costa Kaufmann, 2004, p. 339), it is undeniable that this phenomenon contains elements from both cultures: Occidental – Christian, that is, European, and Oriental – Japanese, and can thus be seen as a peculiar form of culturally hybrid occurrences.

Conclusion

In the list of all the countries that Gulliver visited during his voyages, among the plethora of fictitious names, which certainly have both their denotations and connotations, stands out a single toponym that was not invented, the name of a real country which still exists – Japan. Not only did Swift invent names of places, and also of persons, but he did so with lots of imagination and sometimes came up with real "linguistic gargoyles", like for instance "Quinbus Flestrin the Lilliputian name for Gulliver, Glumdalclitch Gulliver's Brobdingnagian nurse, and spacknuck, a six-foot-

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[5] See more about that in Chapter X of Da Costa Kaufmann's *Toward a Geography of Art* (pp. 303-340), which is entirely devoted to this issue.

long animal among the Brobdingnagians (II, 2)" (Anderson, 1998, p. 234, bold in the original).

That is why it strikes the reader as very strange that Swift included in *Gulliver's Travels* a genuine country inhabited by a genuine people, and we consider that the reason for his choice is the fact that he interpreted Otherness in the colonial sense, regarding racial and ethnic differences and not only the size and form[6] of people his protagonist encounters, as it may seem at first glance. "The great Empire of Japan" (Swift, 1986, p. 229) was an excellent solution to be included among the other – at the same time fictitious and fantastic countries, for several reasons: it is situated in the far East – away from the usual sea routes; so very little was known about this country at the time (the early eighteenth century); it was – and still is, a rather closed society and an exclusive destination, which renders it pretty mysterious to foreigners; and its culture largely differs from European standards, so Swift did not have to invent strange customs and habits because they already existed – such as that of walking over the cross, for instance. This is probably the reason why, although Gulliver stayed in Brobdingnag for two years, Swift quite on the contrary lets him stay only briefly in Japan, as even such a brief stay was more than enough for such a strange country, for Gulliver to experience and for Swift to illustrate its Otherness.

This conclusion is further confirmed by the fact that at the end of the third voyage Gulliver becomes the 'mimic man'[7] when he pretends to be "a Dutch merchant, shipwrecked in a very remote country" (Swift, 1986, p. 230), in order to be allowed to enter Japan, as well as to avoid the *fumi-e*, which the Dutch were excused from – being Calvinists, since that creed at the time involved the beliefs of aniconism and iconoclasm. This mimicry – in its sense of camouflage and imitation of *the Other* – was facilitated by Gulliver's linguistic and cultural hybridity, as before his voyages he studied medicine in Holland, which means that not only did he speak the language fluently, but he was also culturally adapted. In doing so, he had to bottle up his own, English *cultural Self* – and this is precisely what his creator, Jonathan Swift, had to do in his own culturally hybrid life.

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[6] Hereby we denote Houyhnhnms described in the fourth part of the book who, although they are apparently a race of horses, obviously represent a human society consisting of *the Others*.
[7] See more about the concept of mimicry in Homi Bhabha's essay Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse, in *The Location of Culture* (Bhabha, 2003, pp. 85-92).

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Searching for the Spice: On Chinese Diaspora's Food Practice in Helsinki, Finland

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Abstract

In this research project, I examined the ever-changing interconnected relations between immigrants' identity construction, food practice and the broader social formations in their respective adopted countries. The main research questions were guided by this vision: Are food practices of Chinese diaspora in Helsinki facilitating the construction of a new, creolized, hybrid "Chinese-abroad identity"? To what extent, is such (re)constructed identity contested by and integrated into the broader socio-economic setting of Helsinki?
My intended way to approach this project was to bring one essential daily practice of humanity to "actions", in a real-life scenario: food practice, with this concern, became my favored key to unlock "the identity codes of Chinese diaspora". This research project followed a pivotal inquiry centering the tension and contradiction which imbricates the structure of diasporic identity: creolization (multiculturalism) and homogenization (globalization).
After conducting two-month ethnographic fieldwork, I have concluded some preliminary findings. The diasporic identity is interesting for its complexity, the simplistic approach of stressing exclusively on the "rootlessness" and "aestheticizing" aspect of it does not facilitate the wholistic understanding of Chinese diaspora from a less ahistorical and less apolitical lens: diaspora is both ethnic-parochial and cosmopolitan, the tension between which creates and redefines diasporic identity and its community building process.

Keywords: Diaspora; Chinese; migration; food practice; transnationalism; globalization

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Introduction

This paper is based on my two-month participant observation, during which I lived with a Chinese man and his family in the city of Helsinki, Finland. Cheng Liguang (my main informant) and members in his nuclear family, his son and his wife (Cheng Li'ao and Feng Yichan), are the protagonists of this paper. This research project, conducted at their apartment and the restaurant they own, discovered that although individuals' country of origin and current place of residence can position them within a diasporic community, their identity constructs, and senses of home and belonging deserve to be appreciated on an individual basis.

I am interested in employing participant observation methodology as a tool with which to make an exploration of one individual Chinese immigrant's lifeworld and life stories. By positioning the individual at the centre of this piece of culture analysis, I am attempting to understand — through the lens of transnationalism — the individuality and creativity embedded within the identity construct and the social engagement of Chinese immigrants. And furthermore, to what extent, and in what manner, are such individuality and creativity persevered and to what extent are they subject to generational alteration. In my interpretation they are capable of giving birth to a distinctive mode of identification that remains potently transnational. The aim of this paper is neither to elucidate a collective socio-cultural experience of Chinese immigrants, nor to pontificate theories and terminologies, such as transnationalism, in the hope of applying them universally to Chinese immigrants of two generations.

In this paper, I problematise a wide range of stereotypical and biased conceptualisations of individuals who travel and relocate beyond the borders of nation-states, especially those conception that relate to identity, the sense of belonging and home. By telling a story about a Chinese man who now resides in Helsinki, Finland, with his family, I intend to suggest that individual identity is created through daily practices instead of being assigned to an individual by any singular nation-state or a collective of individuals. Moreover, I also attempt to illustrate that the construction of home is sometimes rooted in intimate social relations within the domestic environment.

Through this paper, I am promoting the perspective of approaching 'identity' as a manifestation of individual agency: a person's desire and contention to (re)gain authorship over his or her respective life projects; a cry for individuality; a constant (re)creation of 'culture'. In addition, I am also proposing an alternative view of understanding the notion of home as desired social relations within the domestic environment, instead of the conventional perception of viewing home as a fixed physical location.

I write this paper and in doing so embrace the incompleteness of it; to honour the multitude and complexity of my main informant and his family's lifeway; to discard the conclusion while focusing on the process of analysis. After all, this paper is more of a project of invitation — an invitation to academic discourses regarding the immigrant's ever-changing identity, sense of home and life projects at large.

Conclusion

The "Authenticity" of Chinese Food.

What is "authenticity"? The term has many interpretations, and I am not in the disposition of offering a clear-cut, unambiguous definition. As Taylor (2001; 8) puts it: "There are at least as many definitions of authenticity as there are those who write about it". Alternatively, I approach the notion of "authenticity" by asking the question, "who, motivated by what kind of agenda, deploys this term".

Hanson's (1989) research on the Maori oral tradition is scholarship that contributed greatly to the symbolic construction of culture. The conclusion of this work is that the culture of the Maori is invented. Hanson's work raised enormous controversy inside academia. The reactions received regarding Hanson's work lead to a conundrum about the representation of culture. Discussion regarding the notion of "authenticity" seemed to center on the question: what is the anthropological interpretation of the *invention* of culture?

Within the disciplinary field of anthropology there have always been criticisms in which the invention of culture has been seen as the deconstructive force in preserving *authenticity* and the *native* point of view. Consequently, the idea of authenticity is therefore equated with a "timeless" entity comprised of traditions, customs and beliefs (Handler 1986; Handler and Linnekin 1984).

Drawing on the opinions Clifford (1988), Handler (1984) and Wagner (1975), Hanson argues that the invention of culture should be understood as "the symbolic construction of social life" (Hanson, 1989). In Roy Wagner's pioneering work exploring the invention of culture and the symbolic value of such invention (1975), the winter suggests the invention of culture as an omnipresent cultural practice, should not be viewed as standing in opposition to authenticity. Quite the contrary, the vitality of culture of any kinds — indigenous or Western — depends on constant modification and invention in order to incorporate the contemporary concerns of the time, instead of just a "passively inherited legacy" (Handler and Linnekin 1984; Linnekin 1983). On a similar note, Hanson has also opposed the analytical perspective that relegated culture to being "static" by stating that the "inventions are common components in the ongoing development of authentic culture…invention is an ordinary event in the development of all discourse" (Hanson 1989:899). I agree with Handler in that the term "authenticity" and its utilization in the discipline of anthropology as "a cultural construct of modern Western world" (1986:2). The problematic aspect of this conceptualization is that authenticity then is seen as "a proof of national being". In complete contrast, I subscribe to the understanding that authenticity is a constant expression of the zeitgeist and of individual agency.

Some scholarship suggest that the concept of authenticity entails a broad range of meanings such as genuineness, originality, accuracy and truthfulness (Trilling 1972; Handler 1986, 2001; Lindholm 2008), which is the conceptualization that I am inclined to ally with in the setting of this specific ethnography. The utilization of the term

authenticity consolidates the expectation of a genuine, original, accurate and truthful representation. Therefore, I am not preoccupied with verifying whether the quest for authenticity elicits a latent invention of a new cultural practice. Instead, I am more concerned and curious about the uniquely situated deployment of authenticity as a theme or quality of self-expression. Authenticity, deployed in this chapter as a conceptualization, aids the deciphering of the intricate connection between food practice and construction of overseas Chinese identity. I argue that the identity of overseas Chinese is, to a certain extent, essentialized by the invention, modification and valorization of Chinese cuisines. It is precisely via manipulating food practice in his restaurant that Cheng Liguang embodies his vision of "self". By examining why a specific individual intends to associate himself/herself with the concept of "authenticity", I intend to accentuate the individual agency manifested in the process of cultural (re)production.

Cheng Liguang and his family are proud of providing authentic Chinese food in their restaurant. They told me they make sure all the specificities throughout the "making of Chinese food" are precisely executed according to traditional practice in Szechuan. From the selection of food materials, to the combination of ingredients, to habits of plating and final presentation. Their slogan — as clearly stated in the top margin of their menu — is to produce an "authentic Chinese gourmet" assortment. I asked Cheng Liguang what *authentic Chinese* means to him. He replied:

> *"Something you don't change. One tiny bit off, the whole thing will go wrong. You don't use the shiny and fancy Finnish cookers to prepare Chinese food…you need the old wok…see that one…you need the layers of oil residue to get that 'smoky and fiery' (yan huo wei)…I grew up eating the same flavor…not exactly the same of course, you can't get all the fresh veggies here in Finland, but we work with what we have…we try our best to make it exactly like the taste that I remember from my childhood…"*

Relating to Cheng Liguang's perception of "ownership" to the restaurant, I would argue that Cheng Liguang intends to test and to verify the boundary of his freedom of expressing individuality in the restaurant. The manifestation of such constant "boundary-making" and potentially "boundary-expanding" project is interpreted by some — for instance me initially — as a stubborn characteristic of his. Although to Cheng Liguang this is a meditated, hence rational, decision that benefits him on a daily basis. The authenticity of Chinese food, in the eyes of Cheng Liguang, is not an homogenous and community-based desire for "establishing social cohesion", but rather an expansion and development of creativity and personality. Authenticity, as a conceptualization, did not aid or benefit the operation of the restaurant. Rather, it is the deployment of "authentication" as a conceptual tool to increase the creativity that established and consolidated the socio-economic niche for this restaurant.

Cheng Liguang once expressed his initial struggle and the corresponding coping strategy for preserving the uniqueness of the venue as a "Chinese" restaurant to me. He told me:

> *"It used to be easy…when we first got here, there were no Asian restaurants around, no…okay, there were a few Chinese places, maybe one Japanese place, but that was all…we just put some chopsticks on the tables, then the Finns they knew…they knew it was a Chinese place…Chinese characters on the billboard, and chopsticks on the table…you don't need to do anything else…That was enough to be a Chinese restaurant…Now you see, right? There are Korean places…What is Korean food anyway…they copied all the Chinese and Japanese food, and called it Korean. The Japanese places now are everywhere as well…They [Finnish customers] don't care, they just know we are all Asian restaurants, they think we are all the same…We need to show them the Szechuan flavor…yes, we used to cook food from all over China, Yuecai, Lucai, Chuancai and more…not any more, just Szechuan (Chuancai) now…so they remember this is the place for that…"*

Even though diverse Szechuan cuisines include a wide range of sensory properties, and it has been incorporating the traits and influences of other culinary branches and schools in China and abroad, the most well-known aspect is its spiciness. The spicy dishes served at the restaurants have increased continuously in the recent years, parallel to the increasing presence of Chinese and other Asian eateries in close proximity. I once asked Cheng Liguang whether one of the staples in his restaurant — "duojiaoyutou" (slow-cooked catfish head garnished with chopped red paprika) — has proper culinary lineage in order to be included as a Szechuan dish. Cheng Liguang told me:

> *"Szechuan food and Chinese food are all influenced by one another…it is hard to tell…but as long as it is spicy…in my book, it is Szechuan food…spicy is the most important…even if it was not Szechuan, so what? I will add as much spice as I want…There you go…"*

The ability to modify the flavors of Chinese food brings joy and satisfaction to Cheng Liguang. Such joy is partially evoked by the freedom and liberty of individual expression. Once, Cheng Liguang, Feng Yichan, Cheng Li'ao and I were chatting around the table in the restaurant on a Saturday night. Everyone was relieved after the week's work and was looking forward to a day off. Cheng Liguang was also in a good mood. He rushed to the kitchen and returned with a small pot of left-over spicy sauce and dumped it all on his noodle soup. Everyone, me included, was amused by this endeavor. Cheng Li'ao started to mock Cheng Liguang for attempting the obvious overdose of spice. In the meantime, Feng Yichan was shaking her head suggesting disapproval, with a smile on her face. I was preoccupied merely with curiosity: "Can he actually eat that?" The question was hovering in my mind and I could not think of anything else. He dug into the soup and slurped the first mouthful. The bright red color of the spice grease covered his lips, Cheng Liguang stuck out his tongue after the mouthful and breathed with his tongue hanging out for a few seconds, before he went for the second mouthful. His face gradually turned red just during the first a few bits. I could see the veins on his neck popping out as well.

To me, it was excruciating to witness this process, since just by looking at the red color floating on top of the bowl, I could already imagine the intense spiciness of that soup. Not to mention the physical and expressional features of Cheng Liguang also confirmed my estimation. My mouth started to salivate during the process of Cheng Liguang eating his noodle soup; I had to swallow a few times during the time span of several minutes. Nonetheless, Cheng Liguang, without any hesitation or sign of intending to give up, finished his meal fairly quickly and symbolically put the chopsticks on top of the bowl with a solemn facial expression. Then he exhaled with satisfaction and patted his belly. "It is never too much spice…I could eat as much as I want to…" Cheng Liguang spoke to everyone around the table. Does Cheng Liguang have to eat the leftover spicy sauce? No, he almost never eats anything extremely spicy compared to other family members such as Cheng Li'ao and Feng Yichan.

Cheng Liguang ate the spice that night because the act empowered him: by physically integrating the "spice" that bestowed him the freedom of individuality and personality in Helsinki, Cheng Liguang is internalizing such a symbolic token of *personhood* and social-economic status. I noticed the struggle and blatant pain on Cheng Liguang's face while he was eating the soup. Instead of rejecting or avoiding the pain and the struggle, he accepts them. The pain and struggle appears to be a necessity that Cheng Liguang anxiously anticipates and wholeheartedly embraces. Through the process of enduring such hardship in daily life, such as this metaphorical act of consuming excessive spice, which his own body repels, Cheng Liguang embodied a societal condition that guarantees his individuality and personality. To Cheng Liguang, both preparing the increasingly spicy Szechuan cuisine in the restaurant, and consuming overly spicy leftovers, are acts of self-expression that have been sung repeatedly during his lived life, which without fail summons the fruition of the desired social positioning and economic benefit. The authentic Chinese restaurant of Cheng Liguang's is, in fact, not only an operation for "making a living", but also a place that constitutes and consolidates a one-of-a-kind personal identification for him. Perhaps, the authenticity of cuisines that is emphasized by the fact that the restaurant is not a preservation of the culinary traditions and conventions that were alienated from Cheng Liguang's life and dictated by *other* individuals and collectives of the past. But rather, it is a contestation and insistence on the cultural innovation based on personal lived experience: I could imagine the lengthy process throughout which Cheng Liguang continued to add and delete elements of what he used to eat in China.

A "personal twist" to "the known" and "the past" is the most *authentic* he could offer.

Transnationalism or Globalisation?

"Why us?" was the question I repeatedly received at the initial stage of my fieldwork. Cheng Liguang, Feng Yichan and Cheng Li'ao, my primary informants, questioned my selection of them as the resource for my ethnographic data. Indeed, why them? With the contemporary facilitation of technology, online surveys and questionnaires are widely accessible to researchers. Why invest time in participant observation and daily conversations and interviews? Throughout the duration of the fieldwork for this research

project, I resisted the temptation to reach out to more individuals and instead invested my time and energy primarily in the family of Cheng Liguang. This conscious choice was made based on the phenomenon at hand — transnationalism. Because the term indicates "processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement," (Basch, Glick Schiller & Szanton Blanc, 1995), long-term participant observation shows a methodological advantage no other technique could offer by affording a glimpse of the processes of times past. Immigrants are not individuals of the past, nor the future. They are individuals of the moment, they are people of fluidity, change and transformation. The nuances and fine-grained texture of the immigrant's life story does not exhibit itself in any specific scenes or certain time frame. Instead, it perhaps could only be sensed and captured in the 'flow of time', in the motion, in its ephemerality. Hence, migration study calls for a method that is sensitive and attentive to hybridity, change and reconfiguration, not only in members of the collective, but also at an individual level. Ethnography is apt for this academic endeavour because it has the advantage of focusing on the interconnected-ness of cultural practice and the situated place, and on the synergy and conflict between individual disposition and the structural presentation, which Bordieu (1989: 19) describes as "habitus". Only by living with this family, and not only for one or two days but for an extended period, could I feel confident to talk about their life stories and the 'fluid' and unique understanding of 'self', 'home' and 'belonging'.

Research on the transnational movements of Chinese immigrants have addressed several prominent issues, such as transnational political involvement, social and political identity, gender relations and the process of initial adaptation to the receiving countries. Part of my research project is based upon these studies; nevertheless, I would attempt to explore the nuances of how overseas Chinese interact simultaneously with China, their new home, and various other social actors in their transnational social reality.

After getting to know individuals such as Cheng Liguang, Feng Yichan, and Cheng Li'ao, I could not isolate my scope of analysis to the analytical dimension of solely examining, "Where are they from?" "How did they get there?" Instead, I strive, and feel obliged, to enquire more about their lifeway as a continuum, an on-going, unfinished tale. I am not denying the informative quality that historical contextualisation on a macro scale has on effectively facilitating the understanding of the immigrant's lifescape. However, I would like to have a peek into the daily practice of immigrants' lives by asking questions such as, "What is life in Helsinki like for them?" and "How do they modify their daily cultural practice to serving their personal needs?" In this paper, I would lay an emphasis on analysing the temporality, individuality and hybridity of transnational immigrants' lifeways.

The understanding of migrants' lifeways, their identities and livelihoods in general within academia has changed drastically since the 1990s. An increasing number of migrants are investing efforts in maintaining connections with their respective countries of origins. By employing the apparatus of transnationalism, more and more researchers have engaged in battling the oversimplified notion that migrants tend to forsake their social, cultural, economic and political ties with their countries of origin in exchange for integration into

their adopted countries. (Basch et al, 1994: 7; Faist, 2000). Speaking from personal experience, I moved away from China indefinitely in 2010 and have lived abroad ever since. My complex and multifaceted connection and engagement with my country of origin consistently plays an important role in sustaining and conditioning my journey abroad. The maintenance of such connection and engagement with China is indebted to the modern technologies, which provide convenience and more accessibility for trans-border communication. Technology, nevertheless, is neither a necessity nor an indispensable element in maintaining transnational engagement: as early as 19th century, early immigrants to the new continent of North America had already established connections with their sending countries (Vertovec, 2009) without any modern cyber communication tools. Therefore, immigrants' trans-border social networking and engagement is by no means a contemporary, but rather an age-old phenomenon. Nevertheless, academia has shown growing interest in immigrants' transnational lifeways.

In this paper, I utilise transnationalism not only as a theoretical guideline but also as an analytical tool, in order to extensively explore the complexity of overseas Chinese living conditions in this era of globalisation. The theoretical apparatus of transnationalism would be apt in this academic endeavour for its close correlation with the conceptualisation of globalisation (Waldinger and Fitzgerald, 2004). The idea of transnationalism has been studied in recent decades by scholars who are interested in the arena of social movement and mobility studies (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). The contemporary world is changing in terms of social, political, cultural and economic reality. 'Transnationalism' would correspondingly provide an innovative lens through which to examine the ever-shifting dynamic of modern society (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007).

Especially in the academic field of migration studies, transnationalism, because of its unique analytical strength, contributes to the exploration of the 'jungle area' where diaspora and globalization studies do not adequately have access. Globalisation studies focuses on ecumenical processes and on the pertinent economic-oriented incentives, as well as other capital mobility (Held and McGrew, 2007), while in other cases showing interest in the effects of one particular product that features a globalising rhetoric across one specific geographical region (Appadurai, 2001). The case of McDonalds and its domestication has been studied in both China and other East Asian countries using comparative studies to elaborate the local interpretation and response to this globalising phenomenon. (Watson, 2006). Watson's study illustrates the inherent dichotomy between the 'global' and the 'local' according to the assumption generated by globalisation studies. Similarly, when it comes to analysis of migration, should one deploy the globalisation theory? If so, the focus of the research would inevitably lean towards the examination of a 'global force' and its effect on immigrant movement in different localities. (Clifford, 1994; Cohen, 2008; Van Hear, 1998; Vertovec, 2000). I agree that it is crucial to recognise the significance of global forces in shaping the movements of immigrants in order to acquire a wholistic understanding of migration. Nevertheless, macro-level analysis would not be, by itself, sufficient in excavating the nuances of the temporality and hybridity of the movement of Chinese immigrants. Cheng Liguang —

my primary informant in this paper — and his family have lived in several countries in Europe, such as Germany and France, and now Finland. As narrated to me by Cheng Liguang, they had had sufficient means and capacity to settling down in Germany, but they relocated again. Based on his narrative, I would argue that his life journey of relocating from place to place has little to do with selection of a locality, but rather is a choice of self-fulfilment and 'home-making'. The study of globalisation and its theoretical underpinning does not support my intention of scrutinising immigrants' reasons for movement with emphasis on individual agency as adequately as the theory of transnationalism. Hence, it would not be the best approach for this particular paper.

In this research project, I deploy the concept of transnationalism in order to the explore multifaceted social realities of Chinese immigrants in Helsinki. I would involve the nation-state, the local diasporic community and, most importantly, individual immigrants in the discourse. I believe, in the context of this research project, transnationalism will be a crucial and resourceful tool in revealing the nuanced and detailed texture of migrants' lifeways, the daily struggle of their existence, and the quintessence of their journey of relocation and displacement.

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The Strategies of Piano Manufacturers: Crafts, Industry and Marketing

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Abstract
The piano was invented at the beginning of the 18th century in Europe, and thereafter was developed chiefly in Great Britain during its Industrial Revolution. New manufacturers appeared in the latter half of the 19th century to challenge the older makers such as Bösendorfer of Vienna and Érard and Pleyel of France. The advent of these new makers—Bechstein, Blüthner and Steinway & Sons—led to expanding intense competition. With Steinway's technological innovation, however, the centre of piano manufacture shifted to the United States. In fact, Steinway pianos are still loved today by professional pianists. Meanwhile, the latecomer, Yamaha, adopted a system of mass-manufacturing using automated assembly-line production. Yamaha, enabled by its marketing strategies, soon became a pioneer in the market of Japan and abroad. It went on to become the largest maker of musical instruments in the world, in terms of production quantities. Yamaha has a broad fan base, and it has been to some extent a threat to the Steinway business.
Steinway was established at a favorable time, when America's piano market was already expanding. Building on the piano manufacturing technologies already established in Germany, Steinway & Sons' technical innovations perfected the piano as a musical instrument, and the company successfully protected its patent rights. Yamaha, meanwhile, was founded when the piano was already a fully developed musical instrument, and the company successfully focused on how best to mimic manufacturing methods, and efficiently standardize and mass produce its products.

Keywords: marketing strategy, top artists, middle-level users, mass production, hand craft

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Introduction

The piano was invented at the beginning of the 18th century in Europe, and thereafter was developed chiefly in Great Britain during its Industrial Revolution. New manufacturers appeared in the latter half of the 19th century to challenge the older makers such as Bösendorfer of Vienna and Érard and Pleyel of France. The advent of these new makers—Bechstein and Blüthner in Germany and Steinway & Sons in the United States, etc.—led to expanding intense competition. With Steinway's technological innovation, however, the centre of piano manufacturing shifted to the United States. In fact, Steinway pianos are still loved today by professional pianists. Meanwhile, the latecomer, Yamaha, adopted a system of mass-manufacturing using automated assembly-line production. Yamaha, enabled by its marketing strategies, soon became a pioneer in the market of Japan and abroad. It went on to become the largest maker of musical instruments in the world, in terms of production quantities. Yamaha has a broad fan base, and it has been to some extent a threat to the Steinway business.

Though there have been a number of prior researches in Steinways & Sons and YAMAHA, there are no comparative studies on the two leading musical instrument makers, Steinways & Sons and YAMAHA. Prior studies on Steinways & Sons have focused on a historical perspective (Lieberman, 1995), on its manufacturing processes (Barron, 2006), and on innovation (Oki, 2010). Studies on YAMAHA have focused on the strategy of the electric piano (Suzuki and al., 2011), on marketing strategies during a high economic growth period (Tanaka, 2011), and on its architecture analysis (Oki and Yamada, 2011). This research on musical instrument makers, being conducted since 2006, is a part of our experimental case studies.

The research framework was developed by conducting an extensive study on various research methods, which included both primary research (undertaking interviews and extensive readings of internal material), and secondary research (synthesis of various existing statistical and other data). In line with this research framework, we have combined qualitative research targeting a small number of other cases with quantitative research. This research style, employing both qualitative and qualitative methods, has the advantage of approaching both hypothesis discovery and hypothesis verification. We expect that our triangulation methods, which involve the simultaneous use of two or more research methods, will strengthen the objectivity of our results. As part of the qualitative research, we conducted interviews at length with Steinway & Sons, both in New York and Hamburg, and with YAMAHA Corporation in Japan. Interview conversations were recorded and transcribed.

1. Steinway & Sons

1-1. Early Stage

Steinway & Sons (hereinafter this is called "Steinway") was established in 1853 in Manhattan, New York, by Steinway and his sons, immigrants from Germany. New York at that time was already a cultural and manufacturing hub, and a centre for musical activities and piano sales stores[1]. In the same year the Steinway's immigrated, Chickering and Sons established a large-scale factory in Boston, and their mass

production of 2,000 pianos per year helped to diffuse the piano throughout the United States.

Henry and his sons were craftsmen, and Steinway incorporated engineering technology into its business. The family made numerous improvements to the piano, including rim, bridge, and "action" assembly, keyboard structure, and soundboard innovations. By employing metal plates and overstrung strings (strings that crossed obliquely over other strings), and placing the bridge at the centre of the soundboard, etc., Steinway pianos produced strong and rich notes. Action response was also improved by enabling speedy hammer flow and simple repetitive striking.

An essential method of promoting and advertising their business in the early years was the participation in exhibitions and fairs, and the acquisition of gold prizes therefrom. In 1855, a semi-grand Steinway piano took first prize[2] at the Metropolitan Mechanics Institute Fair in Washington, D.C., and a Steinway square piano[3] was also awarded a gold medal at a New York Crystal Palace exhibition the same year. The judges described the piano as "having wonderful tonal strength, deep and rich low tones, gentle middle tones, and high tones with a pureness that practically shines"[4]. The square piano, which took up little space, became popular among the American middle classes, and Steinway & Sons captured 90% of the share of the American piano market[5]. The company also continued to make improvements on the grand piano, achieving a product that could produce, even in a large hall, sufficient volume, clear tones, with speedy and intricate touch action.

1-2 Growing Stage

Steinway considered its grand piano its main product, and in 1860, the company moved its factory to the northern part of Manhattan, and changed from hand- to factory-production. The Steinway overstrung grand piano was awarded a gold medal at the London Exhibition in 1862, together with eight (8) piano manufacturers, ensuring Steinway's reputation as America's top piano maker[6]. Earning medals in the piano's original home region, Europe, contributed greatly to its marketing activities in the United States.

William Steinway, who succeeded to his father's business, played the piano and loved music, and was a patron of opera, orchestras, and pianists. Like his customers, William lived in a mansion, had friends in the upper classes, and sold them Steinway pianos to place in their parlors and promote his business. In 1866, the Steinway Hall, with capacity for 2,000 persons, was constructed next to the Steinway showroom, such that persons had to pass by the showroom to get to the Hall. Steinway also had deep relationships with musicians, as represented by his invitation of Rubenstein, active at that time in Europe, to the United States. In 1872, Rubenstein began a tour of the United States with the Steinway piano; the example of his all-America tour was followed by other famous pianists, Paderewski in 1891, Rachmaninoff in 1909, Horowitz in 1928, and others. Classical music flourished in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and pianists of the time loved Steinway pianos. Famous musical performers tended to avoid Europe due to political instability there in the late 19th century and looked for the opportunities in in the United States, plus the lack of arts patrons due to the decline of the nobility. Steinway continued to improve the musical tone and touch of its pianos to meet the needs and desires of these great pianists.

William Steinway further evinced his marketing genius, selling pianos to Alexander II of Russia and to the banking Rothschild family, among other notables. In the midst of repeated intense competition from Chickering, the placement on its pianos of certificates of quality from European royal families and famous musicians from every country enabled Steinway to advertise itself as Purveyor to Imperial Households, and rapidly increased its sales. All of its materials except for ivory for keyboards were made at its own factory; a second factory was established, and the introduction of scientific analysis of wood seasoning helped to improve Steinway's quality control.

The Steinway invention of the regulation action pilot (capstan screw) is said to be the birth of modern grand-piano action[7]. Around half of the 114 Steinway patents were acquired in the first 40 years after the company's founding, with 55 patents received, including overstrung strings and hammer improvements, etc., in the period from 1857 to 1887. European makers also adopted the "Steinway System," which included the metal frame and crossed strings invented by Steinway. Steinway invented metal for plating that could withstand 34 tons of strength, which was adopted in Europe, and America became the world centre of piano production.

1-3 Mature Stage

While 25,000 pianos were made in America in 1869, at the peak in 1905, 400,000 pianos were manufactured[8]. Manufacturers of cheap mass-produced pianos increased, and pianos were found in the homes of ordinary families. Although there were ups and downs in the market, thereafter followed a declining trend, until in 1927, only 200,000 pianos were made. Steinway, however, had specialized in selling expensive grand pianos to the luxury market, and was thus not largely affected by economic downturns; in fact, sales of its grand pianos themselves increased to double. While Steinway added small-sized pianos to its medium-sized pianos for the family market, and aggressively marketed these, it also emphasized its ability to manufacture upright models. However, with the diffusion of television, people's interests rapidly turned away from the piano, and orders fell far short of production capacity.

As for Europe, Steinway made London its base with the purchase of a sales company there in 1877, and it also established its factory in Hamburg. Germany was selected for a number of reasons, including monetary exchange rates, a rise in labor wages in the United States, different atmospheric humidity from America, lower transportation costs, etc. While at the beginning, the same parts and the same design plans and manufacturing methods were used to make pianos in Europe as those used in New York, gradually different parts were used, and pianos made in Hamburg became to have different tonal qualities than those produced in New York. Most of Hamburg's pianos were shipped to European and Asian markets, which helped to support Steinway profits throughout the firm.

Family control of the firm ended with the fifth generation of Steinways, and the company was sold to CBS in 1972. CBS strongly sought income from the company, seeking efficiency by reducing inventory and via firm shrinkage during "dry" periods, and once again concentrated on the production and sales of profit-generating grand pianos. In 1985, a group of investors[9] bought several companies in the CBS musical instruments domain, and established Steinway Musical Properties. Nevertheless, demand for pianos declined, and nationwide production in the United States declined

to less than 100,000 units[10], and the company was sold again, this time to investment bankers[11]. Management rights were transferred to the Selmer Company, a wind instrument maker, in 1995, which changed its name to Steinway Musical Instruments. With group brand reorganization in 2003, Conn-Selmer, Inc., was launched, and with other purchases of musical instrument companies—United Musical Instruments in 2000 and the LeBlanc Group in 2007—the world's largest general musical instruments manufacturer and sales group was formed. But again in 2013, the investment management firm Paulson & Company acquired Steinway Musical Instruments, Inc. for $512 million.

Under CBS, Steinway collaborated with Kawai Company in 1991 for the company's second brand, Boston Piano, and from 2007, there have been aggressive business partnerships for the company's number three brand, Essex Piano, with Young Chang of Korea and Pearl River of China, all with the aim of improving brand image and presence[12].

Steinway did not adopt the automated assembly line production method that had been developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries to increase productivity; rather, Steinway produced pianos carefully by hand using minimum equipment. Thus, annual production for shipments to North and South American companies at the American factory were 2,400 units by 600 employees, and for shipments to other regions, including Japan, annual production of 1,300 units by 450 workers at the Hamburg Factory[13]. Altogether, Steinway has provided less than 590,000 pianos to the market. Design plans are kept in a safe, with piano-making know-how shared with workers on-site. Including painting, there are just less than 20 processes performed to make a piano, with Piano Masters (Meisters)[14] located in each company department.

It is said that 99%[15] of professional pianists around the world use a Steinway piano, as its high quality is guaranteed. Around the world, the company recognizes 1,300 pianists and musical ensembles as Steinway Artists. When performing, a Steinway Artist may select any one of numerous Steinway pianos from the company's Piano Bank, and selected pianos are tuned and set in place by a Steinway representative office. This thorough service aims at keeping top artists within the Steinway sphere.

2. Yamaha

2-1 Early Stage

Yamaha's history began in 1887, when Torakasu Yamaha successfully produced a reed organ. In 1889, he established Yamaha Fukin Seizosho (literally, "organ manufacturing firm"), the forerunner of today's Yamaha Corporation, which proceeded with mass production for customers related to education (schools)[16]. The firm began manufacturing upright pianos in 1900, with the first production of grand pianos in 1902. As the economy and culture of Japan had a major boost from the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), Yamaha sales enjoyed remarkable growth. Woodworking and painting technologies were performed in-house, enabling Yamaha to also begin manufacturing high-class wooden furniture in 1903. The company began producing harmonicas in 1914, which it exported to countries in Europe and America, and it further added production of xylophones, tabletop pianos, and tabletop organs, as well as other instruments.

In 1927, as a part of a company reorganization, Yamaha's third president became Kaichi Kawakami, who came to the firm from Sumitomo Electric Wire & Cable Works. Under Kawakami, the company moved towards rational production, changing its emphasis from personal knowhow to scientific methods. An acoustic laboratory was established in 1930, and the company developed until it finally supplied 85% of Japan's domestic demand for Western musical instruments[17]. Although wartime production was shifted to military demand, such as the manufacture of wooden propellers for aircraft, its piano and harmonica business once again flourished after the war, and the company established a diverse market base. Yamaha expressed its realization that "musical instruments could be used semi-permanently, that only persons who would play an instrument would buy an instrument, that there were limitations to the wood used as a raw resource, and that cost increases could not be reflected as is in product prices"[18]; the company thus added production of products other than musical instruments, including the motorbike. Yamaha Motor Co., Ltd. was established in 1955. Work also progressed on research of fiber-reinforced plastics (FRP) at the company's R&D Laboratory, with development of FRP bathtubs and sporting goods. The accumulation of various technologies within the firm also contributed to piano manufacture.

2-2 Growing Stage

Genichi Kawakami became company president in 1949, and constructed company headquarters in the Ginza, Tokyo, a complex that may well be called a "temple of music." Yamaha Hall was opened in 1953, and it, too, became a symbol of the company's cultural image in Ginza. Kawakami stressed the need to create good products at low prices, to increase general demand as well as at schools, to succeed in competition even against overseas products, and to increase exports[19]. In 1954, Yamaha opened a Music Experimental School for children, precursor to the Yamaha Music School that followed in 1959, (originally called the Organ School, established in 1956). By 1963, there were 200,000 students at 4,900 school sites, with 2,400 teachers. Yamaha Music Schools were established in the United States in 1964, followed in 1966 in Thailand, Canada, and Mexico, and then in West Germany, Singapore, Taiwan, the Philippines, Australia, the Netherlands, Norway, Hong Kong, South Africa, Italy, and Austria. The Yamaha Music School thus became a worldwide presence. The Yamaha Music School differed from past music schools, with their strict educational methods and insistence on technique; the Yamaha classes focused on the enjoyment of music, a novel concept in that field, helping in the rapid diffusion of these schools around the globe. To help ensure that school pupils would also purchase Yamaha products, the company rapidly established a nationwide Japan system of sales stores and exclusively licensed sellers. Yamaha provided thorough instructions and guidance to these stores to ensure that all shared a focus on the same Yamaha mission. Yamaha Music Schools were established in the stores, which became hubs for both sales and public relations for full penetration of the YAMAHA brand. The company also established subsidiary companies overseas, beginning with Dalian, China, in 1908, followed by Mexico in 1958, Los Angeles in 1959, and Singapore and Hamburg, Germany, in 1966. These subsidiaries thus covered Yamaha business actively together with music schools. Yamaha also used competitions as a means of promoting musical activities, starting with an electronic organ (Electone) competition from 1964, followed by a Light Music Contest from 1967, a Musical

Composition Contest from 1969, an International Popular Song Festival from 1970, and the Popular Song Contest (POPCON) and Junior Original Concert from 1972, and so on. Thus Yamaha strove to promote music other than just Western classical music.

Scientific quality-control methods were introduced in musical instruments production, and advances were made in assembly-line piano manufacture, helping to place Yamaha among the world leaders of musical instrument production. The construction of a wood-drying facility in 1956 enabled a major reduction in wood-drying time, and other research and development efforts led to the establishment in 1960 of a piano technology school, for the training of next-generation piano specialists. Pianos have high tensile strengths, meaning that they must be regularly tuned and maintained. By training its own piano tuning specialists, the company was able to maintain direct, long-term communications with consumers.

Yamaha manufactures a variety of musical instruments. Yamaha entered the wind instruments business with its purchase of and merger with Nippon Kangakki in 1970, and further boosted its reputation in that market via collaborative development with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Today its chief products are flutes and saxophones, which it markets by sending instructors of brass band to schools throughout Japan for the diffusion of wind instruments. Yamaha was a late entrant in the stringed instruments market, which began with the production of the "silent" violin in 1997 and violins in 2000. Meanwhile, Yamaha had an early start in electronic instruments. Sales of the Electone electronic organ began in 1959, after which it began to apply its accumulated knowledge in the audio and audio speakers markets.

2-3 Mature Stage

In these ways, Yamaha has challenged a wide variety of diverse domains, but with Japan's social and economic instability, the company has sought a return to its core market, pianos, restructuring when necessary by exiting unprofitable business areas [20]. Yamaha has a 70% piano market share in domestic Japan, but inasmuch as the piano is on the decline in all developed economies, Yamaha has also sought to increase its presence in other instruments, and also to pioneer piano consumers, as well as to expand its Music Schools, in new and growing markets, including China and Indonesia. Asia is now its main target zone in terms of volume.

As a general music instruments maker, Yamaha has a relatively weak presence in high-end acoustic instrument markets. Although the company's reputation in wind instruments, where it has a 24% market share[21], has grown through its efforts with first-class world orchestras, Yamaha's flagship products remain electronic instruments like the electric piano and synthesizers, drums, and other electronic and popular music products[22]. While the company has said to have had Steinway in its sights, it had not made major incursions in classical music. In 2008, it thus purchased L. Bösendorfer Klavierfabrik GmbH, the old European maker. Its stated aim was to foster interest among top artists, to increase their ability to make piano choices, and to show Yamaha's desire to protect its business from new manufacturers in China and elsewhere, demonstrating that Yamaha is still very much a presence in world markets[23].

Conclusion

Steinway was established at a favorable time, when America's piano market was already expanding. Building on the piano manufacturing technologies already established in Germany, Steinway & Sons' technical innovations perfected the piano as a musical instrument, and the company successfully protected its patent rights. Yamaha, meanwhile, was founded when the piano was already a fully developed musical instrument, and the company successfully focused on how best to mimic manufacturing methods, and efficiently standardize and mass produce its products. At this time, Steinway had already forged its relationships with the world's top artists, and as a late entrant without proprietary technology, Yamaha had to pioneer its own way among musical beginners and in the middle classes. Yamaha built its business base by introducing its instruments into the public schools, as part of the trend during Japan's Meiji era (1868-1912) to introduce and spread Western-style music within Japan. With the piano still not a household item in Japan, Yamaha established Music Schools to help expand its customer base. Yamaha Music Schools rapidly expanded throughout Japan and abroad, raising in diverse ways YAMAHA brand recognition, with the result that Yamaha became a familiar name around the globe. The marketing strategies of the two companies differed: Steinway cultivated the classical music world, and Yamaha took on the challenges of the middle-level "volume zone". Yamaha has stated that profits do not emerge solely from having the highest quality products used by musical professionals; rather, the company was successful in selling without having to try to compete in the top-brand market with products used by professional performers[24]. Since it had a diverse instrument line-up with a sales network covering both domestic Japan and regions abroad, Yamaha also realized that its dealers could not stay in business merely by selling top brands[25]. While the many traditional instrument makers could narrow their targets to instruments specialized for classical music, Yamaha was able to maintain a steady cash flow by targeting a broader consumer base. Its early focus on electronic instruments also meant that it could acquire mass popularity in markets where no flagship brands existed, which helped the company grow to become the large corporation that it is today.

Due to the low prices of upright pianos, most of Steinway's production of these pianos is performed via collaborations with other firms. Meanwhile, to strengthen its appeal to top artists as well as overcome competition by low-priced Asian mass producers, Yamaha is aware of its need to have leading top brands, and thus its acquisition of Bösendorfer. Yamaha has been making pianos now for over 100 years, and pianists now have greater opportunities to select a Yamaha piano in a competition. It is thus thought that, in actual practice, the difference in quality between the two company's products has become very minute. Steinway, with its long history, is no longer a single family controlled company, and has become a segment of a large-scale instruments group requiring rational brand management. It will be essential to watch how changes between Steinway and the Yamaha strategy develop into the future, as Yamaha has now become a comprehensive musical instruments manufacturer.

note

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[1] There were 204 Piano shops in New York and Boston in 1853.

[2] Barron, J.(2006)*Piano : The Making of a Steinway Concert Grand,* Times Books, Japanese translation version, p.153.

[3] About 1760-65, Johannes Zumpe built at London, the first English square piano. This evolved from reconstructed clavichords, retaining the clavichord general construction, but having a stronger frame, metal strings and hammer action. (Alfred Dodge (1911) *Piano and Their Makers: A Comprehensive History of the Development of the Piano from the Monochord to the Concert Grand Player Piano,* p.48.)

[4] Lieberman, R.K.(1995) *Steinway & Sons,* Yale University Press, Japanese translation version, p.20.

[5] 97% of American pianos were square pianos before American Civil War.

[6] Eight makers such as Broadwood, Playel and Bechstein, and etc. gained the first prizes. American piano makers had already acquired a high standard of reputation, and 80 American pianos won some prizes on that exhibition.

[7] Barron(2006) in Japanese, p.161.

[8] *Ibid.* p.199.

[9] Two brothers in Massachusetts, John and Robert *Birmingham*.

[10] 94,044(1995)

[11] *Kyle* R. Kirkland, *Dana* D. *Messina*

[12] Though Essex brand's piano has a sophisticated design, the final adjustment is supported by sales agency. That means final quality depends on the skills of its agency.

[13] Steinway & Sons, President in Japan, Mr. Suzuki.

[14] Klavier Baumeister

[15] in 2009

[16] Nihon Gakki Manufacturer (Yamaha Co. Ltd.)（1978）*Company History*, Bunpousya, p.13.

[17] *Ibid.* p.62.

[18] *Ibid.* p.152-153.

[19] *Ibid.* p.124.

[20] The sales composition ration of Piano was 16.8% in 2009. Within the total company sales of 413 billion yen, the piano sales prospects 69.4 billion yen (acoustic piano 40.1billion yen, electric piano 28.7 billion yen, hybrid piano 0.6 billion yen in 2010.) Yamaha Co.（2010.4）

[21] Interview in Yamaha 2009.8.5 at Toyooka Factory, second share Corn-Selmer 13％

[22] Yamaha Corporation Mr. Tanaka Misao.

[23] Yamaha Corporation Mr.Miki Wataru.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.*

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Effects of EFL Instruction Utilizing International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) on Intelligibility of Japanese Students

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Abstract

This study focuses on the intelligibility of Japanese students' pronunciation. Japanese students are handicapped in acquiring English as a foreign language (EFL) because Japanese differs from English, especially in the phonetic system and the relation between letters and sounds. The shortest unit of Japanese sound is a mora, while that of English is a phoneme. Therefore, Japanese students tend to insert vowels between consonants, and as a result, they have difficulties in both having their utterances understood and understanding English native speakers' pronunciation. In other words, Japanese students' pronunciation lacks intelligibility. The problem is that most teachers use Japanese letters to express English sounds from the early years of EFL instruction. Although international phonetic alphabet (IPA) is taught at highly selective schools, it has been judged to be too difficult for slow learners. The aim of this study is to prove that slow learners are capable of acquiring IPA and prove their effect on intelligibility. The experiment was executed in a class named "Four Skills in English" for 18 slow learners at university. The experiment has four steps: 1) a pronunciation test is given as pre-test. 2) The students take the class for one semester, and each period of the class includes a module time of instruction using IPA. 3) The same pronunciation test is given at the end of the semester. 4) An English native teacher assesses the test with a perspective of intelligibility. As a result, the statistical analysis of the scores of pre-test and post-test revealed that the students improved in intelligibility.

Keywords: intelligibility, pronunciation, explicit instruction, international phonetic alphabet (IPA)

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Introduction

No one will deny that English is the lingua franca of the globalized society of today. The number of people who use English as a second language or foreign language exceeds that of people who use English as their mother tongue. In this situation, fewer and fewer people think they need to pronounce English just like a native speaker. For instance, Singlish (English with a Singaporean accent) or Hinglish (English with a Hindi accent) has become acceptable in the globalized world. However, is English with a Japanese accent acceptable? The answer is no. It is common for Japanese tourists who go abroad for the first time to find it difficult to be understood by the cabin attendant on the flight. They say, "I asked for coffee, and I got a Coke instead. Why don't they understand my English pronunciation?" This is because their pronunciation is /ko:hi:/ instead of /ˈkafi/, and they put an accent on both vowels of "o" and "i." Japanese differs from English, especially in the phonetic system and the relation between letters and sounds.

The system of English education in Japan, however, has never focused on instructing students on pronunciation. This led to self-torture among Japanese students, one of whom said, "We cannot be good at oral communication in English despite six years of learning it through junior and senior high schools." It is in the nature of things that we cannot process the sounds which we cannot pronounce. With the purpose of improving English education drastically, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) in Japan introduced English activities for oral communication into elementary school—fifth and sixth grades—in 2011, and designated "Oral Communication" as a mandatory subject in high schools in 2013. Subjects such as Oral Communication are effective in growing a positive attitude toward communication. Practically, in activities for oral communication, students actively communicate with peers or teachers in English with a Japanese accent, which is intelligible solely among themselves. It is necessary for students to learn how to pronounce words in English. To support this idea, the problem of the lack of intelligibility in pronunciation will be explored in this study. Moreover, an experiment will be conducted in order to verify the effects of pronunciation instruction.

Literature Review

Japanese language has a system of open syllables (Satoi, 2013). The shortest unit of Japanese sound is a mora, while that of English is a phoneme. That is why Japanese native speakers are apt to insert vowels between consonants or add a vowel after the last consonant of an English word. For instance, "milk" has become a loanword in Japanese, and the sound is /miruku/. The sound of "strawberry" is /sutoroberii/. "Strawberry" is counted as three syllables, while /su/ /to/ /ro/ /be/ /ri/ /i/ is counted as six moras. Word accent does not exist in Japanese words, including in loanwords from English.

Prosody also plays a significant role in intelligibility. English has stressed syllables, which enable a sentence to keep an equal space between each accent as follows: **What** do you **have** in your **bag**? (each of the three bold words has a stressed syllable.) Rise and fall of pitch in a sentence introduces intonation. Intonation has the function of expressing feeling, emotions, attitudes, and discourse information of a speaker (Satoi, 2013). Satoi calls an utterance with the right prosody "English-like." Japanese-

accent lacks "English-like" sounds. It makes their pronunciation unintelligible for English native speakers.

The international phonetic alphabet (IPA) consists of phonetic symbols consolidated by the International Phonetic Association. The IPA has been modified into simpler signs in Japan. Table 1 shows the simpler version of IPA for vowels, which has been mainly used in Japanese dictionaries for English learners (Imanaka, 2004).

Table 1: The simple version of IPA for vowels used in Japan

spelling	eat	it	egg	may	apple	hot	cup	heart	bird	ball
vowel in IPA	i:	i	e	ei	æ	**a**	ʌ	**a:**r	ə:r	ɔ:
spelling	court	both	blue	book	buy	how	boy	dear	hair	poor
vowel in IPA	ɔ:r	ou	u:	u	ai	au	ɔi	iər	eər	uər

The IPA for the vowels shown in Table 1 is the simplest version in various dictionaries. Some dictionaries include more signs like /ɪ/. Japanese has an /i/ sound but not an /ɪ/ sound. Therefore, it is hard for the Japanese to identify /ɪ/ and /i/. Moreover, it does not lead to serious misunderstanding if one pronounces "it" not as /ɪt/ but as /it/. By these two reasons, /ɪ/ and /i/ are integrated into /i/ in Table 1. It is not necessary to narrow the transcription in IPA used in dictionaries for English learners. This is because using dictionaries with complicated signs might deviate from learners' goal to acquire English (Imanaka, 2004).

The IPA was modified into simpler signs for consonants as well (Table 2).

Table 2: The simple version of IPA for consonants used in Japan

spelling	book	dog	fish	dog	hat	king	lemon	man
consonant in IPA	b	d	f	g	h	k	l	m
spelling	net	pen	ring	sun	tree	violin	wood	zoo
consonant in IPA	n	p	r	s	t	v	w	z
spelling	three	this	sing	yacht	ship	cherry	juice	
consonant in IPA	θ	ð	ŋ	j	ʃ	ʧ	ʤ	

Japan went through a period of national isolation policy in the Edo period (1600–1868). Therefore, Japanese people had little chance to learn foreign languages until the end of the Edo period. When they started to learn foreign languages, it was reasonable for them to utilize *katakana* to transliterate foreign languages, because they had never seen roman letters. *Katakana* is the square form of *kana*, Japanese letters. Japanese people have transliterated English words in *katakana* since the end of the Edo period. *Katakana* letters that show the sound of "American" are, for instance, "メリケン." As the Japanese syllabary consists of 50 mora sounds (one mora is a set of a consonant and a vowel), "American" is changed into four *katakana* letters that stand for /me/ /ri/ /ke/ /n/. The "*Katakana* method" is perceived in an EFL education in Japan as a bad tradition. Arimoto and Kochiyama (2015) point out that *katakana* is

used even in beginners' English-Japanese dictionaries and guidebooks for junior high school textbooks authorized by the MEXT. It is often seen in EFL class in junior high school that teachers write *katakana* on the board or worksheet and make their students use *katakana* to memorize English pronunciation. In short, using *katakana* is a normal way to teach English pronunciation in junior high schools in Japan. This might be because IPA is judged to be too difficult for junior high school students. As a matter of course, students will never master "English-like" sound later in high schools or universities. Arimoto and Kochiyama (2015) are opposed to using *katakana* and insist that students are capable of acquiring IPA and acquiring pronunciation that is acceptable for native English speakers.

As referred above, prosody should give priority to sounds like vowels or consonants in instruction for EFL learners. When students can distinguish each vowel and consonant sound to some extent, teachers can proceed to the next step and instruct students on prosody such as stress or intonation. IPA has the advantage in this step, because *katakana* represents segmental phonemes, while IPA can represent word stress of supra-segmental phonemes besides segmental phonemes (Imanaka, 2004).

Kochiyama et al. (2010) conducted a survey of university students. It was revealed in the survey that the students had had no opportunity to learn how to pronounce English words in EFL class at elementary and junior high schools. What is worse is that the teachers had never learned how to instruct students in English pronunciation in the teacher training course at university. Phonetics is not a mandatory subject for obtaining an EFL teacher's certificate in Japan (Arimoto, 2010). Notwithstanding this condition, EFL learners in Japan want to improve their English pronunciation (Ohshima & Tara, 2010). It is high time that EFL teachers in Japan stop using the *katakana* method. Makino (2013) devised a way to instruct students in English pronunciation using songs. Although he proved the effects of his method through a questionnaire given to university students, they were limited to self-estimation by the students. Therefore, this study is going to introduce instruction using IPA and prove its effects on intelligibility through the quantitative data of the pronunciation test score.

Hypotheses

The author has two hypotheses:
1. University students in Japan are capable of acquiring IPA.
2. By realizing Hypothesis 1, the intelligibility of students' English pronunciation improves.
The goal of this study is to verify these two hypotheses.

Methodology

The participants of the experiment were 18 university students aged 18 to 21. None of the students had learned IPA. The experiment was conducted in a class named "Four Skills in English" allotted to one semester from September to January.

The experiment had four steps:
1) A pronunciation test was given as a pre-test.
2) The students took the class, and each period of the class included a module time of instruction using IPA (around 15 minutes).
3) The same pronunciation test was given at the end of the semester.
4) An English native speaker assessed the test from the perspective of intelligibility.

The process of the pre- and post-test was as follows: each student moved to a room next to the classroom one by one, where the author was waiting to give a pronunciation test. The author showed the student a card on which a picture, the spelling of the word describing the picture, and the IPA of the word were printed (Figure 1).
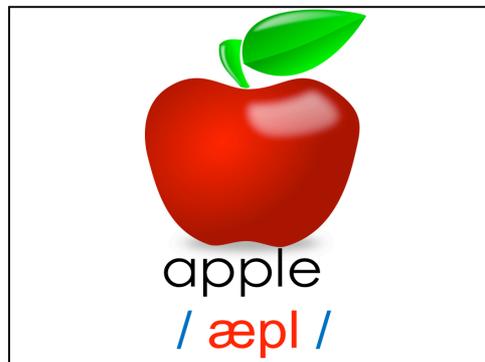
Figure 1: An example of a picture card

Next, the author told the student to read the word aloud and showed ten cards one after another: apple, cherry, cake, salad, ball, bird, bus, three, five, box. All the students' readings were recorded by a digital voice recorder.

In requesting an English native speaker (an EFL teacher in Japan) to assess the test, the author was careful not to saddle her with too many criteria. The simple criterion was as follows: assess the students using five grades from the perspective of intelligibility (grade one was the lowest, and grade five was the highest). Additionally, for the same reason—not to saddle the assessor with too many criteria—the author narrowed the objectives just to words, not idioms or sentences. The literature review had certainly led the author to think that intelligibility results from segmental phonemes like vowels and consonants, and supra-segmental phonemes or prosodies like word accents. The simplified IPA still keeps two things to indicate long vowels /:/ and accent vowels /ˈ/, and learners can comprehend prosody in a word such as "president" /pˈrezədnt/. The test covering words can judge both segmental and supra-segmental phases.

The score of the pre-test is shown in Table 3.

Table 3: The score of the pre-test

No.	apple	cherry	cake	salad	ball	bird	bus	three	five	box
1	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	2
2	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	2
3	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	2	2
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3
5	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	3
6	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	3
7	3	3	4	3	3	3	3	2	3	3
8	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	2
9	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2
10	3	4	3	4	3	3	3	2	3	3
11	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	4
12	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3
13	3	3	3	2	3	3	4	2	3	3
14	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	3
15	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	1	2	1
16	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
17	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	3	4	4
18	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	4
M	2.944	2.833	3.056	2.667	3.056	2.944	3.167	2.278	2.833	2.778

The score of the post-test is shown in Table 4.

Table 4: The score of the post-test

No.	apple	cherry	cake	salad	ball	bird	bus	three	five	box
1	4	4	4	2	4	4	4	3	4	4
2	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3
3	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
4	4	3	4	4	5	4	5	4	4	4
5	5	5	5	3	4	4	4	3	4	4
6	4	4	5	4	4	3	4	3	4	4
7	4	4	4	5	5	4	4	3	4	4
8	4	4	4	4	4	5	4	3	4	4
9	4	4	5	3	4	4	4	4	5	5
10	3	4	4	3	4	4	4	3	4	5
11	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	4	5	5
12	3	3	4	3	3	3	4	3	4	4
13	3	4	4	4	4	4	5	3	5	4
14	4	4	5	5	5	4	5	3	5	5
15	3	4	4	4	5	4	5	4	5	5
16	4	3	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5
17	3	4	4	4	4	5	5	3	4	4
18	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
M	3.833	3.944	4.333	3.889	4.389	4.222	4.500	3.611	4.444	4.389

In a pilot test conducted before this experiment, two assessors (A and B) assessed the junior high school students' pronunciation using the same criterion. Both the assessors were native English speakers. The reliability of the test was proved (Table 5 and Table 6).

Table 5: The results of the pilot test by two assessors

	M	SD	N	means of the scale	dispersion of the scale
Assessor A	3.4190	.52875	174	3.0776	.121
Assessor B	3.0776	.34727	174	3.4190	.280

Table 6: The statistic reliability

Cronbach α	number of categories
.521	2

The pre- and post-test of the experiment in this study were assessed by Assessor A, and her assessment can be judged to be reliable.

The scores of the pre-test excel those of the post-test, as shown in Table 3 and Table 4. The scores of the pre- and post-test were compared and analyzed statistically. Statistical significance was found in each word (Table 7).

Table 7: The results of a test of significance of pre- and post-test

	apple	cherry	cake	salad	ball	bird	bus	three	five	box
t	4.596	5.301	8.482	4.385	7.680	6.438	8.816	5.515	8.519	6.758
df	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	64	34
p	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

Findings

The first hypothesis of this study was that "University students in Japan are capable of acquiring IPA." After instruction using IPA was given during a semester, scores of students' pronunciation test improved. The observations in the post-test showed that students tried to pronounce words by reading IPA and that they apparently utilized the knowledge of IPA. The results proved the first hypothesis.

The second hypothesis of this study is "By realizing Hypothesis 1, the intelligibility of students' English pronunciation improves." The results of the statistical analysis of pre- and post-test scores proved the enhancement of students' pronunciation of all ten words. The criterion of the test assessment is intelligibility. This study succeeded in verifying both hypotheses.

Qualitative data from observations during the experiment also offered interesting findings. The participants of the study had no experience of learning IPA or

confidence in their own pronunciation. Some of them even showed antipathy when they heard that they were to learn IPA at first. Nevertheless, they said their impression of IPA had perfectly changed at the end of the semester. Acquiring IPA is easier than they imagined, and they are sure of their enhancement of English word pronunciation. Some of them referred to prosody as follows: "Now I feel I mastered word accent. My English is 'English-like'." Students wished if they had learned IPA in junior high school. One of them said, "If I had learned IPA in junior high school, I would have been a better speaker of English."

Conclusion

The originality of this study is that it focused on the intelligibility of Japanese students' pronunciation and on the differences between Japanese and English in their phonetic systems and the relation between letters and sounds. No previous researchers had noticed the influence of Japanese history and EFL instruction using *katakana*. This study explored an alternative method of instruction using IPA instead of *katakana*. The experiment revealed that university students were able to acquire IPA and that the intelligibility of their English pronunciation improved. This study can be concluded with the suggestion that EFL instruction in Japan should focus on pronunciation, including prosody, and that utilizing IPA is an effective way to provide pronunciation instruction.

More points are left that need to be studied and proved, such as can students pronounce sentences with context with intelligibility? Can they identify prosody in others' utterances and improve their listening comprehension? The criterion of the test is intelligibility, but is it valid? Is acceptability or another criterion more valid? The most significant question is, is instruction using IPA effective for younger learners? This study is just the start of an extensive project.

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A Field Report on the Art Movement: The Case of Mulla Arts Village, Seoul

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Abstract

This study takes a deep look at the art movement as cultural practices based on the local community by focusing on the case of the Mullae Arts Village in Seoul, Korea. The study adopts ethnography to explore the characteristics of an art movement grounded in a specific location by pointing out the way art movements occur in the urban space through the example of the Mullae Arts Village. The findings are drawn from participant observation and in-depth interviews of natives, as well as literature reviews. The research examined: (1) the art movement of the Mullae Arts Village originates directly from our daily lives, (2) the "inside members" of the village are skeptical about the integration of artistic practices with cultural businesses, as the "inside" and "outside" members understand the cultural policies of the Seoul City Officials differently, (3) looking at how differently the people of the village consider "art" and "community art" leads us to discuss the very essence of artists' role and to seek an appropriate direction for art movements. Last of all, members explain that Mullae, where the art movement is held, volunteers as an alternative place for art activities. The opinions of the village members are also sought to identify any possibility for the area to fully perform its role as an alternative art movement site in the future. Each phase of the field research is presented in detail, leading to a consideration of ethnography as the field study. Furthermore, this paper deals with the social dimension of art movements, and offers a discussion on the junction of communication, community and culture.

Keywords: art movement, ethnography, Mullae Arts Village, urban space, cultural practices

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1. Introduction

People are constantly active in their lives, but they do not recognize that their practice can become a culture. People categorize such practices as actions within daily life that are not special and forget that they are acting upon a cultural practice. Various practices within the daily life create the daily lives of people, which in turn create culture for the people. Cultural practice is meaningful because our lives are reflected; therefore, the perspective of this research focuses on the need for a discussion on cultural practices.

There are various forms of cultural practices. This research attempts to examine in focus the art movement as cultural practices. The reason for bringing attention to the art movement is because recently, social problems about the spaces we live in have been raised to attention, and the role of the art movement has been growing regarding such problems. The art movement is a representative cultural practice in which various connotative meanings are conveyed through the sublimation of practices against social problems in art. Currently, the art movements are taking place in various places around Seoul. This particular research focuses on the art movement of Mullae Art Village in Seoul.

Furthermore, this research recognizes the existence of multiple communities within a single area. The research presumes that there is a need to discuss the site of community, based on the increasing attention to the need of community research within the fields of communication and media research. In order to fulfill the need for field research of a community, the research conducted a field research by entering Mullae Art Village. This is important because field research provides an insight into the connotation of social and cultural undertones in the practices of communities that are active around a certain area. Because the site is where members of a certain community such as a group of artists and groups created by local members are mixed together, this method of field research provides a better understanding of these members. Ultimately, this research studies the possibility of whether art movement as cultural practices can lead to a social movement; thus, it will lead to the research on the relationship between communication and community or on synaptic relation of culture and space.

2. Research Method

This research employed a qualitative research method in order to study the social role of the art movement in Mullae Art Village. The research subject region is Mullae Art Village where artists are concentrated and located in Mullae-dong in western Seoul of South Korea. The researcher lived on the site for four months from August to November 2015 and conducted a participant observation field research. Furthermore, for aspects that could not be captured through participant observation, in-depth interviews were jointly conducted in the process of collecting data. In-depth interviews were conducted through snowball sampling, with local activists who are active based on Mullae Art Village as well as artists with studios in Mullae Art Village as the sampling population.

3. Art Movement of Mullae Art Village

1) Aspects of the Mullae Art Village Art Movement

Mullae Art Village is constantly and ceaselessly communicating with reality through the power embedded in art and culture. In the series of cultural practices occurring in Mullae Art Village, the motions of an art movement that is in touch with the daily life are captured. In particular, the cultural practices of Mullae Art Village as observed by the research exposed an aspect of a casual art movement from the perspective of behaviorism and collectivism in art movements. The art movement was being realized through the arrangement of a "field" with a characteristic of borderline crossing, conjoining with the daily life; within this art movement, there was the awareness of the problem of urban ecology.

When one region acts as the field that plays multiple roles, it gives vitality to the various communities and their members which exist in that region. Through observation, the researcher was able to see that the members of Mullae Art Village put in much effort to establish relationships by mutually communicating with people who live inside the region as well as people who visit Mullae-dong through the field that has been created. Some examples of characteristic to cross boarder in Mullae Art Village include: local festivals that became a neighbor-wide event; gatherings of numerous communities such as the neighborhood alpine club; culture and art markets such as flea markets; festivals and meetings; special lectures and seminars. Thus, the forms of the field were diverse in sizes and types.

To cross the border between art and life extends beyond the simple use of the space; it encompasses the accomplishments of daily practices that are close to livelihood. The social positions of the members that compose the field were different, and they respected each others' individuality and also came together for activities over various categories. This resulted from the communication between people of various fields without drawing invisible borders by the people participating or forming the field. In particular, it seemed like the individual artists of the so-called first generation who came into Mullae Art Village formed Mullae-dong as a site as their creation and thereby maintaining and continuing the characteristic of border crossing.

The art movement of a creative village can be seen through the contents that are being produced in the field, but it is also very mundane. Being mundane is not trivial or petty. For us, the ordinary and the mundane is the site of life and life itself. Therefore, the ordinary and the mundane cannot ever be over-emphasized in art. The ordinary is a material in the domain of art and helps to unravel the stories close to daily lives as a piece of art work.

Recently, many seminars and lectures are being held in Mullae-dong with the theme of awareness of urban ecological problems. Many people were the audience. This indicates that many people are attentive and shows interest in the discussions of the art movement and ecological perspectives of Mullae Art Village. However, there has yet to be expert or academic discussions on urban ecology. This is not because there are not enough contents to discuss about within the boundaries of urban ecology, but it is because all the stories of all of our daily lives are within urban ecology. The fact that people are starting to recognize and notice the urban ecology of Mullae-dong and

the ecology of an art village can be perceived as the starting point for the discussion of urban ecology. In other words, their start is significant because they examine urban ecology, art, and ordinary life without boundaries from the perspective of the humanities.

2) The gap between autonomous art movement and the cultural art project/policies of Seoul

The generations who experienced the decline of neighborhood due to gentrification in many areas of Seoul conduct village movements to return to their original form before gentrification. These village movements are also not government-initiated standardizations. The reason why Mullae Art Village caught the attention of the media was because it was not a case in which art was introduced and instrumentalized in the process of conducting a local-related project. The people of Mullae Art Village voluntarily brought in art which was their own essence in order to coexist or for well-being of the neighborhood.

The various types of projects that go through this region are not that different. All parts of Mullae-dong, including the area of Art Village, were planned to be redeveloped. However, the redevelopment plan has been put to a halt currently. If we do not overlook the industrial aspects that Mullae-dong was for a long time, we notice the purpose and when the buildings were built.. Mullae-dong, in particular the Art Village, has a mix of small-scale manufacturing factories. Walking on the streets, most of the buildings are manufacturing factories. Thus, the number of small-scale manufacturing factories still makes up a large portion of Mullae-dong. For the most part, the second and third floors of such factory buildings are rented out to artists who use them as their workspaces or studios.

Because there is a plan for redevelopment that is currently on hold, the buildings cannot be renovated or demolished and rebuilt. Perhaps due to this fact, many artists who come to Mullae Art Village come in at a low rental rate, but they only get the physical space and have to provide for themselves basic facility equipments. Ironically, the greatest push for the redevelopment plan of Mullae-dong came from the Art Village. The department related to culture at the *gu* office is promoting Mullae-dong as a tourist site by using the image of it as an art village. The voice regarding this matter within the community has been increasing.

It can be seen that a majority of the members in Mullae-dong do not prefer that the original image of the Art Village and Mullae-dong to become a fixation that represents the entire region. Furthermore, many participants in the interview voiced similar opinions; from this, it can be deduced that by and large people in the community are skeptical about the image fixation of Mullae Art Village.

No matter which measure is taken, it is essential to institute a policy or project that takes the local residents into consideration; however, it can clearly be seen that the government that plans to invest a large capital to institute policies and project are not concerned with the local residents. In particular, it can be seen that the local residents harbor antipathy towards the approach of the government-led measures to promote the area to the public through the fixation of an image that the locals do not prefer. It is clear that the people who want to create an image of this area through such

measures are not from the area and live in other regions. Therefore, it is regrettable that their ultimate purpose can only be to brand the region as a product through revitalization using large capitals.

It only seems fair that the members of the community are antagonistic about the government's administrative attitude by looking at their cultural practices that they are already creating voluntarily from the economic perspective. In other words, the attitude of the administrative personnel towards the art movement appears to be an attempt to retroactively use the creations of many artists and activists of Mullae Art Village. Resistance to this push from the government expands beyond protecting the base of life that one lives in and is a problem that encompasses the history about the art movement and the meaning and role of that region. Thus, it is not simply a fight within the economic perspective. We need to give it time and continue to watch its developments, but since this problem is not just unique to Mullae-dong but is occurring in many regions in Korea, there is a need to reconsider various policies and projects regarding art and culture in Korea from multiple dimensions.

3) The gap between an art movement and community art

An art movement does not coerce the participation of art works. Everything is natural and ordinary. On the other hand, community art is based on the participation of consumers and therefore the art work requires the participation of the audience. However, community art is not completed by the participation of unspecified consumers of all range in the production of an art work. Community art is based on a specific area. If that is not the case, artists who are active in a specific area produce art works that have been created based on that area. However, the art work is not necessarily exhibited in that area. An art work is categorized as community art if it includes the factor of participation by a certain region or the residents of the region in the process of the enactment or completion of that art work.

There is an intersection in the relationship between community art and an art movement, but the two are distinctive concepts in quality. Art movement encompasses the characteristics of community art, but an art movement is different in the practical aspect. Particularly, the case of an art movement that is achieved through union with the ordinary life is fundamentally different from community art which speaks only through the art work. If an art movement is considered as a concept, community art can be interpreted as one of the means to conduct an art movement. From this context, the researcher was able to recognize in art movements that all phenomena and activities that occur in our society can become symptoms of an art movement; furthermore, they can be seen as a symptom of social movements. This was observed particularly in the series of cultural practices occurring in Mullae Art Village that display a variety of forms of art movement.

In recent years, we have seen cases in which art has been used to revitalize a region or community. Not all of such cases have the form of an art movement. When art is being used for the community, the biggest problem is that it is too separated from the daily lives of the region. If art is fundamentally incorporated in a region, the primary benefactors of art must be the local residents; however, more often than not, local residents are pushed down in priority due to outsiders. Art movements precisely occur in antithesis to this aspect. Art movements through which such struggle occurs within

the daily life does not signify art that is pleasing to the audience but signify the artistic practices that exist within the daily lives of people.

4) Mullae Art Village as an alternative space for art movement

There needs to be a consideration whether most things that seek an "alternative" have become an alternative for the sake of alternative. The image that is created by the word "alternative" often seems insubstantial. From the perspective that it is an alternative, the prejudice that the cost must be reduced to name as an alternative that it is acceptable even if it is not refined because it is only an alternative makes one feel uncomfortable. In this context, there is an intersection between "alternative" and Mullae-dong. Therefore, the people of Mullae Art Village are ceaselessly questioning what alternative truly means and the directionality of Mullae-dong, and thereby conducting cultural practices in ordinary ways to constantly find new alternatives.

Mullae Art Village is a region that can be an alternative space as a whole in juxtaposition to the urban centers to which it is conjoined. This is not only the opinion of the researcher, but an opinion that has been expressed in agreement by many interviewees of the research. The researcher was able to observe a sense of pride regarding this aspect. The people of Mullae Art Village knew that Mullae is not refined because it is outside of the mainstream but that such aspects of Mullae make the neighborhood an attractive place that is charming.

For a space to exist, not only is a physical place needed, but people who will continuously occupy that place are needed. The person or people who creates and operates the space displays to others for a certain purpose, so it cannot simply be maintained by the effort of one. The role of the people participating in the space and the cognition of the space are essential to deciding what the space is. If art is put at the fore, people who participate in art will gather; as such, fundamentally for the existence of the region, the support of local residents is a key factor in maintaining alternative spaces that attempt to put meaning to the existence of a place.

This is the outcome of the drive of the space. The owner of the space is not the person that created it, nor is it the person who operates it; the owners of the space are the people who are participating in it. From the perspective that the awareness for the need of such a space needs to be spread through participating in the space for artistic practices and that people must understand that the success or failure of the space is in their hands—the hands of the people that participate in it, it can be concluded that the various spaces in Mullae Art Village need such efforts over time.

5. Conclusion and Implications

This research is a case study conducted as a field research in which the researcher went into the field to examine the conditions of an art movement as cultural practices based on urban space and local community. Based on the significant results of the research, Mullae Art Village appeared to be in the form of cultural practices where the art movement as cultural practices based on a specific region merged with the daily life. Furthermore, it was discovered that the series of struggles occurring within the conditions came from the fundamental questioning of the desire for an improved space and the formation of the space. Although this research does not encompass the

entire region of Mullae-dong and does not encompass all spaces in which the art movement occurs, it has important implications as a case study that can exhibit the perspectives that various members of Mullae Art Village have.

One limit of this research is that it could not secure diversity in the participants of in-depth interviews during the process of selecting participants. When the premise that the informant is a member of a diverse community is assured, a more rich range of testimonies can be acquired. If follow-up studies are to be conducted in the future, in-depth interview materials collected through the testimonies of various members will allow for a deeper depiction, and in addition, the reliability of the collected data will also be increased.

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The Research on the Structural Forms of Dance

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Abstract
This paper which is about the dance structure is the summary of the author's practical experience, and could be regarded as a kind of theoretical exploration on the dance structure. It is presented mainly from the perspective of dance creation practice. However, research approaches used here are certainly interdisciplinary. To be more specific, the study refers to the discussion of the drama structure, and also analyzes some famous dancing works as well as the researcher's own works. To end, there comes an all-round summary of the dance structure in the way of combining theories with practice. As far as the researcher concerns, the forms of dance could be classified into two categories, the internal and external form. The internal form is the dance structure which always hides in the dancing works, while the external form refers to dance languages which can be seen or heard or perceived by others senses, such as the dance movement, costumes, stage design and music. This research is mainly aimed at the internal form of dance, that is, the discussion of the dance structure. The researcher hopes this study can bring at least the following three goals. First, in terms of the dance structure, the study can offer some operational methods that can be used for reference when dancers and choreographers create dancing works in future. Second, regarding the teaching of choreography, the study can provide much more abundant theoretical thoughts to enhance the teaching operability of choreography. Meanwhile, to instruct and inspire students in more effective ways when they are doing practical creation. Last but not least, the study is able to make a difference to the construction of the theory of dance forms.

Keywords: dance forms; dance structure; drama structure

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The paper is a kind of theoretical exploration on the dance structure. To expand and enrich the connotation of the dance structure, the researcher takes use of interdisciplinary approaches and refers to the discussion of the drama structure. What is the meaning of forms of dance? Simply speaking, it is the opposite of the content of dance which refers to the theme or story of the dance, the emotion and thought that the work wants to express, etc. It is a series of elements made up together that makes the theme, the story, the motion and thought of a piece of dance become a real dancing work. Those elements include not only the dance move, the structure and the scheduling of dance, but also the music, costumes, props and choreography and so on that are used in the dance.

The researcher categorizes forms of dance into the internal and the external forms. The internal form refers to the dance structure, which is hidden inside the dance and is invisible to the audience. It cannot be seen or touched or felt, but plays a truly significant role in choreographing, narrating stories, accumulating and foreshadowing moods and so on. Different with the former, the external form means dance languages. It is explicit and can be seen or heard or felt by the audience, including several elements such as the dance movement, scheduling, music, costumes, drama performing and so on. Among those dance languages, dance movement is throughout considered as the most important one. If thinking the internal form, the structure of dance, as the skeleton of the dance, then the external form is its flesh and blood. Those two together make up the dance forms as a whole body. The internal and external forms cooperatively generate the content of dance and give the dance the real meaning. In other words, dance is therefore filled with moods, spirits and values. Without the support of the internal form, no matter how much the accumulation of the elements of the external form, the dancing work would have had nothing meaningful. To sum up, the research on structural forms of dance is necessary and essential to choreographers.

There is a monograph in the field of drama named *The Construction and Deconstruction of Drama (2006)*. The author of the book sorts out dramas through the ages and then categorizes the forms of structure into the following eight kinds, 1) the structure of pure drama, 2) the epic structure, 3) the prose structure, 4) the poetic structure, 5) the film structure, 6) the play-within-a-play structure, 7) the ritual structure, 8) the social forum drama structure. Among these eight kinds, the first five could be put in the same class of the narrative dramatic structure, while the rest three belong to the theatrical dramatic structure. Due to space limitations, here we only talk about the first five structural styles.

As we all know, drama is an art of language while dance is the art of the body and movements. There is no drama without language, but dance can be performed without any words. From this point, the author of this paper can draw a conclusion that text and script are not of such importance to dance. In the general case, only some extraordinarily great works need the professional dance dramas scriptwriter to produce the text in advance. In usual, a piece of dance that lasts less than 15 minutes will not be prepared with a script. That is to say, the text of the dance is usually in the mind of the choreographer, or in the music, or in any other elements.

Although dance and drama have different ways of expression and creation, this does not hinder us to draw lessons from the drama structure type, reference on the structure

of the theatre to enrich the structure of dance creation, to make dance narration more vivid and varied. Below, Aiming to explore more possibilities in the structure forms of dance, the author of this study refers to the discussion of the structure in the region of drama, and also analyzes some famous dancing works as well as his own creations.

1.The Structure of Pure Drama.

In the book *The Construction and Deconstruction of Drama*, the pure dramatic structure refers to the oldest and most typical way of drama structure, in line with classical unities of time, location and event. *The Unity of the Action* which is put forward by Aristotle is particularly prominent. Throughout the whole story, the beginning, development, climax and the ending are very clear, and are integrated as one successfully. Structures of different historical period drama works such as The Greek tragedy, classical drama, and Henrik Johan Ibsen's creation and so on all belong to this kind of structure form. The magnum opuses include *Antigone(c.411 BC), Oedipus Rex(c.430-425 BC), A Doll's House(1879)*.

The ballet *La Fille Mal Gardée* (1789) is the classical work of the pure dramatic structure. The work tells a story of a pair of young man and woman's free love. An honest kind-hearted rural girl Lisa, fell in love with a tenants Collins. Regardless of her grandmother`s disapproval. The grandmother despised the poor and curried favour with the rich therefore she wanted to marry her granddaughter to rich miller's son, Alan. Collins hided in the straw bales to get into Lisa`s house and made an appointment with her. Once they were madly in love, grandmother suddenly came home, in order to avoid her, he hid into the storeroom. Grandmother knew that Lisa won't marry miller's son, so she put her into storage as well. The miller took the son to put forward an engagement, opened the door of the storeroom, only found from the inside walked out a pair of lovers. In desperation grandmother granted their request, and blessed them.

The rhythm of *La Fille Mal Gardée* is Simple and compact, from the beginning, development, climax and end, the ring by ring, without the slightest procrastination waste. The play was born in 1789, the choreographer is Jean Dauberval from France, who is a student of Jean George Noverre, the master of Plot Ballet. The assertion of the Plot Ballet is that ballet is the drama with dance. The dance is in the service of the plot development, character is also as the plot to service. The development of the plot is the most important, so is the structure form. This is the very important characteristic of the pure dramatic structure. *La Fille Mal Gardée* is the work under this theory. It has a very simple, clear and compact drama structure and is a piece of dance work of the pure dramatic structure.

The researcher has created a work named *Intimates Women`s Farewell Sadness*, which also belongs to this type. The work is created in 2012, for the 7th of college students' dance competition winning the first prize in Guangdong province. The work in the late Qing Dynasty in the Guangdong region of intimate women for the creation of objects, the Guangdong Women, if you don't want to get married, as long as after a called comb special ceremony, you can become intimates women. After becoming an intimates woman, you can no longer marry lifelong, get a kind of a free life; but at the same time you won`t continue to live at home, you cannot go back home in your lifetime, after the death your tablet will not be placed at home either. Intimates

women also can't get married for life, if there are any violation, will sentenced to death the way organization related soak pig cage. Currently in Foshan, Huizhou, Guangdong and other places there are scattered dozens of surviving intimates women. The background of *Intimates Women`s Farewell Sadness* is set in Guangdong in the late Qing Dynasty and early Republic of China, with a runaway daughter in order to avoid marriage pressure, volunteered to be intimates women's story as the main content. At the beginning of the dance, there is a relationship between escape and chase. The daughter ran away from wedding and her mother chased after to force her into a marriage. After the runaway the daughter hid into intimate female group, to join the ranks of intimate women. Mother found, from the hard-line force into the weak attitude cried, and now her daughter cried to ask her mother to agree with her decision. They both knew that after such a ceremony, they would be separated forever. A deep sorrow tears their hearts. How to make a choice between being free and making up a new family? The price of liberty is to abandon the family and kinship, while the price of accepting a new family is to marry a man without affection, spending the rest life in depress. This phenomenon is a bad habit in society, but does let thousands of families shattered.

In this work, marriage escape is the temporal setting. Then the place the daughter escapes to accounts to the location. Naturally, the parting situation of the mother and the daughter, the conflict between family and liberty consist of the event. From the views of "Three Unities", this work is in line with the theory of the structure of pure drama. In addition, it is necessary to be emphasized that the construction of theory is always later than the creative practice. That is to say, even in the field of drama, those theories of construction are flexible, rather than rigid. Therefore, when they are applied to interpret dancing works, there will and must be something improper. Please be understanding. And also, the work just lasts about seven minutes, which may lead to the development of the story not full enough. But overall, it is still a dancing work created by the researcher which is with the structure of pure drama.

2. The Epic Structure

Compared with the structure of pure drama, the framework of this structure is much looser. The pace of the play is also not so compact. Works of this type often break the limitation of time and space, but is freely composed by the hero's will. Plays in this type do not follow the rule made by Aristotle which has mentioned previously. In spite of the looser structure, works in this type are more philosophical. The representatives who create this kind of works are William Shakespeare(1564-1616), Johann Wolfgang Von Gothe(1749-1832) as well as Bertolt Brecht(1898-1956). And the masterpieces in this type include *King Lear(1606), Faust(1808-1832), A Life of Galileo* and so on.

Dance Drama *Wild Jujubes(2004),* the work which is directed by Zhang Jigang, is a masterpiece in this type. The story happens in the Yin family in the late Qing Dynasty. At the very beginning, the Yin family was wealthy in Jinzhong City, Shanxi Province, China. Gradually, the Yin family came down at this time. The widow Yin Shi lived with her little boy who was a little bit silly. The housekeeper saw such situation and intended to devour the property of the Yin family. So he wanted to let his illegitimate daughter Jujube marry the silly Yin Master. However, the smart and beautiful Jujube had been in love with a good hard-working little buddy. The boy

learnt step by step in the Yin and became a capable manager. And so he was sent outside to do the business for the Yin. At the time of parting, the housekeeper's daughter Jujube put some wild jujubes into a purse for the little man as a token of their love. But Jujube's this action was observed by the greedy housekeeper, so he poisoned in the purse when Jujube was unprepared. Two years later, Yin Shi was seriously ill, so the steward forced Jujube into getting married with the silly Yin Master by calling it was to joyous. Jujube, of course, desperately resisted the arrangement. So the steward told her that she was his illegitimate daughter. And also he told her that he had already poisoned her lover. Jujube thus thought the boy had been dead. With the death of Yan Shi and the fact that she was the illegitimate daughter of such a cruel evil, she cannot stand anymore and was crazy. But in actual, the young man was still alive. Soon after, he took his full treasure caravan passing by home. He took their token all the time, looking forward to the future. However, on the way back he met his sweetheart, the crazy Jujube, on the street. To evoke her memories, he ate the token and was unfortunately poisoned. On the trail, with the sunset, two young lovers left behind an eternal farewell of love and loyalty with their lives ending.

In 2014, the researcher created a small drama called *The Sunflower* which won the first batch of funding of the China National Arts Fund in 2014. The inspiration of this work is from the special groups such as the autistic, the depressed, the disabled, etc. The work contains four sections as following. 1) Preface: The Elegy. 2) Chapter1: Let's Run away from Here. 3) Chapter2: Come into My Arms! 4) Chapter3: The Sunlight Is Bright. The Sunflower Blooms Right. The entire work lasts 70 minutes long. Among these four parts, *Preface: The Elegy* is just a work with the epic structure. When creating this work, the researcher was badly disappointed and shocked by a variety of ugly social issues at that time. For example, on October 13th, 2012, in Foshan, Guangdong, a two year old little girl Yue Yue was rolled twice by two cars within around seven minutes. Eighteen passengers went by, but no one went on to save her. We do not know if they are afraid to save a life? Or they just don't want? Because in recent years, there occurs many cases that the kind rescuers are instead framed. But actually, there is no valid excuse for people's indifference to life. The only fact is that, due to the indifference of those passengers, the little girl lost her precious life. Although an old garbage grandma held up the girl recklessly once she found her, but it was too late to save her. This matter prompted the researcher to reflect on our social status. What happens to it? Why are people so indifferent to life? Why there is nobody but a garbage grandma? Is our life as worthless as garbage? Or only the people who live in the bottom of society still retain their reverence for life? The researcher compiled all of these reflections into this work to express the reverence for life, and to recall the good nature of human beings. In the work, there is an angel holding white flowers. Every time he meets different people, he gives flowers to them, and as well love. Although he encounters faces of indifference, he still shows everyone the original innocence and warmth. When a man falls down to the ground, he goes to help him up. However, the man instead of standing up, firmly clings to his leg so that he could not escape. The crowds, regardless of the context, denounce the angel together. Someone in the crowd shouts "where to run!", "Stop!","Go!" ……, in turn, the crowd form a cage unconsciously to trap the angel in. Is it really the clamor for justice? Or they just shout for a shout? Here, the researcher designs a plot that the angel finally escapes from the crowd leg seam, the cage is empty, but people still continue to clamor. With this design, people will think about

the deep thought the performance intends to deliver. It is also a way to present out the characters' mental activities. It was the mental activity of not only the angel, but also the audience. The researcher deliberately creates this kind of alienation effect to let the audience ponder the inner meanings.

3. The Prose Structure

The feature of prose can be described as "Form Loose but Idea Concentrative", so does the prose structure of dance. Such dramas think the original appearance of life is bland and does not have so many intense conflicts. These works pay attention to the true nature, pursuing the exotic mood. Sometimes, "the commander of the play is neither a hero nor a central event, but rather a kind of mood wrapped in a strong atmosphere of poetics." Works created by Anton Pavlovich Chekhov(1860-1904), Eugene Gladstone O'Neill(1888-1953) and Lao She(1899-1966) are all of this type. And the masterpieces in this type are Three Sisters(1901), Teahouse and so on.

By 2015, the researcher created a dance theater work named *Looking Back* which theme is to go back home. China's reform and opening up has been conducted for three decades, which has brought great prosperity and rapid development of three decades. While people's living rapidly develops, there is inevitably a loss of some spiritual things such as the care for loved ones and neighbors, the firm faith and so on. Everything has materialized. A few decades ago, there were not only heirlooms, but also a heritage of spirit. But now, even the houses have become something can always traded, let alone the heirloom or other heritable things. Changes in the social consumption patterns promote the idea of people change a lot. People are obsessed with looking ahead and never look back. However, from a creator's personal experience, many wonderful romantic dance creations of the researcher originate from his life experiences in child. They are related to the memory of the hometown. When the creation encounters diverse bottlenecks, the technical part is often the easiest to solve. But to break the emotional bottleneck, looking back to the past and the deep inside of oneself is of necessity. That is to say, to the researcher, the meaning of the hometown is a very important source of inspiration. However, the researcher is reluctantly put in front of the reality that the rapid development of the social structure in hometown changes everything thoroughly. The change in material, together with the loved ones leaving, lets such feeling of the hometown even more intense. When the researcher looks back again, everything has changed too much. It is hard to find a way home any more. This work uses the dance-theatre expression, which has both dance and drama performance. But among these performance sections, there were not conflicts. The researcher just wants to review such precious memory by reproducing some past events into his dancing work, including *Vole's Tail, Fly away the Bed, Bed Falling Snow, Way Home, Die Team at the Entrance to the Village, the House Where I Grow, Another House, Trolley,* etc. There is no causal relationship between these sections, because they are just a series of real life show in childhood. *Looking Back*, from the internal structure, is the researcher's deliberate use of interdisciplinary knowledge to the creation of dance theater works.

4. The Poetic Structure

The poetic structure has some characteristics as following. Firstly, "it has neither a complete plot, nor a certain character". There is even "no coherent and logical words". The development and process of the dance creation is "just with the step of the producer's emotion and spirit". "This kind of structure does not emphasize the cause-and-effect linkage between the characters and the logic of story. The process of the creation is mainly based on the producer's thoughts and emotions". That is, the producer of the dance "makes up a series of movements which are less coherent but much more jumping according to nothing but only his emotions and thoughts. As a matter of fact, it is in literature the characteristics of poetry". The master pieces of this kind of structure are Maurice Maeterlinck(1862-1949)'s work named *The Blind(1890)* and the work called *Waiting for Godot* which is from Samuel Beckett(1906-1989).

In the field of dance, the poetic dance is the type that has a poetic structure. The poetic dance, as the name suggests, refers to dance as the main means of art, integrated with music, choreography and other artistic means to create a dancing work which is full of the deep thoughts of the poem. What is more important in the producing process is to show the characters' inner world and thoughts out with the way the poem always adopts. In addition, when the dance is aiming to show a certain life event, it should use excellent and concise movements just like those words selected to be used in the verse. Works of this type include pieces of great musical and epic dance like *The East Is Red(1964), The Road of Revival(2009)*, etc. These works use the development of history as their clues. When create such a dancing work, the producer always retrieves some important invents as nodes, together with the use of music, dance, poetry readings and other art forms, to process and reproduce those events. Then all those events are going to be pieced together to finally work out an integrated and comprehensive art work that consists of diverse art forms such as music, dance, recitation, etc.

 Although *The East Is Red* is called a great music and dance epic, the study here still categorizes the poetic dance into the type that has the poetic structure. In fact, the major distinguishing feature between the work with poetic structure and the work with epic structure is the purpose of creation. To give a further explanation, the work with poetic structure always aims to express the poetic mood and emotion with the use of poetic structure and words, while the work with epic structure aims to recount a fascinating story in the same manner. *The East Is Red* contains several stories about the history when Chinese nation suffered the deep misery. But as far as the researcher concerns, the intention to perform those stories is not to tell the audience the story itself, but to express deep emotions based on these stories. To boost the emotion and mood is the real inner purpose of the work.

5. The Film Structure

This kind of dance structure is closely related to the art form of film. Compared to the live drama performance in the theatre, the main feature of the film is to break the constraints of time and space to create a montage effect. There are many works in this type, such as *Equus(1973)* created by the English playwright Peter Shaffer(1926-), as well *The Emperor Jones(1920)* written by American playwright O'Neill who has been mentioned in the explanation of the prose structure.

The work *On Danfe* performed by the Compagnie Montalvo Hervieu is a typical dancing work with the film structure. In this work, the choreographer applies a lot of multimedia technology. The multimedia image here is not only used as a kind of stage background, but moreover it melts together with performance of the real dancers. The multimedia video has input lots of dance movements of those dancers in advance. While those real stage dancers perform the work in the theatre, the virtual images in the video take part in intermittently, so that the audience cannot distinguish the live performance and the virtual video. In addition, animals like elephants and giraffes are walking up and down in the multimedia video. They appear and disappear mysteriously, and thus, together with those real stage dancers, create a magical effect which is described as montage.

Frankly speaking, the author of the study suggests renaming the film structure as the montage structure. As is known to all, the movie or film is made according to the script, and the script itself has its unique form of structure. To take *Hamle*t and *Three Sisters* as examples, if they were both adapted and filmed, it would be obvious and clear that structures of these two films are not the same. *Hamlet* will be performed with the epic structure while *Three Sisters* with the prose structure. To sum up, the film structure could be viewed as the use and effect of montage. And so, it is reasonable to call this film structure as the montage structure.

Conclusion

These five types of the dance structure have been illustrated in detail throughout the whole passage. The study can be viewed as a kind of theoretical exploration on the dance structure with the help and reference from the field of drama. Except for using interdisciplinary knowledge and approaches, the researcher also emphasizes the scientificity of the study result. Meanwhile, the researcher tries to make sure that the theory and result of the study are practical and feasible in dance creating.

1. These structure forms are originally summarized into theory for plays in the field of drama. They are explained and summarized in their special background. Therefore, when they are applied to interpret dancing works, there will and must be something improper which can even cause some problems. In views of this situation, the researcher emphasizes two key points. The first is to learn from other disciplines with a kind of open, inclusive and modest attitude. And then, solve problems encountered in learning.

2. Creating a dancing work is truly complex and difficult. When you are producing a dancing work, you may refer to some experience, but there are no fixed patterns or routines. That is to say, the five forms mentioned above cannot explain structures of all dancing works, and they are also unable to restrict the possibilities in the future creation. The study is of utmost importance to provide the future dance creation with the reference value.

3. As is known to all, dancing works have different size. Naturally, there will be differences in structures. The structure of a great work may be huge and complex, which thus may contain different structures in every small section. In opposite, a small piece of work may have a relatively clear and simple structure. What deserves to be noticed all the time is that, no matter how great or simple

the work is, there are always some structural problems.

4. Apart from these five structure forms explained throughout the paper, there are some other typical dance structure such as the musical structure and the psychological structure and so on. Because there are already much many excellent and fantastic discussions on them which are made by many predecessors, the author here will no longer mention them.

In this study, the researcher makes a great and careful analysis of the content and forms of dance. What's more, with the long-time practice of teaching choreography and rich experience of creating dancing works, he makes a further thinking and exploration of the dance structure. Aiming to explore more possibilities in the dance structure, the author of this study refers to the discussion of the drama structure, and also analyzes some famous dancing works as well as his own creations. The author hopes the new result of this study could provide the future dance creation with a positive reference value. At the same time, the dance structure will be more flexible and diverse, and the dance creation level of choreographers can get a further improvement and a long-term development.

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Marriage Al 'Mosaico' in Divorzio All'Islamica a Viale Marconi:
Muslim-Arab Migrants' Code Switching at Play in Amara Lakhous' Novel

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Abstract

The present article focuses on a popular novel set in Rome, Divorzio *all' islamica a Viale Marconi* (2010)*,* in which the Italian-Algerian author Amara Lakhous discusses the struggles of immigrants in an 'arabicized Italian' narrative style. The study offers insights on the patterns and meanings of code-switching as used by Muslim-Arab migrants living in Italy.

The fact that non-Italian codes (Arabic, French, and English) are often followed by an equivalent translation into Italian- the original language of the text- brings forward the questioning of the reason behind this particular kind of code-switching. That is, according to the text, if Italian lexical support is sufficient to describe emotions, attitudes, and behaviours, what function does code-switching play for Muslim-Arab migrants living in Italy? And is this function motivated by the dynamics of a strategic *convivencia* or by some hidden potencies of Othering?

I argue that there exists in *Divorzio all'islamica a viale Marconi* a coexisting relationship between code-switching and identity, and that code switching in the novel acts as a polyphonic bridge that ingeniously connects the gap between multiple voices giving rise thereby to a hybrid zone where negotiation of meaning occurs.

Keywords: Postcolonial Migrant Literature, Contemporary Italy, Code Switching, Sociolinguistics, Bakhtin, Bhabha, Dialogic theory, Hybridity, Third Space, Integration.

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Introduction:

All over the world the rapid emergence of multicultural communities has resulted in frequent contact between peoples communicating in different languages and dialects. Conversations in such milieu are often carried on with an alternation between linguistic codes. This common process of changing back and forth language and/or language varieties is known as code-switching, which is considered one of the most chaotic phenomena in the field of sociolinguistics.

Despite the sizable literature that exists on the numerous aspects and functions of code switching, studies that investigate the motivational purpose of this concept are much rarer. And even among the analyses that examine the motivating factors behind shifting language/dialect within the social contact, many tend to conclude that code switching occurs due to lexical need or social discourse.

The case study to be offered here is *Divorzio all' islamica a Viale Marconi*, a 2010 novel written by the Italian-Algerian author Amara Lakhous. In this literary production, the author discusses the issue of immigration and integration of Muslim migrants in an Occidental country, Italy. The narrative description in this book offers insights on the patterns and meanings of code switching.

The focus of the present paper is on the analysis of non-Italian utterances used in their original linguistic form (Arabic; French; English) by postcolonial Muslim-Arabic migrants living in Italy. The fact that the non-Italian codes are often followed by an equivalent translation in Italian, which is the original language of the text, brings forward the questioning of the reason behind this particular kind of code-switching. That is, according to the text, if the Italian lexical support is sufficient to describe emotions, attitudes, and behaviours, what function does code-switching play for Muslim-Arab migrants living in Italy? And is this function motivated by the dynamics of strategic integration or by the hidden potencies of 'Othering'[1]?

I argue that there exists in *Divorzio all'islamica a viale Marconi* a coexisting relationship between code-switching and identity, and that code switching in the novel acts as a Bakhtenian polyphonic bridge that ingeniously connects the gap between multiple voices giving rise accordingly to the Bhabhanian 'third space' of hybridity where negotiation of meaning occurs.

Synopsis of the novel:

Divorzio all'islamica a viale Marconi is the creation of the Italian Algerian- born author Amara Lakhous whose writing style has been dominated by a mix of satire and tradition and by an innovative strategy that adopts Arabic along with Italian as languages of literary expression. The "arabicized Italian" has become a constant in

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[1] Othering, in this context, means the exclusion of non-Muslims from the *ummah* -community- through the inclusion of Islamic phrases in their speech that are expressed in Arabic language. Another case of Othering is related to the postcolonial context: the migrants are Muslims coming from places that have been colonized by European countries. The article questions whether Italians are othered. In an affirmative situation, it would be related to using the postcolonial language (French/English) as a 'speech back' to transmit one's historical identity. In the way, Italy gets dissolved in a huge classification- the Occident. In other words, Italy becomes 'occidentalized'.

Lakhous' productions which also come to be distinguished by the writer's practice of rewriting not anymore from Arabic to Italian, but vice versa from Italian to Arabic.

Set in 2005, the novel throws light on the personal and communal aspects of Muslim immigrants' life inside a crowded area of Rome that is rarely seen by tourists, Viale Marconi. The story unfolds in alternating chapters by first-person narratives of two ordinary protagonists, Christian/ Issa and Safia/Sofia.

Christian is a Sicilian citizen with a Mediterranean appearance who acquired native - like proficiency in speaking Arabic after having spent his life studying the language. He is recruited by an Italian undercover agency to infiltrate a terrorist cell in the Muslim community of "Little Cairo" and to try to stop the conspiracy before it takes place by using his new identity of a Tunisian immigrant, "Issa". In his double life, Issa shares an apartment with various Muslim menand proves to be better at having compassion towards their struggles as immigrants than at finding information that proves them guilty of a crime. Besides that, Issaworks at a pizzeria with an Egyptian supervisor Said/Felice who happens to be Safia/Sofia's husband.

Safia is an Egyptian woman who migrated to Italy after her arranged marriage to Said. By considering himself a devout Muslim, her husband demands that Safia wear the veil and limit her life to fulfilling the domestic role of a wife and of a mother. Safia appears to be obedient to the masculine imposed commands. But on the other side, having been influenced by Italian cinema while still living in Egypt, she has always aimed to become a hairdresser. This dream migrates with her to Rome where she starts practicing it clandestinely with the neighbourhood clientele. In that way, Sofia, like Issa, goes undercover to rebel against patriarchal oppression that is enforced on her in the name of religion, Islam.

The paths of the two protagonists intersect one day with Issa's defense of Sofia in the face of Italian racism to which she fell victim at an outdoor food market. In the meantime, Sofia's marital life has been taken by conflicts that ended with domestic violence and Sofia being repudiated by her husband three times which, according to Islamic tradition, is equivalent to a finalised divorce and to a marriage that cannot be restored unless the wife consummate marriage with another Muslim man, then gets divorced by him. Taking advantage of this religious arrangement, Sofia intends to marry Issa and to remain with him as the two has become increasingly attracted to each other.

However, Christian's boss at the intelligence service, Giuda, twists the plan by revealing that the entire terrorist plot was a test to see if Christian enjoys the required skills to work in real 'War on Terror ' projects. Although Christian was deemed successful in his mission, Giuda tells him that by falling in love with Sofia, he failed the 'woman' test. Christian does not provide any answer regarding Giuda's offer to join the undercover team, and with that the end of the story remains open.

Analysis:

Under the title *Divorzio all'islamica a viale Marconi* which means *Divorce Islamic style in Viale Marconi*, the novel is introduced into a dialogical third space. The female protagonist Sofia declares that "ormai *Divorzio all'islamica a viale Marconi*

ha superato tutte le telenovele egiziane, messicane, brasiliane e turche messe insieme!"[2](Lakhous, 2010)

Such was her response to the regretful husband who is asking to be forgiven after having repudiated Sofia for three times, and in so doing has finalized the divorce procedure. According to Lombardi-Diop and Romeo (2012),this is a classic *mise-en-abyme* in reverse because it is Sofia's Divorce Islamic Style, being similar to a telenovela, that renders the embedding work (literary text) metafictional.

From an Islamic perspective, it is important to note that this formula in ending a marriage is limited to the Sunnis and does not entail the Shia doctrine. Sunnism allows for the repetition of divorce to be pronounced by the husband who keeps the right to take the wife back in the first two times. The marital status is lost only in the third time. The novel projects this phenomenon through Sofia's voice echoing,

"Sembra una scena tratta da una telenovela noiosissima. Il titolo potrebbe essere *Divorzio all'islamica*"[3]At the third recurrence, partners are considered divorced, but also the no-longer married woman cannot go back to her husband unless she is married to someone else, and then she is to be either divorced or widowed from the second marriage.

However, in Shiism, this issue takes a different turn. First, the right of divorce is given to both man and woman. Second, the legality of a divorce is not determined by the repetition of the utterance *Anti tàliq* 'Sei ripudiata'[4], but by character witnesses who must be present to testify about the moral fitness to a party in divorce.

In addition, Sofia's voice can be disintegrated into a multiplicity of voices that can exploit distinct ideological perspectives for the reader entering in a dialogic relationship with the character. The above-mentioned example can be taken as a case in which though the linguistic forms presented by Sofia were not switched, the meanings still had their festival.

However, at the end of the literary text, the dialogue created by Christian's imagination is carried on between Giuda and himself. The voice embeds a linguistic polyphony at work to create new meanings for what is thought to be fixed/destined or *màktub*.

" 'Quindi l' operazione "Little Cairo" è stata tutta una messa in scena?' 'Messa in scena noooo …L' hai appena letto: nient'altro che un test, un training'. 'Una sorta di *Scherzi a parte*, un *Truman Show* all'italiana!'"[5]

The *Truman Show* narrates the story of a man whose innocence of his own reality is highlighted in him not knowing that he has become an international star through having every moment of his life broadcast via television to a global audience. Moreover, insult is added to injury as Truman is not only given a false identity, but also is told that it is the truth. (Sutherland, 2000)

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[2] For subsequent examples from the novel, only page numbers will appear in the body of the paper.
[3]168
[4] 84
[5]185

Hence, on the part of Christian who crossed in his role-play to the Muslim migrant side, code switching into today's global communication language, English, stands as an insightful pose to question the reality of migrant identity and its connection to representations of the foreigner Other.

The shifting of "Little Cairo", "test", "training", "Truman show" into English bridges the gap between the various linguistic forms, Sicilian, Italian, Tunisian, and Egyptian, used by Issa throughout his national security mission. It does that by creating a third space that problematizes the binary opposition in the question of who is/ is not a migrant in the Italian future.

So, how does the mutability of language within the rest of the text reflect the unsettled dialogue between thoughts and voices? The answer to this question shall be the main concern of the analysis in this article. I take as a case study the voices of Muslim Arab migrants, and particularly that of Christian/Issa. It is important to note that the latter protagonist is Sicilian, and that his identity is mirrored linguistically in dialectal utterances that are native to Sicily. However, since Christian's mission in the plot is to infiltrate the Muslim community at "Little Cairo", his identity is in disguise. He is introduced in the text as the narrator "Issa". Thus, his voice belonging to that of an Arab Muslim migrant reveals constant shifting into Arabic.

Lakhous' narrative reflects an awareness of the polyphonic meanings that lie beneath the surface of linguistic codes. This is seen through a planned presentation of code switching within the text. As Bennett-Kastor (2008) points out, "multiliterate texts are constructed deliberately so that switch points or other points of linguistic contact within the text often signal additional, metaphorical levels of meaning which are coherent with the theme and/or other aspects of the work"

Divorzio all'islamica is written in what Lakhous calls "arabicized Italian"(Lakhous, 2010). The main language is Italian, but it comes interspersed with Arabic terms, interjections or phrases. The insertion of Arabic is, in most cases, immediately followed by a translation of meaning to Italian. In some cases, the terms that are introduced in Arabic belong to the same terminological order as those present in Italian. Poplack and David Sankoff (1988) referred to this strategy as *constituent insertion*.

Within this framework, code switching gives priority to monolingual Italian readers by providing a barrier-free access to the content of the text. However, the translation that places Arabic in explanatory opposition to Italian can look redundant to bi/multi-lingual, (non) Italian-Arab immigrant readers. Thereby, code switching would not have here the effect of familiarizing an 'exotic' linguistic form, but rather it would merely constitute a repetition that is necessary to preserve the coherence of the text itself.

Furthermore, some Arabic terms or phrases have been used within the text without any recurrence to translation. The understanding of the monolingual Italian reader hereis made easy through the context – that is, the situation of the term/phrase within the text as well as on its grammatical and syntactical agreement with the whole semantic compositionality that surrounds it.

To go more into further specificity and details, the novel illustrates four main aspects of code switching: cultural, religious, postcolonial, and global. Examples of each category is provided below and grouped under the corresponding voice that echoes its occurrence throughout the plot. It will be noted that the voices of Muslim Arab migrants do not involve only Arabic varieties - classical, Egyptian, and Tunisian- but also non-Arabic linguistic forms including Italian, French, and English. And as Groppaldi (2012) indicates, there exists a game of mirrors in the morpho-sintactical structure of the lakhousian language.

The narrative voice of Issa:

A. Cultural code switching:

1. Issa's Tunisian grandfather:

 "*Shismek*, come ti chiami? *Shniahwelek*, come stai? *Win meshi*, dove vai? *Yezzi*, basta! *Nhebbek barsha*, ti voglio bene assai. E altre ancora"[6]

These are the first Arabic words that Issa learned from his Tunisian grandfather. They are not expressed in the classical form of the language, but rather belong to the colloquial dialect of Tunis. Issa needed to mirror an expertise of the system through the process of adopting a native Tunisian accent that ungrammaticalizes his Italian.

This strategy which also requires incorporating more Sicilian dialect in his speech having been a Tunisian immigrant in Sicily before can guarantee his linguistic camouflage within the Muslim Arab community in "Little Cairo" at Viale Marconi.

"L'ideale è parlare un italiano con doppia cadenza: araba, perché sono tunisino, e siciliana, perché sono un immigrato che ha vissuto in Sicilia. Forse meno italiano parlo meglio sarà. Decido senza esitazione di sospendere momentaneamente molte regole grammaticali, quindi via il congiuntivo e il passato remoto. Mi scassa la minchia rinunciare al nostro adorato passato remoto"[7]

2. Saber:

 "Issa, ho bisogno solo di un minuto ber conquistarla. Non mi hai ancora visto all'obera. Quando scendo in bista non c'è bosto ber nessun concorrente!"/ "Non c'èbroblema. Sarà lei a venire da me"[8]

This is an example of an Egyptian migrant who appears to use his Arabic 'accent' to express himself in Italian. The present phonological switching needs to be understood in the context of the immigrant's native language. In the Arabic alphabet, there are twenty-eight letters, and none of them represents the unvoiced bilabial phoneme /p/. The closest Arabic equivalent is carried with the phoneme /b/.

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[6] 17
[7] 45
[8] 70

Although its production is bilabial such as seen in the case of the English phoneme/p/ for its articulation takes place by bringing the lips together, the Arabic/b/-"ب" is different in terms of voicing. It is a voiced phoneme that engages the vocal cords in its articulation. This phenomenon contrasts with that of the voiceless consonant 'p' which employs air flow without any vocalized tone.

Therefore, what Saber's switching of the phonetic code symbolizes here is the act of bridging the voice of linguistic struggle that Arab migrants face when trying to learn a new language that features striking differences from their own native tongue. Even at the phoneme level, where lies the smallest unit of language, Arabic needs to integrate new arrangements in its system for understanding to occur.

In this regard, it is important to indicate that an Arabic letter has been created, in fact, to represent the transliteration of the English phoneme /p/. It appears as the Arabic equivalent "ب" for /b/, but the difference is seen in the addition of two more dots at the bottom of the original Arabic letter. "پ"

3. Mohamad:

A Moroccan immigrant suffering from depression for living far away from his family who he left back home, Mohammad shares his personal problems and experiences with Issa who empathizes with his roommate situation. The secret agent´s supportive attitude gains him the trust of Mohammad who shares with him a story of sensitive content

"E mi racconta la storia di un connazionale, residente in una città del Nord, arrestato perché aveva detto a un amico al telefono quesdta frase: "Ho intenzione di fare una *màjzara*islamica, inscialla". Qualche interprete, forse per incompetenze o per malfede, ha tradotto la parola *màjzara* con "strage" anziché con "macelleria"!" [9]

The use of code-switching in Mohammad's conversation brings attention towards the Italian maxim: traduttore, traditore in a real-life situation. The shared story reveals that translating a code at the morphological level without considering a contextualization of the source culture can hinder the comprehension of the message creating, as seen in this case, a serious dilemma. Mohammad does not intend to commit a real *Màjzara* (a slaughter/crime), but rather he recurs to the colloquial use of this word which has gained popularity as a connotation that reflects the high state of anger that a particular situation invokes in a person.

According to Bahameed (2008), the translator's mission should cover the loyalty to the linguistic properties of the code itself in the source language, but it is responsible also to produce a code that suits the cultural expectations of the target language addressees. And so here, the question of intercultural translation can be raised.

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[9] 156

4. Music:

"Riesco anche a vedere la copertina del cd che ha nelle mani: *Aawwedt aini*, 'Ho abituato i miei occhi', di Umm Kalthum" [10]

The use of code switching here is an attempt from the narrative voice to do justice to the cultural identity carried by the connotative meaning of the song title.

5. Education:

"Ecco perché lo chiamano *bash mohandes*, architteto"[11]

The word *bash* which means 'chief' in Turkish and the Arabic word *mohandes* for 'engineer' or 'architect' are followed by the italian word *architteto* or architect. In Arabic cultures, there are certain occupational terms of address that come preserved for people. Their usage determines where the individual falls on the power axis in society.

Words such as *syadat* "the dominance of" and *sa'adat*/ Ma'ali "the Excellency of" are an example ofaddress terms used exclusively to Muslim scholars and polititians. Likewise, there are specific words that can only be extended to those with high prestige. This aspect is typically acquired by becoming a Ph.D. holder, an engineer, or a doctor - professions that enable to place practitioners on the top of the social hierarchy. (Abuamsha, 2010)

Therefore, the code switching is essential here to convey the problematic transition that the Egyptian immigrant had to face in the new Italian society.From Said the *bashmohandes* to Felice the pizzeria supervisor, the occupational move can be considered tragic from an Arab point of view due to the significant decrease in the involved social prestige.

B. Religious code switching:

1. Dialogue with readers:

"La *salat*, la preghiera, è una sorta di appuntamento con Dio,èmolto importante arrivare puntuali, una prova di rispetto."[12]

"Una fatwa contro il mio velo! Emessa da chi? Dalla macelleria *halal* di tuo marito?"[13]

"Non dire "però. Toccare il maiale è *haram*. Questo non è un parere personale, ma una *fatwa* dei nostri grandi dotti."[14]

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[10] 95. The song is also mentioned on pp. 138
[11] 97
[12] 67
[13] 107
[14] 115

"Il signor Halal ha un modo pacato di parlare, non alza mai la voce. Riesce a smontare la *fatwa* del signor Haram punto per punto, insistendo sul principio secondo il quale il contesto dovrebbe avere la precedenza sul testo [...]"[15]

With the term *salat*, code switching marks the significance of using Arabic language not just in the articulation of the word *per se*, but also in the performance of the act this word calls for. Arab along with non-Arab Muslims refer to prayers using the Arabic term *salat* which in turn is to be performed using the commanded Arabic recitations.

With the terms *fatwa* and *halal*[16], the absence of subsequent Italian equivalent terms sets an expectation from readers to be familiar with words that have become known internationally for their multiple uses especially in the marketplace and politics. In the last two examples, religious code switching reflects the satiric voice regarding the Islamic *fatwa* which is blindly followed by practicing members. Cited by Mr. Halal, the *fatwa* gives Muslim migrants the permission to work in Italian restaurants, whereas when cited by Mr. Haram it stresses on the forbidden acts in Islam that 'we', unlike 'they', should avoid.

2. <u>Akram</u>:

"*Assalamu aleikum*!", "*Aleikum salam*!"[17]

"Ci vediamo presto, insciallah."[18]

The Islamic greeting *Assalamu alaikum* which conveys the meaning of "Peace be upon you" is used in its Arabic form by many Muslims regardless of ethnicity and place of living. This brief form of exchange speaks of an ideology that centers peace at the speaker's level of consciousness. Accordingly, in Muslim communities, *Assalamu alaikum* is perceived for its spiritual content as an indicator of the devoutness of individuals who use it.

In the novel, Akram certainly intends to assert a high level of *taqwa,* religiosity in "Little Cairo". And, he aims to fulfill this mission through recurrent uses of Islamic greetings and expression. Throughout the text, Akram's hidden intentions to attain social power are revealed. He is the first suspect in what regards the terrorist attack. This shows that *Assalamu alaikum* can be used by hypocrites, and therefore it cannot be considered a reliable measure of a person's goodness from an Islamic perspective.

The response Issa elaborates saying *Alaikum salam* is an example of *adab/ Akhlak*, politeness/ manners. Code switching here follows as well the teachings of the Qur'an:

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[15] 136
[16] The word *Haram* is followed by Illecita later on page 102
[17] 13
[18] 15

"When a courteous greeting is offered to you, meet it with a greeting still more courteous, or at least of equal courtesy. Surely Allah takes account of all things." (Surat An-Nisa', 4:86)

Moving on to the *Inscialla* that means God willing, it can be noted the lack of return to the original Italian code to provide an explanation. This also applies to the aforementioned Islamic greeting. The reason is based on the globalised status they have acquired through their sprinkling on Muslim speech in all occasions.

3. Giuda:

"Ya Tunisi, hadhi al shabba al arabia, halal aleik! Tunisino, quella bella araba è tua!"[19]

The code needed to be switched to Arabic here to call attention towards the dominance of shari'a in the Muslim community where personal relationships-even at the most intimate level- get constructed by the ideology of *halal/haram*.

C. Postcolonial codeswitching:

" E io non ho nessuna intenzione di giocare a fare il James Bond o il Donnie Brasco, mi manca il *physique du rôle*"[20]

Adopting the narrative voice of a Tunisian immigrant, Issa stresses, from the beginning of the novel, on the "both" identities that a Tunisian carries as a postcolonial individual prior to being an immigrant. Previously colonized by France, citizens of Tunis code-switch their national variety of Arabic and French in daily life. According to Myers-Scotton (2002), this linguistic engagement is appropriated particularly by the highly educated who attempt to link such language choice to a form of "elite closure". This record does not contradict the educational background of Issa who amazed his colleagues at the university in his rapid learning and skillful use of language.

Issa 'writes back' to the high-class people as he switches to the French phrase *la crème de la crème* to link their socially privileged status to unjust practices within the Italian migration system.

"Nella sala d'attesa, aspettando il suo turno, s' assittò accanto ai raccomandati, alla gente che conta, la crème de la crème: familiari degli ambasciatori stranieri in Italia, imprenditori russi e cinesi, cittadiniextracomunitari di prima classe (americani e canadesi)." [21]

D. Global code switching:

"Mi sottopose al suo quiz preferito, quello delle cinque "w": where, when, why, who e what."[22]

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[19] 162
[20] 12
[21] 91
[22] 31

"Bush figlio è un inguaribile texano, da piccolo adorava I western e andava matto per questa frase: *Wanted, dead or alive*"[23]

" "Little Cairo" deve lanciare al mondo un messaggio chiaro: la lotta al terrorismo islamico, la War on terror come dice il presidente G.W. Bush., richiede una collaborazione internazionale. Forza, brindiamo!"[24]

The Muslim migrant voice switches the code to English when the topic of discussion became political and concerned with fighting terrorism. The tone implied is satirical for the nature of the plot that was planned to stop the terrorist attack against security and stability of citizens turned out to be fictious.

Issa's code switching is contextual. His voice connotates that the United States has been working for the past few decades to bring into reality her ambitious and transformative visions on Muslim majority countries. It has applied the five 'w' questions with caution to astutely secure her status of power and leadership around the globe. But, her heroic to-do list is so far delusional and Muslim citizens and/or migrants who can be innocent but treated as suspects of a crime are as depicted in the novel victims not only of their blind adherence to 'Islamic' traditions, but also of the daily chaotic uncertainties in which they are thrown by the eyes of power.

Several general inferences can be made from the analysis of protagonist narrative voices. First, from the ortho-typographic standpoint, Arabic insertion is distinguished from Italian with plain italic script. This increases the inclusive visibility of the migrant presence in the wider social discourse.

The importance of names is in their power to reveal one's linguistic, ethnic, or religious identity. Some Muslim Arab migrants tend to change their names as an act of linguistic integration within the Occidental society. By that, I mean they intend to eliminate challenges of mispronounciation for non-native Arabic speakers.

This applies to the case of Sofia who becomes aware of Italians' translinguistic process of switching the vowel 'a' that renders her name 'Safia' foreign into the vowel 'o' that brings it to 'Sofia', the familiar name that belongs to Italian culture. This apparently simple tic is not so simple on the deeper level of identity.

The text states that Safia was named so after Safia Zaghloul who, for Egyptians, represents the wife of their first revolutionary minister, Saad Zaghloul. On the other hand, Sofia is connected in the Italian collective imaginary to the famous actress, Sofia Loren. Therefore, this asserts that she is willing to change her name that is integrally connected with her identity as an Egyptian, and it expresses an open desire from her part to become an integral member of Italian society.

The process is mirrored in the case of Christian who, even though he did not have to change the etymological meaning of his name, was required to adopt its Arabo-

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[23]113
[24]140

Islamic form, Issa. This word play is sufficient not only to make him conform with the Migrant Muslim community, but also to emphasize that his own identity is rooted to an Arab-Muslim ancestry.

Conclusion:

Linguistic hybridity in Lakhous' text can be detected in the use of a variety of code switching types. These in turn set out the 'Third Space' where Muslim-Arab identities are always shifting from fixed cultural, religious, postcolonial, and global stereotypes. The polyphonic voices of Sofia and Issa reverberate the 'entre langue' which Bhabha (1994) defines as the language of diffraction that splits the Manichean dialogue of the self and the Other into a multiplicity of possible promises.

Because of the coexistence of diverse dialects in Arabic and Italian and the fact that both languages are interspersed with global loan terms (not to forget the postcolonial linguistic influence in the case of Arabic), there exists in both societies a heteroglotic web of voices that, from a Bakhtinian perspective (1935; 1981) , interact by shifting codes in order to inhabit the multilayered interstices of identity.

By including hybrid Arabic codes, Lakhous reappropriates the Italian language rather than fixing it. A tactic that produces language as the malleable signal of a unique identity that draws upon the diverse cultural milieus. This is the chant of democratic voices that migrate across the mosaic. ~~Can you hear it?~~ Can you feel it?
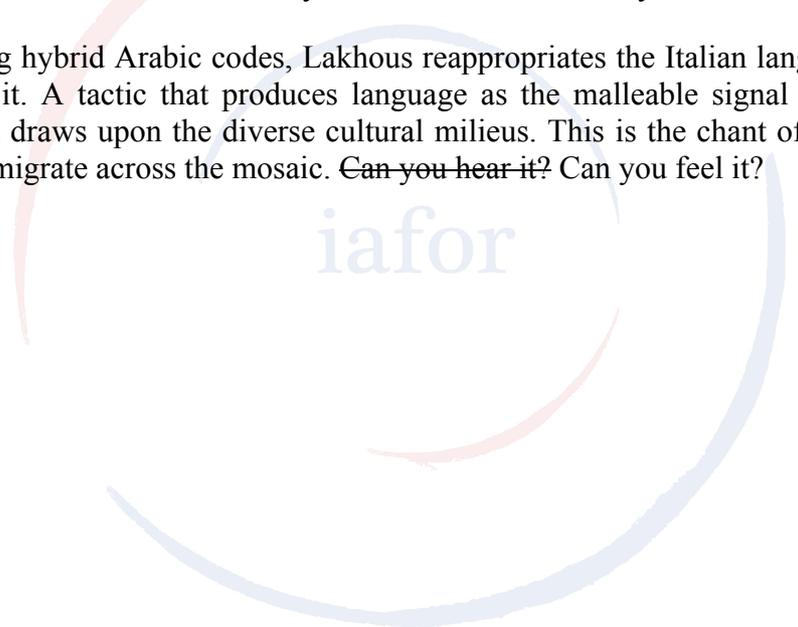
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Transglobal Culture: Hybrid Food and Cultural Identity

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Abstract

The term 'East' and 'West' cannot repudiate of binary concept on 'local' and 'global'. And today, the discussion on the meeting point of these two notions particularly in cultural phenomenon becomes social premiums in Indonesia. The trends of the intermingled East-West in fashion, language, food, and other art expressions, definitely cling to the process of globalization. Exemplifying this kind of transglobal culture, the research done is focused on hybrid food. In the present-day fast moving world, one of the predominant features of Indonesian modern life style is eating fast food which of course engages in the idea of West. This opportunity is captured by small traditional restaurants, street-food sellers, and young culinary entrepreneurs. The creativity in serving food to be marketable can be explored from the ingredients used, the menus offered, and the advertisements displayed. Interestingly, the sources inspiring the culinary agents to create hybrid food are not merely derived from global-branded food such as American burger or Italian cappuccino, but also from sport, music genre to the company of entertainment. To sum up, the domain of food as a cultural product is unlimited; the borderline between East and West is fluid, and the displacement of cultural identity is ever-lasting.

Keywords: binary concept; the meeting point; hybrid food; cultural identity.

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Introduction

Cultural hybridity arises from two or more different cultures that blend and form the new one. Besides the unavoidable social interaction, this trend occurs because globalization has permeated to the whole spheres of the world. As a multi-dimensional phenomenon, globalization covers many aspects of human life, including economy, politics, technology, environment, and culture (Tomlinson, 2000). In today fast moving world, communication and information technology accelerate globalization process to link every part of the globe. A particular area cannot resist getting into a process of globalization by means of modernizing themselves. Furthermore, in the context of global culture, Friedman (1995) identified that finding of cultures in awareness of difference is to do the same things differently. Towards social interaction, it is in the form assimilation and integration. Hence, this transglobal culture is in a circle that belongs to the realm of interconnectedness.

Even though the timing of globalization lists Tomlinson's idea on cultural planetarization has started in 1960s (Pieterse, 1993); Francois Chaubet (2013) noted the middle of 13th century as an initial time of cultural globalization. This is marked by the culture - economy and politics - economy exchange amongst the great empires like Greek, Roman, Egypt, China, and Spain. Along with its historical journey, in the decade of 1980s globalization signalized the present of economic reason. This phenomenon does not only cover high culture such as ideology, religion, art science and technology, but also mass culture – including cultural food habit. The concept of transglobal itself is attached to social dynamics resulting cultural changes because culture exists only for the existence of society. Moreover, if culture is not in a static condition and global is perceived as West and modern, the ever-changing culture in East also reaches a vast area of almost all life sectors without the exception of food. As a result, the scheme of the research done is transglobal popular culture which involves structural change in Indonesian society for the intermingling process of East and West.

As reflection of cultural identity, food is one of the media to express 'the self' that can create uniqueness of certain community, even society. However, in Indonesia, cultural identity is not a single unified identity. Besides, the myriad of ethnic groups with their own cultural identities, the long-rooted influences of foreign cultures of India, China, Portuguese, Spain, Arab, British, Dutch, and so forth have colored the development of Indonesian culture. Today, the advancement of communication and information technology, which is dominated by West which signifies modernity, has been dramatically influenced the dynamics of Indonesian cultural identity construction. Therefore, this paper attempt to discuss the research findings on the meeting point between East and West based on one of the actual trends in Indonesia. They are hybrid food and how the process of cultural identity constructed.

Because it has been integrated within the today's global capitalism, as culinary product, food and drink take the dominant part in everyday life which cannot be separated from both cultural and economic interest. Many strategies have been done by business agents, regardless the marketing scale, to promote their products to meet their targeted market. On the lines of the research findings revealed, the common ways of their tricks encompass the advertisements displayed, the ingredients used, and the menus offered.

Literary Review and Research Method

Culinary is cultural element of social integration of which the product, food and drink, is definitely suitable to the taste of the members of certain community, even society, and the condition wherein the food created. According to Bentley (2007), foods are believed to be symbol of cultural identity which built up the barriers and differences between cultures. Each group of society chooses food depending upon their own desires and the conditions of their area they live in. Food is not merely basic biological need to make people survive, but interconnects with people' social and cultural need in their community or society as well. Accordingly, besides as basic need, food serves two important domains in human life, namely cultural expression and identity. This is in the same way as the saying says 'we are what we eat' and 'we are what we don't eat'.

In relation to culinary, Kittler, Sucher, and Nahikian-Nelms (2011) defined globalization as the integration of local, regional, and natural phenomena into unrestricted worldwide organization. The parallel change in cultural food habits is consumerization, the transition of society from producers of indigenous foods to consumers of mass-produced food. The social dynamics of modernization encompasses new technologies and the socio-economic shifts that results the rise of the cultural phenomena displacing cultural beliefs, values, and behavior.

Therefore, to dismantle the influence of West upon the forming of Indonesian new identity through food, the 3-month field research was done. The location chosen is the area surrounding Universitas Brawijaya, Malang – East Java, Indonesia. The data obtained comprise the advertisements displayed, the menus offered, and the ingredients used in terms of hybrid food and drink along the streets of this campus' premise. Besides the many small traditional restaurants called *warung*[1] and street-food stalls selling hybrid food, this place is an area where education remains the priority in which most of the consumers are students. Additionally, interviews are also executed to explore how the concept of West (global) food hybridizes with Indonesian (local) especially Javanese food and influences the formation of cultural identity.

In this activity, there are two considerations of selecting the ones interviewed. First, the interview was held with the owners of the *warung* and the street-food sellers to dig out the background of their innovations in creating hybrid food especially in correlating with economy law: supply and demand. This reason is a crucial point in selling and buying activities of globalized products, even though on the smallest scale, because "in economics, globalization refers to economic internalization and the spread of capitalist market relation" (Pieterse, 1993:1). Second, 78 students who consume the hybrid food sold around campus were interviewed to explore the process cultural identity formation. They are chosen randomly without seeing the disciplines taken. All the questions are structured to guide them in response to the concept of hybrid food of their everyday. Theoretically students by the age of 18 to 20 years can be classified as salient group – in adolescence and emerging adults (Jensen, et.al., 2011: 287) who are easily interfered by globalization along with all its aspects carrying significant effect to their identity. Within their age, this group is being in

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[1] *Warung* is an Indonesian word, originally loaned from Javanese, to label a small traditional restaurant serving various kinds of local food and drink of which the ingredient are rich of spices.

time of curiosity and popular things. For this reason, the dynamic identity formation process leads to an assertion that "identities are never univocal, stable, or innocent. They are always in an accomplished and ceaseless project" (Mendeita in Alcoff, 2002: 414).

This fact leads to an understanding that as culture is being proved to be constructed by globalization, food habit representing one of the cultural expressions can also be constructed by innovations and forms hybridity. As culinary product, food is a different cultural medium compared to the rest of the cultural expressions because it is a daily need of everybody. It is not surprising, therefore, that people are generally not aware of cultural hybridization process taking place in their everyday life.

Result and Discussion

Field observation discovered that food, of course together with drink, sold around Brawijaya campus are the mingling of global-branded food and the traditional one – but without leaving the local traits particularly of Javanese cuisine. To promote the food and drink offered, this blended concept is used both in the advertisement and the ingredient of the hybridization. In addition, this sort of intermingled product is attractive not only because of the local taste which is familiar for Indonesians but also the use of the marketable 'West' advertisement.

A lot of examples showed that hybrid food spreading along the streets of the campus' premise refers to the meeting point of East and West. Global branded-food like burger, which is always attached to the conception of West or American, becomes an inspiring source in motivating the food sellers to express their creativity. It is not difficult to find the burger label given to local food. For example, there are *Burger Tahu* and *Kara'*[2] *Burger* of which the raw materials and the taste are very local. The first is made from fried *tahu* (= tofu), whereas that of the second one is re-cooked form from the left-over *nasi* (cooked rice) which is dried and fried. The cooking process is blending the dried left-over *nasi* with certain spices to preserve the local taste; but the performance is modified to resemble the globally known burger. Similarly, the global dessert ice cream that is commonly consumed as drink in Indonesia is transformed. And to meet its need, this kind of drink is hybridized. In promoting the drink, the intermingled terms are used. One of the banners in front of the ice cream stall makes its trade-mark *Van der Mot*. It is not clear enough whether the seller adopts the name of the famous film star Van der Mott or the misspelling 'mot' refers to Javanese word meaning sipping slowly to feel the taste.

Nonetheless, the inspiration driving the innovation is not limited on branded food or drink resembling Western concept. The popular things sound West, like music genre and sport also participate in shaping creativity. *Rock n' Roll* is highlighted to advertise very traditional dish named *bacem*. It is a unique Javanese dish made from tofu and tempe[3]. Both raw materials are cooked with the blend of spice and coconut sugar so the taste is sweet. However, because this kind of dish is generally eaten with abundance of chili so the taste becomes hot: a sensation; as hot as rock and roll music.

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[2] *Kara'* is stylized word that is actually derived from the Javanese 'karak'. It is the left-over cooked rice which is exposed into sunlight until dry then mixed with certain ingredient before being fried.
[3] *Tempe* is traditional food made from fermented soybean. Because the high content of nutrition and non-saturated fat, it is commonly used for various Javanese dishes to replace meat..

The fact that young generations are familiar with popular media stimulates a promising opportunity for the owners of the *warung* to promote their goods. Adopting the West concept and merging it with the local is an innovation to earn money. The logo of the entertainment company *WB*, the abbreviation of *Warner Bros (Picture)*, is used as an acronym of traditional small restaurant to be marketable. The meaning conveyed, of course, is different. *W* stands for *Warung* and *B* stands for *Barokah* which means blessedness. The foods, both the ingredient and the taste, are very local but the drinks are varied from traditional coffee or tea to global labels such as coca cola, sprite, and the other soda drinks.

The following data also exemplify how the process hybridization impacts to the cultural food habits of the consumers which build new cultural identity. Picture 1 below depicts the process of hydridization. The football club Liverpool logo inspires the food sellers to create hydridized advertisement of food offered.
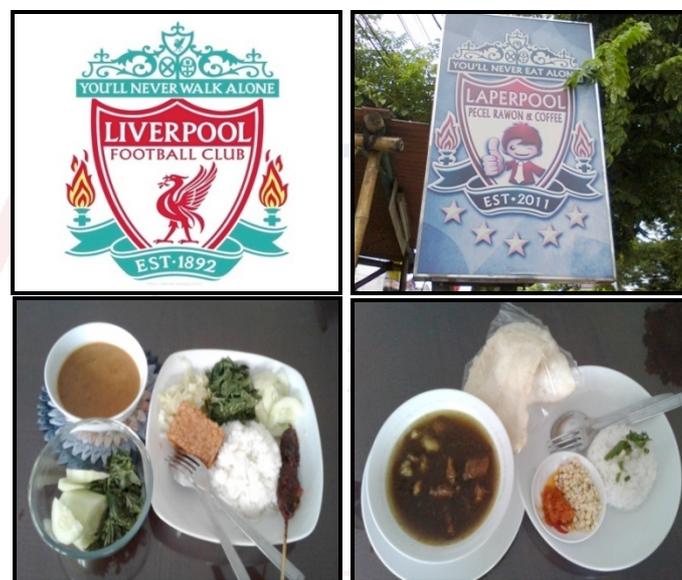
Picture 1: clockwise.
The original logo of football club, the adaptation, local food: Pecel and Nasi Rawon

Examined further, Liverpool label is changed to be *Laperpool*[4] indicating that the advertisement is promoting food and drink. Compared to the original logo of Liverpool football club with the slogan "You'll never walk alone" which is taken from the fans' song (above: left side), the new form of the slipped logo hits its consumers (above: right side) by changing the slogan to be "You'll never eat alone". On one side the football club was established "since 1892", the *warung* was established "since 2011". Under the label of the establishment year, there are five stars signifying that the menus offered are qualified. Surely, this notion is inspired by the international standard for five-star-hotels. The food and drink served also represent the integration between East and West composing *Pecel, Nasi Rawon*[5] & Coffee (below: left and right side). Though the English word coffee is used instead of Indonesian word *kopi*, the coffee served actually is traditional drink called *kopi*

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[4] *Laperpool* actually local phrase consisting two words: *laper* means hungry and *pool*, sometimes also spelled *pol*, means extremely or very.
[5] Based on the Ancient Inscription, *Pecel* and *Rawon* are classic-local cuisine listed within the group of the old Javanese food (Fadly Rahman, 2016).

tubruk[6]. *Pecel, nasi rawon* for food and 'coffee' for drink are very local cultural product in contrast to the advertisement which sounds very global.

This trend underscores the dynamics of intermingling concept. There is no homogeinity, standardization or the myth of local. Borrowing Pieterse's idea (2010) on hybridity which manifests an integration of East and West, the mixing strategy used by the seller of hybrid food and drink confirms the "cut-'n'-mix experiences in consumption, lifestyles and identities, ordinary and everyday". That is why, in terms of transglobal culture, food cannot be separated from the idea of global capitalism. As Ha (2006) stated that the new form, in this case hybrid food, means profit; "sells well because it is regarded as sexy". The more attractive the promotion, the more the money earn. This explanation can also be investigated from the illustration of the following picture.

Picture 2: left, hybrid advertisement; right, modernized package

This picture is an advertisement (left side) and a modernized package (right side) of hybridized drink called *cappuccino cincau.* As an Italian coffee drink which serving style is well-known around the world, almost every restaurant in Indonesia now serves cappuccino as one of their drink menus. With the exception of its popularity among young people, this global-branded power is caught by the local drink sellers to create hybrid drink – *cappucino cincau*. This hybrid drink is combination of two different cultural habits: a meeting point of West (global), c*appucino* and East (local), *cincau*[7]. East meets West. Originally, *cincau* is a kind of traditional jelly extracted from leaves called *cincau*.

Young people are less interested in having this kind of drink on its own. However, the assembled name of *Cappuccino Cincau* removes the perception of old and traditional things towards *cincau*. If identity is an imaginary construction, the fact that young people can accept *Cappuccino Cincau* as their usual drink indicates that today is celebrating time of the 'new' cultural identity. *Cincau* is no more considered to be a strange drink for the young as it was combined with *cappuccino*.

The cultural scrutinization of hybrid food and drink, from the advertisement, the ingredient, and the performance, clearly uncover that in terms of marketing strategy the intermingling process between global and local is normal today. As consumers of hybrid food, students do not see any disembeddedness towards their identity as

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[6] *Kopi tubruk* is traditional coffee drink prepared by pouring boiling water directly over powdered coffee.
[7] *Cincau* is a kind of traditional jelly extracted from leaves called *cincau*. The color of the leaves can be green or dark green/black. *Cincau* drink used to be herbal medicine to cure some diseases perticularly fever and stomachache.

Indonesian. By consuming hybrid food and drink, 66% out of the 78 students interviewed affirm that the changing of cultural identity is normal, there is nothing to be worried about. Even, they believe that the authenticity of identity has never existed. 41% say that sometimes they think that they are being uprooted but it is unavoidable process; and only 3%, has no argument on the relationship between globalization and the ever-changing identity. Their point of views towards cultural identity proves that the shaping of cultural identity is fluid.

The phenomenon of this cultural food habits underlines the crucial pattern of globalization process. In the context of hybrid food observed, Javanese traditional food and drink are deeply rooted from the antecedence representing the power of history, culture, and culinary taste consciousness. However, together with the infusion of global idea, this traditional concept, which has been constructed previously, is deconstructed. Subsequently, to make it fit with the changing era the deconstruction is reconstructed to be a new cultural food habit. All the findings of this research showed that hybrid food reflects the continuous cultural evolution.

Conclusion

Since the research embraces students representing Indonesian young generation, the result confirms that the impact of globalization, which was observed through hybrid food, in Indonesia today can be seen as a prototype of ever-changing cultural identity. Their notion over hybrid food promulgates new identity by means of self-definition as Indonesian. It strongly indicates, therefore, that the saying 'we are what we eat' to indentify that food is within cultural domain bringing about of identity construction is unquestionable anymore.

When identity is asserted as unconsciously built, never discovered but always constituted, constructed, imagined, projected, and finally celebrated, through their cultural food habits, Indonesian young people have involved in this process. Field research done discovers that the rapid infusion of globalization has blended the concept of local and global. The successive web of the ever-changing identity – of being constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed, is reflected from the hybrid food and drink sold. The cultural food habit has shifted identity orientation. This phenomenon corresponds to the displacement of local or national identity because of inevitable globalization process. Additionally, the food sellers who used to be the producers of traditional food transform to be the consumers of mass product.

The world is not shrinking; only the barrier between global and local is getting blurry. Transglobal popular culture has merited to point out that hybrid food takes significant role to meet East and West.

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Teaching Whiteness in American Literature, Preserving "Truth, Justice and the American Way"

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Abstract

This paper asserts that (1) from its inception, American identity has been conflated with white identity, specifically that of Anglo-Saxon Protestant heritage; that (2) more than other tribal/ethnic personae, this white identity has been cast as universal, as a paragon of humanity; that (3) this white identity has been so sanctified and normalized as American and human that it has significantly influenced all American institutions and it has been rendered practically indiscernible, unutterable and inviolable; that (4) not confronting the singular qualities, particularly toxic ones, of this racial/tribal whiteness creates insufficient or false readings of American culture and literature; and that (5) these inadequate and erroneous readings weaken academics' commitments to reality, critical thinking, freedom of expression and social justice. Instead of seeing American whites as whites, as a distinct tribe/ethnicity, whose members possess favorable and unfavorable traits individually and collectively, academics most often perceive whites as quintessentially American and human while they label and judge nonwhites, such as Latinos and blacks, by dubious stereotypes.

The purpose of this research is (1) to disclose individual and tribal traits of whites in American literature; (2) stimulate dialogues on methods to amend overt and covert disparities in the advantages accorded American whites over non-whites in real life; and (3) release the human mind, heart and spirit from inhibiting, destructive artifices of racial identity, particularly hegemonic whiteness.

The principal results would be to critique race, particularly the social construction of racial whiteness, in American literature and culture candidly and draw from this critique the inspiration to promote social justice. The major conclusion is that making the unseen of racial whiteness seen and encouraging activism on the basis of these revelations are positively transformative for teachers and students.

Keywords: White identity, American literature

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Introduction

For most of my life as a student and a teacher, the subject of white people as a particular racial group/tribe with distinguishable characteristics that warrant scrutiny and criticism was avoided by my teachers, peers and students. They would, however, freely examine what they imagined were signature characteristics of nonwhites, particularly their negative stereotypes. My instructors' and colleagues' unbalanced approach to identifying racial differences left gaping holes in their scholarship and pedagogy, which undercut truth, sullied intellectualism and handicapped justice. The purposes of this study are to rectify this problem by stimulating long overdue examinations of the racial/tribal characterizations of whites in American literature and culture, and to inspire from this study candid exchanges on race, which would result in persistent activism to overcome systemic bigotry and promote diversity. To be clear, I shifted my focuses of my American literature and culture courses from the minorities who were victimized by whites to the whites who victimized them. Finding informative works by celebrated researchers, critics and documentarians of racial/tribal whiteness to guide me, I shaped lesson plans to incentivize my students to (1) deconstruct this whiteness wherever and however it was portrayed, (2) challenge and nullify its supremacy in literary discourses and real life, (3) liberate the natural selves and deep humanity of white skinned and other people from its tangling, blinding, muting constraints, and (3) fully embrace America and the world as culturally diverse. The following details the genesis of my revised pedagogy and my primary contentions.

Major Premise

According to Euro-American filmmaker Whitney Dow, creator of the *Whiteness Project: Inside the White Caucasian Box,* which aired on PBS in 2014, "Most people take for granted that there is a 'white' race, but rarely is the concept of whiteness investigated. What does it mean to be white?" (Dow, 2014)

In her *Whiteness Visible, The Meaning of Whiteness in American Literature and Culture*, Professor Valerie Babb answers this question in part by contending that, "being white became synonymous with being American" (Babb, 1998: 2). In his *Democracy in Black: How Race Still Enslaves the American Soul*, Professor Eddie S. Glaude, Jr., broadens Professor Babb's assertions by calling this conflation of whiteness with Americanness a "value gap," wherein "our actual lives rested in the gap between who America said it was as a democracy and how we actually lived. Our democratic principles do not exist in a space apart from our national commitment to white supremacy. They have always been bound together, sharing bone and tissue" (Glaude, pg. 9). "The powerful ideals of the American Revolution, which challenged the authority of monarchs and insisted on the principles of freedom and equality in the context of democratic institutions, were reconciled with" (Glaude, pg. 31) and defiled by extreme prejudices and injustices. "People could talk of freedom and liberty and hold black slaves," disparage and oppress white women, men and women of color, the poor, homosexuals, the disabled, and worshippers of creeds other than Christianity for centuries. "Even the first immigration and naturalization act, in 1790, allowed only 'white persons' to attain citizenship, and

that racial understanding of citizenship persisted" (Glaude, pg. 31) well into the late 1900's and has been voiced in our recent political discourses, notably our 2016 presidential campaigns, which elected a reputed loudmouth, egocentric, fickle, mendacious, reckless, vulgar, bullying, shallow, narrow, puerile, philandering, misogynistic, thin-skinned, vindictive, self-serving, greedy, double-dealing, homophobic, Islamophobic, racist, ableistic, xenophobic, politically incorrect, divisive, demagogic, white supremacist/white nationalist, unstatesmanlike, climate-change-denying, neo-fascist, plutocrat the 45th President of the United States of America.

If whiteness and Americanness are synonyms, Mr. Dow's statement and question about whiteness apply equally to our American identity, meaning that we know as little about our Americanness as we do our whiteness, or despite our heartfelt pledges of allegiance to our flag and our spirited celebrations of the 4th of July, we cannot know what it is to be American without comprehending what whiteness is, and we cannot know what whiteness is until we reify it, put flesh and blood on it, humanize it and see it as American writers see it, which is paradoxically, as good and evil, true and false, pious and impious, sane and insane, liberating and oppressive, progressive and retrogressive, tolerant and bigoted, peace-loving and militant, beautiful and ugly, cultured and crude, strong and weak, generous and selfish, smart and stupid, brave and cowardly, civilized and savage, and democratic and despotic.

According to Professor Richard Dyer, Euro-American author of *White*, "a study of the representation of white people in white Western culture" (Dyer, pg. xiii), such an investigation of racial whiteness should not be

> "done merely to fill a gap in analytical literature, but because there is something at stake in looking at, or continuing to ignore, white racial imagery. As long as race is something only applied to non-white peoples, as long as white people are not racially seen and named, they/we function as a human norm. Other people are raced, we are just people.
>
> There is no more powerful position than that of being 'just' human. The claim to power is the claim to speak for the commonality of humanity. Raced people can't do that—they can only speak for their race. But non-raced people can, for they do not represent the interests of a race. The point of seeing the racing of whites is to dislodge them/us from the position of power, with all inequities, oppression, privileges and sufferings in its train, dislodging them/us by undercutting the authority with which they/we speak and act in and on the world." (Dyer, pg. 1)

The first step toward dislodging this whiteness in America is discernment, seeing it for what it is, identifying its deep-rooted characteristics, which, like the proverbial elephant in the room, stays hidden in plain sight, such as the salient traits of America's Founding Fathers and 95 percent of America's presidents, namely their white skin, male genitalia, Anglo-Saxon heritage, English tongue, Christian (principally Protestant) creeds, ownership of land and wealth, and alleged heterosexuality. Essentially anyone, such as President Barack Obama, who lacks one or more of these essential traits is considered

less white and therefore less American and human than someone who possesses them all. Ergo, to some degree, white women, women and men of color, non-wealthy and unpropertied classes, non-Christians, non-native-born speakers of English, disabled people, and gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender communities are mistreated as second-class humans and citizens, meaning that they are accorded less respect and fewer rights, privileges, protections, powers and opportunities than certified whites.

Although, in reality white is merely a color, or, more to the point, the absence of color, it has been, is now and will be a formidable ideology and political force, granting white supremacists/white nationalists the authority to determine (1) what are truth and lies, (2) what are sacred and profane, (3) what are law, rights and justice; (4) who can be human, civilized, accepted, enfranchised, respected, beautiful, protected, prosperous and privileged; and, (5) most importantly, who lives and who dies. The tears and blood of untold victims of this egregious nationalism streak from factual history and true life throughout the canon of American essays, plays, novels, short stories, and poetry, insisting that we academics check it before it checks us, that we should not only critique it openly and honestly but also that we should monitor and amend its ill-effects, lest it, like McCarthyism, undermines our students', our institutions' and our society's capacities to be open-minded, honest, reasonable, tolerant, loving, empathic, humane, inclusive, moral, egalitarian, democratic, just, intrepid and progressive.

Minor Premise

A case in point is the objection my Euro-American Dean of Liberal Arts raised against my teaching a new course on black stereotypes titled *Black Image in the White Mind* after a scholarly book by the notable historian George Frederickson:

> "*In the White mind*? *The White mind!*" my dean yelped hotly, turning fiery red in the face. "What does this mean? What are you getting at? What are you trying to do?"

Clearly he disapproved of me wanting to conduct what he must have imagined would be a public dissection of the "white mind", when he, as the head man in charge, wanted the "white mind" cloaked and closed.

To be fair, my dean was not my only would-be censor. Shortly after my encounter with him, I overheard an African-American male student warn an African-American coed not to enroll in African-American Studies courses, several of which I taught, because she might "pick up stuff that would piss off white students—b.s. like slavery and civil rights". In the spirit of my dean and a classic uncle tom, he reflexively defended the white mind from an imagined black attack. Rather than flinch or flare up, I inferred that despite the lip service academics pay to upholding truth, social justice and freedom of thought and expression, too many demonstrate a stronger tendency to suppress queries into deep matters of race, especially racial whiteness, than they show a willingness to face the reality of them.

While this revelation intensified my awareness that teaching these topics could embroil me in uphill battles toward a Pyrrhic victory at best or revolutionary suicide at worst, it also clarified my mission in teaching and altered the axis of my pedagogy. Instead of focusing mainly on the images of blacks in the white mind, I scrutinized more intently the white mind, asking what makes white people tick, of what is their whiteness made, how does their whiteness work in their lives, the lives of others and my life? What are the positive and negative qualities and effects of this racial whiteness? How can its positives be improved and its negatives overcome?

Methods

To open my students' minds to the hidden white supremacy in American identity and spark their activism to reform its perniciousness, I convey a brief anecdote about the mugging of an unnamed American family by a shadowy assailant while the family were sight-seeing at Times Square. When I ask my students to describe the characters as they imagined them, they denote various traits except race and skin color until I ask them to identify the races and colors of the family and assailant. Initially they are taken aback by the question and become hesitant/self-conscious to admit what they truly imagined. Ultimately, they confess that they saw the American family as white and their mugger as a person of color, namely a black or Latino male. Unwittingly then, by conflating whiteness with Americanness, they substantiate Professor Babb's contention that being white equals being American. Just as important, they become aware of their tendencies to negatively stereotype their fellow Americans of color, and they start to learn to make the invisible visible, to be discerning and candid about race, color, class, caste and other such tribal distinctions in their study of American literature and culture.

Knowing from experience that this lesson takes time to sink in, I deepen it by asking my students to weigh the *Declaration of Independence*, *Constitution, Bill of Rights*, *Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag*, *Ten Commandments*, *Sermon on the Mount*, and *Lord's Prayer* against our historical and literary portrayals of our barefaced and subtle disenfranchisement and disparagement of women, Africans, Native Americans, immigrants, LGBT, the disabled, poor and creeds other than Christian. Soon my students begin to see a critical fault in our Founding Fathers' vision of America, one of severe incongruity—"high-pocrisy" as a compelling song in the Broadway musical *1776* resounded. Questions then pop to my students' minds about how flawed were the Founding Fathers, how inconsistent were their words and deeds? How significant were their whiteness, maleness, economic standing, religious creed, sexual orientation, Anglo-Saxon heritage, and self-interests to their establishment of our republic? How true have human and civil rights, faith, equality and justice been in America? How much have institutions of religion, politics, commerce, culture, and even family been compromised by self-interest, bigotry and hypocrisy? And what could be done to change them for the better, to make them live up to our democratic and moral standards?

To address these and most importantly the latter question, "we have to tell stories of those who put forward a more expansive conception of American democracy. This will involve confronting the ugly side of our history, recalling the heroic and representative efforts of

countless men and women who gave everything to achieve our country, and sacrificing the comfort of innocence and the willful blindness that comes with it. This will require a radical reordering of values. Changing our stories is a way of changing what matters" (Glaude, pg. 203), so to keep raising my students' awareness of "truth, justice and the American way" and making their raised awareness actionable for positive change in America's outlooks and behaviors, I continuously enable them to think, speak, write and act freely on dilemmas and intersections of gender, race, color, class, sexual orientation, creed, physical abilities, ethnicity, national origins, contradictions between principles and practices, and disparities in the privileges, protections, prestige, powers, prosperity and promise afforded Americans by our *Constitution, Bill of Rights* and democratic, Judeo-Christian, humanitarian and judicial codes. Operating under the premise that American culture informs American literature and American literature reflects American culture, I direct them to discern Americanisms, unique American qualities, in the plots, characters, themes, devices and conventions of American writings, and to identify personal, human, tribal and national attributes of protagonists and antagonists as well as in the voices and visions of narrators, authors, critics and theorists. To clarify and substantiate my inference that whiteness plays a major role in shaping American identity, causing Americans to be deeply contradictory in their principles and practices, I assign divergent readings on American dilemmas of identity, internal and external conflict, cultural difference, freedom, conformity, conscience, justice, humanity, aspirations, exceptionalism and morality, such as J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer* and Theodore Roosevelt's *American Ideal*; Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* and David Walker's *Appeal in in Four Articles;* Frederick Douglass' *What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?* and Martin Luther King Jr.'s *I Have a Dream*; Kate Chopin's *Story of an Hour* and Susan Glaspell's *Trifles;* William Faulkner's *Barn Burning* and James Baldwin's *Going to Meet the Man;* and Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* and Alan Ginsberg's *Howl.* Finally, to vivify the characters and themes raised by these authors, I permit my students to relate to them personally, to connect them, particularly their incongruities, to my students' individual experiences in the real world, including their studies in other courses, their involvement with political, social and civic organizations, and their relationships to family and friends.

Results

Over a semester the literature (1) stimulates more candid, spirited inquiries into gender, race, color, sexual orientation, creed, class, freedom, equality, fairness and activism; and (2) provides few indisputable answers to these queries, save one, which is truth, the value of truth, in determining who and what we are, and what we should be about as individuals, members of a specific group, human beings and Americans. Student course evaluations, such as the following from my first class on *Whiteness in American Literature,* circa 1999, remind me that although the journey to enlightenment and transformation is rough, slow, taxing, unpredictable and precarious, I must keep the faith:

> "Dear Professor Reilly: I remember before I really understood what you were trying to tell us about cultural whiteness, before I really knew what it was, I thought all the power, prestige and privilege stuff was a bunch of b.s. I thought,

'Just because I call myself white, you can't tell me that I automatically think I have power, prestige and privilege over any non-white.' I didn't like the fact that it was said that the Bible was a hypocrisy. I didn't like the fact that our founding fathers were racists and yet had several illegitimate racially mixed children, but we never learned this in school. I got upset a lot, and told my mom about the class several times.

But that was a problem: instead of being a grown up college student, and discussing my feelings in class, I ran to my mommy like a little baby. I almost considered dropping the class. But I decided to be mature and stick with it. And you know what? I am quite happy I did stay. I feel as though my mind has been expanded so much in the past few months. I look at things differently now. All the things we have learned I have now looked back and taken in, instead of disregarding lots of it, like I did at the beginning. I see now that I really didn't do what you had asked us to do, which is go in with an open mind and a willing heart. I believe that I am one of the most sensitive and big-hearted people I know, and yet for some reason I tried to shut off what we were learning in this class.

One of the reasons I try to be open minded is because I don't want to be like my family. I know they're older, and I love them with all my heart, but my grandparents are very offensive. My grandpa called black people 'jiggaboos,' like he'll say 'Why do you listen to that damn jiggaboo music?' My grandma calls Asians 'chinks,' 'slant eyes,' and things like that, and makes jokes. Even my dad can be offensive. He works in the film industry, at Walt Disney Studios, and he always complains about the people. "90% of the industry I work in is Jewish or homosexual'. Sometimes I have a hard time dealing with my family." (Anonymous, 1999: 3)

Conclusion

Like Professor Thandeka, author of *Learning to be White*, I believe that "this social construction of a 'white' [person] requires us to make a distinction between a person's core sense of self before and after its identity is defined as white" or assimilated into racial whiteness. Contrary to white supremacist ideology, "Before the white identity is established, this core sense of self is not white." It is quintessentially like my own, human. "Its personal racial identity is, in effect, nonexistent because the socialization process has not yet been undertaken by its white community of caretakers, legislators, and police force" (Thandeka, 2007: 84). By being more human than a racial construction, this core self retains a natural propensity to learn, reason, love, do good works, and to "hold these truths to be self-evident: that all [people] are created equal; and that they are endowed by their Creator with inherent and unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." (Jefferson, 1776)

In addition to imparting information about the evolution of American literature, my mission in teaching is to help accomplish the revolution initiated by the Founding Fathers by liberating my students from false and dangerous constructions of their "core sense of

self" so that (1) they may nurture their natural proclivity for truth, goodness, liberty, equality, fairness, beauty, love, fulfillment and happiness, (2) they may investigate and discuss any topic freely, comfortably, respectfully, fearlessly and dynamically, with open minds and hearts, and (3) they may transform for the better, into enlightened, independent, compassionate, rational, progressive, contributing thinkers, which America sorely needs to thrive as a democracy and world leader, particularly under the dubious and reputedly dangerous presidency of Donald J. Trump. Demystifying racial whiteness/white supremacy while emphasizing and ensuring the natural rights of all people to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" through our studies of American writings, enables me to advance my students closer to achieving uplifting learning outcomes:

> I celebrate myself, and sing myself.
> And what I assume you shall assume,
> For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you. (Whitman, 1865)
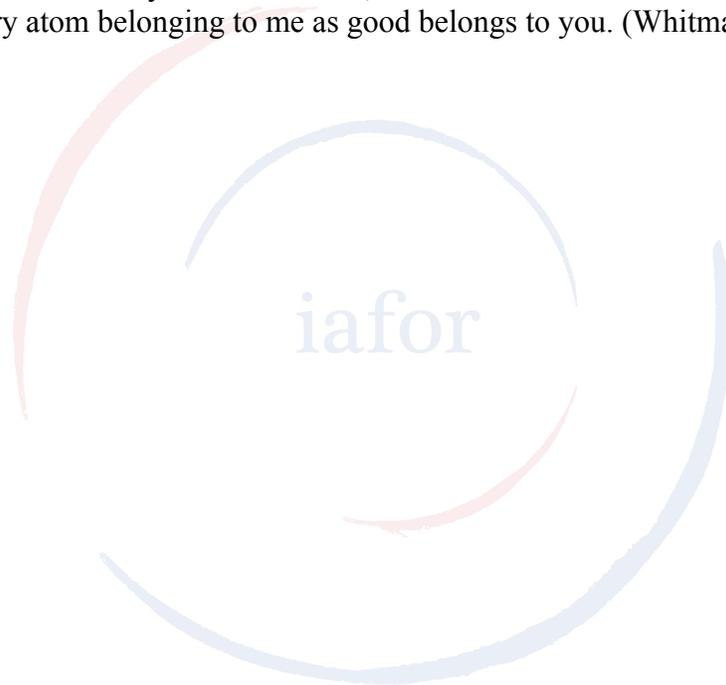
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Art and Politics in Iraq: Examining the Freedom Monument in Baghdad

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Abstract

The Iraqi *Freedom Monument* by Jawad Salim in Baghdad is an example of an artistic achievement that came into existence as a result of a clear political decision. This unique monument was designed after the changes that occurred in Iraq in 1958, the same year the Republic of Iraq was established. For this reason, one cannot extricate the idea of the *Freedom Monument* from the political reality in Iraq in the middle of the twentieth century.

This paper explores the following questions: What is the relationship between the creation of the *Freedom Monument* and the politics in Iraq during its installation? What are the factors and influences that led Jawad Salim to design this distinctive monument? What are the reasons for the special emotional relationship between the Iraqi people and the *Freedom Monument*, since many monuments and statues now exist in Baghdad?

Keywords: Freedom Monument, Jawad Salim, Baghdad

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Introduction

Since its establishment in the early 1960s to now, the *Freedom Monument* by Jawad Salim has been a symbol of the city of Baghdad. In the news, in newspapers and magazines, and in documentaries this monument and Baghdad are constantly represented together. When one speaks of Baghdad, the image of the *Freedom Monument* will often come to mind. It may be difficult to understand this emotional relationship between the Iraqis (especially, the residents of Baghdad) and the *Freedom Monument*, especially since many monuments and statues now exist in Baghdad. Is it because this monument represents the narration of the Iraqi march, which is filled with much pain and suffering from the dawn of civilizations? Is it because every Iraqi can find him or herself and his or her history somehow in this monument? Is it because this monument is associated with the memory of the Iraqi people during the period of the fifties, a period full of hopes and ambitions? Is it because this monument is associated in a manner inextricably bound to the Revolution of July 14, which for many Iraqis represents a dream that was never completed? It is important to consider all of these questions in order to examine why and how the *Freedom Monument* occupies this distinctive and unique position in the memory and conscience of the Iraqi people.

My interest in the *Freedom Monument* stems from two reasons: First of all, my long private interest with the works of Jawad Salim in general and the *Freedom Monument*, is of course the most prominent. The second is my interest in the cultural and political period of the late 1950s and early 1960s in Iraq. It was a period of prosperity; the spread of leftist and progressive political ideas in Iraq that led to the occurrence of the 14 July revolution.

Methodology

The main object of study chosen for this paper focuses on the latest and the most prominent work created by an Iraqi sculptor and painter Jawad Salim – the Freedom Monument, and its relationship to the political events in Iraq on the one hand and the artistic achievements of the civilizations of Mesopotamia on the other. Seven main books and articles were employed in this paper. These books include: *Jawad Salim and the Freedom Monument* (1974), *Iraqi Art Today* (1972), *The Monument - Art, Vulgarity in Saddam Hussein's Iraq* (2004), *Modernism and the Middle East - Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (2008). Additionally, the following articles were reviewed: "Iraqis - 50 Year Anniversary of the Death of Jawad Salim." in *ALMADA Newspaper*, "Iraqis - Rifat Al-Jadirji." in *ALMADA Newspaper*, and "Faiq Hassan Fresco." In *Alarabi Aljadid*.

Two of these books were written by someone close to Jawad Salim, the translator and artist Jabra I. Jabra. His writings provide some of the most important sources because it was the first book dedicated to Jawad Salim and continues to be one the few sources that dealt with the life and works of Jawad Salim. The book by Makiya deals with the concept of art and its relationship to politics in Iraq, which informs the examination of the role of the *Freedom Monument* to serve political purposes. Other sources include

articles published in a supplement of the Iraqi newspaper *ALMADA*, dedicated to the life and works of Jawad Salim and Rifat Al- Jadirji. These sources demonstrate the gaps in literature on the work of Jawad Salim and his important piece, the *Freedom Monument*, as well as inform my analysis of reading the monument as a symbol of Iraqi identity.

The importance of this monument comes not only from being the most important artistic edifice in Baghdad since its inauguration in the early sixties until now, its importance also originates from being the first major work of art created by an Iraqi artist since the era of the Assyrian civilization and its huge sculptures. Jabra I. Jabra in his book, *Jawad Salim and the Freedom Monument* and Kanan Makiya in his book *The Monument – Art, Vulgarity in Saddam Hussein's Iraq* both refer to this point in the design of the *Freedom Monument* (Jabra, 1974, p.12) (Makiya, 2004, p.83) . Furthermore, the *Freedom Monument* is a reflection of the ideas of the Modernist movement in architecture and art, as it is a reflection of one of the most important artistic symbols of Mesopotamia, seen in part by the cylindrical seals and relief sculpture (Al-Salihy, 2011, p.14) .

The reader of the history of the civilizations of Mesopotamia will discover many large statues and monuments in addition to many smaller sculptures. However, after the end of the Babylonian and Assyrian civilizations, Mesopotamia did not witness the creation of any monument or statues until Jawad Salim's design of the *Freedom Monument*. Makiya (2004) states that before the creation of the *Freedom Monument*, there were three statues in Baghdad. All of these statues were completed during the monarchy era and all of them were designed by non-Iraqi sculptors. Makiya (2004) points out the following:

> Until 1958, Baghdad boasted a total of three public sculptures all built by non-Iraqi artists after the collapse of Ottoman rule in 1918: General Maude, the British officer who took Iraq from the Ottomans in 1914, cast in bronze outside the British embassy; King Faisal, founder of the modern Iraqi state, near the radio and television broadcasting station; and the innocuous figure of Muhsin Saadoon, a former Iraqi prime minister. (p.81)

The fact that these three statues were designed by non-Iraqi sculptors in the first decades of the twentieth century, does not mean that Iraq was devoid of artists or art movements. In his introduction of the book titled *Iraqi Art Today*, Jabra (1972) mentions that:

> Although in the first decades of the century two or three painters, notably Abdel Kader Rassam, did some serious painting, it was at the beginning of World War II that painting and sculpture revealed the first signs of revival. The colorful palette of some Polish refugee impressionists staying then in Baghdad had dazzled a few young Iraqis; and an English artist, Kenneth Wood, who did some painting in Baghdad in the midst of a group of keen youngsters contributed to the rising enthusiasm. As soon as the war was over, a number of students were sent by the government on Art Scholarships to

Paris, London and Rome, and at the Fine Arts Institute, established in 1939, a rapidly mounting number of students were enrolled until the Institute had to give morning as well as evening courses to cope with the demand. In the early sixties the Academy of Fine Arts was established and incorporated to Baghdad University.

The revolution occurred on 14 July 1958 in Iraq, which brought down the Iraqi monarchy and proclaimed the Republic of Iraq. Two of these three statues were smashed on the morning of 14 July, 1958 (Makiya, 2004, p.82). After that, the Muhsin Saadoon statue was the only one that remained standing in Baghdad. A few months after the revolution, the leader of the revolution General Abdel-Karim Kassem decided to establish three monuments in Baghdad to commemorate the July revolution. The first one was a monument of the *Unknown Soldier*, which was designed by the Iraqi architect Rifat Al-Jadirji. It was officially inaugurated on the first anniversary of the revolution in July 1959. The second one was a *peace fresco* or fresco of 14th of July revolution, which was painted by the Iraqi painter Faiq Hassan. And the third one was the *Freedom Monument* which was commissioned to Jawad Salim to design (Al-Sultany, 2015, p.10) ("Fiaq Hassan Fresco," 2015). Such a tragic loss occurred with the demolition of the old monument of the *Unknown Soldier* in Baghdad in 1983 in order to create a new monument for the *Unknown Soldier*. Additionally, and in a clear example of the impact of political events in Iraq on Iraqi art, the dove of peace was erased from Faiq Hassan's peace frescoes in Al-Tahrir Square in 1963 in a futile attempt to erase the Baghdadis' memory.

Figure 1: *The Freedom Monument* [Photograph]. Baghdad.
Photo by Abdul Wahid Al-Behadili (2016)

Who is Jawad Salim? Jawad Salim was born in Ankara in 1919, from Iraqi parents. All of his family members were painters. His father Haj Salim Musli was a painter during the Ottoman era, and all his brothers (Souaad and Nazar) and his only sister (Naziha) were painters. In the 1930s the Iraqi government began to send students abroad to Europe to study painting (Jabra, 1972). Thus, Jawad Salim went to Paris in 1938, where he studied at the School of Fine Arts in Paris for a year and then to study in Rome in late 1939. With the beginning of World War II, he returned to Baghdad and worked as a teacher of sculpture at the newly opened Institute of Fine Arts in Baghdad. At the same time he worked at the Iraqi Museum on the restoration of the

statues and artifacts of the Assyrian and Sumerian civilizations. After the end of World War II, he returned to Europe to complete his study of painting and sculpture and joined the Slade School of Fine Art in London (Jabra, 1974). Bernhardsson (2008) indicates that Jawad Salim and the Iraqi Painter Faiq Hassan formed the Iraqi art group Al-Ruwad (The Pioneers) in 1950 (p.85). But after one year, it seems that Jawad Salim decided to form another artistic group, thus he formed the group of Baghdad for Modern Art in 1951 (Jabra, 1974, p.44).

In March 1959, Jawad Salim went to Florence, Italy to work on the establishment of carving and molding the pieces of the monument. Jabra I. Jabra mentions that the government of the revolution gave Jawad Salim full freedom in how to design the monument, and the Iraqi government then undertook all the costs of establishing this monument (Jabra, 1974, p.75). The opening of the *Freedom Monument* occurred on July 16, 1961. Unfortunately, Jawad Salim died just a few months before the inauguration on 23 January 1961 due to a sudden heart attack while he was at the monument site, overseeing the installation of the monument (Jabra, 1974, p. 85). The *Freedom Monument*, which rises 8 meters in height, is located in Baghdad, In Al-Tahrir Square. The *Freedom Monument* consists of 14 bronze units which are installed on a giant white foundation that is 50 meters wide.

To understand the idea of the monument, it should be read from right to left as Arabic manuscripts are written and read (Makiya, 2004, p.83). In addition, Makiya mentions that The *Freedom Monument* can be considered a narrative of the 1958 revolution. Actually, three stages in the life of the Iraqi people can be clearly distinguished in this giant manuscript. The first stage which begins on the right side is the pre-revolution. The period of the revolution is located in the middle of the monument. And finally, the post-revolution stage extends on the left.

Figure 2: *The Freedom Monument* [Photograph]. Baghdad.
Photo by Abdul Wahid Al-Behadili

Unfortunately, Jawad Salim died suddenly at the final stages of the completion of the monument in Al-Tahrir Square, and therefore did not have the full opportunity to explain the details of the *Freedom Monument*, thus, the following explanation of the

symbols of the monument is based on the books by Jabra I. Jabra and Kanan Makyia: The far right, pre-revolution side is represented by the sharp movement of the head of a runaway horse, which is turned violently to the left. The horse is surrounded by three men, one of them stands and raises a banner (Jabra, 1974, p.136). Then, the second scene of the monument depicts the pioneers of the revolutions. They are represented by a group of people carrying banners (Jabra, 1974, p.138). According to Makyia (2004), "Innocence and hope show the way, leaping off the marble background towards us in the shape of a child, the only completely three-dimensional figure of the relief" (p.84). Then the scene moves to the fourth main piece in the monument, which Jabra (1974) calls the crying women. According to Jabra (1974), the sculptor here wanted to point out the important role of Iraqi women in all revolutions and uprisings in Iraq. The fifth piece is the martyr. Makyia (2004) argues "Iraqi history is often portrayed as the playing out of a great tragedy with martyrdom as its major theme" (p.84). However, throughout history, Iraqi people gave hundreds of thousands of martyrs for the sake of freedom. In this piece, Jawad Salim immortalized the memory of all those martyrs. Following is the sixth piece with the mother and child. According to Jabra (1974), in this panel and the previous one, Jawad Salim expresses the idea of death and birth, or death for life. As the viewer's eyes reaches the center of the monument, it comes upon three pieces. Starting from the right, there is the political prisoner, the soldier and freedom (Makiya, 2004, p.84). The subject of the political prisoner was apparently a very important topic for Jawad Salim. Jabra (1974) mentions "the idea of political prisoner was one of the topics that preoccupied Jawad Salim throughout the fifties. In 1953, he participated in an international sculptural competition on this topic, and he won the second prize" (p.148). If the pieces of the monument, starting from the right, reflect the pre-revolutionary stage, and the central piece representing the soldier expresses the event of the revolution, the remaining bronze panels to the far left of the monument express the post-revolution period. So, the viewer will see the peace, Tigris & Euphrates, the agriculture, the ox, and finally industry (Jabra, 1974, 154-158). The fourteenth and final piece of the monument to the far left, which indicates industry is in fact carved in the form of the worker carrying his hammer. According to Jabra (1974), the epic tale of the *Freedom Monument* ends with this majestic stand of the worker (p.158). This can be understood as the announcement of the victory of the Iraqi working class. This is because the 14 July revolution was in one of its greatest aspects, a victory for the Iraqi working class.

The in-depth examination of the *Freedom Monument* and the attempt to dismantle the symbols of the 14 sculptures that compose the piece, will lead us to note that the first inclination is that the *Freedom Monument* is an attempt by Jawad Salim to restore one of the most important artistic icons from the civilizations of Mesopotamia; a cylindrical seals. In fact, Jawad Salim worked at the Iraqi Museum restoring the Assyrian and Sumerian statues and artifacts in the early 1940s after his return from Rome at the beginning of World War II (Jabra, 1974, p.21). The idea to design a giant stone slab in Baghdad tells the story of the struggle of the Iraqi people through the times can be understood as deriving from the same idea of Mesopotamian cylinder seals (Al-Salihy, 2011). Those cylinder seals were considered documents that recorded the details of the daily lives of the Iraqi people thousands of years ago, when

there was no paper or tools for printing. These cylindrical seals served as the printing tools invented by the people of Mesopotamia to codify their history.

Conclusion

The *Freedom Monument* was not just a monument to glorify the 14th of July Revolution in Iraq, or an example of an artistic achievement which came into existence as a result of a clear political decision, but as a journey through time and history. Jawad Salim in these 50 meters of giant manuscript, reviews the history of the Iraqi pain and struggle. The *Freedom Monument* pays homage to the Mesopotamian civilization, as a giant cylindrical seal documenting the struggle of the Iraqi people through the ages against dictators.

Jawad Salim said, at the opening of the first exhibition for the Baghdad Group for Modern Art, "The advantage of mind and thought in humans cannot be achieved only with exchange and experiences. I will tell my comrade about my thoughts, and someday I will speak with the whole of humanity" (Jabra, 1974, p.189). Jawad Salim sent an at once political and ideological message to the whole of humanity in the *Freedom Monument*.

Just as the cylinder seals in the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia documented the daily events and commercial transactions, wars and victories, in the *Freedom Monument*, Jawad Salim sought to document the history of the Iraqi people that is full of tragedies and misfortunes. Not only did he cite these hardships, but from the central panel he documents the 14 July Revolution, and looks forward to the future, which Jawad Salim and other Iraqi intellectuals and artists were dreaming about in Iraq - one nation who collects all his sons under the umbrella of citizenship. Kanan Makiya indicates that the *Freedom Monument* was an expression of the revolutionary city that Baghdad was in the 1950s and early 1960s (Makiya, 2004, p. 82). It was a message from a Revolutionary City.

However, after more than 50 years, the design of the *Freedom Monument* is all that remains of that revolutionary city. Makiya (2004) says that the city, which Jawad Salim designed the *Freedom Monument* for is gone forever (p. 90). At first glance this sentence seems very painful. Sadly, it seems to me that this sentence by Makiya is the reality of Baghdad now. 40 years of fascist dictatorship destroyed it, then 13 years (and still continuing) of the violence and terrorist attacks. Nothing remains from that revolutionary city, only the monument of Jawad Salim, which stands with its giant white frieze in the heart of Baghdad. Baghdad as a revolutionary city in the period of fifties as described by Makiya may be gone but Baghdad itself is not dead. I am confident that someday, from the center of the smoke of car explosions and explosive devices, Baghdad will emit again like the Phoenix, and Baghdad will once again be the beautiful and glittering city which Jawad Salim designed for her his greatest work, the *Freedom Monument*.

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Teaching "Cross-Cultural Communication" through Content Based Instruction: Curriculum Design and Learner Perspectives in an EFL Context

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Abstract
This study intends to introduce a content based curriculum design for the course "Cross cultural communication" in an EFL context. It also explores on student perspectives regarding their perceived learning outcome with both content knowledge and language skills. Sixty non-English major EFL students from a university in Northern Taiwan participated in this study. A variety of tasks such as readings of a variety of authentic texts, viewing movie and video clips, discussing in groups, and accomplishing a group project were employed to have students actively explore the subject content and concurrently work on their language skills. Students were also required to evaluate their peers' final group project with provided evaluation criteria. Questionnaires and semi-structured interviews were conducted to explore what students were able to learn from this course and the challenges they've encountered. The results from students' feedback revealed their positive gains in the areas of content knowledge as well as the enhanced language skills. Some perceived difficulties among students such as inability to fully comprehend the input or to produce effective output were reported and the pedagogical solutions were suggested. Other benefits such as constructive cooperative learning, enhanced critical thinking, and boosted confidence in the target language use were also reported by the learners.

Keywords: Cross-cultural Communication, Content Based Instruction, Curriculum Design, Learner Perspectives, Cooperative Learning, Critical Thinking

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Introduction

Content Based Instruction (CBI) is a curricular approach which focuses on the "concurrent teaching of academic subject matter and second language skills (Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 2003, p.2). It is claimed that with CBI, the content knowledge is constructed through the meaningful and purposeful use of language. In CBI, language is not only the object of learning but the means for negotiating meaning, organizing information and acquiring content knowledge (Butler, 2005).

In Taiwan, the adoption of CBI programs takes place mainly within the framework of EFL classes where some authentic materials with selected topics of student interest are chosen for the main topics for exploration. The main goals of these courses are targeting at the development of language skills with less focus on the content knowledge development. The other extreme of the spectrum which is increasingly adopted in Taiwanese tertiary level is the English Medium Instruction (EMI). For these EMI courses, the learning of content is the focus of the curricular with little attention paid to the specific development of language skills. As for university students' perspectives with CBI instruction in Taiwan , some studies reported positively in terms of enhancing students' reading skills and some area of content knowledge (e.g., Lo & Sheu, 2008; Tsai & Shang, 2010); while other studies received some negative feedback from students, such as inability of comprehending well in class (e.g., Lee, 2007; Cheng, Chang, Chen, & Liao, 2010).With the limited curriculum which place equal attention on the development of both content and language, and with the mixed results of student perspectives with the existed CBI curriculum, this study thus aims to add to the existing knowledge by reporting on the design and implementation of a CBI based subject course "Cross-Cultural Communication", with dual focus on content and linguistic development. It also aims to explore student perspectives on their perceived effectiveness of content and language learning, their perceived difficulties and coping strategies while taking this course.

"Cross-Cultural Communication" course has been promoted as a compulsory course in the tertiary level curriculum in many universities in Taiwan. To meet the demand of rapid globalization, many Taiwanese universities are promoting cultural exchange programs in various forms, such as senior year abroad or other short-term exchange student programs with their partner institutions abroad. In addition, many universities are also recruiting students overseas, and consequently cross cultural communication is taking place on campus and in the classrooms. Cultural and language exchanges are inevitable and the ability to communicate effectively in different cross cultural context is becoming more and more important Taiwanese students. Thus, this subject course "Cross-Cultural Communication" with CBI framework aims to help students not only learn distinctive culture(s) and different cross-cultural communicative patterns and skills, but use the target language meaningfully, and thus accelerate acquisition.

Specifically, this study will:

1) outline the design and implementation of this CBI based "Cross Cultural Communication" course,
2) explore how students perceive the effectiveness of their learning outcome in terms of the content knowledge and language learning,
3) and investigate students' perceived difficulties and coping strategies in taking this CBI course.

Theoretical Framework

Content Based Instruction (CBI)

Briton, Snow, & Wesche (2003, p.2) defined CBI as "the concurrent teaching of academic subject matter and second language skills". The goal of CBI is to develop students' content knowledge and language skills through providing authentic and meaningful academic text. The integrated nature of content and language in CBI views "language as a medium for learning content and content as a resource for learning and improving language" (Stoller, 2002, p.109). As for what the "content" should be in CBI approach, Met (1999) introduced that content should be materials which are cognitively engaging and demanding for the learner, that extend beyond the target culture. Stoller (2008, p.59) regards CBI as an 'umbrella term' for approaches that combine language and content learning, although different degree of emphases may be placed on the two areas.

Second language acquisition theories support CBI. For example, CBI aims to provide students with meaningful and comprehensible input in context, which, according to Krashen (1985), is the essential condition for language acquisition to take place. In the similar vein, Met (1998) pointed out that natural language acquisition occurs in context, and CBI provides a meaningful context for natural communication to take place. Since students are provided with opportunities to negotiate meaning and exercise productive skills in natural communication, they work out to produce "comprehensible output" which can facilitate their target language learning (Swain, 1985, 1993). CBI also allows students to engage in cognitively challenging content materials and tasks which would promote their higher-order thinking skills and develop Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) (Cummins, 1992). Since the input in CBI is mostly authentic and meaningful, it enhances motivation (Butler, 2005). In a nutshell, CBI which has its dual focus on both content and language learning receives support from different SLA theories.

Models of CBI: Adjunct Model

Met (1998) proposed a continuum of content and language integration that ranges from the most content-driven end, with more emphasis on the mastering of content over language, to the most language-driven end, with more importance placed on the mastery of language skills. Briton, Snow and Wesche (1989) proposed there models of CBI program, theme-based model, sheltered model, and adjunct model, which can be applied in second/foreign language classes. Theme-based model falls on the continuum of the more language-driven position, sheltered model falls in the continuum of the content-driven end, and the adjunct model serves both content and

language goals and lies in the middle of the continuum. Adjunct model can be adopted in EFL context where EFL teachers are knowledgeable with the subject content and are capable of designing various teaching activities to foster students' language skills. This type of program is relatively less researched in the EFL context, thus this paper will adopt this CBI model and illustrate the design and tasks implemented for this course.

Empirical Studies on CBI at the Tertiary Level in Taiwan

Among the studies which adopted CBI at tertiary level in Taiwan, different focus in terms of content and language has been reported. In addition, students' perceptions regarding the effectiveness of CBI also yielded differences from study to study. With more emphasis on the side of language development, Tsai and Shang (2010) examined the impact of content based literature curriculum on EFL students' reading performance. 101 English major sophomores participated in this study and the result indicated that students' reading comprehension and critical thinking ability were improved. Emphasizing on both content and language development, Lo and Sheu (2008) reported on the development and evaluation of an ESP project. 16 English major EFL learners participated in this project. Both content knowledge such as urban culture and scenic spots, and hospitality language training were introduced throughout the project. The result of the study indicated positive gains among participants both on the content knowledge and hospitality language skills.

In the content driven end of the CBI subject courses in Taiwanese tertiary level, Lee (2007) reported on the result of a CBI program in the course "Molecular Biology" for junior students in a medical school in Taiwan. From the questionnaire, 37 students who enrolled in the course reported that the CBI instruction affected their learning of content knowledge in a negative way. Enrolled students reported that their English skills were not particularly improved, and their learning of content knowledge suffered because all English medium instruction procrastinated the progress of the course.

With the mixed results in the existed CBI programs, which placed unequal emphasis on content and language development, students in general expressed their needs for language development alongside the content learning. Thus a more balanced working CBI model should be established for subject courses in tertiary level which allows students to develop their content knowledge and at the same time to help enhance students' linguistic ability.

Teaching "Cross-Cultural Communication" with CBI

The course "Cross-Cultural Communication" is offered as a compulsory course in many Taiwan university curriculums. As the title of the course suggested, it aims to develop students' ability to communicate effectively in cross cultural context when they encounter interlocutors whose languages, beliefs, backgrounds, and communication styles may vastly differ from their own. "Culture", according to Kramash (1996, p2) is defined as "the attitudes and beliefs, ways of thinking, behaving and remembering shared by members of that community." This concept is also differed in two types (Moran, 2001). Bic "C" refers to the surface structure of culture, and the focus if which is on the visible forms of culture, such as food, art,

clothing, gesture, architecture, etc.,. Small "c" studies the deep structure of culture, and it targets at the invisible forms of culture associated with perceptions, beliefs, communication styles, cultural norms, kinship system, and social organizations. To enhance successful cross-cultural communication, this course intends to familiarize students with not only Bic "C" but taps into small "c" within distinctive cultures in the world. With different linguistic tasks designed, it intends to have students explore the differences and similarities between these cultures and the culture of their own. Students will also be acquainted with effective linguistic skills in making successful cross-cultural communication at work and in interpersonal exchanges.

Curriculum Design

The design of the curriculum will be specified as follows: subjects, course objectives, content knowledge objectives, language learning objectives, syllabus design, course implementation, evaluation and assessment.

Subjects:

Totally, sixty students (15 male, and 45 female students) enrolled in this class. These are non-English major sophomores from a university in Northern Taiwan. The class meets two hours a week for 18 weeks. The subjects have been studying English for more than 10 years. As for their English proficiency levels, most students fall in the range of intermediate level as students' TOEIC scores (or other equivalent measures) indicate they varied from 480 to 780, with the average of 575.

Course Objectives:

This course aims to develop students' content knowledge of cross cultural communication both in theory and in actual practice. It also intends to enhance students' linguistic abilities through different tasks designed. Thus the course objectives fall in two aspects.

Content Knowledge Objectives:

a) To understand the basic cross-cultural terms, principles, and theories
b) To explore the fundamental types of cultures and corresponding behavior types, and to raise awareness of the possible cultural diversity within these cultures
c) To increase students' knowledge of cultural conflict and adjustment
d) To explain different patterns of communication that can lead to misunderstandings
e) To describe and explore different beliefs, attitudes, values and perceptions regarding relationships, family, work, education, gender roles within some distinctive cultures, and to contrast those with students' own culture
f) To gain cross-cultural competence through interpersonal experiences and simulated exercises

Language Learning Objectives:

In terms of language learning objectives, students are expected to enhance their four skills through a variety of activities such as watching video clips then engaging in group discussion, reading authentic material of different genre (i.e., newspaper article,

short story, textbook, journal article, etc.,), and then complete tasks such as answering specific questions, writing a summary and/or orally report in class. Specifically, this course aims to:

a) Enhance students' reading ability (via text reading, journal reading, authentic reading material from internet, posters, newspapers, etc.,)
b) Improve students' writing ability (via written report, summary writing)
c) Develop students' aural/ oral fluency, and presentation skills (via watching video clips, movies, role-plays, oral report, and oral presentations)
d) Provide students with opportunities for cooperative learning (via group work tasks and a final group project)
e) Develop students' critical thinking skills (through evaluating their peers' and their own group project and through sharing different views of cultural phenomenon)

Course Implementation

The reading text used for this course combined both textbook "Beyond Language Cross-cultural Communication" (Levine & Adelman, 1993), "Fifty ways to improve your intercultural skills" (Dignen & Chamberlain, 2009), selected supplemental on-line journal articles, and other authentic reading materials such as posters, magazine, and newspaper articles. The class usually proceeded with pre-reading discussion questions, followed by pre-reading vocabularies. Students would then be instructed to scan for specific information for the completion of reading tasks. After instructor's lecture with power point presentation (PPT) on the topic, students would be presented with comprehension and discussion question tasks. In groups, students should discuss for the answers, and had representative member(s) to lead discussion and orally report on their responsible questions.

In addition to visual input, audio input such as movies, movie-clips, video-clips were also regularly incorporated in class. For instance, the topic such as interracial marriage, "My Big, Fat, Greek Wedding" was used for students to watch, to reflect upon issues such as diversity within a society, high and low context culture, different communication styles across culture, and etc.,. In groups, students were supposed to complete tasks such as to discuss and come up with well-elaborated answers to questions raised on the task sheet, to summarize and provide their reflection and feedback for the film. The video-clips such as "Ted talk" and "Voice Tubes" were used in class to discuss issues such as marriage, stereotypes, cultural differences in doing business, communication styles, and etc.,. Students were instructed to take notes while watching the video, and in groups, discuss and verbally report on the key points covered and provide their reflective feedback. The effort in combing different types of input in class aims to provide students with different means for comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985), encourages students to actively interact with the lecture, and to engage in meaningful communication with other peers (Met, 1991).

To integrate all learning skills into a meaningful output, students in groups would also have to do research for selected countries regarding their respective Big "C", the visible part of culture and small "c" elements, the invisible type of culture (Moran, 2001). Students had to provide their feedback and reflection regarding how the respective culture they've researched was similar to or different from their own culture. In order to have language and cultural exchanges take place meaningfully for

students, they had to interview the international student(s) from the culture they currently researched on. Finally, an oral presentation was performed for teacher and peer evaluation. This task aimed to provide students with opportunity to integrate content knowledge learned via different channels (i.e., lecture, video, research, etc.,) and to make best use of their linguistic abilities for comprehensible output (Swain, 1993). Figure 1 shows how different language tasks are integrated for students to acquire the content knowledge and at the same time to enhance their linguistic abilities.
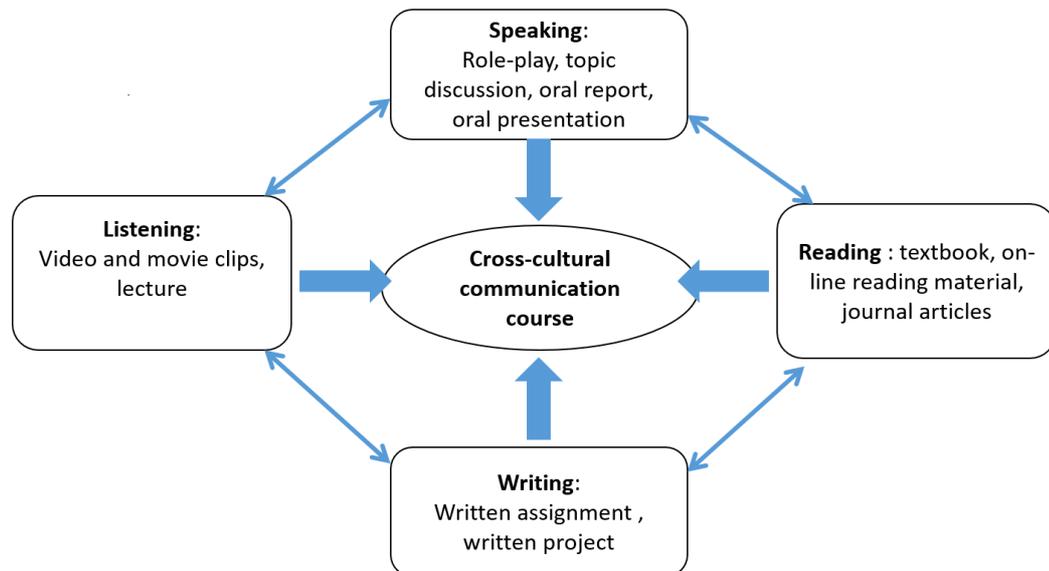

Figure 1. Integration of task implementation in CBI course "Cross-cultural communication" course

Evaluation and Assessment

For this course, students were evaluated by means of their in-class group participation (20%), completion of group assignments (20%), midterm written exam (30%) and final research project (30%). The rationale behind the extensive group work derives from Vygosky's Sociocultural theory (1978). According to Vygosky, through interaction with a teacher or more experienced peers, learners are provided with "scaffolding" which would support them in understanding the knowledge and also in development of complex skills (1978). Thus, by employing various opportunities for group work, collaborative learning was taking place where less linguistically proficient learners would get help from the more proficient counterparts. Also, since attention is not fixated on individual but on a whole group, learners' anxiety is reduced via group work (Crandall, 1999) and thus enhances the learners' development in content and language.

Along with the above mentioned methods for assessing students' learning outcome, evaluation sheets which specified different criterion in both content and language were provided for each group to evaluate their peer groups' final oral presentations. Lastly, questionnaires and open-ended semi-structured interviews were conducted to explore how students have perceived the effectiveness of this CBI course and the difficulties they've encountered while taking the course.

Results of Student Evaluation

In terms of students' perceived effectiveness for this CBI adjunct course, the results of questionnaire and semi-structured interviews were revealed as follows: 1) learner perspectives regarding content learning; 2) learner perspectives regarding linguistic enhancement; 3) learners' perceived difficulties and coping strategies, and 4) leaners' gains in critical thinking and from cooperative learning.

Learner Perspectives regarding Content Learning

For student perspectives on the effectiveness of content learning, the results of a five point Likert-style questionnaire and semi-structured interviews were revealed. The frequency statistics on mean and standard deviation of the questionnaire were illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Mean Distribution on Students' Perspectives regarding the effectiveness of Content Learning

Item	Mean	S.D.
1. I have learned what big "C" and small "c" represent in description of culture.	4.37	.610
2. I have learned the basic elements and differences between high-context culture and low-context culture and can give examples of each.	4.35	.577
3. I have learned Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory and are aware of the six dimensions such as power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism vs collectivism, masculinity vs femininity and long term vs short term orientation.	4.30	.671
4. I have learned Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis and understand that language we speak can affect or even shape our world view.	4.23	.621
5. I have learned that ethnocentrism is the belief that one's race nation, group, etc., are better and superior than others.	4.32	.676
6. I have learned different stages of cross-cultural conflict and adjustment. The adjustment process in a new culture is like a W-shape diagram: ranging from honeymoon period to finally acceptance and integration.	4.35	.633
7. I have learned the differences regarding "high involvement" VS. "high considerateness" conversation patterns.	4.30	.671
8. I have learned the possible different communication styles existed between high context culture and low context culture.	4.38	.715
9. I have learned different types of nonverbal communications, such as posture & gestures, face and eyes, voices, touch, clothing, distance and etc.,.	4.38	.613
10. I have learned the same nonverbal communication may have different indications across cultures.	4.20	.632
11. I have learned there can be different expectations across cultures for a variety of types of personal relationships, such as marriage and friendship.	4.38	.715
12. I am aware of different expectations can exist on teacher-student relationships, class participations, diversity in higher education across cultures.	4.35	.633

13. I am aware of the different expectations which might exist in work ethics, employer-employee relationship, on-the-job communication skills across cultures.	4.21	.635
14. I have learned the basics in communication for international business, such as international emailing, international telephoning, international negotiating.	4.36	.615
15. I think learning about culture is enriching. The more I learn about others, the more I see my own culture more clearly.	4.23	.621

As displayed on Table 1, positive responses can be found on nearly all items. The high mean score can even be found on the introduction of some theoretical context , such as Hofstede's cultural dimensions, Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, etc., (M=4.30, M=4.23), reflecting that students were not overwhelmed by the relatively more difficult conceptual framework. From the semi-structured interviews, students pointed out that they learned different beliefs, perceptions, attitudes, and communication styles associated different cultures introduced in class via lectures, their own research projects, and their peer report. Students also revealed that through the video-clips, movies, and group work, the abstract concept of the text became vivid examples, and thus helped them comprehend different theories associated with the subject.

From the semi-structured interviews, most students pointed out their gained knowledge in big "C" and small "c" of various cultures introduced in class. Other gains regarding content knowledge development were their enhanced ability in cross-cultural communication, academic topic research, and cooperative and interactive skills.

Learner Perspectives regarding Linguistic Enhancement

For student perspectives on the effectiveness of language learning, the results of a five-point Likert-style questionnaire and semi-structured interviews were revealed. The frequency statistics on mean and standard deviation of the questionnaire were illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Mean Distribution on Students' perspectives regarding the effectiveness of language learning

Item	Mean	S.D.
16. I think my English reading ability has improved with the reading of textbooks and the related research material.	4.37	.637
17. I think my English writing ability has improved because of what is required in the course, such as writing assignment and writing up materials for midterm and final report.	4.13	.791
18. I think my English listening ability has improved because I have to understand the teacher's lecture in class.	4.22	.600
19. I think my English speaking ability has improved because of the in-class role-play exercises, preparing for oral presentations.	4.35	.709
20 I think I have more acquired more vocabularies and phrases and learn how to use them in the proper context.	4.20	.684
21. Overall I think all my English skills have improved because of this course.	4.28	.555

As revealed from Table 2, most students perceived that they improved different aspects of their language skills (M=4.28). Particularly, students believed their reading and speaking abilities have improved greatly (M=4.37, M=4.35). Students pointed out that reading from a variety of sources such as textbook, on-line reading, journal articles, and magazines, etc., have helped greatly with their reading. Students indicated that reading skills learned in class such as reading for the gist and for specific information helped them comprehend better and faster with the different reading resources needed for their final project. In addition, when encountered unknown vocabularies or phrases, they've learned to comprehend the meanings in context which help enhance their vocabulary acquisition and overall comprehension. With the difficult journal articles, students would also seek help in their group from more capable peer(s) and also verified their understanding with their instructor.

In addition, for majority of the enrolled students, all English medium instruction was reported as being very helpful in improving their listening ability. Some less proficient students did encounter difficulty in comprehending the lecture due to the fast speed in the beginning. However, they were able to pick up the missing information from their peers and from the reading resources. Viewing video clips and movies were also reported to be interesting and helpful in advancing their listening skills.

Leaner Gains in Critical Thinking and from Cooperative Learning

For student perspectives on group learning and the development of critical thinking, the results of the questionnaire and interviews were also revealed in Table 3.

Table 3. Mean Distribution on Students' perspectives regarding the effectiveness of cooperative learning and development of critical thinking

Item	Mean	S.D.
22. Doing group project helps me learn language skills from the more capable peers in my group.	4.20	.684
23. Doing group project helps me understand better about the content which I would not be able to understand it on my own.	4.35	.685
24. Doing group project allows me to be less anxious in preparing and doing the oral presentation.	4.03	.863
25. Evaluating other students' performance makes me aware of their language problems (i.e., grammatical mistakes, pronunciation errors, etc.,) which helps me to reflect upon my own problems.	4.17	.642
26. Evaluating other students' performance allows me to learn some important issues which can help me understand the content better.	4.25	.704
27. From the peers' and teacher's feedback, I know better about how to improve my own presentation skills.	4.48	.595

As revealed from table 3, engaging in group work did help most of the students be less anxious, particularly, when they were dealing with writing or speaking tasks which seemed beyond their current proficiency level. It could also be observed that students' critical thinking abilities were enhanced via peer group report. Specifically, students pointed out that with the specific guidelines and criterion provided in evaluating their peers' presentation, they were able to listen attentively for the main issues reported in selected cultures as well as to pay attention to their fluency and

grammatical errors in speech. They would feedback the evaluation to their peers and also used it as reminders for their own speech improvement.

In fact, from the interview, most students expressed their preferences in group work. In completion of a group final research project, students revealed they learned how to work effectively with others, how to get help from the more proficient member, and how to help the less linguistically capable peers. Some students mentioned that they've gained deeper understanding of the content while solving problems for their members. Other students even elaborated in the interview that differences did not only exist between different cultures. The individual differences within their own groups were apparent and they were able to solve their disputes by exercising some of the communication skills learned in class.

Learner Perceived Difficulties and Coping Strategies

For the perceived difficulties with this course, some students pointed out that engaging in group work was not always an easy task. Students indicated that working with others was not easy considering all group members may contribute unequally to the group work, which might result in disputes, or even resentment among group members. Students would seek help from the instructor sometimes, but would also try to find different ways to resolve the problems caused by less cooperative members on their own. In short, students were usually able to come up with effective communication strategies to deal with their problems and to make the best out of their group work in the final project.

Speaking publicly in the final oral presentation was also reported by many as the hardest part in this course. Many students revealed their anxiety and lack of confidence in speaking publicly using the target language. However, students also described their coping strategies such as practicing, rehearsing their oral script before the presentation repeatedly in groups, getting feedback from their peers and teacher, making adjustment with their presentations, and visualizing their success on stage (strategies learned from a lecture on public presentation skills).

Discussion

From the student evaluation elaborated above, it validates this CBI "Cross-cultural communication course" in its benefits on students' content and language learning. Actually, in addition to students perceived effectiveness, they did demonstrate their understanding of the content knowledge as it was evident from the result of midterm exam ($M=75.33$, $SD=8.678$) and their improved work on written and oral final projects. This result is congruent with some of the CBI research conducted in tertiary level in Taiwan from which students were able to improve in their reading skills, critical thinking abilities, and operational content knowledge (Liaw, 2007;Lo & Sheu, 2008; Tsai & Shang, 2010; Tseng, 2015). The findings also confirmed the effectiveness of the curriculum design for this CBI course, which integrated consistent and meaningful input, and created a zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978) for comprehensible output.

From the result of students' feedback on content learning, students elaborated on their knowledge not only in the theoretical aspects of culture and cross-cultural

communications, but on their openness and respect for cultural differences, their expanded knowledge in doing research paper, and capability in collaboratively working with other group members. In terms of linguistic gains, students reported their improvement in different language skills, although in different strength respectively. Thus, the effectiveness of this CBI course is in line with previous studies in which CBI fosters academic growth while also develops language proficiency (Crandall, 1993; Short, 1997; Stoller, 2004).

The incorporation of different meaningful mediums as the comprehensible input such as textbook, on-line authentic reading material, lecture PPT, teacher hand-outs, movies, and video clips was reported as beneficial (Flowerdew & Miller, 1992), interesting, and motivating for students to have deeper understanding and interaction with the content knowledge. That is, when the emphasis is on meaningful and relevant content other than the language form itself, language acquisition increases rapidly (Curtain, 1995; Met, 1991).

In addition to comprehensible input, the productive tasks such as written reports and final oral presentations in this course have created the proximal zone for language learners to produce comprehensible output (Swain,1985, 1993). Students were pushed to get their messages across not only from the simultaneous role-plays but from the formal report as in the written research paper and oral presentations. Being able to practice, edit, rehearse, and present their languages formally allows students to be pushed to use precise, coherent, and appropriate language thus enhance their overall linguistic ability.

Finally, with the extensive use of group work in this course, participating students were supported by their peers from which "scaffoding" was taking place when less linguistically capable students were helped while interacting with more capable members in their group (Vygosky, 1978). In fact, the support extended from getting help with problematic language structure to clarifying meaning of the puzzled content knowledge since students reported that they had deeper understanding of the content with the help of their peers, a result in line with previous findings (Hattie, 2009; Mangelsdorf, 1992; Wilkinson, 2015). Group work also helped alleviate anxiety in making errors (Slavin & Kaweit, 1981), as students reported that they were less nervous when they worked in groups. In addition to cooperative learning, students' gains on critical thinking ability from evaluating peer groups' oral report were also revealed from their ability to correct and edit their own written report and their own oral presentations. When students were provided with the opportunity to observe, attend to, and reflect upon the content and linguistic elements via provided criterion (i.e., evaluation sheets) for their peers' report, they were able to activate their critical thinking skills and accordingly, they could improve the effectiveness of their own learning, both in content and language.

Conclusion

This paper intends to report on the curriculum design of a CBI based course "Cross-cultural communication", and to explore the learning outcome on both content and language improvement from students' perspectives. From the findings, the perceived success of this course highlighted a few essential elements for a CBI course to be effectively implemented in the tertiary level in EFL context: (1) the integrated tasks which interweave all language skills, (2) meaningful, relevant, and multiple sources of information as comprehensible input, (3) meaningful and organized context for comprehensible output; and (4) clear guidelines and criterion for group work and group evaluation. It is clear that CBI, when adopted sensibly with well-planned curriculum syllabus and tasks, can provide students with comprehensible input which stirs up students' genuine interest and motivates them to actively seek to understand the content knowledge. It also creates the best arena for students to acquire their linguistic skills by pushing them to perform the concise, coherent and more accurate productive target language. Through the guidelines provided by the instructor, students are more focused in obtaining the informative knowledge, in learning to be more linguistically fluent and accurate, and in climbing the scaffolds to maximize learning effectiveness through the cooperative learning in groups.

This study had its limitations in that the course was conducted with a group of students who have had cross cultural encounters on campus because of the big international student population in this university. Other students with limited encounters of the similar context might not have the motivation or chances to actualize cross cultural communication. In addition, this study is mainly examined from the learners' perspective. It is suggested that future studies which include pre and post assessment on measuring students' actual language enhancement can be included. Furthermore, the nature of this course is closely related to language learning since language, culture, and communication are intrinsically interconnected with one another. Thus, it is suggested that the methods and procedures implemented in this study be further tested in other CBI courses with subjects in different disciplines to further validate the findings of this study and to allow this model to be evaluated from different perspectives.

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The Effect of Cluster Simplification in Thai on the English Language Learners

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Abstract
This research is aimed at studying the effect of the change in progress of spoken standard Thai in terms of true consonant cluster simplification on the Thai students learning English language. Thai language permits CC- with /k, kh, t, p, ph/ { ก, ข, ค, ต, ป, ผ, พ } in the first position and /r, l, j/ { ร, ล, ว } as the second consonant. The Cr- and Cl- are the consonant clusters that are facing the simplification in most of the speakers of Thai while Cj- remains intact. Subjects are 50 freshmen from Department of English, Suan Sunandha Rajabhat University in Bangkok, Thailand. They are asked to complete two tasks that are 1) Translate Thai words into English and 2) Short story-telling about their family. The results show that 89% of subjects simplified Cr- and Cl- clusters in English both writing and speaking which is the same phenomena in their native language.
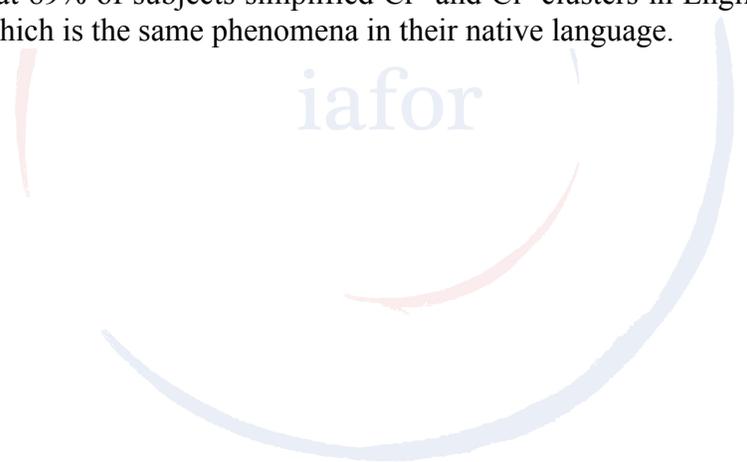
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Introduction

There are 44 consonantal alphabets in Thai in which give 21 consonantal phonemes for initial position. The language has phonotactical constraints that allow certain syllable structures and consonant clusters. Initially, Thai permitted 11 combined consonantal patterns as follow:

<div align="center">

/kr/ (กร), /kl/ (กล), /kw/ (กว)

/k^{h}r/ (ขร,คร), /k^{h}l/ (ขล,คล), /k^{h}w/ (ขว,คว)

/pr/ (ปร), /pl/ (ปล)

/p^{h}r/ (พร), /p^{h}l/ (ผล,พล)

/tr/ (ตร)

</div>

More cluster combinations surfaced as loanwords entered the language such as /t^{h}r/ (ทร)and /fr/ (ฟร), totally 13 in combined consonantal patterns. However, in spoken register, it is evident that most Thai simplifies the consonantal combinations of C_1 + /r/ or /l/ in all words.

<div align="center">

C_1 + /r/

/krì:t/   >   /krì:t/   'to cut'

/fri:/   >   /fi:/   'free'

C_1 + /l/

/k^{h}lo:n/   >   / k^{h}o:n/   'mud'

/k^{h}lûɯ:n/   >   /k^{h}ûɯ:n/   'wave'

</div>

The simplification occurs massively in most of the speakers of Thai especially in spoken register, with younger speakers as a majority of the said phenomenon. Language change and variation are common and inevitable in all living languages.

L2 is widely known to be affected by a learner's native language, L1. Performance of writing skill is influenced by the spoken mode. Therefore, it is of the researcher's interest that to what extent the change in L1, Thai language in this case, will affect L2, English language in different mode.

The objectives of this study are to explore the effect of the change in progress of spoken standard Thai in terms of true consonant cluster simplification on the Thai students learning English language.

Methodology

The subjects of this research are 50 freshmen: 15 male and 35 female from Department of English, Suan Sunandha Rajabhat University in Bangkok, Thailand. They are asked to complete two tasks i.e. 1) Translate Thai words into English and 2) Short story-telling about their family.

In the translation task, all students listen to 20 words (table 1), read aloud in Thai by a teacher twice for each word. Then, they translate the given words into English. The dictation list consists of one-syllable word and multi-syllable words. The Cr- and Cl- clusters appear in the initial syllable position and second and third syllable position. Only the correct choice of words – not including synonyms, regardless of the erroneous spelling, is included in the analysis.

Table 1 Dictation list (target English words)

	Vocabulary
1	crop
2	trash
3	brother
4	profile
5	province
6	construction
7	attractive
8	express
9	country
10	extraordinary
11	clap
12	plum
13	classic
14	blessing
15	conclusion
16	complete
17	simply
18	public
19	complicated
20	exclusive

The results show that 89% of subjects simplified Cr- and Cl- clusters in English both writing and speaking which is the same phenomena in their native language.

In the second task, short story-telling, the students are requested to tell a story in English for about 3 minutes, one person at a time, about themselves e.g. their family, interests, personal experience, relationships or life goal. The interviewer asks them questions when they pause to keep the conversation going. The research elicits words with clusters from their speech and conduct statistical analysis.

Results

The results show that 89% of subjects simplified Cr- and Cl- clusters in English both writing and speaking which is the same phenomena in their native language.

The results of the two tasks :

1) Translate Thai words into English:

The result of this task shows that majority of the participants tend to simplify the Cr- and Cl- consonant clusters in English e.g.
     profile > /p^{h}o:.fai/
     attractive > /at.t^{h}ac.t^{h}i:p/

2) Short story-telling about their family:

For the spoken mode task, that majority of the participants tend to have the same behavior in simplifying the Cr- and Cl- consonant clusters in English e.g.
     Province >/p^{h}o:.win/
     brother >/ ba:.də:/

Conclusion

It is evident that cluster simplification in Thai is almost complete especially in spoken language with younger speakers exemplifying such change. Language change and variation in Thai language do have effect on the performance of the foreign language, English, that the students are acquiring. Although, there are phonological similarities in both languages' sound system but it is important to address the language change and variation in learners' native tongue when teaching L2.

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